

Was the Involvement of Women Doctors in British Military Medical Service in the First World War a Success or a Failure?

by

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Dissertation submitted as part of Master of Arts in History of Britain and the First World War, University of Wolverhampton

January 2020

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ABBREVIATIONS

ADMS	Assistant Director Medical Services
AMO	Assistant Medical Officer
ANZAC	Australia and New Zealand Army Corps
ARMW	Association of Registered Medical Women
BEF	British Expeditionary Force
BMA	British Medical Association
BRCS	British Red Cross Society
BSF	British Salonika Force
CAMC	Canadian Army Medical Corps
CCS	Casualty Clearing Station
CMO	Chief Medical Officer
CMP	Civilian Medical Practitioner
CMWC	Central Medical War Committee
DADMS	Deputy Assistant Director Medical Services
DGMS	Deputy General Medical Services
DGMS	Director General Medical Services
GH	General Hospital
GOC	General Officer Commanding
KQCPI	King and Queen's College of Physicians of Ireland
LSMW	London School Medicine for Women
MWF	Medical Women's Federation
MEF	Mediterranean Expeditionary Force
MO	Medical Officer
MOH	Medical Officer of Health
NCO	Non Commissioned Officer
NHW	New Hospital for Women
NUWSS	National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies

NZEF	New Zealand Expeditionary Force
NZMC	New Zealand Medical Corps
QAINS	Queen Alexandra's Imperial Nursing Service
QMAAC	Queen Mary's Auxiliary Army Corps
RAMC	Royal Army Medical Corps
RFC	Royal Flying Corps
RND	Royal Naval Division
SEF	Salonika Expeditionary Force
SH	Stationary Hospital
SMSEC	Scottish Medical Service Emergency Committee
SRF	Serbian Relief Fund
SWH	Scottish Women's Hospitals
VAD	Voluntary Aid Detachment
WAAC	Women's Auxiliary Army Corps
WHC	Women's Hospital Corps
WRAF	Women's Royal Air Force
WRNS	Women's Royal Naval Service
WSPU	Women's Social and Political Union

INTRODUCTION

Aim

This dissertation explores whether women doctors in British military medical service in the First World War, were successful both in demonstrating their abilities and in being accepted by the military and medical hierarchies, their patients and the public. It aims to expand on a relatively neglected area in the history of the medical services compared to the more widely discussed women doctors who served in voluntary medical units.

Background

By 1914, the second generation of women doctors was established in the medical profession but accepted only as 'the physicians exclusively of women and children.'¹ Dr Elizabeth Garrett Anderson was the first British woman doctor to qualify in 1865 and her daughter, Dr Louisa Garrett Anderson, was key to the acceptance of women doctors in military medical service in the First World War. Women doctors then were portrayed as 'ladylike attendants lacking contact with the sordid aspects of medical reality'.² It took time for military and medical hierarchies to be convinced that women doctors had a role in military medical services. There was a gradual acceptance that a woman doctor could replace a male doctor but only on the understanding that it was 'until his return' from wartime service in the RAMC.³ Meanwhile, women doctors set up and worked in voluntary hospital units for Britain's allies. They have been written about more widely, particularly those run by the SWH. Perhaps this is because they have been viewed as more heroic, working near the front line, operating on battle casualties or treating epidemics of typhus

¹ 'Women Doctors', *The Times*, 22 January 1915

² P. Fara, *A Lab of One's Own: Science and Suffrage in the First World War* (Oxford University Press, 2018), p. 225

³ 'Women Doctors', *The Times*, 22 January 1915

and other serious diseases. Much less is known about the women doctors who worked in military medical service treating British sick and wounded or those who provided medical services for the women's services later in the war.

Research Methodology

Over 370 women doctors are known to have worked in voluntary units and in military medical service in the First World War, and some worked in both.⁴ A register of 129 women doctors who were attached to the RAMC has been used as a starting point.⁵ By combining this with other sources, additional women doctors have been found who worked in military medical service at home and abroad and in women's services.⁶ Details of their ages, qualifications and respective war service enabled further research on their pre and post war work using *The Medical Directory* between 1914-1923.⁷ Quantitative analysis of their ages is limited due to incomplete records, so average ages have been calculated using their year of birth where known. The RAMC register indicates which country or home command they served in. This information, combined with an existing database of women doctors attached to RAMC hospitals in Malta, has enabled a fuller picture to be built up.⁸

Further qualitative research was possible using the war diaries of the hospitals to which they were attached and letters from individual doctors in the archives. This has revealed details of their work and how they were regarded by the military and medical hierarchies, patients and colleagues in the RAMC. Their letters from hospitals abroad are, however, limited in

⁴ <http://www.scarletfinders.co.uk/138.html> viewed 18 March 2019; M. Krippner, *The Quality of Mercy: Women at War Serbia 1915-1918* (London: David & Charles, 1980); L. Binyon, *For Dauntless France, an Account of Britains Aid to the French Wounded and Victims of the War* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1918); Museum of Military Medicine, RAMC 44 (24/7/359) Army Book 82, Record of Special Reserve Officers' Service; See Appendices A-H

⁵ MMM RAMC 44 (24/7/359) Army Book 82

⁶ See Appendices A-H

⁷ *Medical Directory*, 1914-1923

⁸ <https://www.maltaramc.com/articles/contents/greatwar.html> viewed 17 September 2019

content due to the strict censorship that was enforced on them. There are minimal records of British military hospitals and their individual gazettes rarely mention women doctors.⁹ However, newspaper archives have revealed some of the attitudes towards women doctors. Military records of the Dominion women doctors are much more detailed, so have been used as the basis for case studies. Research on the women's services is also limited, but letters from a few of the senior officers and the written reminiscences of some WAACs have been used.

⁹ Plymouth and West Devon Record Office (3642/569) 4th *Southern General Hospital Gazette* 1916-1917; Cadbury Research Library, Birmingham (UC/9/iii/25), *The Southern Cross* 1916-1919, Gazette of 1st Southern General Hospital

LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature on military medical services in the First World War is limited, with even less about women doctors. General histories either omit or only briefly discuss medical services.¹⁰ If women are mentioned at all in histories of the RAMC, it is likely to be in their roles as nurses or VADs.¹¹ Macpherson's comprehensive history of medical services contains brief references to voluntary units and does enumerate how many 'qualified women doctors' were initially sent to Malta attached to the RAMC.¹² However, Anna Rogers' history of the NZMC does discuss several women doctors, both in voluntary units and two who worked in the NZMC.¹³

J.M. Winter includes women doctors when discussing the recruitment of doctors for the RAMC, but only in relation to civilian rather than military medical care.¹⁴ Peter Starling expands on the recruitment of doctors and includes women doctors' attachment to the RAMC and women's services and the consequences of demobilisation.¹⁵ Ian Whitehead's *Doctors in the Great War* is unusual in devoting a whole chapter to women doctors.¹⁶ His advocacy of their underused potential is atypical compared to most authors.¹⁷ In discussing their lack of uniform and unsuccessful fight for commissions, he proposes that a longer war

¹⁰ S. Delaporte (translated by J. Horne), 'Military Medicine' in J. Horne (ed.), *A Companion to World War 1* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012 [2010]); D. Stevenson, 1914-1918: *The History of the First World War* (London: Allen Lane, 2004), pp. 206-209

¹¹ Lt. Col. F.S. Brereton, *The Great War and the RAMC* (London: Constable, 1919); Dr. S. G. Blair, *In Arduis Fidelis: Centenary History of The Royal Army Medical Corps 1898-1998* (Edinburgh: iynx, 2001 [1998]); R. McLaughlin, *The Royal Army Medical Corps* (London: Leo Cooper, 1972)

¹² Major-General Sir W.G. Macpherson, *History of the Great War Medical Services* (Uckfield: Naval & Military Press, 2009 [1924]), Vol 1, p. 244

¹³ A. Rogers, *With Them Through Hell: New Zealand Medical Forces in the First World War* (Auckland: Massey University Press, 2018), pp. 321-329

¹⁴ J.M. Winter, *The Great War and the British People* (London: Macmillan, 1987 [1985]), pp. 154-187

¹⁵ P. Starling, 'Medical Officer Recruitment and Demobilisation in the Army and in the Great War', *Stand To!*, 115 (2019), pp. 27-31

¹⁶ I.R. Whitehead, *Doctors in the Great War* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword, 2013 [1999]), pp. 107-126

¹⁷ Whitehead, *Doctors*, pp. 121-2

might have resolved this.¹⁸ Even though Mark Harrison's *Medical War* is one of the most detailed histories of medical services, including specific theatres in the First World War, it does not discuss women doctors at all.¹⁹

The general histories of women doctors' entry into medical school, qualification and subsequent jobs are quite dated.²⁰ E.M. Bell, however, used LSMW primary sources and concludes that the British women doctors in the First World War who had trained there, had an advantage over those in other countries such as France.²¹ Kimberly Jensen compares how American women doctors faced similar 'gendered boundaries in the military and in medicine' despite their suffrage being more advanced than in Britain.²² Claire Brock highlights that women surgeons' wartime experience of operating on men rarely furthered their careers and that post-war, male doctors once more dominated jobs.²³ Included in a body of recent work on Irish doctors in the First World War, Laura Kelly's work on Irish women doctors compares their experiences over the same timescale as Brock, with individual details of over 450 of them.²⁴ Selena Williams discusses Australian women in a

¹⁸ Whitehead, *Doctors*, p. 116

¹⁹ M. Harrison, *The Medical War: British Military Medicine in the First World War* (Oxford University Press: 2011 [2010])

²⁰ E.M. Bell, *Storming the Citadel: The Rise of the Woman Doctor* (London: Constable, 1953); C. Blake, *Charge of the Parasols: Women's Entry to the Medical Profession* (London: The Women's Press, 1990); E.P. Lovejoy, *Women Doctors of the World* (New York: Macmillan, 1957)

²¹ Bell, *Storming the Citadel*, p. 107

²² K. Jensen, 'Physicians and Citizens: US Medical Women and Military Service in the First World War', in R. Cooter, M. Harrison, S. Sturdy (eds.), *War, Medicine and Modernity* (Stroud: Sutton, 1999 [1998]), pp. 106-124

²³ C. Brock, *British Women Surgeons and their Patients, 1860-1918* (Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp. 231-233

²⁴ D. Durnin and I. Miller (eds.), *Medicine, Health and Irish Experiences of Conflict 1914-1945* (Manchester University Press, 2017); D. Durnin, *The Irish Medical Profession and the First World War* (Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019); L. Kelly, *Irish Women in medicine, c.1880s-1920s: Origins, education and careers* (Manchester University Press, 2012)

variety of military paramedical roles and concludes that women doctors reverted to their pre-war status when they returned home.²⁵

The few biographies of individual women doctors are predominantly about those who worked in voluntary units.²⁶ Thomas and Duck's recent biography of the Stoney sisters, is unusual in discussing Dr Florence Stoney's work as a radiologist with voluntary Stobart units and her subsequent work at Fulham Military Hospital.²⁷ Katrina Kirkwood's biography of Dr Isabella Stenhouse, who was attached to the RAMC in Malta and Egypt, is an interesting but unreferenced narrative.²⁸ The attitudes towards or relationship between nurses and women doctors is rarely discussed in nursing literature, apart from occasional diary extracts.²⁹ Several authors discuss nurses' wish for professional status, and their attitudes towards untrained, often upper class VADs who might adversely affect this as they were driven more by patriotism.³⁰ However, a nurse's role as the idealistic 'ministering angel' was not perceived as a threat to male doctors.³¹ Janet Watson points out that for much of the population, 'doctors... were expected to be men', and that nurses' own professional 'status was threatened by doctors, both male and female.'³²

²⁵ S.E. Williams, 'Taking the Long Journey: Australian women who served with allied countries and paramilitary organisations during World War One' (Ph D, The Australian National University, 2016)

²⁶ L. Leneman, *Elsie Inglis: Founder of battlefield hospitals run entirely by women* (Edinburgh: NMS, 1998); C. & C. Manson, *Doctor Agnes Bennett* (London: Michael Joseph, 1960); R. L. Lee, *Woman War Doctor: The Life of Mary De Garis* (Melbourne: Australian Scholarly, 2014)

²⁷ A. Thomas and F. Duck, *Edith and Florence Stoney, Sisters in Radiology* (Switzerland: Springer, 2019), pp. 155-175

²⁸ K. Kirkwood, *The Mystery of Isabella and the String of Beads* (Norwich: Loke Press, 2016)

²⁹ A. Powell, *Women in the War Zone: Hospital Service in the First World War* (Stroud: The History Press, 2009), p. 86

³⁰ Y. McEwen, *In the Company of Nurses: The History of the British Army Nursing Service in the Great War* (Edinburgh University Press: 2014), p. 48; C. Hallett, *Veiled Warriors: Allied Nurses in the First World War* (Oxford University Press: 2014), pp. 16-30; J.S.K. Watson, 'War in the Wards: The Social Construction of Medical Work in First World War Britain', *Journal of British Studies*, 41 (4) (October 2002), pp. 484-510

³¹ C. Acton & J. Potter, *Working in a World of Hurt: Trauma and Resilience in the Narratives of Medical Personnel in Warzones* (Manchester University Press: 2015), p. 36

³² Watson, 'War in the Wards', pp. 487, 494

The voluntary hospital units run by women, of which the SWH was the largest, have been widely written about.³³ Leah Leneman has written predominantly about Dr Elsie Inglis and the SWH.³⁴ However, she does discuss women doctors' struggle for commissions and highlights how the SWH's recruitment of unpaid senior doctors was affected when women doctors were paid by the RAMC.³⁵ A.C. Elston's thesis on women doctors also focuses on voluntary units but does mention those attached to the RAMC and in women's services.³⁶ Jennian Geddes work on women doctors in the WHC, particularly Endell Street, discusses both how suffrage influenced them and how their work affected suffrage, compared to the voluntary units.³⁷ Flora Murray's account of the WHC and their hospitals in France and London during the First World War, is almost too glowing.³⁸ As Geddes highlights, Murray only discusses British doctors who worked at Endell Street, ignoring Australians and Canadians, projecting only a positive light of their work while glossing over any difficulties.³⁹ Murray's account of Endell Street promoted women's suffrage which was, as demonstrated by Geddes, 'the raison d'être' of the WHC'.⁴⁰

³³ Binyon, *For Dauntless France*; E. Crofton, *Angels of Mercy: A Women's Hospital on the Western Front 1914-1918* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2013 [1997]); C. Holme, 'Band of sisters: the female doctors who became war heroes against the odds', *British Medical Journal*, 21 December 2019-4 January 2020, pp. 504-505; Krippner, *The Quality of Mercy*; E.S. McLaren, *A History of the Scottish Women's Hospitals* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1919)

³⁴ Leneman, *Elsie Inglis*; L. Leneman, *In the Service of Life: The Story of Elsie Inglis and the Scottish Women's Hospitals* (Edinburgh: Mercat, 1994); L. Leneman, 'Medical Women at War, 1914-1918', *Medical History*, 38 (1994), pp. 160-177; L. Leneman, 'Medical Women in the First World War: Ranking Nowhere', *BMJ*, 307 (6919) (1993), pp. 1592-1594

³⁵ Leneman, 'Medical Women in the First World War', pp. 1592-1594; Leneman, *In the Service of Life*, p. 159

³⁶ A.C. Elston, 'Women Doctors in the British Health Services: A Sociological Study of their Careers and Opportunities' (Ph D, University of Leeds, 1986)

³⁷ J. Geddes, 'Women as Army Surgeons: The Women's Hospital Corps', (MA Dissertation, Modern British Women's History, London Metropolitan University, 2005); J. Geddes, 'Deeds and Words in the Suffrage Military Hospital in Endell Street' *Military History* 51 (1) (2007), pp. 79-98; J. Geddes, 'The Doctors' Dilemma: Medical Women and the British suffrage movement', *Women's History Review*, 18 (2) (2009), pp. 203-218

³⁸ F. Murray, *Women as Army Surgeons: Being the History of the Women's Hospital Corps in Paris, Wimereux and Endell Street*, September 1914-October 1919 (Cambridge University Press, 2014 [1920])

³⁹ Geddes, 'Deeds and Words', pp. 79-98

⁴⁰ Geddes, 'Women as Army Surgeons', p. 13

Most histories of women's services include little information about their medical services, or the women doctors involved, beyond fleeting references.⁴¹ Lucy Noakes discusses how the WAAC both maintained and challenged the gendering of war, but her only medical reference is regarding the issue of suspected sexual immorality in the WAAC.⁴² Gwynne-Vaughan's account of her involvement in the formation of the WAAC, discusses the appointment of 'medical women' and the service they provided, in comparison with the Second World War in which she was similarly involved.⁴³

Overall, apart from a few authors, the literature on women doctors in the First World War is lacking, particularly for those in British military service either attached to the RAMC or in women's services.

⁴¹ Sqn Ldr B.E. Escott, *Women in Air Force Blue: The Story of Women in the Royal Air Force from 1918 to the Present Day* (Wellingborough: Patrick Stephens, 1989); U.S. Mason, *Britannia's Daughters: The Story of the WRNS* (London: Leo Cooper, 1992); S. Philo-Gill, *The Women's Army Auxiliary Corps in France 1917-1921* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword, 2017); D. Shaw, 'The Forgotten Army of Women: The Overseas Service of Queen Mary's Army Auxiliary Corps with the British Forces, 1917-1921' in H. Cecil & P.H. Liddle, *Facing Armageddon: The First World War Experienced* (London: Leo Cooper, 1996), pp. 365-379; J. Stanley, *A History of the Royal Navy: Women and the Royal Navy* (London: Ibtaurus, 2018); R. Terry, *Women in Khaki* (London: Columbus, 1988)

⁴² L. Noakes, *Women in the British Army: War and the Gentle Sex, 1907-1948* (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 61-81

⁴³ Dame H. Gwynne-Vaughan, *Service with the Army* (London: Hutchinson, 1949)

CHAPTER 1

Who were the Women Doctors in the First World War?

This chapter will delineate the backgrounds of women doctors who volunteered for British military medical service in the First World War. As well as women doctors being attached to the RAMC, male and female doctors were also employed as CMPs in military hospitals at home, working alongside them in the same hospitals. As staff records for home military hospitals are minimal, it is difficult to determine how many women doctors worked in home hospitals and under what conditions. There are similar problems with the women doctors who served in women's services. The WAAC was the largest women's service, with the most records, whilst the WRNS and WRAF have fewer. Some individual women doctors from the Dominions will be discussed to highlight their different experiences of British military medical service.

There were 41,972 registered doctors in Britain in 1914, of whom about 1,000 were women.⁴⁴ More than half of these women doctors trained at LSMW, which was established by Dr Sophia Jex-Blake in 1874, and had been staffed and run by women.⁴⁵ Apart from LSMW, no London medical schools accepted women prior to the First World War.⁴⁶ In November 1916, there were about 1,000 female medical students in Britain, the majority at the LMSW and in Edinburgh.⁴⁷ By 1918, several London hospitals accepted women medical students, including Charing Cross Hospital Medical School, which was 'open to men and women students on equal terms'.⁴⁸ The NHW, founded by Dr Elizabeth Garrett Anderson,

⁴⁴ *Medical Directory*, 1918, p. 2; LSE Women's Library Archive (7LGA/3) Endell Street Military Hospital Scrapbook, Press cutting from *Daily Graphic*, p. 48

⁴⁵ *BMJ*, 27 February 1915, p. 396

⁴⁶ Bell, *Storming the Citadel*, pp. 170-1

⁴⁷ LSE WLA (7LGA/3) Endell Street Military Hospital Scrapbook, Press cutting from *Daily Graphic*, p. 48

⁴⁸ *Medical Directory*, 1918, p. 1978

provided LSMW medical students with clinical experience and junior hospital posts once they qualified.⁴⁹ At a meeting of the Guild of the NHW on 31 January 1916, the Chairman:

drew attention to the value of this hospital as a training ground for women... past and present members of staff have been appointed to direct military hospitals at home and abroad, and they have carried out their work with conspicuous success.⁵⁰

In 1914, many British women doctors were in relatively junior posts or those that were less popular with male doctors. They worked as MOs in public health, schools, asylums and in women's health.⁵¹ As more male doctors joined the RAMC, some hospitals appointed women doctors for the first time. The Great Northern Hospital, London was one of the first large general hospitals to appoint women doctors as resident staff.⁵² Women doctors were in such demand that some hospitals 'were willing to pay 50 per cent more than... a few months before.'⁵³ Even though Dr Lucy Naish had not worked in a hospital for years, she was appointed to Sheffield Royal Hospital:

the burden of day to day work was being carried by one senior Resident Physician, two Indian House Physicians, a Belgian refugee medical student and two British medical students who were expecting their call-up papers any day.⁵⁴

London teaching hospitals were driven to appoint women doctors to junior posts, when their male doctors joined the RAMC. Three women doctors were appointed to the London

⁴⁹ Bell, *Storming the Citadel*, pp. 144-5

⁵⁰ LSE WLA (7LGA/3) Endell Street Military Hospital Scrapbook, Press cutting from *Common Cause*, 11 February 1916, p. 19

⁵¹ See Appendices A-G; *Medical Directory*, 1914

⁵² LSE WLA (7LGA/3) Endell Street Military Hospital Scrapbook, Press cutting from *Lloyds Weekly News*, p. 85

⁵³ Brock, *British Women Surgeons*, p. 247

⁵⁴ Wellcome Library (MS/8034) 'Doctor Lucy', unpublished biography of Dr Lucy Naish, p. 175

Hospital in December 1916, when there were 'in London five hospitals entirely officered by women'.⁵⁵ By 1918:

in almost any hospital in the country you will find today a woman 'resident'... at the Royal Free you will find more. There the chief resident medical officer in the hospital is a woman, so are the two house surgeons, the two house physicians, the obstetric assistant, the assistant anaesthetist. All these are comparatively junior appointments. More important still is the fact that the Royal Free was the first and remains the only general hospital at which there are women visiting surgeons, physicians, gynaecologists, anaesthetists and pathologists... One of the residents in the Military Block, in which 150 wounded officers are treated, is a woman.⁵⁶

With a few exceptions, including Endell Street Military Hospital, most women doctors did not work in British military medical service until the appeal for their services was made in 1916.⁵⁷ Many women doctors who worked in voluntary hospital units abroad, volunteered shortly after war broke out.⁵⁸ Some of them later worked in military service, but only three in women's services.⁵⁹ Dr Eleanor Soltau became Medical Controller for WAAC recruiting in Bristol, then Area Controller Southern Command, having been invalided home with diphtheria from the SWH unit at Kraguivatz, Serbia in 1915.⁶⁰ Dr Adeline Campbell also worked at Kraguivatz and subsequently became WAAC Medical Official at the American Hospital in Le Havre.⁶¹ Dr Laura Sandeman, Controller of Medical Services Overseas, had been CMO of the SWH unit at Troyes in France.⁶²

⁵⁵ LSE WLA (7LGA/3) Endell Street Military Hospital Scrapbook, Press cutting from *Daily Chronicle*, 12 December 1916, p. 71

⁵⁶ *Ladies Field*, 30 March 1918, p. 143

⁵⁷ See Appendices A-G

⁵⁸ Crofton, *Angels of Mercy*, p. 10; Thomas and Duck, *Edith and Florence Stoney*, p. 159; Krippner, *The Quality of Mercy*, pp. 29-33

⁵⁹ See Appendix G

⁶⁰ Krippner, *The Quality of Mercy*, p. 55

⁶¹ <https://standrewsrarebooks.wordpress.com/2017/03/07/trailblazing-women-at-the-university-of-st-andrews-a-celebration-for-international-womens-day/> Adeline Herbert Campbell, viewed 22 November 2019

⁶² Leneman, *In the Service of Life*, p. 29

The two women doctors who set up the WHC, which ran hospitals in France and at Endell Street, were important in the subsequent acceptance of women doctors in military medical service. Dr Louisa Garrett Anderson, qualified at LMSW in 1898 and was a surgeon at the NHW and at the Women's Hospital for Children, which she had founded with Dr Flora Murray.⁶³ She was the WHC's chief surgeon, despite her surgical practice having been restricted to women and children, with limited general surgical experience.⁶⁴ Murray qualified at Durham in 1903, was a physician and anaesthetist, and was the WHC administrator.⁶⁵ The first women doctors who went to Paris with the WHC, had trained at LSMW, but were young and inexperienced, all but one having qualified in the previous three years.⁶⁶ 37 women doctors and one dentist worked in the WHC between 1914 and 1919, and apart from a few from the Dominions, most of them trained at LSMW.⁶⁷ All of the four original specialist women doctors appointed to Endell Street trained at LSMW.⁶⁸ Apart from Murray and Garrett Anderson, very few of the doctors who worked at Endell Street did so from its opening in 1915 until closure in 1919.⁶⁹ Approximately 11-15 women doctors worked at Endell Street at any time between 1915-1919, with newly qualified doctors joining as replacements.⁷⁰ Five Australian and one Canadian woman doctor worked there

⁶³ *Medical Directory*, 1914

⁶⁴ Murray, *Women as Army Surgeons*, p. 32

⁶⁵ *Medical Directory*, 1914; Murray, *Women as Army Surgeons*, p. 32

⁶⁶ LSE WL (7LGA/2/1/09) Dr L. Garrett Anderson to Dr E. Garrett Anderson, 27 September 1914; Geddes, 'Women as Army Surgeons', Appendix B

⁶⁷ Geddes, 'Women as Army Surgeons', Appendix B; WL (SA/MWF/C168) Account by Winifred Buckley Endell Street Military Hospital; See Appendix B

⁶⁸ Murray, *Women as Army Surgeons*; *Medical Directory*, 1914

⁶⁹ Geddes, 'Women as Army Surgeons', Appendix B; See Appendix B

⁷⁰ Geddes, 'Women as Army Surgeons', Appendix B; See Appendix B

and medical students from LSMW did so in their holidays.⁷¹ The WHC was an exceptional entity in the way it was regarded by the RAMC so it will be looked at separately in Chapter 2.

The total number of women doctors who worked in military medical service is unknown. Murray quotes 'over four hundred' in her history of the WHC, while *Globe* states that 263 women doctors had Army contracts and 60 were embodied in the WAAC.⁷² The number who worked as CMPs is unknown. When the War Office was asked after the First World War, their reply was that it was unknown, citing the lack of records.⁷³ 129 women doctors are registered as having been attached to the RAMC, working in hospitals at home and abroad, but there are others that are not officially listed.⁷⁴ The women doctors in the Women's Services are harder to identify, but 54 definitely served with the WAAC, four with the WRNS and two in the WRAF, including Dr Letitia Fairfield, who transferred from the WAAC to become head of the WRAF medical services.⁷⁵ The War Office's lack of records perhaps reflects the attitude that women doctors were regarded as a temporary wartime expedient and, like women munitions and other workers, would revert to their former pre-war roles after the Armistice.⁷⁶

The register of women doctors attached to the RAMC, only recorded the year of birth in some cases, so some ages have been estimated.⁷⁷ However, their qualifications are listed in

⁷¹ Geddes, 'Women as Army Surgeons', p. 44; See Appendix B; Letter from Dulcie Staveley in 'The Invisible Light', *The Journal of The Radiology History and Heritage Charitable Trust* (13) (May 2000), quoted in J. Geddes, 'Women as Army Surgeons', p. 44

⁷² Murray, *Women as Army Surgeons*, p. 231; 'Army's Women Doctors', *The Globe*, 28 October 1919, p. 6

⁷³ WL (SA/MWF/C168) World War 1, Retrospective Accounts of service 1937-1967, Secretary, MWF to Dr Lovejoy, 29 December 1953

⁷⁴ MMM RAMC 44 (24/7/359) Army Book 82; See Appendices F and H

⁷⁵ WL (SA/MWF/C168) Notes supplied by Dr Adeline M Roberts OBE; WL (SA/MWF/C168) Dr Jane Turnbull re QMAAC, 16 January 1947; WL (SA/MWF/C168) Account medical services WRNS Dr D. Hare; WL (SA/MWF/C172) Important Documents: Dr Letitia Fairfield; See Appendix G

⁷⁶ G. Braybon and P. Summerfield, *Out of the Cage: Women's Experiences in Two World Wars* (London: Routledge, 2012), p. 130

⁷⁷ MMM RAMC 44 (24/7/359) Army Book 82

the medical directories of each country, some stating their previous jobs.⁷⁸ A significant number of these women doctors had postgraduate qualifications. 62% of the WHC, 35% of those attached to the RAMC and 32% in women's services had at least one.⁷⁹ The larger percentage in the WHC probably reflects Garrett Anderson and Murray's desire to maximise the abilities of the unit, including appointing their own consultants.⁸⁰ This compares with 45% of a sample of male doctors registered with SMSEC in 1916 but is skewed as it excludes those already enlisted.⁸¹

Approximately two thirds of the first 80 women doctors attached to the RAMC and sent to Malta in 1916, were over 30 and of these, over half were over 40, the oldest 55.⁸² They were, therefore, generally more experienced than the later batch of 49 women doctors who were younger.⁸³ At least 9 of the first batch who went to Malta, had already served either with the SWH or another voluntary hospital unit abroad.⁸⁴ Newly qualified Dr Eithne Haigh was in the first batch, and wrote while on her voyage to Malta in October 1916 'they are all senior to me in qualifications, the majority having been qualified over 5 years'.⁸⁵

Some of these British women doctors were extremely experienced, particularly those who had worked abroad. Dr Dorothy Pratt was one of the first women to be attached to the RAMC.⁸⁶ She had been on home leave from India, where she had worked since qualifying in

⁷⁸ *Medical Directory; Butterworth's Medical Directory; New Zealand Gazette; Polk's Medical Register and Directory of North America*

⁷⁹ See Appendix I, Table 1 Postgraduate Qualifications of Women Doctors

⁸⁰ Murray, *Women as Army Surgeons*, pp. 134-5

⁸¹ See Appendix I, Table 2 Postgraduate Qualifications of Male Doctors

⁸² MMM RAMC 44 (24/7/359) Army Book 82, pp. 1-80; *Medical Directory*, 1914; See Appendix A

⁸³ MMM RAMC 44 (24/7/359) Army Book 82, pp. 80-132; *Medical Directory*, 1914; See Appendix A

⁸⁴ <http://www.scarletfinders.co.uk/138.html> List of women who served in SWH, viewed 18 March 2019; Krippner, *The Quality of Mercy*; See Appendix A

⁸⁵ Imperial War Museum Documents (14706, Box No: 67/238/1) Papers of Dr E Haigh, Dr E Haigh to sister Lyle, 3 October 1916

⁸⁶ MMM RAMC 44 (24/7/359) Army Book 82, p. 8

1898, when war broke out.⁸⁷ She had performed more than 10,000 'major' operations, managed cholera and typhoid epidemics, sometimes single-handedly, lectured nurses and administered hospitals.⁸⁸ She was only in Malta for three months, where her tropical diseases experience would have been useful, but her surgical skills were probably underused.⁸⁹ It is unclear why she left, but may have been due to ill health, as she was treated for 'heart strain' while on leave in 1914 and died in 1918.⁹⁰

Origins

The women doctors who volunteered for military medical service came from a range of backgrounds. As 'Irish medical schools routinely produced more graduates than could be absorbed in Ireland', emigration to get jobs was not unusual and this included women doctors.⁹¹ Dr Lily Baker moved to Bristol in 1911 and worked at several hospitals as a surgeon and gynaecologist.⁹² She was, 'the first woman to be appointed a full member of the medical staff of any teaching hospital outside London'.⁹³ In 1914, when the obstetric registrar left for military service, she took over his post at the Bristol Royal Infirmary.⁹⁴ On his return, she joined the WRAF and was their gynaecologist in France, where 'her speciality was the management of the colonels, who were hard to please'.⁹⁵

⁸⁷ WL (SA/MWF/C157) World War 1, ARMW Aug 1914 Subcommittee re War Work, Dr Dorothy Pratt to Secretary ARMW, 22 August 1914

⁸⁸ WL(SA/MWF/C157) Pratt to ARMW, 22 August 1914

⁸⁹ MMM RAMC 44 (24/7/359) Army Book 82, p. 8

⁹⁰ MMM RAMC 44 (24/7/359) Army Book 82, p. 8; WL(SA/MWF/C157) Pratt to ARMW, 22 August 1914; 'Obituary Dr Dorothy Eileen Pratt', *BMJ*, 9 February 1918, p. 192

⁹¹ G. Jones, "'Strike out Boldly for the Prizes that are Available to You': Medical Emigration from Ireland 1860 – 1905', *Medical History*, 54 (1) (2010), pp. 10,12

⁹² 'Obituary Lily A. Baker', *BMJ*, 7 July 1956, p. 48

⁹³ 'Obituary Lily A. Baker', *BMJ*, 7 July 1956, p. 48

⁹⁴ Kelly, *Irish Women*, p. 177

⁹⁵ *BMJ*, 12 February 1927, p.304 quoted in Kelly, *Irish Women*, p. 177

Ireland's doctors, like the rest of the population, supported the war effort irrespective of their political affiliation.⁹⁶ 'By 1918... approximately half of Ireland's medical profession had enlisted in the British Army', which increased job opportunities for Irish women doctors.⁹⁷ 97 women doctors had qualified in Ireland before 1918.⁹⁸ At least 28 Irish women doctors worked in voluntary or military medical service, 24 attached to the RAMC and several in women's services.⁹⁹ By February 1915, Ireland's military hospitals, mostly around Dublin, Belfast and Cork, were 'filled to their utmost capacity' as the number of Irish soldiers had doubled.¹⁰⁰ At least four Irish women doctors attached to the RAMC served in the Irish Command with an unknown number as CMPs.¹⁰¹ Roughly equal numbers of Irish women doctors attached to the RAMC were aged under 30 as were older than that.¹⁰² Those who only worked at military hospitals in Ireland, were over 30, perhaps reflecting their domestic ties.¹⁰³

A small but significant number of women doctors who served in British military medical service came from the Dominions. They shared the same sense of imperial loyalty and identity with Britain in supporting the war, as men enlisting in the Dominion forces.¹⁰⁴ Women doctors from Australia, New Zealand, and Canada generally funded their own

⁹⁶ C. Pennell, *A Kingdom United: Popular Responses to the Outbreak of the First World War in Britain and Ireland* (Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 171

⁹⁷ D. Durnin, 'Irish Medical Migration and the First World War', 30 December 2016 <https://remedianetwork.net/2016/12/30/irish-medical-migration-and-the-first-world-war/> viewed 23 July 2019; Durnin, *The Irish Medical Profession*, p. 30

⁹⁸ Kelly, *Irish Women*, p. 135

⁹⁹ See Appendix C; Kelly, *Irish Women*, Biographical Index, pp. 199 - 238

¹⁰⁰ D. Durnin, 'It is our Duty': *Medical provision and the Irish provision of the First World War*, podcast of seminar delivered 30 March 2016 at UCD Centre for the History of Medicine in Ireland; 'Home hospitals and the War', *BMJ*, 20 February 1915, p. 354

¹⁰¹ MMM RAMC 44 (24/7/359) Army Book 82; See Appendix C

¹⁰² MMM RAMC 44 (24/7/359) Army Book 82; See Appendix C

¹⁰³ MMM RAMC 44 (24/7/359) Army Book 82; See Appendix C

¹⁰⁴ J. Beaumont, 'United we have fought': imperial loyalty and the Australian war effort', *International Affairs*, 90 (2) (2014) pp. 399-400

passages to Britain.¹⁰⁵ However, suffrage was a less important factor to them than in Britain. New Zealand had been the first country to grant women's suffrage in 1893, Australia in 1902 and Canada had limited suffrage from 1900.¹⁰⁶

Before the First World War, many Australia and New Zealand doctors trained and gained post graduate qualifications in Britain.¹⁰⁷ Antipodean women doctors struggled, like their British colleagues, to obtain jobs and gain further experience. In 1915, 129 Australian women doctors were listed in *Butterworth's Medical Directory*.¹⁰⁸ 26 Australian and 6 New Zealand women doctors worked in medical service in the First World War, over half attached to the RAMC.¹⁰⁹ Australian and New Zealand women doctors offered their services to their own military medical services first but were refused, even after the War Office appealed for Australian doctors in early 1915.¹¹⁰ Dr Agnes Bennett was advised 'to go home and knit' in a similar vein to the admonishment given to Scottish Dr Elsie Inglis 'to go home and sit still'.¹¹¹ The Australian branch of the British Red Cross, also refused the services of women doctors.¹¹²

¹⁰⁵ Williams, 'Taking the Long Journey', pp. 51,161-6; See Appendix D

¹⁰⁶ <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/politics/womens-suffrage> viewed 10 September 2019;
<http://archive.ipu.org/wmn-e/suffrage.htm> viewed 10 September 2019;
<https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/suffrage> viewed 23 July 2019

¹⁰⁷ L. Bryder, 'History of Medicine in Australia and New Zealand', in M. Jackson (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of The History of Medicine* (Oxford University Press: 2012 [2011]), p. 313

¹⁰⁸ S.J. Neuhaus, S. Mascall-Dare, *Not for Glory: A century of service by medical women to the Australian Army and its Allies* (Tingalpa: Boolarong Press, 2014), p. 16

¹⁰⁹ Williams, 'Taking the Long Journey', p. 161; See Appendix D;
<https://sites.google.com/site/archoevidence/home/ww1womendoctors> viewed 11 July 2019

¹¹⁰ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 May 1915, p. 5; Williams, 'Taking the Long Journey', p. 46; Whitehead, *Doctors in the Great War*, p. 50; A.M. Mitchell, *Medical Women and the Medical Services of the First World War* (Sydney: Festschrift, 1978), p. 5; *BMJ*, 13 March 1915, p. 488; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 May 1915, p. 5;

¹¹¹ Neuhaus, Mascall-Dare, *Not for Glory*, p. 18; M. Lawrence, *Shadow of Swords: A Biography of Elsie Inglis* (London: Joseph, 1971), p. 98

¹¹² Mitchell, *Medical Women*, p. 9

A few, including Dr Elsie Dalyell and Dr Isabel Ormiston, were already in Britain at the outbreak of war so volunteered for voluntary units in France and Serbia.¹¹³ Dr Laura Hope and her husband had been working in India but volunteered for the SWH and were subsequently captured in Serbia.¹¹⁴ Dr Mabel Murray-Prior was in Hong Kong and initially volunteered as a VAD before training as a doctor in Dublin.¹¹⁵ She then worked at the Royal Herbert Hospital, Woolwich and later in Edinburgh until the Armistice.¹¹⁶ Similarly, Dr Ada McLaren and her doctor husband were working in South Africa, and they both volunteered for the Berry Unit that went to Serbia.¹¹⁷ On their return to England, having been captured and taken prisoners of war, McLaren went to Malta and Egypt attached to the RAMC.¹¹⁸ Dr Elizabeth Hamilton-Browne was appointed medical officer to the boat she travelled to England in, thereby, perhaps, reducing the cost of her passage.¹¹⁹ The women doctors' motives were mixed as Dr Jessie Maddison admitted on writing to the ARMW in London, 'you will understand that apart from patriotic motives it would be an advantage to me to visit England and see the latest work. We are apt to grow rusty out here in private practice'.¹²⁰ The average age, where known, of these Australian and New Zealand doctors, is 36, so they were more experienced with established practices or posts they felt could be left without professional or financial detriment than many of their British counterparts.¹²¹

¹¹³ J. Baker, 'Australian Women Doctors who served in WW1, Looking for the Evidence', Elsie Jean Dalyell and Isabel Ormiston <https://sites.google.com/site/archoevidence/home/ww1womendoctors> viewed 16 March 2019

¹¹⁴ Baker, 'Australian Women Doctors', Laura Margaret Hope, viewed 16 March 2019

¹¹⁵ Baker, 'Australian Women Doctors', Mabel Murray Prior, viewed 16 March 2019

¹¹⁶ Baker, 'Australian Women Doctors', Mabel Murray Prior, viewed 16 March 2019

¹¹⁷ *Ellesmere Guardian*, 3 May 1916, p. 3

¹¹⁸ MMM RAMC 44 (24/7/359) Army Book 82, p. 35

¹¹⁹ *Queensland Times*, 27 November 1915, p. 6

¹²⁰ WL (SA/MWF/C154) Medical Women Overseas, New Zealand c 1916, Dr J. Maddison to The Secretary, ARMW, February 1916

¹²¹ See Appendix D

Dr Agnes Bennett had an exceptional experience. Born in Australia in 1872, she had qualified as a doctor in Edinburgh, but had lived and worked in New Zealand since 1904.¹²² She left New Zealand in May 1915, intending to join a voluntary hospital unit in France set up by several doctors, including Australian, Dr Helen Sexton.¹²³ However, when her ship stopped at Port Said and she saw New Zealand troops, wounded at Gallipoli, being disembarked, she changed her plans.¹²⁴ Leaving the ship, she caught a train to Cairo and offered her services to Major Matthew Holmes, of the NZMC, whom she had known in Wellington.¹²⁵ The army medical services there were strained as, by 31 May 1915, 17,000 British, French and Indian sick and wounded had arrived in Egypt from Gallipoli in the preceding month.¹²⁶ So on 19 May 1915, Holmes attested Bennett for six months with the rank of Captain.¹²⁷



¹²² Archives New Zealand, Passport File R12330053 Bennett, Agnes Elizabeth Lloyd (Dr)

¹²³ P. Russell, 'Sexton, Hannah Mary Helen (1862-1950)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Volume 11, 1988, viewed online 16 September 2019

¹²⁴ Manson, *Doctor Agnes Bennett* p. 72

¹²⁵ Manson, *Doctor Agnes Bennet*, pp. 71-2; Rogers, *With Them Through Hell*, p. 327

¹²⁶ Macpherson, *History*, Volume 3, p. 380

¹²⁷ ANZ (R22432594) Staff - Officers (Medical) appointment - Dr Agnes Bennett to Egyptian Army Hospital, Attestation papers, 19 May 1915

Bennett joined the staff who took over the Egyptian Army Hospital at Pont de Koubbeh in Cairo, to care for New Zealand casualties until No. 2 New Zealand SH arrived on 22 July 1915.¹²⁸ Dr Grace Russell, a New Zealander known to Bennett, had been working as a civilian doctor on the infectious diseases ward at Pont de Koubbeh prior to Bennett's arrival.¹²⁹ Russell, who spoke Arabic, helped facilitate its conversion from an inadequately equipped civilian hospital to a military hospital, before she was moved to an Armenian refugee camp.¹³⁰ Holmes was in charge of five doctors at Pont de Koubbeh, where sometimes 200 wounded were admitted in a single night, so 'he found the services of Dr Agnes Bennett, of Wellington, of much value at Pont de Koubbeh'.¹³¹ Despite having been formally attested, the status of Bennett remained uncertain. There are considerable correspondence and cables in her personnel file, regarding her rank, pay and on whose authority she had been attested.¹³² This was despite approval being sought by the ADMS from the DMS at the time of her appointment.¹³³ This correspondence continued for several months and even included a request for confirmation of her appointment from the Minister of Defence in New Zealand in December 1915.¹³⁴ As a result of this uncertainty, she was not paid for some time. On 31 July 1915, the Paymaster at Base stated:

¹²⁸ Major, Bowerbank, 'New Zealand Hospitals in Egypt', in Lt. H.T.B. Drew, N.Z.E.F. (ed.), *The War Effort of New Zealand* (Auckland: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1923), pp. 113-4

¹²⁹ <http://www.remueraheritage.org.nz/people/dr-grace-de-courcy> viewed 30 September 2019

¹³⁰ <http://www.remueraheritage.org.nz/people/dr-grace-de-courcy> viewed 30 September 2019; Manson, *Doctor Agnes Bennett*, p. 73

¹³¹ 'War & the Surgeon: Return of Major Holmes', *Dominion*, 2 February 1916, p. 5

¹³² ANZ (R22432594) Staff-Officers (Medical) appointment-Dr Agnes Bennett to Egyptian Army Hospital, Letters May-July 1915

¹³³ ANZ (R22432594) Colonel Will, ADMS New Zealand and Australia Division, Zeitoun to DMS Egypt, 20 May 1915; Surgeon Major Paris, ADMS for DMS Cairo to Colonel Will, ADMS New Zealand and Australia Division, Zeitoun, 21 May 1915

¹³⁴ ANZ (R22432594) Extract from Colonel Rhodes' Diary, 21 December 1915

I have made several payments to Dr Bennett totalling £60 but only as advances against any pay that may be approved and she is aware that I cannot pay her captains rate of pay until the appointment to that rank has been verified.¹³⁵

The history of the NZMC states that in relation to the Pont de Koubbeh hospital, 'certain NZMC officers were attached to the staff as early as April 1915' but does not state who they were.¹³⁶ In July 1915, even though the NZMC were 'so short of medical officers', Bennett declined to go as medical officer on a transport of wounded returning home to New Zealand.¹³⁷ Shortly afterwards, Colonel Fenwick ADMS telegraphed that he was 'glad to employ her valuable services at Military Infectious Diseases Hospital. Ask you will retain her in New Zealand Service'.¹³⁸ News about Bennett got back to New Zealand, because when Dr Jessie Maddison approached the DGMS, General Henderson, he was 'unable to get any of us into the Military Hospitals in Egypt or elsewhere, although a woman practitioner has now been appointed to a NZ camp'.¹³⁹

When Bennett moved to the Infectious Diseases Hospital at Choubbrah, she was one of three doctors there and 'her services... much appreciated by Major Prout RAMC the officer commanding the hospital'.¹⁴⁰ Choubbrah treated British, Australian and New Zealand troops evacuated from Gallipoli 'suffering from dysentery, diarrhoea and epidemic jaundice'.¹⁴¹ One of her patients, Lance-Sergeant R.G. Ritchie, wrote that 'Captain Bennett is in charge of

¹³⁵ ANZ (R22432594) Paymaster at Base to ADMS Zeitoun, 31 July 1915

¹³⁶ A. D. Carbery, *The New Zealand Medical Service in the Great War* (Auckland: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1924), p. 73

¹³⁷ ANZ (R23513768) Military Personnel File T. Lloyd Kennion, Lieutenant Colonel Fenwick ADMS New Zealand and Australian Division in Egypt to DMS Headquarters, Wellington, New Zealand, 28 July 1915

¹³⁸ ANZ (R22432594) Cable Colonel Fenwick, ADMS to ADMS New Zealand and Australian Division, Anzac, Gallipoli, 5 August 1915

¹³⁹ WL (SA/MWF/C154) Dr J. Maddison to The Secretary, ARMW, ?February 1916

¹⁴⁰ ANZ (R22432594) DMS The Force in Egypt to Colonel Rhodes, 16 March 1916

¹⁴¹ H. Maclean, *Nursing in New Zealand: History and Reminiscences* (Wellington: Tolan Printing Company, 1932), p. 171; Macpherson, *History*, Volume 3, p. 381

the ward in which I spent my time, and she is really fine'.¹⁴² Although it was officially a British Military Hospital, Bennett was still paid by the NZMC, even after her six months attestation had expired.¹⁴³ Further correspondence ensued regarding possible reimbursement by the War Office after the war was over.¹⁴⁴ At the end of March 1916 Bennett resigned as the work had lessened after Gallipoli was evacuated. This appears to have relieved the military authorities:

the best way to end a long and troublesome matter is to discharge her as from April 4th, with pay of Captain NZMC to that date, any rebate or adjustment in finances to be made later by agreement between the Pay Departments and representatives of the Imperial and New Zealand Governments respectively.¹⁴⁵

Colonel Parkes DDMS noted that she had been 'appointed with the rank and pay of Captain, and never obtained the sanction of either GOC, NZEF or Defence, Wellington'.¹⁴⁶ In accepting her resignation, the GOC wrote that 'he desires to express his very high appreciation of this lady's services to the NZ Expeditionary Force and his great regret that she is leaving it'.¹⁴⁷

After her experiences with the military hierarchy in Egypt, it is perhaps not surprising that, after travelling to Britain, she did not undertake further military medical service. Inglis, who had known her in Edinburgh, persuaded her to become CMO of a SWH unit bound for Salonika.¹⁴⁸ By October 1916 she was 'having a busy time, as owing to the hard fighting going on in the district the Hospital is full. The cases are mostly serious ones, owing to the

¹⁴² 'Tribute to the Nurses', *Dominion*, 29 November 1915, quoted in Manson, *Doctor Agnes Bennett*, p. 76

¹⁴³ Manson, *Doctor Agnes Bennett*, p. 74

¹⁴⁴ ANZ (R22432594) Extract from Colonel Rhodes Diary, 14 March 1916

¹⁴⁵ ANZ (R22432594) Colonel Parkes DDMS NZEF to Commandant NZEF, Headquarters, Cairo, 30 March 1916

¹⁴⁶ ANZ (R22432594) Parkes to Commandant, 30 March 1916

¹⁴⁷ ANZ (R22432594) On behalf GOC to Commandant, Headquarters NZEF in Egypt, Cairo, 6 April 1916

¹⁴⁸ Manson, *Doctor Agnes Bennett*, pp. 78-82

desperate nature of the fighting'.¹⁴⁹ Despite being invalided home after developing malaria in Salonika, Bennett returned to Britain and worked at the Glasgow Infirmary for a few months, then resigned due to overwork.¹⁵⁰ She ended her war service as a CMP at Netley Hospital in Southampton, before returning to New Zealand as MO on the troopship *Paparoa*.¹⁵¹ Bennett has been quoted as being the first women doctor to be commissioned as an Imperial or Dominion military surgeon.¹⁵² However, post war it was confirmed that she was 'not actually commissioned, although graded as a Captain for the purpose of pay, allowances and status generally'.¹⁵³

However, Dr Elizabeth Gunn was definitely commissioned as a Captain in the NZMC on 4 December 1915, although never worked in Egypt as she had hoped.¹⁵⁴ Posted initially to Izzard's Measles Hospital at Trentham, New Zealand she did, however, go to Egypt in March 1916, as MO on the troopship *Tahiti*.¹⁵⁵ Following the return voyage, she went to Trentham Camp where there were outbreaks of measles and other diseases amongst the recruits. However, after developing rheumatism there, she was invalided out in February 1917.¹⁵⁶ Despite her relatively small contribution to military medical service, she received better treatment than her British counterparts. Her gazetting describes her as a temporary Captain, with all her medical qualifications stated and she was granted a full pension for six

¹⁴⁹ LSE WL (7MGF/E/4/03) Papers of Millicent Garrett Fawcett, Scottish Women's Hospitals for Foreign Service, Excerpts for Speakers, 20 October 1916

¹⁵⁰ Manson, *Doctor Agnes Bennett*, pp. 110, 115-7

¹⁵¹ Manson, *Doctor Agnes Bennett*, pp. 118-9

¹⁵² S.J. Neuhaus, 'Australia's female military surgeons of World War 1', *ANZ Journal of Surgery*, 83 (2013), p. 714; Manson, *Doctor Agnes Bennett*, p. 72

¹⁵³ ANZ WW1 3/2062 (R107880085) Personnel File Elizabeth Catherine Gunn, Capt. H.S. Crump to Dr Sinclair, NZMWA, 22 September 1932 quoted in A. Rogers, *With Them Through Hell*, p. 327

¹⁵⁴ ANZ WW1 3/2062 (R107880085) Gunn

¹⁵⁵ ANZ WW1 3/2062 (R107880085) Gunn

¹⁵⁶ ANZ WW1 3/2062 (R107880085) Gunn

months.¹⁵⁷ Surgeon-General Henderson praised her 'extremely good work' for the Defence Department and she was awarded the British War and Victory Medals for her service in the NZMC.¹⁵⁸

These two examples of women doctors in the NZMC, demonstrate that despite underusing their potential, the NZMC hierarchy was capable of slightly fairer treatment than the RAMC. This may have reflected New Zealand's greater willingness to treat women as equals, having already granted them suffrage.

At least 12 Canadian women doctors and one American, worked in British military medical services during the First World War.¹⁵⁹ Six of the Canadians worked for voluntary hospital units in France and Serbia while one worked as a nurse in the CAMC.¹⁶⁰ Dr Margaret Douglass was a Medical Official to the QMAAC.¹⁶¹ The rest, including American Dr Marguerite White, were attached to the RAMC.¹⁶² All of them, apart from one, were over 30 and left established practices or hospital posts.¹⁶³

As women doctors were not accepted in the CAMC, two of the Canadians who entered military medical service did so by enlisting as Nursing Sisters in the CAMC.¹⁶⁴ Dr Margaret Parks of Saint John, New Brunswick, was attested as a Sister in the CAMC on 28 September

¹⁵⁷ ANZ WW1 3/2062 (R107880085) Gunn, *New Zealand Gazette* No 47, 20 April 1916, Elizabeth Catherine Gunn

¹⁵⁸ ANZ WW1 3/2062 (R107880085) Gunn, Surgeon-General Henderson to Capt. E Gunn, 24 August 1916

¹⁵⁹ See Appendix E; Dr. D. Brearley, *Female Physicians: A Directory of short character sketches about female physicians who graduated from the Ontario Medical College for Women in Toronto* (Quinte Branch, Ontario Genealogical Society, 2017)

¹⁶⁰ 'The Lady doctor from Petrolia winner of the Croix de Guerre', *Ontario Medicine*, 2 December 1991, p. 30; Brearley, *Female Physicians*

¹⁶¹ See Appendix E

¹⁶² MMM RAMC 44 (24/7/359) Army Book 82; S. Bhimji and R. Sheinin, 'Dr Edna Guest: She promoted women's issues before it was fashionable', *Canadian Medical Association Journal*, 141 (15 November 1989), p. 1093

¹⁶³ See Appendices E and G

¹⁶⁴ Library and Archives Canada, Soldiers of the First World War, RG 150, Accession 199-3/166, Box 7603-10 Item No 564186 Attestation Papers of Margaret Parks; Box 10492-25 Item No 324837 Attestation Papers of Francis Evelyn Windsor

1914, leaving a 'large and lucrative practice'.¹⁶⁵ She was posted first to the Ontario Military Hospital, Orpington and then to No 1 CCS in France in September 1917.¹⁶⁶ Based at Ruitz, it was shelled and bombed and was evacuated to Pernes on 27 March 1918.¹⁶⁷ Pre-war Parks had been 'the appointed anaesthetist for the St John General Public Hospital'.¹⁶⁸ She was one of 'three CAMC sisters... who were qualified anaesthetists prior to their arrival in France. These ladies did valuable work as anaesthetists with surgical teams in front areas'.¹⁶⁹ The other two 'qualified anaesthetists' were both nurses, although Sister Ona Nicholson is described as a 'graduate nurse' on her attestation form.¹⁷⁰ Parks served as a CAMC nursing sister for four years, and was awarded the Royal Red Cross 2nd Class in October 1917.¹⁷¹ As a CAMC nursing sister, she ranked as an officer and served close to the front line, neither of which she would have been permitted as a woman doctor attached to the RAMC.¹⁷² The difference was that nursing was regarded as natural women's work, so nurses were less threatening to existing gender roles than women doctors.¹⁷³

Dr Frances Windsor from Calgary, also enlisted as a Nursing Sister.¹⁷⁴ She travelled to London with the CAMC, where she was attested on 14 November 1916.¹⁷⁵ However, shortly

¹⁶⁵ *Polk's Medical Register and Directory of United States and Canada* 1914, p. 1761; M. MacBeth, 'Canadian Women in the Professions', *Macleans Magazine*, May 1915, p. 45;

LAC SFWW (CEF 566185a/b) Attestation Papers of Margaret Parks

¹⁶⁶ LAC SFWW (RG 150/199-3/166/7603-10/564186) Personnel File of Margaret Parks

¹⁶⁷ The National Archives (WO 222/2134) Reports on various Army nursing services in France 1914-1918, Report on the Work of the CAMC Nursing Service with the BEF in France, 'The Retreat'

¹⁶⁸ MacBeth, 'Canadian Women', p. 45

¹⁶⁹ TNA (WO 222/2134) Report on the Work of the CAMC Nursing Service with the BEF in France, Special Duties (a) Anaesthetists

¹⁷⁰ LAC SFWW (CEF 252858) Attestation Paper of Martha Jane Stewart; LAC SFWW (CEF 561409) Attestation Paper of Ona Gore Nicholson

¹⁷¹ *London Gazette* Supplement, 24 October 1917, p. 10981

¹⁷² <https://www.warmuseum.ca/firstworldwar/history/people/in-uniform/nurses/> Canada and the First World War, Nurses, viewed 26 November 2019

¹⁷³ Watson, 'War in the Wards', p. 490

¹⁷⁴ LAC SFWW (RG150/199-3/166/10492-25/324837) Attestation Papers of Francis Evelyn Windsor (Incorrect spelling of Frances)

¹⁷⁵ LAC SFWW (RG150/199-3/166/10492-25/324837) Attestation Papers of Francis Evelyn Windsor

afterwards she transferred to the RAMC and worked as a doctor at Endell Street.¹⁷⁶ Dr Electra Wilson came to Britain as her husband was commissioned in the CAMC and worked at Graylingwell War Hospital before going to Malta and Egypt attached to the RAMC.¹⁷⁷ Dr Edna Guest was appointed to Northampton War Hospital in 1916, while on her way home to Canada from working in India.¹⁷⁸ However, by October 1917, she had been appointed CMO of the SWH unit in Ajaccio, Corsica and later worked at their hospital at Royaumont in France.¹⁷⁹ As she ultimately became Chief Surgeon at the Women's College Hospital in Toronto, her later war service made better use of her surgical experience.¹⁸⁰ Dr Marguerite White is the only recorded American woman doctor who was attached to the RAMC.¹⁸¹ She had been an Assistant Surgeon in Chicago and was appointed a surgical specialist attached to the RAMC at St Elmo Hospital in Malta.¹⁸²

The women doctors who served in British military medical service in the First World War had diverse backgrounds and reasons for volunteering. They ranged from the young, newly qualified to older more experienced women doctors. Those from the Dominions shared the same patriotic and moral duty as those in Britain, although were generally older and more experienced. Following the outbreak of war, even though women doctors were rejected by all the Empire's military medical services, some employed novel methods in order to serve.

¹⁷⁶ LAC SFWW (RG150/199-3/166/10492-25/324837) Attestation Papers of Francis Evelyn Windsor; Geddes, 'Women as Army Surgeons', Appendix B

¹⁷⁷ <https://westendvancouver.wordpress.com/biographies-n-z/biographies-w-x-y-z/wilson-albert-arthur/> viewed 26 July 2019

¹⁷⁸ *Canadian Medical Association Journal*, 6 (5) (May 1916), News, Army Medical Services, p. 464

¹⁷⁹ Leneman, *In the Service of Life*, p. 209

¹⁸⁰ Leneman, *In the Service of Life*, p. 209; Bhimji and Sheinin, 'Dr Edna Guest', p. 1093

¹⁸¹ MMM RAMC 44 (24/7/359) Army Book 82, p. 10

¹⁸² https://www.chicago.gov/content/dam/city/depts/zlup/Historic_Preservation/Publications/North_Chicago_Hospital_Building.pdf 'History of the North Chicago Hospital before 1928', pp. 6-7, viewed 22 November 2019; Dr M. White and Colonel Sir Charles Balance, 'A Case of Removal of a rifle bullet from the Right Ventricle of the Heart', *Journal of Royal Army Medical Corps*, 31 (4) (October 1918), pp. 484-496, quoted in <https://www.maltaramc.com/ladydoc/w/whitesm.html>

As the war progressed, some medical services became more receptive to women doctors, as the examples from the NZMC have shown. That the only way women managed to work near the front line in military medical services was as nurses rather than as doctors, reflects the accepted gender roles of the time. The various roles that women doctors played in British military medical service will be expanded further in Chapters 2 and 3.

CHAPTER 2

Women Doctors in British Military Hospitals

This chapter will explore to what extent women doctors were accepted into military medical service in British hospitals in the First World War. It will discuss where they worked, what they did and how far they were accepted by patients and the military medical hierarchy. The WHC, particularly Endell Street, has been widely written about, so the focus will be more on how the WHC's hospitals in France influenced the acceptance of women doctors by the RAMC.¹⁸³ Examples of the few women specialists recognised by the RAMC will be highlighted. The confusion and difficulties resulting from the co-existence of CMPs and women doctors attached to the RAMC in British military hospitals, will also be discussed.

Following the outbreak of the First World War, the ARMW formed a subcommittee to consider women doctors' contribution to the war and asked their members if they were willing to offer their services to the war effort.¹⁸⁴ The subcommittee felt, 'that medical women will probably be needed for civilian work rather than for work directly connected with the army'.¹⁸⁵ Women doctors took over posts vacated by male doctors who had volunteered (including those of their husbands), vacant posts at local hospitals or offered to provide additional medical services free.¹⁸⁶ Several women doctors offered their services directly to the War Office and the British Red Cross, but were rejected.¹⁸⁷ So, instead, they founded voluntary hospital units to help Britain's allies. Dr Elsie Inglis set up the largest, the SWH, which was supported by the Scottish Federation of NUWSS, and sent units to France,

¹⁸³ Geddes, 'Women as Army Surgeons'; Leneman, 'Medical Women in the First World War', pp. 1592-1594

¹⁸⁴ WL (SA/MWF/C157) K. Haslam, Secretary to members, 14 August 1914

¹⁸⁵ WL (SA/MWF/C157) Haslam to members, 14 August 1914

¹⁸⁶ WL (SA/MWF/C158) World War 1, Odd Letters re War Work 1914

¹⁸⁷ *Common Cause*, 12 February 1915, p. 708

Serbia, Romania and Russia.¹⁸⁸ Others, including the Stobart Units, were accepted by the Belgian and Serbian Red Cross.¹⁸⁹ By the summer of 1915, 50 British women doctors were working in voluntary units in Serbia alone.¹⁹⁰

Dr Garrett Anderson and Dr Murray decided against offering their services to the War Office, due to their well-publicised history as militant suffragettes.¹⁹¹ Garrett Anderson had been sentenced to six weeks imprisonment with hard labour in 1912 for breaking a window.¹⁹² Murray had treated members of WSPU, including Mrs Pankhurst, injured after demonstrations or suffering the after-effects of prison hunger strikes.¹⁹³ They founded the WHC, a voluntary hospital unit, with donations mainly from suffrage supporters, that raised £2,000 within a fortnight.¹⁹⁴ The unit was accepted by the French Army, under the auspices of the French Red Cross, and in September 1914 the WHC opened a hospital in the Hôtel Claridge in Paris for French wounded.¹⁹⁵

However, their arrival coincided with the chaotic arrangements for the evacuation of wounded from the Battles of the Marne and Aisne.¹⁹⁶ Trains carrying British wounded to hospitals in Nantes, St Nazaire and Le Mans, offloaded some of the most serious cases at stations around Paris.¹⁹⁷ Some were brought to the Hôtel Claridge and Garrett Anderson even collected some herself, 'they had been there 1-3 days – a nice Scotch doctor wrung my

¹⁸⁸ Leneman, *In the Service of Life*, pp. 2-4; Lady F. Balfour, *Dr Elsie Inglis* (London: Cosimo, 2006 [1918]), p. 153

¹⁸⁹ M. H. Ivens, 'The Part Played by British Medical Women in the War', *BMJ*, 18 August 1917, p. 203; Krippner, *The Quality of Mercy*, pp. 28-35

¹⁹⁰ Krippner, *The Quality of Mercy*, p. 91

¹⁹¹ Murray, *Women as Army Surgeons*, pp. 4-5

¹⁹² LSE WL (7LGA/1/1) Papers of Louisa Garrett Anderson, Press cutting from *Daily Telegraph*, 6 March 1912

¹⁹³ *Suffragette*, 16 April 1915, p. 13; *Suffragette*, 24 July 1914, p. 257

¹⁹⁴ Murray, *Women as Army Surgeons*, p. 7; WL (SA/MWF/C168) Dr W.F. Buckley, 'Account of Military Hospital, Endell Street', 14 November 1946; LSE WL (7GLS) Papers of Gertrude Lind Setchfield 1914-1919, Diary 1914, pp. 13-14

¹⁹⁵ LSE WL (7LGA/2/2/1) Letters regarding Women's Hospital Corps, Paris, France, M. Brasier de Thuy to Sir Claude MacDonald, 2 September 1914

¹⁹⁶ Macpherson, *History Volume 2*, pp. 290-302; Harrison, *The Medical War*, pp. 23-26

¹⁹⁷ Harrison, *The Medical War*, p. 49; Murray, *Women as Army Surgeons*, p. 26

hand and said he was thankful to have them taken away.¹⁹⁸ She thought the RAMC organisation:

seems v defective... but the numbers are enormous and the severity of the wounds so great that the plan is impracticable. Civilian help was absolutely necessary.¹⁹⁹

On visiting Braisnes near the front line, Garrett Anderson was so shocked at the conditions of British wounded in a church, that she brought two back to Paris.²⁰⁰ Instead of wounded Frenchmen, 'during September and the first half of October the wards were occupied primarily by British wounded.'²⁰¹ The hospital treated officers and men, the former 'are all most appreciative about the Hospital' and told a visitor 'it was the best run hospital they had ever been in'.²⁰² Garrett Anderson was pleased to 'get unique surgical experience' even though they were 'working incessantly from 8am-11pm or later'.²⁰³ Despite the hard work, Garrett Anderson was:

much rested mentally... after years of unpopularity over the suffrage it is very exhilarating to be on the top of the wave, helped and approved by everyone... while all the time we are still doing suffrage work – or women's work – in another form.²⁰⁴

The WHC impressed the medical hierarchy. After Colonel Stone had inspected the Auxiliary Hospitals taking British wounded, he 'put us first', while Lord Esher 'melted when we took

¹⁹⁸ LSE WL (7LGA/2/1/06) Women's Hospital Corps, Letters from Women's Hospital Corps, Paris, France, Dr L. Garrett Anderson to Dr E. Garrett Anderson, 17 September 1914

¹⁹⁹ LSE WL (7LGA/2/1/17) Dr L. GA to Alan Garrett Anderson, 27 September 1914

²⁰⁰ LSE WL (7LGA/2/1/17) Dr L. GA to Alan GA, 27 September 1914

²⁰¹ Murray, *Women as Army Surgeons*, p. 78

²⁰² LSE WL (7LGA/2/1/09) Dr L. GA to Dr E. GA, 27 September 1914; LSE WL (7LGA/2/1/10) Dr L. GA to Dr E. GA, 28 September 1914

²⁰³ LSE WL (7LGA/2/1/08) Dr L. GA to Dr E. GA, 22 September 1914; LSE WL (7LGA/2/1/17) Dr L. GA to Alan GA, 27 September 1914

²⁰⁴ LSE WL (7LGA/2/1/09) Dr L. GA to Dr E. GA, 27 September 1914

him round the wards and he talked to the men and officers'.²⁰⁵ Lieutenant-Colonel Guy Stephen later stated that they 'had done some excellent work after the Battle of the Marne'.²⁰⁶

In October 1914, when Boulogne became 'a medical base and evacuation port', the RAMC asked the WHC to open another hospital at Chateau Mauricien in Wimereux.²⁰⁷ It was attached to the 14th SH, so they could indent for rations and other military supplies.²⁰⁸ Garrett Anderson found the RAMC there 'most helpful and generous' and they had a friendly visit from Esher.²⁰⁹ Dr Hazel Cuthbert described the British wounded there as 'always courteous, grateful and wonderfully philosophical'.²¹⁰ Garrett Anderson received many letters of thanks, including one from a widow thanking her for the 'careful and devoted attention' she had given her husband.²¹¹ When the suffragette, Evelyn Sharp, visited the WHC hospital in Wimereux she described it as:

a triumph for the militant movement that these two doctors, who had been prominent members of the WSPU were the first to break down the prejudices of the British War Office against accepting the services of women surgeons.²¹²

Concurrently, two junior WHC doctors, Dr Marjorie Blandy and Dr Rosalie Jobson, were 'lent' to the RAMC for six months to work at the 13th SH.²¹³ Housed 'in old sugar warehouses

²⁰⁵ LSE WL (7LGA/2/1/15) Dr L. GA to Dr E. GA, October 1914; LSE WL (7LGA/2/1/17) Dr L. GA to Alan GA, 27 September 1914

²⁰⁶ Murray, *Women as Army Surgeons*, pp. 25,48-51; Lt. Col. G. N. Stephen, 'Notes on the History of Boulogne as a Military Medical Base', *Journal of Royal United Services Institution*, 63 (454) (1919), p. 276

²⁰⁷ Stephen, 'Notes on the History of Boulogne', p. 272; Murray, *Women as Army Surgeons*, p.90

²⁰⁸ *Common Cause*, 12 May 1916, p. 59; LSE WL (7LGA/2/1/21) Dr L. GA to Alan GA, 15 November 1914

²⁰⁹ LSE WL (7LGA/2/1/22) Dr L. GA to Ivy Anderson, 17 November 1914; LSE WL (7LGA/2/1/23) Dr L. GA to Alan GA, 28 November 1914

²¹⁰ 'Women doctors and the War', *BMJ*, p. 354

²¹¹ LSE WL (7LGA/2/1) Mrs E. Toms to Dr L. GA, undated

²¹² E. Sharp, *Unfinished Adventures: Selected Reminiscences from an Englishwoman's Life* (London: Faber and Faber, 2009 [1933]), p. 159

²¹³ Murray, *Women as Army Surgeons*, p. 86

near the Gare Maritime on the Boulogne docks' the staff were 'hopelessly shorthanded'.²¹⁴ The two doctors worked, 'each having 15 beds allotted to her', while the WHC 'maintained them, the Army accepting their services gratis'.²¹⁵ The *BMJ* reported that 'some heavy engagements threw a considerable strain on the military hospitals', while Stephen's history of Boulogne's military hospitals stated that the WHC had 'a larger staff than it required for its own purposes', so the two doctors were used as 'reinforcements'.²¹⁶ Stephen does, however, accept that 13th SH's work 'was extraordinarily heavy', and was not as busy again until the Battle of the Somme in 1916.²¹⁷ The two doctors impressed Kate Finzi, a Red Cross Nurse at 13th SH. 'The lady doctors have been invaluable, their zeal unflagging. They are splendid operators, and in the midst of the worst rushes never careless'.²¹⁸

Lieutenant General Sir Alfred Keogh was key to the acceptance of women doctors in military medical services. Having retired as DGMS in 1910, following the outbreak of war, he was appointed Chief Commissioner of the St John's Ambulance Association and the British Red Cross in France.²¹⁹ Witnessing the inadequate army medical arrangements in France, he utilised the voluntary services to establish hospitals, ambulances and hospital trains, before being recalled to England as DGMS.²²⁰ Esher wrote to Garrett Anderson:

I have urged very strongly on Sir A Keogh and the Red X Council that no one has done more splendid work, and that were I wounded, I would prefer your hospital to any I have seen: and I have seen most! It would be

²¹⁴ J. Harbison, 'The 13th Stationary/83rd (Dublin) General Hospital, Boulogne, 1914-1919', *Journal Royal College of Physicians Edinburgh*, 45 (2015), p. 230; 'Women doctors and the War', *BMJ*, 20 February 1915, p. 354

²¹⁵ Murray, *Women as Army Surgeons*, pp. 86-7

²¹⁶ *BMJ*, 27 February 1915, p.392; Stephen, 'Notes on the History', p. 282

²¹⁷ Stephen, 'Notes on the History', p. 284

²¹⁸ Diary of Kate Finzi, 1 November 1914, quoted in Powell, *Women in the War Zone*, p. 86

²¹⁹ Lt. Col. R. K. May (Retd.), 'The Forgotten General', *British Army Review* (76) (1984), pp. 51,56

²²⁰ May, 'The Forgotten General', pp. 56-7; 'The British Red Cross Society' *BMJ*, 26 September 1914, p. 554; 'Memoir Lieutenant-General Sir Alfred Keogh', *Annals of Surgery*, October 1937, pp. 798

a disaster for our poor fellows if your sympathetic handling of them were withdrawn.²²¹

Lord Kitchener had also seen the WHC hospitals in France and 'after visiting the men and talking with them had revised his opinion' of women doctors.²²² So when Garrett Anderson and Murray met Keogh at the War Office, 'he had heard nothing but good' about them.²²³ He asked them to run a military hospital at Endell Street in London, while closing the Wimereux hospital, Paris having already closed.²²⁴ Despite speaking publicly about this, Keogh had some misgivings.²²⁵ Frederick Marsh, Professor of Surgery at Cambridge, had sent Keogh a copy of an article he had written on the 'Scarcity of Doctors'.²²⁶ Marsh felt that women made 'ideal medical students, impressive doctors and exceptional surgeons'.²²⁷ Keogh replied that he was 'very glad to hear that you agree with my revolutionary proposal to entrust the working of a large military hospital to medical women. I hope they won't let me down!'²²⁸

Meanwhile, Keogh arranged for Garrett Anderson, Murray and their administrator to attend an administration course at Queen Alexandra Military Hospital, Millbank.²²⁹ However, after Garrett Anderson and Murray encountered obstructive RAMC officers, Keogh allowed them to take charge of the hospital themselves.²³⁰ Their militaristic leadership style was effective but not always popular. Dr Vera Scantlebury Brown, one of the youngest doctors there, found it off-putting having been the senior medical officer at the Children's Hospital in

²²¹ LSE WL (7LGA/2/128(11) Lord Esher to Louisa Garrett Anderson, 14 January 1915

²²² LSE WL (7LGA/3) Endell Street Military Hospital Scrapbook, Press cutting from *Nursing Times*, 17 June 1916, p. 33

²²³ Murray, *Women as Army Surgeons*, p. 114

²²⁴ Murray, *Women as Army Surgeons*, p. 115

²²⁵ *The Times*, 19 February 1915 quoted in Murray, *Women as Army Surgeons*, pp. 118-9

²²⁶ CRL (EB/37) Barling album, Alfred Keogh to Frederick Marsh, 2 March 1915

²²⁷ Brock, *British Women Surgeons*, p. 248

²²⁸ CRL (EB/37) Keogh to Marsh, 2 March 1915

²²⁹ Murray, *Women as Army Surgeons*, p. 128

²³⁰ Murray, *Women as Army Surgeons*, pp. 126-130

Melbourne.²³¹ Murray and Garrett Anderson's driving force behind Endell Street was to promote suffrage through their work and several senior doctors and volunteers were also active suffragettes.²³² The hospital's motto, 'Deeds not Words', was the same as WSPU's.²³³ Murray lectured the staff on suffrage and in 1917 eleven Endell Street doctors signed the petition to have the grille removed from the Ladies Gallery in the House of Commons.²³⁴ However, some doctors were less dedicated to suffrage. Dr Eleanor Bourne felt they 'regarded the Australians as rather luke-warm in the suffrage cause'.²³⁵ Fellow Australian, Scantlebury Brown, observed that she was 'in the midst of very militant suffragettes'.²³⁶ Endell Street celebrated when the Representation of the People Act was passed in January 1918, although the younger women, still denied the vote, were 'a little patronising in their congratulations'.²³⁷

Compared to other British military hospitals, the Endell Street women doctors were exceptional, in being paid the same rates as male doctors in the RAMC. 'The officers at Endell St were graded but not commissioned. Dr Murray ranked as Lt. Colonel, I as Major; others as Captains or Lieutenant for purposes of pay and allowances.'²³⁸

²³¹ H. Sheard, 'They will both go to heaven and have crowns and golden harps': Dr Vera Scantlebury Brown and Female Leadership in a First World War Military Hospital', in F. Davis, N. Musgrove and J. Smart (eds.), *Founders, Firsts and Feminists: Women Leaders in Twentieth-century Australia* (eScholarship Research Centre, University of Melbourne, 2011), p.94

²³² B. Harraden, 'Preface', Murray, *Women as Army Surgeons*, p.x; Geddes, 'Women as Army Surgeons', Appendix B

²³³ Murray, *Women as Army Surgeons*, p. 139

²³⁴ Quoted in Geddes, 'Deeds and Words', p. 85; LSE WL (2LSW/E/03/7) List of signatories 1917 petition to Sir Alfred Mond, First Commissioner of Works asking to remove grille from Ladies Gallery in House of Commons

²³⁵ State Library of Queensland, Accession No. OM81-130 Eleanor Bourne Papers 'Reminiscence', p. 1, viewed 16/9/19

²³⁶ Quoted in Geddes, 'Deeds and Words', p. 85

²³⁷ Murray, *Women as Army Surgeons*, pp. 206-7

²³⁸ WL (SA/MWF/C168) Dr L. GA to Dr Kelynack, 18 October 1937

Endell Street eventually had 573 beds, with 114 affiliated beds at its three auxiliary hospitals, all for Other Ranks.²³⁹ Following the start of the Battle of the Somme, Endell Street admitted 300 wounded and the hospital was 'perhaps the most popular in London'.²⁴⁰ Garrett Anderson operated 'for twelve hours on end, only ceasing her labours for necessary food' and was said to 'have operated over twenty eight thousand times while she was at Endell Street'.²⁴¹ Murray was the commanding officer of the hospital and also a skilled anaesthetist, her patients having no 'unpleasant consequences' afterwards.²⁴² The *Daily Graphic* noted that 'the work here of these women doctors... is probably heavier than at an ordinary military hospital, for the reason that the staff is small'.²⁴³

Women medical students from LMSW attended Endell Street, 'obtaining unique experience'.²⁴⁴ Dr Dulcie Staveley worked in the X-ray department as a student, 'I was expected to take the X-rays of anything that turned up except skulls... I certainly enjoyed the fortnight I had in Endell St.'²⁴⁵ Discipline at Endell Street was good as orderly Nina Last recalled:

During the whole time my sister and I were at Endell St, we were treated perfectly by the men. They did not appear to object to being looked after by women and responded by being gentle and patient. The only time we had trouble was in 1918 when a party of American wounded proved to be most truculent and undisciplined.²⁴⁶

²³⁹ Murray, *Women as Army Surgeons*, p. 137

²⁴⁰ LSE WL (7LGA/3) Endell Street Military Hospital Scrapbook, Press cutting from *Daily Sketch*, 6 July 1916, p. 34

²⁴¹ LSE WL (7LGA/3) Endell Street Military Hospital Scrapbook, Press cutting from *Daily Mail*, 22 August 1916, p. 39; LSE WL (7NLA/1/016) Papers of Nina Last, Writings of Nina Courage, orderly (nee Last), p. 12

²⁴² LSE WL (7NLA/1/016) Nina Last, p. 12

²⁴³ LSE WL (7LGA/3) Endell Street Military Hospital Scrapbook, Press cutting from *Daily Graphic*, p. 48

²⁴⁴ LSE WL (7LGA/3) Endell Street Military Hospital Scrapbook, Press cutting from *Daily Chronicle*, 25 April 1916, p. 27

²⁴⁵ Letter from Dr Dulcie Staveley in 'The Invisible Light', *The Journal of The Radiology History and Heritage Charitable Trust*, (13) (May 2000), p. 9, quoted in Geddes, 'Women as Army Surgeons', p. 44

²⁴⁶ LSE WL (7NLA/1/016) Nina Last, p. 14

Endell Street received plenty of coverage including photos, in newspapers at home and abroad, and in suffrage publications.²⁴⁷ The *Daily Chronicle* wrote that it was 'a triumph not only for women in medicine, but for women in administration.'²⁴⁸ Soldiers had heard about Endell Street, 'I asked to come here: they told me on the other side I'd be well looked to'.²⁴⁹

Australian Private Crouch told the *Sydney Daily Telegraph*:

the management is good, and the surgeons take great interest in and pains with their patients. They will persevere for months with a shattered limb, before amputation, to try and save it... the whole hospital is a triumph for women.²⁵⁰

By December 1916, Keogh was convinced 'that whether as physicians or surgeons women were the equal of men'.²⁵¹ He wrote to Garrett Anderson in January 1918, 'I should have been an object of scorn and ridicule if you had failed... your success has probably done more for the cause of women than anything else I know of.' However, Keogh still refused permission for voluntary hospital units to help the RAMC in Egypt and Mesopotamia, remaining adamant that women doctors should not be near the front line.²⁵²

In recognition of their service, the Endell Street staff and those who had worked at Wimereux were eligible for standard First World War medals. Several Endell Street doctors were awarded the OBE or CBE, including Murray and Garrett Anderson who got the CBE in

²⁴⁷ 'Medical Women of the War', *Globe*, 12 November 1919, p. 11; 'Women's Franchise', *Auckland Star*, 30 May 1917, p. 8; 'In a Woman's Hospital', *Queensland Figaro*, 27 November 1915, p. 2

²⁴⁸ LSE WL (7LGA/3) Endell Street Military Hospital Scrapbook, Press cutting from *Daily Chronicle*, 25 April 1916, p. 27

²⁴⁹ LSE WL (7LGA/3) Endell Street Military Hospital Scrapbook, Press cutting from *Daily Mail*, 22 August 1916, p. 39

²⁵⁰ LSE WL (7LGA/3) Endell Street Military Hospital Scrapbook, Press cutting from *Sydney Daily Telegraph*, 19 November 1915, p. 1

²⁵¹ LSE WL (7LGA/3) Endell Street Military Hospital Scrapbook, Press cutting from *The Standard*, 13 December 1916, p. 72

²⁵² Powell, *Women in the War Zone*, p. 207; Leneman, 'Medical Women at War', p. 168; Leneman, *In the Service of Life*, pp. 56-57

1917.²⁵³ Although Garrett Anderson and Murray's careers faded after the First World War, they felt that Endell Street had been influential in achieving suffrage. Murray 'literally gave her life for the wounded and did not live long after the Armistice.'²⁵⁴

Military Hospitals

The number of military hospital beds in Britain expanded rapidly during the First World War to cope with the huge number of BEF casualties. The existing 7,000 military hospital beds, had increased to 364,133 beds by the Armistice.²⁵⁵ The RAMC was short of doctors, so granted temporary commissions to male doctors and employed civilian doctors as CMPs who:

could carry on private practice and could not be moved from their homes. They were given no rank, had no prospect of promotion and were not entitled to wear uniform or to draw ration allowance.²⁵⁶

From November 1916 onwards, at least 43 women doctors worked in home hospitals attached to the RAMC and later another 33 of those who had originally been sent to Malta.²⁵⁷ A handful of women doctors were appointed as specialists in home hospitals, but they were exceptional.

By 1914, Dr Florence Stoney 'had thirteen years' experience as a consultant radiologist'.²⁵⁸ After the War Office refused her offer of service, including a mobile X-ray unit, she was appointed CMO of a Stobart unit in Belgium that treated British and Belgian wounded.²⁵⁹

General Stainforth was 'much satisfied' after visiting the unit and British Consul-General, Sir

²⁵³ Geddes, 'Women as Army Surgeons', p. 59

²⁵⁴ LSE WL (7NLA/1/016) Nina Last, p. 14

²⁵⁵ Macpherson, *History*, Volume 1, p. 71

²⁵⁶ L. Fairfield, 'Women Doctors in the British Forces 1914-1918 War', *Journal of the Medical Women's Federation*, (49) (1967), p. 99

²⁵⁷ See Appendices A and F

²⁵⁸ 'Obituary Florence A. Stoney', *BMJ*, 15 October 1932, p. 734

²⁵⁹ F. Stoney, 'The Hospital Stobart in Antwerp 2', *Votes for Women*, 6 November 1914, p. 45

Cecil Hertslet deemed it 'the best of the hospitals in Antwerp'.²⁶⁰ After escaping the fall of Antwerp after 'eighteen hours under heavy shell fire', Stoney was awarded the 1914 Star with clasp.²⁶¹ Few women received this medal, as it was only awarded to those who had served under fire between 5 August and 22 November 1914.²⁶² Unusually, her medal was 'approved by Admiralty', as the Royal Marines and RND had fought in Antwerp.²⁶³ Keogh must have heard about Stoney, because in March 1915, she was appointed 'head of the radiological department of the Fulham Military Hospital'.²⁶⁴ She became the first woman doctor appointed to a military hospital, before Endell Street opened.²⁶⁵

Fulham Military Hospital had 1,130 beds for Other Ranks only, and it has been suggested that this was why her appointment was sanctioned.²⁶⁶ Women doctors were viewed as 'socially disturbing' to the rigid class structure and 'subordinate in status to men'.²⁶⁷ The general expectation was that 'doctors... were expected to be men', as women doctors were 'the physicians exclusively of women and children,' so it was inappropriate for them to treat male officers of similar social class and education.²⁶⁸ She was the only woman doctor out of 44 doctors who worked at Fulham Military Hospital during the First World War who were commemorated in a humorous poem.²⁶⁹ Her entry was, 'Miss Stoney will tell by her rays and

²⁶⁰ F. Stoney, 'The Hospital Stobart in Antwerp 1', *Votes for Women*, 30 October 1914, p. 37; Thomas and Duck, *Edith and Florence Stoney*, p. 161

²⁶¹ Diary S. Macnaughtan, quoted in Powell, *Women in the War Zone*, p. 49; Thomas and Duck, *Edith and Florence Stoney*, Photograph of 'Florence's World War 1 medals', p. 286

²⁶² <http://www.kingsownmuseum.com/medalsh.htm> viewed 11 December 2019

²⁶³ Macpherson, *History*, Vol 2, p. 314; TNA (WO 372/23/39834) Medal Card Florence Stoney

²⁶⁴ Thomas and Duck, *Edith and Florence Stoney*, p. 164; Obituary Florence A. Stoney, *BMJ*, 15 October 1932, p. 734

²⁶⁵ Thomas and Duck, *Edith and Florence Stoney*, p. 167

²⁶⁶ Macpherson, *History*, Volume 1, p. 82; Thomas and Duck, *Edith and Florence Stoney*, p. 168

²⁶⁷ Watson, 'War in the Wards: Britain', p. 488; P. Summerfield, 'Gender and War in the Twentieth Century', *The International History Review*, 19 (1) (1997), p. 5

²⁶⁸ 'Women Doctors', *The Times*, 22 January 1915

²⁶⁹ MMM (RAMC/CF/4/3/135/FULH) Commemorative album 'To Lieut. Colonel Parsons RAMC Fulham Military Hospital 1915-1919, 'The Fulham Hospital Alphabet''

their light what has become of your false teeth tonight'.²⁷⁰ Her skill in 'the localization of bullets and pieces of shrapnel', pioneered with the Stobart units, was widely utilised and 'more than 15,000 cases passed through her hands' including from other hospitals.²⁷¹ Stoney also organised therapeutic 'x-ray, high frequency treatment and vibratory massage' and successfully used X-ray treatment on cases of 'soldier's heart' due to Graves' disease.²⁷² Stoney actively participated in the hospital's fortnightly clinical meetings, including her contention that a case of pulmonary fibrosis was caused by syphilis rather than tuberculosis.²⁷³ In a case report, Lieutenant John Lee noted that, 'after consultation with Dr Florence Stoney', he removed a piece of metal from a patient's brain, thanking her 'for her excellent skiagrams and help with the screen'.²⁷⁴

In August 1914, Dr Barrie Lambert organised 'a scheme for massage to the wounded which has been passed by the War Office and the Red X'.²⁷⁵ After inspecting her clinic, Keogh deemed it 'the best thing of its kind he had seen'.²⁷⁶ She was graded as a Major, 'entitled to wear the RAMC badge' and was in overall charge of the Almeric Paget Massage Corps providing massage units to military and convalescent hospitals.²⁷⁷ When Oakbank Hospital in Glasgow was made a War Hospital in 1915, Dr Everett Maclaren, head of bacteriology,

²⁷⁰ MMM (RAMC/CF/4/3/135/FULH) 'The Fulham Hospital Alphabet'

²⁷¹ Obituary Florence A. Stoney, *BMJ*, 15 October 1932, p. 734; M.L. Ramsay and F.A. Stoney, 'Anglo-French Hospital, No 2, Chateau Tourlaville, Cherbourg', *BMJ*, 5 June 1915, p. 969

²⁷² M. H. Ivens, 'The Part played by British Medical Women in the War', *BMJ*, 18 August 1917, p. 203; F.A. Stoney, 'The 'Soldier's Heart' and its relation to Thyroidism', *BMJ*, 13 May 1916, p. 706

²⁷³ 'Report Fulham Military Hospital', *Journal of Royal Army Medical Corps*, XXVI (2) (February 1916), p. 244; 'Report Fulham Military Hospital', *Journal of Royal Army Medical Corps*, XXVI (5) (May 1916), p. 676; Thomas and Duck, *Edith and Florence Stoney*, pp. 169-70

²⁷⁴ Lieutenant J. R. Lee, RAMC 'A Case of Gun-shot wound of the head with a piece of shrapnel in the brain; value of the use of an electro-magnet and X-Ray screen for removal', *Journal of Royal Army Medical Corps*, XXVI (1) (January 1916), pp. 105-6

²⁷⁵ WL (SA/MWF/C158) Dr B. Lambert to Dr Haslam, 18 August 1914

²⁷⁶ WL (SA/MWF/C168) Dr B. Lambert to Miss Rew, 8 February 1947

²⁷⁷ WL (SA/MWF/C168) Dr B. Lambert to Miss Rew, 8 February 1947; Macpherson, *History*, Volume 1, pp. 142-3; Leneman, 'Medical Women at War', p. 171

was paid as a Captain.²⁷⁸ However, others were refused specialist pay. Dr McIlroy, at the Ophthalmic Centre in Scarborough, was told that only 'commissioned officers could get specialists pay and that those in ophthalmic centres did not get this pay – only those working in hospitals as surgeons'.²⁷⁹ She was 'reluctantly compelled on economic grounds, to resign' despite liking the work and the male orderlies she worked with.²⁸⁰ Subsequently, as a CMP at Stobhill Hospital, Glasgow, McIlroy's attempts to change her contract were refused by the DDMS in Edinburgh, as 'the change did not appear to be of any benefit to the service'.²⁸¹

The 4th Southern GH in Plymouth is one of the few military hospitals for which records survive.²⁸² It had 292 available beds when the first convoy of sick and wounded arrived from France on 30 August 1914.²⁸³ By 'February 1st 1918... the medical staff consisted of an Administrator, 4 Medical Officers in charge of sections, 10 doing general duty and 7 Civil Medical Practitioners'.²⁸⁴ Six women doctors attached to the RAMC and two part time women CMPs worked there at various times.²⁸⁵ Male doctors, nurses and VADs who joined or were posted from the hospital are listed in the hospital gazettes, but not women doctors.²⁸⁶

²⁷⁸ Leneman, 'Medical Women at War', p. 171

²⁷⁹ WL (SA/MWF/C164) World War 1, Commissions in the Army 1918-1919, Dr McIlroy to Mrs Vince, MWF, 13 July 1918

²⁸⁰ WL (SA/MWF/C160) World War 1, Dr Walker's Letter to *The Times* 3 July 1918, Dr McIlroy to Mrs Vince, 19 August 1918; WL (SA/MWF/C164) Dr McIlroy to Mrs Vince, 13 July 1918

²⁸¹ WL (SA/MWF/C161) World War 1, General 1918-1919, Dr H. McIlroy to Mrs Vince, 30 November 1918

²⁸² Plymouth & West Devon Record Office (3642/4164) 4th Southern General Hospital, Plymouth: History of the Hospital during the Great War 1914-1918, p. 3

²⁸³ PWDRO (3642/4164) 4th Southern GH, Plymouth: History, p. 1

²⁸⁴ PWDRO (3642/4164) 4th Southern GH, Plymouth: History, p. 3

²⁸⁵ MMM 44 (24/7/359) Army Book 82; WL (SA/MWF/C163) World War 1, Commissions in the Army (for women doctors) 1917-1918, Dr M. Ramsay to MWF, undated

²⁸⁶ PWDRO (3642/569) 4th Southern General Hospital Gazette, 1916-17

By June 1917, the hospital had 1,356 beds in four sections, including 161 beds for light cases at Camel's Head where Dr Henrietta Trevithick was the MO in charge.²⁸⁷ She had been attached to the RAMC since November 1916.²⁸⁸ When Camel's Head had over 100 occupied beds, she was sent an assistant, but otherwise 'had sole medical charge of the patients in addition to the Administrative work'.²⁸⁹ She was on duty seven days a week and apart from 48 hours, had no leave in the ten months she worked at the 4th Southern GH, up to September 1917.²⁹⁰ One of Dr Trevithick's patients, an Australian, E.W. Armstrong, wrote in the hospital gazette, 'I desire on behalf of my brother comrades and myself, to thank the Medical Officer-in-charge for her kind attention in restoring us to our present state of health.'²⁹¹ Headquarters staff were 'well-pleased' with her work and discipline was maintained despite her lack of commission.²⁹² However, when Camel's Head's beds increased to 174 in September 1917, her request for extra help resulted in a male RAMC officer being put in charge and her demotion to assistant.²⁹³ Later, after being moved to the Salisbury Road section of the 4th Southern GH, Dr Trevithick wrote:

I have charge of the Surgical Division (88 beds), am official Anaesthetist to the Hospital, Messing Officer to the Company and Officer in Charge of Postal Arrangements. Besides this I am a member of all the Medical Boards held in the Hospital... and the other day had to sit as Member of a Court of Enquiry with two Captains as colleagues. On the Medical Board women have equal vote with the men officers.²⁹⁴

²⁸⁷ PWDRO (3642/4164) 4th Southern GH, Plymouth: History, p. 2

²⁸⁸ *Medical Directory*, 1914; MMM 44 (24/7/359) Army Book 82, p. 94

²⁸⁹ WL (SA/MWF/C159) World War 1, Status of Medical Women under the War Office 1917-1918, Dr H. Trevithick to Secretary, MWF, 18 January 1918

²⁹⁰ WL (SA/MWF/C159) Dr H. Trevithick to Secretary, MWF, 18 January 1918

²⁹¹ PWDRO (3642/569) 4th *Southern General Hospital Gazette* 1916-17, II (4) (September 1917), p. 76

²⁹² WL (SA/MWF/C159) Dr H. Trevithick to Secretary, MWF, 18 January 1918

²⁹³ WL (SA/MWF/C159) Dr H. Trevithick to Secretary, MWF, 18 January 1918

²⁹⁴ WL (SA/MWF/C159) Dr H. Trevithick to Dr Hartley, 22 April 1918

Despite these officers' responsibilities, 'though a few of the better mannered men give the salute to their women officers it is an act of grace not of necessity'.²⁹⁵ Confusion sometimes resulted from having women doctors employed as CMPs in the same hospitals as those attached to the RAMC. Dr Trevithick was employed and paid as attached to the RAMC, but an officer later told her that she was a CMP.²⁹⁶ In March 1918, there were three other full time women doctors attached to the RAMC and two part time CMPs working at 4th Southern GH.²⁹⁷ Dr Trevithick wrote, 'I proposed resigning my present anomalous position and becoming a real CMP i.e. returning to our own house in Richmond and working from that centre should my services be required.'²⁹⁸ By July 1918, she had returned to London, and was working at Kingston Military Hospital.²⁹⁹ Dr Margaret Riddell, who was also at 4th SH, felt they ended up 'having the disadvantages of both a CMP and of a Temporary Officer and few of the advantages either'.³⁰⁰

Women doctors attached to the RAMC were not given hospital accommodation. Dr M. Murray-Prior resigned when she was unable to find anything suitable near a hospital but re-joined in 1918 as 'the need of doctors is so great'.³⁰¹ When Dr Helen Barnes returned from Malta to work at the University War Hospital, Southampton:

for a reward for a years' service am taken off a ration allowance and shall have no gratuity if I serve a year... Now I imagine I shall have to make an income tax return and pay civilian rate as one is told one is a civilian.³⁰²

²⁹⁵ WL (SA/MWF/C159) Dr H. Trevithick to Secretary, MWF, 18 January 1918

²⁹⁶ WL (SA/MWF/C159) Dr H. Trevithick to Dr Walker, 4 March 1918

²⁹⁷ WL (SA/MWF/C159) Dr M. Ramsay to Dr Huxley, 20 March 1918

²⁹⁸ WL (SA/MWF/C159) Dr K. Trevithick to Dr Walker, 4 March 1918

²⁹⁹ RAMC Army Book, p. 94

³⁰⁰ WL (SA/MWF/C159) Dr M. Riddell to Secretary, MWF, 3 June 1918

³⁰¹ WL (SA/MWF/C159) Dr M. P. Murray-Prior to Secretary, MWF, 1 May 1918

³⁰² MMM RAMC 44 (24/7/359) Army Book 82 p. 1; WL (SA/MWF/C159) Dr H.P. Barnes to Mrs Vince, MWF, 3 November 1917

She subsequently resigned in 1918 and served in the WAAC. As women doctors attached to the RAMC were not given uniform, some provided their own. It was 'unofficial and designed by ourselves', but it 'gives us recognition and salutes from NCOs and orderlies etc'.³⁰³ Dr Winifred Ross, at the Royal Herbert Hospital, Woolwich, described further confusion when:

In July 1917, a notice was sent out by the War Office saying they could not authorise any uniform for women doctors but we might, if we wished, wear an armlet with RAMC badge. This created a somewhat unpleasant situation for those who had already worn uniform on the understanding that it was a recognised thing to do so.³⁰⁴

Dr Charlotte Vines at 3rd Western GH, Newport, thought it unfair that, 'every single man and women should wear some kind of uniform except the charwoman and the women doctors'.³⁰⁵ When 'going in Govt cars, visiting sick soldiers in their homes, dealing with men reporting sick it is awkward being dressed in ordinary clothes with no mark of authority'.³⁰⁶ Women doctors were at the mercy of male officers. Dr Amy Nash at The Lord Derby Hospital, Lancashire, had a 'horror of a superior officer... suffering also from lack of proper standing and unless there is reasonable hope of the WO taking some steps to remedy this is going to resign at once'.³⁰⁷ Within two months, Nash had resigned and was appointed a Medical Official in the WAAC.³⁰⁸

Women doctors were often unappreciated. Dr Mary Thorne had looked after nurses, medical staff and military families at the Sisters Hospital in Malta.³⁰⁹ On returning home in July 1918, she was posted to the QAIMNS Hospital at Vincent Square, London.³¹⁰ Dr Thorne

³⁰³ WL (SA/MWF/C159) Dr C. Astley Maer to Dr Walker, 4 February 1918

³⁰⁴ WL (SA/MWF/C159) Dr Winifred M. Ross to MWF, 25 September 1917

³⁰⁵ WL (SA/MWF/C159) Dr Vines to Secretary, MWF, April 1918

³⁰⁶ WL (SA/MWF/C159) Dr Vines to Secretary, MWF, 22 April 1918

³⁰⁷ WL (SA/MWF/C159) Dr Ina M. Clarke to Dr Walker, 14 September 1917

³⁰⁸ MMM 44 (24/7/359) Army Book 82, p. 130

³⁰⁹ <https://www.maltaramc.com/ladydoc/t/thornem.html> viewed 2 November 2019

³¹⁰ MMM 44 (24/7/359) Army Book 82, p. 15

dealt with an increasing number of admissions, increasing from just under 100 a month to 183 in January 1919, probably reflecting the influenza pandemic.³¹¹ Matron Miss Leggatt, later wrote, that the hospital was 'exceptionally fortunate in the Staff', without specifying any doctors.³¹² Nor was Dr Thorne mentioned when Major-General Sir G.P.T. Fielding sent an official letter of thanks to the hospital staff when it closed.³¹³

The WHC women doctors were exceptional in their successful acceptance by the medical hierarchy. The timing of the WHC's arrival in France and their treatment of British wounded at a chaotic time for the RAMC, was crucial. Had the Paris hospital opened a few months later, when the RAMC was better organised and British wounded were being sent directly to the Channel ports, they might have continued as a voluntary unit treating only French wounded like the SWH. The SWH hospital at Royaumont did not admit its first patients until 11 January 1915 and took only French casualties until it closed in 1918.³¹⁴ The WHC was fortunate in managing Endell Street independently while being paid by the RAMC. This made it easier for them to promote suffrage, whereas voluntary units such as the SWH, played down their NUWSS links as they were concerned it would affect their fundraising.

While Keogh was happy for the WHC to run a hospital in London or a few women doctors to be appointed as specialists, he balked at the idea of women doctors near the front line. The WHC's success may have influenced the RAMC's decision to have attached women doctors but their status in military hospitals at home was very different to the WHC. Whether attached to the RAMC or working as CMPs, women doctors faced confusion and difficulties

³¹¹ MMM (QARANC/CF/7/6/1) Bound book 'Hospital for Queen Alexandra's Nursing Service, Vincent Square', monthly list of Admissions, Discharges, Average No of beds occupied and Boards 1918-19

³¹² MMM (QARANC/CF/7/6/1) Matron, Miss Leggatt to Dame Ethel Hope Becher, Matron in Chief QAIMNS, p. 2

³¹³ MMM (QARANC/CF/7/6/1) S. Macdonald DDMS, London District on behalf of Major-General Sir G.P.T. Fielding, General Officer Commanding, London District, Letter of thanks, 4 July 1919

³¹⁴ Crofton, *Angels of Mercy*, pp. 36, 209

not experienced by their male colleagues. Expected to perform the duties of RAMC officers, they were demeaned by RAMC officers and Other Ranks due to their lack of uniform and commissions and some resigned as a result. However, women doctors' treatment of the wounded during the First World War, resulted in a much larger proportion of the population being aware of their role in medicine than pre-war. The experiences of women doctors attached to the RAMC abroad and in women's services, will be discussed in Chapter 3.

CHAPTER 3

Women Doctors Attached to the RAMC Abroad and in Women's Services

This chapter will compare the women doctors attached to the RAMC who worked in hospitals abroad with those who worked in women's services. It will explore how their work and status differed and how they were viewed by the military medical hierarchy, as evidence of patients' views is lacking.

In spring 1916, with increasing shortages of doctors for the RAMC, the War Office asked Dr Louisa Aldrich Blake, Dean of LSMW, to approach women doctors to see if they would offer their services.³¹⁵ Despite public praise for Endell Street, some were surprised when the first 80 women doctors were sent to Malta, rather than domestic hospitals.³¹⁶ Rigid pre-war gendered boundaries were breaking down with the onset of total war, but women's war work was still viewed as being on the home front.³¹⁷

When the first 40 women doctors were being recruited, Garrett Anderson wrote to the War Office to try and 'secure temporary rank as officers for them' realising they would be disadvantaged without rank when working with male RAMC officers.³¹⁸ Women doctors were attached to the RAMC, not commissioned, and were not allowed uniform until 1918.³¹⁹ They were in an inferior position compared to their male colleagues, who were given temporary commissions in the RAMC with the concomitant privileges.³²⁰ In 1914, the WHC had found that their 'uniform was a passport' that opened doors to them wherever

³¹⁵ 'Obituary Louisa Aldrich-Blake', *BMJ*, 9 January 1926, p. 69

³¹⁶ 'Obituary', *BMJ*, 9 January 1926, p. 69; LSE WL (7LGA/3) Endell Street Military Hospital Scrapbook, Press cutting from *Evening Standard*, 16 November 1916, p. 50

³¹⁷ K. Robert, 'Constructions of "Home", "Front", and Women's Military Employment in First-World-War Britain: A Spatial Interpretation', *History and Theory*, 52 (3) (October 2013), pp. 340-1

³¹⁸ Murray, *Women as Army Surgeons*, p. 230

³¹⁹ WL (SA/MWF/C159) General Goodwin to Dr J. Walker, President MWF, 14 March 1918; General Goodwin to Foreign Stations/1585 (ADM1), 26 March 1918

³²⁰ Fairfield, 'Women Doctors', pp. 99-100

they went.³²¹ As uniformed women became widespread amongst civilian organisations, in factories and other jobs, it signified women's patriotism and their 'symbolic claim to full citizenship' and thus suffrage.³²² Uniforms contributed to group cohesion 'often with a rise in status'.³²³ After the 'khaki fever' that followed the outbreak of war subsided, uniform wearing women found they induced some themselves.³²⁴ However, while they were admired for their patriotism, uniformed women also risked criticism for their wartime opportunism.³²⁵ Even after being granted a uniform, women doctors were still not treated equally, as it was different from the RAMCs.³²⁶

Hospitals Abroad

The women doctors who joined the medical staff in Malta in summer 1916, were not the first. On 28 April 1915, a SWH unit disembarked at Malta, en route to Serbia, and waited for 'wounded who are daily expected from Gallipoli'.³²⁷ There had been inadequate medical provision for the wounded after the Gallipoli landings, particularly for the ANZAC.³²⁸ So SWH 'doctors and nurses dressed wounds many of which had remained untouched since first-aid was given at Gallipoli ten days ago'.³²⁹ After treating 'seriously wounded cases', Lord Methuen, Governor of Malta wrote, 'they have proved themselves most capable and

³²¹ Murray, *Women as Army Surgeons*, p. 11

³²² B.C. Hacker & M. Vining, 'Cutting a New Pattern: Uniforms and Women's Mobilization for War 1854-1919', *Textile History*, 41 (1) (2001), pp. 108-109

³²³ Hacker & Vining, 'Cutting a New Pattern', p. 110

³²⁴ A. Woollacott, 'Khaki Fever' and Its Control: Gender, Class, Age and Sexual Morality on the British Homefront in the First World War', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 29 (2) (April 1994), pp. 325,333

³²⁵ Noakes, *Women in the British Army*, p. 60

³²⁶ LSE WLA (7LGA/3) Endell Street Military Hospital Scrapbook, Press cutting from *Manchester Guardian*, 8 November 1916, p. 48; Dr J. Walker, President of MWF to the Editor, *The Times*, 3 July 1918

³²⁷ MMM (RAMC/CF/4/3/109/SCOT Box 35/3) *Serbian Outpost*, June-September 1915 Scottish Women's Hospital. The Unit's Travel Diary-April 1915, No 1, p. 8-9

³²⁸ Harrison, *The Medical War*, pp. 177-182

³²⁹ MMM (RAMC/CF/4/3/109/SCOT Box 35/3) *Serbian Outpost* No 2, p. 5

untiring workers'.³³⁰ Whether their 'voluntarily assisting' subsequently influenced the War Office is unknown, but they were acknowledged in the official history.³³¹

In summer 1916, convoys of sick troops from Salonika, mostly with malaria and dysentery, arrived in Malta almost daily.³³² The number of hospital beds was increased, with 20 extra wards created at St David's Hospital alone, with women doctors making up the shortfall in medical staff.³³³ 66 women doctors embarked for Malta during August and September 1916, so were present on 23 October when Malta's hospitals had their highest occupancy of 20,994 patients.³³⁴ Within a few weeks, Dr Eithne Haigh, admitted she was 'quite enjoying things so far'.³³⁵ However, letters were 'very strictly censored', with information 'about the hospitals or the actual work we are doing or mention the names of staff or the hospitals' banned.³³⁶ Women doctors, including those at St. David's, were 'in the Medical wards, where the cases were almost exclusively malaria'.³³⁷ Dr Dorothy Hare found making a diagnosis of paratyphoid challenging 'in inoculated patients'.³³⁸

Some women doctors adopted their own uniform. When Vera Brittain, VAD, was a patient in Imtarfa Hospital, she was seen by several doctors 'three of them are lady doctors, all very charming too, in khaki tussore coats and skirts, dark blue ties and solar topees'.³³⁹ However, one woman doctor 'cultivated a flirtatious femininity, and appeared on her round as orderly

³³⁰ Macpherson, *History*, Vol 1, p. 244; Quoted in *The Common Cause*, 12 May 1916, p. 59

³³¹ Macpherson, *History*, Vol 1, p. 244

³³² IWM (9383/99/62/1) Papers H. Willisford RAMC, H. Willisford to cousin, 18 July 1916

³³³ IWM (9383/99/62/1) Willisford to cousin, 18 July 1916

³³⁴ See Appendix A; Macpherson, *History*, Vol 1, p. 248

³³⁵ IWM (14706/67/238/1) Dr E. Haigh to parents, 4 December and 13-15 November 1916; IWM

(14706/67/238/1) Dr E. Haigh to sister Lyle, 28 November 1916

³³⁶ IWM (14706/67/238/1) Dr E Haigh to sister Lyle, 3 October and to parents 13-15 November 1916

³³⁷ WL (SA/MWF/C168) Dr Edith Guest to Dr Kelynack, 19 October 1937

³³⁸ 'Report of Meeting of the London Association of the Medical Women's Federation', *BMJ*, 15 November 1919, p. 634

³³⁹ V. Brittain, *Testament of Youth* (London: Virago 1993 [1933]), p. 304

officer in frilly evening dresses reminiscent of a four year old at a juvenile party.’³⁴⁰ Her criticism may have been because ‘we often envied the women doctors, whose complete freedom to associate with their male colleagues.’³⁴¹ Despite her Oxford education, as a VAD, she was at the bottom of the medical hierarchy.³⁴²

Sergeant Major James Cotter was Temporary Quartermaster at Spinola Hospital in Malta and 64 GH in Salonika, after 31 years’ service with the RAMC.³⁴³ His photograph album includes several photos showing women doctors captioned as officers:



‘Officers of Spinola Hospital, Malta’³⁴⁴

Another is titled ‘Captns: Douglas, Edwards, Jamieson and Smythe’ when referring to Dr Elizabeth Edwards.³⁴⁵ His acceptance of women doctors in civilian clothes as officers,

³⁴⁰ Brittain, *Testament*, p. 328

³⁴¹ Brittain, *Testament*, p. 328

³⁴² J.S.K. Watson, ‘War in the Wards’, pp. 499-503

³⁴³ MMM (RAMC/PE/1/436/COTT) Papers James Cotter RAMC, Army Form D 2067 Character Certificate James Cotter; Army Service Book James Cotter, p. 8-9

³⁴⁴ MMM (RAMC/PE/1/436/COTT) Photograph album

implies that they conformed to the educational and behavioural standards of the officer class to which he was long accustomed.³⁴⁶ At a time when many viewed women doctors as ‘inappropriate practitioners of military medicine’, and that they ‘technically... had no real authority’ as they were not commissioned, this is revealing.³⁴⁷

Women doctors’ involvement in research in Malta was acknowledged by RAMC officers. Major J. Arkwright’s joint paper with pathologist, Dr Elizabeth Lepper on Blackwater Fever, thanked the women doctors involved in the cases, including Dr Hollway’s ‘careful clinical notes’ and her zeal in establishing a ‘diagnosis of the species of malaria parasite in all her cases’.³⁴⁸ American Dr Marguerite White was appointed ‘specialist operative surgery’ and assisted at an operation at St Elmo Hospital to remove a bullet from a soldier’s heart.³⁴⁹ Significantly, as authors of the subsequent journal article, her name is before Colonel Sir Charles Balance.³⁵⁰ However:

there were at least three instances in which medical women in Malta were doing specialists’ work, but specialists’ pay was not given, on the grounds that they had no rank and therefore were not officially in the position of specialists.³⁵¹

Their work must have satisfied the medical hierarchy, as ‘nearly all been asked to renew our contracts at the expiry of our first years’ work and are stated to be ‘a great success’ by the

³⁴⁵ MMM (RAMC/PE/1/436/COTT) Photograph album

³⁴⁶ MMM (RAMC/PE/1/436/COTT) Photograph album; G. Sheffield, *Leadership in the Trenches: Officer-Man Relations, Morale and Discipline in the British Army in the era of the First World War* (London: Macmillan, 2000), p. 2

³⁴⁷ J.S.K. Watson, ‘War in the Wards’, pp. 487,498

³⁴⁸ Major J.A. Arkwright and Elizabeth H. Lepper, ‘Notes on Sixteen Cases of Blackwater Fever occurring in Malta’, *Journal of Royal Army Medical Corps*, 1 April 1918, pp. 378-394

³⁴⁹ MMM RAMC44 (24/7/359) Army Book 82,p.10; <https://www.maltaramc.com/ladydoc/w/whitesm.html>

³⁵⁰ Dr M. White and Colonel Sir Charles Balance, ‘A Case of Removal of a rifle bullet from the Right Ventricle of the Heart’, *Journal of Royal Army Medical Corps*, Vol 31(4) October 1918, pp. 484-496 quoted in <https://www.maltaramc.com/ladydoc/w/whitesm.html>

³⁵¹ WL (SA/MWF/C159) Statement by Dr K. Waring, 1918

DDMS, Surgeon-General Yarr.³⁵² However, by September 1917, only 20 of the original 84 women doctors were still working in Malta.³⁵³ With hospital ships facing increasing submarine attacks, some hospitals in Malta were closed and the staff formed 61, 62, 63, 64 and 65 GHs.³⁵⁴ The GHs embarked for Salonika during July and August 1917, each with average of eight woman doctors.³⁵⁵ Despite having served in Malta for nearly a year, the 61 GH women doctors all had 'instruction in the regulations for the Army Medical Services and the Allowance Regulations', before any patients were admitted.³⁵⁶

Most troops in Salonika became infected with malaria and due to 'large gaps in knowledge' and ineffective treatment, the annual hospital admission rate was 300 per cent by 1918.³⁵⁷ By September 1918, malaria, combined with an 'extremely severe type' of influenza, meant the effective strength of SEF fell to less than half the normal establishment.³⁵⁸ The peak prevalence of malaria in Salonika was between July and November, so the women doctors' arrival coincided with this.³⁵⁹ On 6 August 1917, Dr Katharine Waring was the seventh member of 61 GH to be admitted to hospital with 'febrile symptoms' since its arrival in Salonika.³⁶⁰ Dr Moss Rougvie became ill with bowel trouble, recorded rather disparagingly in the war diary, 'this lady has been partaking of ices in the town of SALONIKA and drinking

³⁵² WL (SA/MWF/C163) Dr C.M. Astley Maer to Secretary, MWF, 15 September 1917 quoted in Leneman, 'Medical Women at War', p.171

³⁵³ WL (SA/MWF/C163) Dr C.M. Astley Maer to Secretary, MWF, 15 September 1917

³⁵⁴ A. Wakefield and S. Moody, *Under the Devil's Eye: The British Military Experience in Macedonia 1915-1918* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword, 2011), p. 10; Macpherson, *History*, Vol 4, p. 90

³⁵⁵ 'Hospital Arrangements in Salonika', *Birmingham Daily Post*, 11 July 1917, p. 8; Macpherson, *History*, Vol 4, pp. 90-91; MMM RAMC 44 (24/7/359) Army Book 82; See Appendix A

³⁵⁶ MMM RAMC 44 (24/7/359) Army Book 82; TNA WO 95/4935, 61 GH, 27 July 1917

³⁵⁷ Harrison, *The Medical War*, pp. 231-233; B. J. Brabin, 'Malaria's contribution to World War One-the unexpected adversary', *Malaria Journal*, 13 (497) (2014), pp. 1-22

³⁵⁸ TNA (WO 95/4936) Lines of Communication Troops: 63 General Hospital (1917 Aug-1919 Apr), 2,25 September 1918; TNA (WO 32/5127) OPERATIONS (NARRATIVES OF): General (Code 46(A)): Report by General Sir G. Milne on operations in Macedonia in Supplement to *London Gazette*, 22 January 1919, p. 3

³⁵⁹ Brabin, 'Malaria's contribution to World War One', p. 8

³⁶⁰ TNA (WO 95/4935) Lines of Communication Troops: 61 General Hospital 1917 June-1919 Jan), 6 August 1917

water from a thermos flask which was found to contain maggots'.³⁶¹ Of 61 GH's 55 admissions on 9 September, most had malaria and while dysentery was less common, 65 GH transferred 24 Other Ranks with dysentery on 30th October.³⁶² Dr Elizabeth Hurdon subsequently described the 'difficulties in diagnosis between malaria and dysentery and in dealing with the mixed infections.'³⁶³

Salonika GH war diaries specify women doctors arriving, being posted or departing home. Some contain more details, perhaps reflecting their senior officers' attitudes towards them. The nominal role of 64 GH in October 1917 states the specialties of three women doctors as anaesthetist, assistant pathologist and assistant surgeon.³⁶⁴ When 64 GH's seven remaining women doctors were posted in December 1917, it was recorded as 'the saddest day of all'.³⁶⁵ As women doctors were not commissioned officers, a new censorship regulation in October 1917 meant they had to 'submit to the indignity of having their private correspondence censored by the officers of their own unit with whom they daily associate and who are of their own standing'.³⁶⁶ They had already censored their patients' letters in Salonika, without problems, for two months before this.³⁶⁷ Waring refused to renew her contract 'under existing conditions' and returned home in December 1917.³⁶⁸

³⁶¹ TNA (WO 95/4935) 61 GH, 8 August 1917

³⁶² TNA (WO 95/4935) 61 GH, 9 September 1917; TNA (WO 95/4936) Lines of Communication Troops: 65 General Hospital (1917 June-Nov), 30 October 1917

³⁶³ 'Report of Meeting of the London Association of the Medical Women's Federation', *BMJ*, 15 November 1919, p. 634

³⁶⁴ TNA (WO 95/4936) Lines of Communication Troops: 64 General Hospital (1917 July-1919 Jan), Nominal Roll of Officers on Staff of 64 General Hospital, October 1917

³⁶⁵ TNA (WO 95/4936) 64 GH, 12 December 1917

³⁶⁶ WL (SA/MWF/C165) World War 1, Letters from Medical Women serving under the War Office 1918, Dr K. Waring to Lady Bennett, 18 January 1918

³⁶⁷ WL (SA/MWF/C165) Dr K. Waring to Lady Bennett, 18 January 1918

³⁶⁸ WL (SA/MWF/C165) Dr K. Waring to Lady Bennett, 18 January 1918

However, the Government tried to suppress information about the incidence of malaria in Salonika in 1917.³⁶⁹ The official dispatch of 14 November 1917, stated a 'great diminution in disease... compared with last summer', when malaria admissions in summer 1917 had been nearly double those of 1916.³⁷⁰ The Mesopotamia Commission report, which included the issue of censoring letters to hide conditions there, had been debated in Parliament in July 1917.³⁷¹ So, there may have been fears that women doctors might reveal the true situation in Salonika at this sensitive time. Nine months later the regulation was withdrawn.³⁷²

Women doctors' lack of uniform, meant that when 62 GH transferred to Italy, they:

were left behind in Salonika and not allowed to join their units on the grounds that the Italian Government will not have people who have no uniform or official position (the sisters and VADs attached to these units were sent, as they have official positions in the army and uniforms).³⁷³

Some women doctors' work in Salonika was acknowledged including pathologist, Dr Elsie Dalyell, who was twice Mentioned in Despatches.³⁷⁴ Given the importance of examining blood films in malaria diagnosis, as a pathology research fellow, she would have been valued.³⁷⁵ However, there were notable differences in gazettement compared to male RAMC doctors. Five women doctors, including Dalyell, were in *London Gazette* on 28 November

³⁶⁹ Harrison, *The Medical War*, pp. 234-235

³⁷⁰ Lieut. Gen. G.F. Milne, 'Dispatch from British Salonika Force' in Second Supplement to *London Gazette*, 13 November 1917, p. 11783; 'Weekly incidence of Malaria-British Salonika Force January 1916 to December 1918', Macpherson, *History*, Vol 4, p. 109

³⁷¹ *Hansard* Vol 95, 'Mesopotamia Force (Correspondence)', Mr King to Mr Macpherson, 12 July 1917; Sir. G. Buchanan, *The Tragedy of Mesopotamia* (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1938), pp. 213-5, quoted in Lieut. Colonel, P.T. Crowley, 'Operational Lessons of the Mesopotamia Campaign, 1914-18', *Defence Studies*, 4 (3) (2006), p. 350

³⁷² WL (SA/MWF/C162) Status of Medical Women under the War Office (Mrs Vince's Papers) 1918, Memorandum prepared by MWF, 'Medical Women in the Army' The Case for giving them Temporary Commissions, November 1918 para 7, Statements in the House of Commons

³⁷³ WL (SA/MWF/C159) Statement by Dr K. Waring

³⁷⁴ MMM RAMC 44 (24/7/359) Army Book 82, p.65

³⁷⁵ Col. Sir. R. Ross, 'An Interim Report on the Treatment of Malaria', *Transactions of the Society of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene*, XI (5 and 6), (March and April 1918), p. 204; *Australia Dictionary of Biography*, 1981, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/dalyell-elsie-jean-5875> viewed 9 December 2019

1917 under the heading 'Medical Women (Attached Royal Army Medical Corps)' as 'Miss', followed by their names but without rank or medical qualifications.³⁷⁶ In contrast, their male colleagues had their surnames, rank, initials and medical qualifications.³⁷⁷ When Dalyell was subsequently awarded the OBE 'for valuable services rendered in connection with military operations in the Balkans', her entry was 'Dalyell, Doctor Elsie Jean, R.A.M.C' but again without any qualifications.³⁷⁸

General Milne's 1919 report on operations in Salonika, acknowledged 'the efficient administration of the Medical Services... of whose work I cannot speak too highly'.³⁷⁹ While acknowledging the nursing services, VADs and SWH, women doctors attached to the RAMC are not mentioned.³⁸⁰ The official history discusses the shortage of medical personnel in Salonika in August 1917 which 'was made good... the following month', again without reference to women doctors.³⁸¹

Some of the women doctors originally in Malta were posted to Egypt. By June 1918, there were 17 in hospitals in Alexandria and 15 in Cairo.³⁸² The first three, including Dr Edith Guest, were sent to Sinai in December 1917.³⁸³ They had, 'a very friendly Colonel – a Scotch gynaecologist whose wife is a Dr (at home tho)... and we are told by our CO we are already 'making good''.³⁸⁴ Guest saw 'cases straight from the Palestine Front' and hoped to be

³⁷⁶ *London Gazette*, 28 November 1917, p. 12488

³⁷⁷ *London Gazette*, 28 November 1917, p. 12488

³⁷⁸ *London Gazette*, 3 June 1919, p. 6948

³⁷⁹ TNA (WO32/5127) Milne, *London Gazette*, 22 January 1919, p. 6

³⁸⁰ TNA (WO32/5127) Milne, *London Gazette*, 22 January 1919, p. 6

³⁸¹ Macpherson, *History*, Vol 4, p. 99

³⁸² WL (SA/MWF/C163) Dr C. M. Astley Maer to Secretary, MWF, 29 June 1918

³⁸³ WL (SA/MWF/C168) Dr Edith Guest to Dr Kelynack, 19 October 1937

³⁸⁴ WL (SA/MWF/C159) Dr C. M. Astley Maer to Dr Walker, 4 February 1918

moved closer to Palestine.³⁸⁵ Instead, she worked on medical wards and was 'in charge of the X Ray department', before being moved to Abbassia in Cairo.³⁸⁶

Women doctors are rarely mentioned in hospital gazettes. Dr Helen Greene was at the Citadel Hospital, Cairo for Christmas 1917 where she 'mothered her large family in her inimitable style and... carried off the prize for the best-tied hospital tie'.³⁸⁷ When three women doctors reported for duty at the Citadel Hospital in May 1918, the war diary describes them as 'civil surgeon', although later as 'attached RAMC'.³⁸⁸ Younger or less experienced male doctors who were commissioned, ranked over them which must have been galling for women doctors who had won academic prizes and had set up their own practices or hospitals. This included 'Lt. B. E. Laurence RAMC... aged 45... stated he has never really practised medicine but very anxious to become useful'.³⁸⁹

However, some superior RAMC officers were sympathetic. Dr Constance Astley Maer reported 'all right minded Colonels in whose hospital we have worked agree with this... our Colonel here says only concerted action on the part of the Federation in England will secure our position'.³⁹⁰ In June 1918, when she was working in Cairo and able to wear uniform 'it is a surprise to many officers out here that we are still denied any military status or commission'.³⁹¹ Guest was aggrieved that her lack of status led to 'unequal degrees of

³⁸⁵ WL (SA/MWF/C168) Dr Edith Guest to Dr Kelynack, 19 October 1937

³⁸⁶ WL(SA/MWF/C168) Dr Edith Guest to Dr Kelynack, 19 October 1937

³⁸⁷ 'Xmas at the Citadel Hospital', *The Palestine News: The Weekly Newspaper of the Egyptian Expeditionary Force of the British Army in Occupied Enemy Territory*, 9 January 1918

³⁸⁸ TNA (WO 95/4748) Lines of Communication Egypt and Palestine Troops: Military Hospital The Citadel Cairo (1917 June-1920 Mar), 20-21 May 1918, 14 January 1919

³⁸⁹ TNA (WO 95/4748) The Citadel Cairo, 1 January 1918

³⁹⁰ WL (SA/MWF/C159) Dr C. Astley Maer to Dr Walker, 4 February 1918

³⁹¹ WL (SA/MWF/C163) Dr C. M. Astley Maer to Secretary, MWF, 29 June 1918

courtesy and deference... and the consequent inevitable impression on the part of men under our command and care that we are an inferior kind of doctor.’³⁹²

Nevertheless, women doctors were still expected to obey orders. They acted as Orderly Officers, were detailed as members of Medical and Quarterly Audit Boards and accompanied patients to Cairo station.³⁹³ Dr Katie Ardill was ‘detailed to attend a course of instruction on skiagraphy’ and subsequently supervised ‘all educational work for patients’.³⁹⁴ So although they were not commissioned officers, they were still expected to do all the same duties.

When the Allies occupied Constantinople in 1919, several women doctors were transferred from Salonika to work in the Interallied Sanitary Commission.³⁹⁵ Their work was comparable to ‘a medical officer of health in England’, in a city where ‘sanitary arrangements are deplorable and antiquated’.³⁹⁶ Dr Edith Hollway was assigned to ‘do all the civilian work’ in the Turkish area.³⁹⁷ She ‘inspected soup kitchens, disinfectors and refuse dumps’ and was ‘taught how to spot tuberculous cows’.³⁹⁸ Senior officers attitudes towards them were good, ‘the DDMS and Colonel Johnson are most awfully nice to us’.³⁹⁹ Hollway helped deal with outbreaks of diseases, including plague and smallpox, and the huge numbers of refugees in Constantinople.⁴⁰⁰ In 1920, she was awarded the ‘awfully jolly’ Turkish Shefkat III or Order of

³⁹² WL (SA/MWF/163) Dr Edith Guest to MWF, 16 July 1918

³⁹³ TNA (WO 95/4741) Lines of Communication Egypt and Palestine Troops: 31 General Hospital (1916 Sept-1919 Jan), 7 May 1918; TNA (WO 95/4748) The Citadel Cairo, 23, 25 October 1918, 24 December 1918

³⁹⁴ TNA (WO 95/4748) The Citadel Cairo, 9 June 1918, 27 January 1919

³⁹⁵ Macpherson, *History*, Vol 4, pp. 160-2

³⁹⁶ Capt. R. McKinlay, ‘A Brief History of the Interallied Sanitary Commissions in Turkey, Abstracted from the Annual Report of the Sanitary Commissioner, Constantinople, for the year 1922’, *Journal of Royal Army Medical Corps*, 1 May 1924, pp. 359-361

³⁹⁷ WL (SA/MWF/C167) World War 1, Letters to Dr Lepper from Dr Hollway, Serbia (?1918) and Constantinople 1918-21, Dr Layman, Serbia 1919, 1920, Hollway to Lepper, 24 February 1918

³⁹⁸ WL (SA/MWF/C167) Hollway to Lepper, 24 February 1918

³⁹⁹ WL (SA/MWF/C167) Hollway to Lepper, 24 February 1918

⁴⁰⁰ WL (SA/MWF/C167) Hollway to Lepper, 12 September 1920

Charity, given only to women.⁴⁰¹ However, she was ordered to hand it back until the peace treaty was ratified.⁴⁰² By April 1921, Hollway was seeing a variety of outpatients, including those with venereal diseases, 'to keep her hand in'. She seemed reluctant to leave 'my turn will come next I am afraid but for the moment I am being conveniently forgotten. My contract of course has long expired but as my pay comes in I do not fuss'.⁴⁰³ However, General Milne's 1921 Constantinople despatch recorded 'the excellent work performed' by QAINS and VADs, without mentioning women doctors.⁴⁰⁴

Women's Services

Women doctors in the women's services experienced some of the same difficulties as those attached to the RAMC. The WAAC, which became QMAAC in April 1918, was the first women's service to be formed in February 1917 but always remained 'allied to but separate from the military'.⁴⁰⁵ The War Office asked the MWF to compile a list of possible women doctors, as one of the General Conditions of recruiting was 'a medical examination by a woman doctor'.⁴⁰⁶ Much of Britain's pre-war population had little experience of doctors, so this may have acted as an inducement for potential recruits.⁴⁰⁷ WAAC women doctors oversaw recruitment medicals and provided some medical care in Britain and France.⁴⁰⁸ Many had worked in public health, schools and asylums, so had experience in dealing with

⁴⁰¹ https://www.academia.edu/download/55244607/design_and_rhetoric_of_ottoman_decorations.pdf viewed 2 December 2019; WL (SA/MWF/C167) Hollway to Lepper, 12 September 1920

⁴⁰² https://www.academia.edu/download/55244607/design_and_rhetoric_of_ottoman_decorations.pdf viewed 2 December 2019; WL (SA/MWF/C167) Hollway to Lepper, 28 November 1920

⁴⁰³ WL (SA/MWF/C167) Hollway to Lepper, 1 April 1921 quoted in Leneman, 'Medical Women at War', p. 175

⁴⁰⁴ 'Despatch from General G.F. Milne to War Office', Fourth Supplement to *London Gazette*, 7 January 1921

⁴⁰⁵ Noakes, *Women in the British Army*, p. 81

⁴⁰⁶ TNA (NATS 1/822) Women medical practitioners: employment of women to leave men free for active service, Deputy Commissioner Medical Services to Secretary, MWF, 13 February 1918; TNA (NATS 1/822) Secretary, MWF to Deputy Commissioner Medical Services, 23 February 1918; *The Times*, 28 February 1917, p. 9

⁴⁰⁷ Winter, *The Great War*, p. 154

⁴⁰⁸ WL (SA/MWF/C159) Dr J. Turnbull, Controller Medical Services to Dr Bell, 16 November 1917

the health of large groups of individuals.⁴⁰⁹ The first Chief Controller of the WAAC, Dr Chalmers Watson attempted, unsuccessfully, to get a women's section of the RAMC formed 'to include all women working for the War Office'.⁴¹⁰ Women doctors who enrolled with the WAAC had 'the legal standing of civilians' but were still 'subject to the Army Act... and therefore subject to military law'.⁴¹¹ They signed forms with 'no title or any description' for their role, whereas male doctors 'were engaged as 'surgeons'' in the RAMC.⁴¹² Dr Anne Watson was incensed and thought she 'might even have to cook or scrub'.⁴¹³ They were, however, given a uniform and a uniform allowance.⁴¹⁴ Dr Bourne, Medical Controller for Northern Command:

I have a terrible military looking uniform with a felt hat & wear the R.A.M.C. badge & a fleur-de-lis (I suppose instead of a crown) on shoulder. Lower officers wear roses (instead of stars I suppose).⁴¹⁵

Their ranking nomenclature and badges were different from male officers but Medical Controllers were paid the same as Lieutenant-Colonels and Medical Officials as male CMPs.⁴¹⁶ Women doctors were permitted 'the collar and hat badge of the RAMC and a shoulder-strap of similar colour to the facings of the RAMC.'⁴¹⁷ Nevertheless, Dr Ziller Scruby, Medical Controller in France found:

when attending, as some of us are doing at the present time Sick Sisters, VADs, Motor Drivers, women civilians or giving anaesthetics or assisting in

⁴⁰⁹ Fairfield, 'Women Doctors in the British Forces', p. 100; See Appendix G

⁴¹⁰ WL (SA/MWF/C159) Secretary, MWF to Dr I. Clarke, 9 October 1917; Fairfield, 'Women Doctors', p. 100

⁴¹¹ Noakes, *Women in the British Army*, p. 67

⁴¹² WL (SA/MWF/C159) Statement by Dr K. Waring, 1918 p. 7

⁴¹³ WL (SA/MWF/C159) Dr A. Watson to Dr Walker, 10 December 1917

⁴¹⁴ WL (SA/MWF/C159) Secretary, MWF to Dr I. Clarke, 9 October 1917

⁴¹⁵ SLQ Accession no. 3348 George Herbert Bourne Papers 1846-1956, Item no. OM68 – 25/71 Dr Eleanor Bourne to brother George Herbert Bourne, 13 January 1918

⁴¹⁶ Fairfield, 'Women Doctors', p. 100; WL (SA/MWF/C168) Dr J.H. Turnbull, Note on the work of medical women with Queen Mary's Army Auxiliary Corps during the War 1914-1918, p. 2

⁴¹⁷ WL (SA/MWF/C168) Dr J. Turnbull, 'Note on the work of medical women', p. 2; WL (SA/MWF/C168) Army Instruction No. 1676 of 1917

any other way in General Hospitals we have at present no status whatever.⁴¹⁸

Dr Anne Watson, Medical Controller for Scotland recalled, 'on entering a military camp when the sentry presented arms to the rawest lieutenant no notice was taken of the women serving with RAMC'.⁴¹⁹ However, within the WAAC 'the girls salute their own officers by a smart right or left, but there is no saluting of men officers'.⁴²⁰

When Dr Letitia Fairfield inspected camps:

it is all an agreeable lottery one never knows whether one is going to be received as a sort of Head Cook... or whether – as happened the other day – one will be treated like a member of the Higher Command and find the Colonel and the next most senior officers in the camp waiting to receive one.⁴²¹

Recruiting Medical Controllers for the nine recruiting areas were in charge of selection and sick boards and oversaw medical and sanitary arrangements of the area Receiving Depots.⁴²² Fairfield, Medical Controller for Southern Command in October 1917, supervised, 'all medical arrangements for approximately 5,000 QMAAC personnel, and the inspection of all premises occupied by them'.⁴²³ The medicals were undertaken by 'local practitioners, employed and paid on a sessional basis, but occasionally as temporary full-time travelling members'.⁴²⁴ Women doctors attached to the RAMC in military hospitals sometimes did

⁴¹⁸ WL(SA/MWF/C159) Dr Z. Scruby to MWF, 20 May 1918

⁴¹⁹ WL (SA/MWF/C168) Dr A.M. Watson to Dr Kelynack, 16 October 1937

⁴²⁰ National Army Museum (9801-75) Papers of Olive K. Jordan, WAAC, Olive Jordan to Mrs Hubbard, 8 October 1917

⁴²¹ IWM (8448/372) Papers of Dr J. L. D. Fairfield CBE, Letters from Dr J.L.D. Fairfield 1917-1941, Dr Fairfield to SKR, 3 March 1918

⁴²² WL (SA/MWF/C168) Dr J.H. Turnbull, Note on the work of medical women with Queen Mary's Army Auxiliary Corps during the War 1914-1918, p. 3

⁴²³ WL (SA/MWF/C94) Curriculum Vitae Josephine Letitia Denny Fairfield, attached to application for post Ministry of Health, 6 April 1921, p. 2

⁴²⁴ WL (SA/MWF/C168) Dr J. H. Turnbull, p. 3

medicals without extra payment.⁴²⁵ Guidance was issued on the standards of fitness required and as WAACs would be in shared accommodation it was, 'important to exclude conditions that are actively disagreeable to others in addition to the ordinary infectious or contagious conditions'.⁴²⁶

Kathleen White had 'a very strict medical examination before six doctors one of whom was Dr Sandeman'.⁴²⁷ Forewoman Lia Parfitt's medical was:

in an enormous house commandeered by the War Office... no heat and all the windows wide open! We were herded into a large room and told to strip, but since it was cold, we were allowed to keep our coats and shoes on until our turn came.⁴²⁸

Many WAACs general health improved by having access to free dental and medical care.⁴²⁹

When Parfitt developed Spanish flu at Aldershot Command, she was treated by a woman doctor, nicknamed 'Sympathy', who she felt had saved her life as 'she watched by my bedside for over six hours'.⁴³⁰ However, 'Sympathy' was not a soft touch, often prescribing 'a No 9 pill', a strong laxative used in the RAMC's 'M & D' treatment of malingerers, in appropriate cases.⁴³¹

Although the WAAC was 'welcomed by much of the press', the public were less enthusiastic.⁴³² Some thought the WAAC threatened 'the wartime gender contract' of

⁴²⁵ WL (SA/MWF/C159) Notes on women doctors, Dr M. Ramsay, 19 February 1918

⁴²⁶ IWM (8448/372) Dr J. Turnbull, WAAC Notes on Medical Examination on Enrolment, 8 September 1917; IWM (8448/372) Dr J. Turnbull, Enrolment, 8 September 1917

⁴²⁷ NAM (199801-115) Papers of Kathleen White, p. 1

⁴²⁸ NAM (199801-87) Memoir 'I was a WAAC', No 32139 Forewoman Lia Parfitt, WAAC, p. 1

⁴²⁹ Shaw, 'The Forgotten Army of Women', p. 369

⁴³⁰ NAM (199801-87) 'I was a WAAC', Parfitt, p. 13

⁴³¹ NAM (199801-87) 'I was a WAAC', Parfitt, p. 13; G. Bridger, *The Great War Handbook: A Guide for Family Historians & Students of the Conflict* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword, 2014 [2009]), p. 171

⁴³² J.S.K. Watson, 'Khaki Girls, VADs, and Tommy's Sisters: Gender and Class in First World War Britain', *The International History Review*, 19 (1) (1997), pp. 40-1

dominant male soldiers fighting to protect their women at home.⁴³³ Many WAACs had working class backgrounds, which provoked moral panic, as they were thought to be more liable to immoral behaviour than women of higher social class, like VADs.⁴³⁴ 'Malicious tales' circulated, including 'the WO sending out professional prostitutes dressed in our uniform' and the provision of a Maternity Home with 800 beds with women given 'every encouragement to procreate'.⁴³⁵ Fairfield recorded all the WAACs who became pregnant, with their dates of enrolment and the date they became pregnant, highlighting those who would have already been pregnant on enlisting.⁴³⁶ This helped prove that the actual pregnancy rate in France was lower than the civilian rate in peace time.⁴³⁷ However, the rumours were only refuted after a Commission of Enquiry reported on the WAAC in France.⁴³⁸

The WRNS and WRAF were formed later so suffered fewer suspicions of immorality than the WAAC.⁴³⁹ The WRNS was formed in November 1917 and were also enrolled rather than enlisted.⁴⁴⁰ Their women doctors were granted the right 'to wear the scarlet bands of the naval medical officer' in November 1918.⁴⁴¹ They only had a CMO for headquarters administration and an AMO to examine new recruits and oversee the sick bay at their hostel

⁴³³ Summerfield, 'Gender and War in the Twentieth Century', p. 6

⁴³⁴ L. Noakes, 'A disgrace to the country they belong to': the sexualisation of female soldiers in First World War Britain', *Literature, History of Ideas, Images and Societies of the English-speaking World*, VI (4) (2008), pp. 11-26

⁴³⁵ NAM (199401-253-20-1) WRAC Papers of Dame Helen Gwynne-Vaughan, Mrs Chalmers Watson to Mrs Gwynne Vaughan, 10 December 1917

⁴³⁶ IWM (8448/372) Notebook recording pregnancies and deaths of WAAC, 1917-1919

⁴³⁷ IWM (8448/372) Notebook 1917-1919; WL (SA/MWF/C168) 'Notes supplied by Dr Adeline M. Roberts OBE'

⁴³⁸ Philo-Gill, *The Women's Army Auxiliary Corps*, pp. 95, 97-100

⁴³⁹ Watson, 'Khaki Girls', p. 44

⁴⁴⁰ Stanley, *A History of the Royal Navy*, pp. 55-7

⁴⁴¹ Stanley, *A History of the Royal Navy*, pp. 55-58; WL(SA/MWF/C168) Dr D.C. Hare, 'An Account of the Medical Service of The Women's Royal Naval Service 1918-1919', 20 November 1946

in Kensington.⁴⁴² The approximately 9,000 WRNS were otherwise, 'attended by naval or civilian medical officers at the stations where they were employed'.⁴⁴³ There remained some concerns regarding the virtue of the WRNS.⁴⁴⁴ So three hostels for WRNS with venereal diseases were set up, with one for those who were also pregnant and another for those with babies, the records of which were used for research by the respected physician and paediatrician Sir Thomas Barlow.⁴⁴⁵

The WRAF was the last women's service to be formed on 1 April 1918 but 'early arrangements for medical services were also most unsatisfactory'.⁴⁴⁶ The RAF Women's Medical Service took over medical services from QMAAC on 30 August 1918.⁴⁴⁷ The Director of Personnel, Sir Godfrey Paine, was sympathetic regarding commissions, granting 'honorary ranks', so when Fairfield was appointed Medical Director, she was made 'Hon. Lieutenant Colonel RAF'.⁴⁴⁸ She had 'more worries than I have ever imagined could be crowded into six weeks' but had 'three gold rings on my sleeves to console me'.⁴⁴⁹ Compared to the WAAC, Fairfield's rank was generally treated seriously 'it is the first time a woman has had official permission to wear rank badges so it makes rather a sensation and timid subs sometimes salute me nervously'.⁴⁵⁰ Her senior officer, General Munday, also obtained her the privilege of flying between air stations, provided this did not interfere with 'training and other

⁴⁴² D. Hare, 'Reminiscences of Medical Service in the WRNS during the First World War in 1918, 1919', *Journal of the Medical Women's Federation*, 49 (1967), p. 102

⁴⁴³ Hare, 'Reminiscences' p. 102

⁴⁴⁴ Stanley, *A History of the Royal Navy*, p.65

⁴⁴⁵ Hare, 'Reminiscences' p. 103; <http://munksroll.rcplondon.ac.uk/Biography/Details/249> viewed 5 October 2019

⁴⁴⁶ Escott, *Women in Air Force Blue*, pp. 15,27

⁴⁴⁷ WL (SA/MWF/C172) Air Ministry Weekly Orders 1918, 1012 Women's Medical Service for the WRAF-Organisation (7127/18)

⁴⁴⁸ L. Fairfield, 'Women Doctors', p. 101; IWM (8448/372) RAF 2297/1 (A), 28 March 1919; IWM (8448/372) Dr L. Fairfield to SKR, 28 April 1918

⁴⁴⁹ IWM (8448/372), Dr L. Fairfield to SKR, 18 August 1918

⁴⁵⁰ IWM (8448/372) Dr L. Fairfield to SKR, 18 August 1918, 13 October 1918

duties'.⁴⁵¹ It was normally 'a court martial offence to let a woman get into an aeroplane'.⁴⁵²

By August 1918, Fairfield was overworked, with responsibility for 17,000 women and 'good doctor assistants are hard to get'.⁴⁵³ The WRAF used QMAAC doctors to examine their recruits, with '12 to 14' of their own women doctors for the medical care of enrolled women.⁴⁵⁴ 'Suggestions on Personal Hygiene of the WRAF' were laid down to reduce the incidence of skin conditions such as scabies and head lice, by regular inspections of women's quarters and advice on their personal hygiene.⁴⁵⁵ Similarly to the WRNS, two hostels were established for 'women infected with V.D. and unmarried mothers... prior to being discharged from service'.⁴⁵⁶

Some of the senior women's services doctors were subsequently given awards. Dr Fairfield, was awarded the CBE in 1919 for her work in the QMAAC and WRAF.⁴⁵⁷ However, women doctors in QMAAC, like those attached to the RAMC, were gazetted without their qualifications, 'Doctor Adeline Roberts, QMAAC, Recruiting Medical Controller'.⁴⁵⁸

Although women doctors attached to the RAMC and in the WAAC received the standard First World War medals, Dr Phoebe Chapple was the only one to be awarded a gallantry medal.⁴⁵⁹ Whilst inspecting a QMAAC camp at Abbeville on 29 May 1918, a German bombing raid killed and injured QMAACs who she then treated, undaunted by the

⁴⁵¹ IWM (8448/372) Major General Brancker, Authorisation to Officers Commanding all Royal Air Force Stations re Dr Fairfield, 20 September 1918

⁴⁵² IWM (8448/372) Dr L. Fairfield to SKR, 13 October 1918

⁴⁵³ IWM (8448/372) Dr L. Fairfield to SKR, 13 October 1918

⁴⁵⁴ Fairfield, 'Women Doctors', p. 101

⁴⁵⁵ IWM (8448/372) 'Suggestions on Personal Hygiene of the WRAF'

⁴⁵⁶ Fairfield, 'Women Doctors', p. 101

⁴⁵⁷ WL (SA/MWF/C94) Curriculum Vitae, p. 3

⁴⁵⁸ *London Gazette*, 1 January 1919

⁴⁵⁹ S. J. Neuhaus, 'A Woman at War: The Life and Times of Dr Phoebe Chapple MM (1879- 1967), An Australian Doctor on the Western Front', *Journal of Military and Veterans' Health*, 21 (3) (2013), p. 40

continuing raid.⁴⁶⁰ As she was not a commissioned officer, she was not entitled to receive a Military Cross, so was awarded a Military Medal instead.⁴⁶¹

Women doctors who were attached to the RAMC were accepted by some, but never regarded as equal to their male colleagues. They filled gaps in medical staff in relatively safe posts treating sick rather than wounded. As male doctors would otherwise have been needed to do this, it may have released a few for frontline duty. Despite the lack of uniforms and commissions, they were accepted as doctors and were involved in research. Individual RAMC officers' views of them varied and improved later in the war when they had proved their worth. However, the hierarchy was more inclined to acknowledge the work of the voluntary units treating casualties near the frontline working in a more visible and active role, than those attached to the RAMC.

Women doctors in the services fared slightly better, perhaps because they were viewed as less threatening. They only looked after women, which had been an accepted pre-war role for women doctors. All the women's services had to make provision for their women falling pregnant or contracting venereal diseases, due to the public's concern for their morality. Women services' doctors had a uniform, albeit with a different ranking system, with the WRAF being exceptional in granting honorary ranks.

However, as neither women doctors attached to the RAMC nor in women's services had the same uniform or commissioned rank as male doctors in the RAMC, they were never regarded equally.

⁴⁶⁰ <https://www.awm.gov.au/articles/blog/dr-phoebe-chapple-the-first-woman-doctor-to-recieve-the-military-medal> viewed 29 December 2019; *Register*, 3 September 1919, p. 7

⁴⁶¹ TNA (WO 372/23/89854) Medal Card Phoebe Chapple

CONCLUSION

Despite the difficulties they faced, women doctors had some successes in British military service in the First World War.

The WHC's demonstration to Keogh and others that they could run military hospitals in France was a key one. The timing of the opening of their Paris hospital and its success, culminated in Keogh asking them to run Endell Street. This may also have influenced the appointment of women specialists in military hospitals. Murray and Garrett Anderson could not have foreseen that their voluntary unit would change to one funded by the RAMC. Endell Street provided them with an opportunity to influence suffrage as well as raising the public's awareness of the capabilities of women doctors through its resulting publicity. Despite this successful demonstration of their skills, the decision to have women doctors attached to the RAMC was delayed until the shortage of doctors for the RAMC became acute. It took two years from the initial blanket refusal to women doctors being attached to the RAMC in 1916. This achievement was also tempered by Keogh's refusal to allow women doctors near the front line. So, women doctors' success with Keogh was only partial.

The initiative shown by some Dominion women doctors in their efforts to serve and their success or otherwise in gaining commissions in the NZMC and CAMC is shown in the examples given. Their countries more advanced suffrage may have been influential. This compares with the intransigence of the RAMC in refusing commissions for women doctors. As Chapple explained, 'the old country is very conservative'.⁴⁶²

Women doctors in other British military hospitals were less successful. Whether attached to the RAMC or working as CMPs, women doctors remained at the bottom of the military

⁴⁶² *Register*, 3 September 1919, p. 7

medical hierarchy. This lack of status was never fully resolved. Even when a uniform was sanctioned in 1918 for those attached to the RAMC, it was not the same as that worn by male RAMC doctors. A significant number of women doctors had postgraduate qualifications. So, some of them may have been overqualified for the work that they did in military hospitals. However, they succeeded in demonstrating their professional capabilities to far more patients than would have been the case before the war. Although patients and some staff accepted them, the lack of uniform and commissions led to their facing unnecessary differences and difficulties not shared by male doctors.

Women doctors who were attached to the RAMC abroad were in a similar position to those at home. Sent to relatively safe places, compared to those in voluntary units, they treated mainly medical cases rather than battlefield casualties. The attitudes of senior officers depended more on the individual, but without further research into RAMC officers' backgrounds, it is difficult to generalise. Despite their difficulties, some women doctors were successfully involved in research and several were Mentioned in Despatches, particularly in Salonika. However, even then the inequalities persisted as they were gazetted without their qualifications being listed. Some of those who worked in Constantinople had a more successful time and were given more leeway. Whether this was because they had been attached to the RAMC for several years by then, were treating a defeated enemy and refugees rather than British troops or were just fortunate in their senior officers is not clear. In July 1918, two years after the first women doctors were attached to the RAMC, Mr Chancellor asked the Financial Secretary to the War Office 'is it sex or incompetence that prevents them getting commissions?'.⁴⁶³ This question was never resolved until after the

⁴⁶³ *Hansard*, Volume 107, 2 July 1918, Mr Chancellor to The Financial Secretary to the War Office (Mr Forster)

end of the Second World War, when women doctors were finally granted commissions.⁴⁶⁴

However, the seeds for this were sown in the First World War.

Although the women's services were successful in being allowed a uniform and relative independence, their women doctors still experienced problems due to the lack of commissions and the different ranking system. The WRAF was unique in granting honorary ranks but as the RAF was the youngest service, it was less hidebound by tradition than the army. The health and welfare of many women in the services improved through having access to free medical services, which can be deemed as a success.

During the First World War, women doctors demonstrated that they could perform the same medical work and take the same responsibility as male doctors. The difference was that they were not treated on equal terms by the military and medical hierarchy, often with 'unseemly jealousy displayed by some men towards the women'.⁴⁶⁵ In October 1918, Dr Isabel Emslie, CMO of the SWH unit in Vranja, Serbia was asked by a RAMC Colonel if she would provide medical care for British Transport drivers.⁴⁶⁶ She thought it ironic that 'now it was the British authorities who were begging us to take full charge of their most seriously ill men' given the refusal to consider women doctors on the outbreak of war.⁴⁶⁷

After the Armistice most women doctors returned to jobs that were similar to their pre-war ones, as they had to compete with demobilised male doctors who were given preference.⁴⁶⁸

⁴⁶⁴ Philo-Gill, *The Women's Army Auxiliary Corps*, pp. 143-4

⁴⁶⁵ WL(SA/MWF/C159) Dr K. Trevithick to Dr Walker, 4 March 1918

⁴⁶⁶ Dr Isabel Emslie, 'Scottish Women's Hospital Vranja, Serbia' in Powell, *Women in the War Zone*, p.385

⁴⁶⁷ Emslie, 'Vranja, Serbia' in Powell, *Women in the War Zone*, p.385

⁴⁶⁸ See Appendices A-G

Space precludes further discussion of this or of the many medical schools who had admitted women students during the war but returned to their pre-war exclusion of women.⁴⁶⁹

Women doctors were successful in their contribution to British military medical service but, for most, the gains were only in the short term. They were given little acknowledgement in official reports or histories by the military or medical hierarchy. However, they paved the way for improved conditions for the next generation of women doctors in military medical service in the Second World War and more widespread acceptance by the general public.⁴⁷⁰

Perhaps the last word can be given to Dr Trevithick, who commented on the proposed women's services by observing that 'women will never be the same as men and we don't want them to be so, but they can be and are equal and therefore should have equal – not necessarily the same – status.'⁴⁷¹

⁴⁶⁹ LSE WL(6NCS/2/B/20) Correspondence re admission of women to medical schools, Letter House Governor, London Hospital to Miss N. K. Argyle, 11 April 1922

⁴⁷⁰ A. Winner, 'Women Doctors in the Armed Forces in the Second World War', *Journal of the Medical Women's Federation*, 49 (1967), p. 105

⁴⁷¹ WL (SA/MWF/C159) Dr K. Trevithick to Dr Walker, 4 March 1918

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN WOMEN DOCTORS APPENDICES

A/C	ACCOUNT OF
AIF	AUSTRALIAN IMPERIAL FORCE
ANAE	ANAESTHETICS
ARR	ARRIVED
ASS	ASSISTANT
ASYL	ASYLUM
BACT	BACTERIOLOGY
BRCS	BRITISH RED CROSS SOCIETY
BRI	BRISTOL ROYAL INFIRMARY
CA	CANCER
CLIN ASS	CLINICAL ASSISTANT
CC	COUNTY COUNCIL
CH/CHILD	CHILDREN
CLIN PATH	CLINICAL PATHOLOGIST
COMM	COMMUNITY
CON/S	CONSULTANT
DEM/DEMONS	DEMONSTRATOR
DEPT	DEPARTMENTS
DIS	DISEASES
DISP	DISPENSARY
DIST	DISTRICT
ED COMM	EDUCATION COMMITTEE
EGA	ELIZABETH GARRETT ANDERSON
EMB	EMBARKED
GEN	GENERAL
GOS	GREAT ORMOND STREET HOSPITAL
GYNAE	GYNAECOLOGY

H/HOSP	HOSPITAL
HO	HOUSE OFFICER
HON	HONORARY
HP	HOUSE PHYSICIAN
HS	HOUSE SURGEON
I/C	IN CHARGE
INF	INFIRMARY
INSP	INSPECTOR
JUN	JUNIOR
LG	LONDON GAZETTE
MAT	MATERNITY
MED	MEDICAL
MEM	MEMORIAL
MIL	MILITARY
MH	MILITARY HOSPITAL
MID	MENTIONED IN DISPATCHES
MISS	MISSIONARY
MO	MEDICAL OFFICER
MOH	MEDICAL OFFICER OF HEALTH
MRC	MEDICAL RESEARCH COUNCIL
NAT INS	NATIONAL INSURANCE
OBS	OBSTETRIC
OFF	OFFICER
OPD	OUTPATIENTS DEPARTMENT
OPHTH	OPHTHALMOLOGY
PAED	PAEDIATRICS
PATH	PATHOLOGY
PHYS	PHYSICIAN
QUALS	QUALIFICATIONS

Q	QUEEN
RCOG	ROYAL COLLEGE OF OBSTETRICIANS AND GYNAECOLOGISTS
REG	REGISTRAR
RES	RESIDENT
RFH/R FREE	ROYAL FREE HOSPITAL
R/ROY	ROYAL
SAN	SANATORIUM
SCH	SCHOOLS
SEN	SENIOR
SETT	SETTLEMENT
SLHFW	SOUTH LONDON HOSPITAL FOR WOMEN
SMO	SENIOR MEDICAL OFFICER
SMSEC	SCOTTISH MEDICAL SERVICE EMERGENCY COMMITTEE
SUPT	SUPERINTENDENT
TEMP	TEMPORARY
TERM	TERMINATED
TX	TREATMENT
WOM	WOMEN

Notes on References used in compilation of Appendices

General details

Medical Directory 1914-1923

BMJ Obituaries

<http://smsec.rcpe.ac.uk/> Scottish Medical Service Emergency Committee, Index of Doctors in Scotland during The First World War

LK after name denotes information obtained from Biographical Index in L. Kelly, *Irish Women in medicine, c.1880s-1920s: Origins, education and careers* (Manchester University Press, 2012), pp. 197-238

Attached RAMC

MMM RAMC 44 (24/7/359) Army Book 82 Record of Special Reserve Officers' Service, number after name denotes page number. Entries without numbers are not recorded in RAMC Book 82

<https://www.maltaramc.com/articles/contents/greatwar.html> Lists all women doctors sent to Malta

WL (SA/MWF/C163) Dr C. M. Astley Maer to Secretary MWF, 29 June 1918 lists all women doctors in Egypt in June 1918

SA/MWF/C167 World War 1, Letters to Dr Lepper from Dr Hollway, Serbia (?1918) and Constantinople 1918-21. Letters name women doctors in Constantinople

SWH

<http://www.scarletfinders.co.uk/138.html> Lists all women who served in SWH, viewed 18 March 2019

E. Crofton, *Angels of Mercy: A Women's Hospital on the Western Front 1914-1918* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2013 [1997]) Women doctors at Royaumont

L. Leneman, *In the Service of Life: The Story of Elsie Inglis and the Scottish Women's Hospitals* (Edinburgh: Mercat, 1994) Women doctors in other SWH units

Voluntary Units

M. Krippner, *The Quality of Mercy: Women at War Serbia 1915-1918* (London: David & Charles, 1980) Women doctors in different voluntary units in Serbia

L. Binyon, *For Dauntless France, an Account of Britains Aid to the French Wounded and Victims of the War* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1918) Lists all women, including women doctors, who worked for Red Cross in France

Women's Services

IWM 8448 Box No: 372 Papers of Dr J. L. D. Fairfield CBE

NAM 199401-253 WRAC Papers of Dame Helen Gwynne-Vaughan

WL SA/MWF/C168 World War 1, Retrospective Accounts of service 1937-1967

BMJ 'Naval and Military Appointments', 16 November 1918, p.76 List QMAAC appointments

Additional References

Listed at end of appropriate appendix

Appendix A Malta, Salonika, Egypt, Constantinople Women Doctors

NAME	DOB	QUALS	PRE WAR	VOL UNIT	SWH	ATTACHED RAMC	QMAAC	POST WAR
TOTAL 82								
MARY JOSEPHINE AHERN 77	24/09/1889	LRCPSI 1913				EMB 18/11/16 MALTA, 62 GEN H SALONIKA 2/7/17 - 5/5/19 DEMOB		RMO ST VINCENT'S HOSPITAL, DUBLIN
CONSTANCE MURIEL ASTLEY MAER 26	12/01/1878	LRCPS (Edin)				EMB MALTA 12/8/16, EGYPT 17/12/16 - 10/5/19, SINAI, 31 GH ABBASSIA 21/5/18, CAIRO JUNE 1918, STAYED EGYPT UNTIL MAY 1919		
WINIFRED AUSTIN 42	23/6/1882	MBBS (Lond)	RES MO EYE INF, WOLVES			EMB 16/8/16 MALTA, 61ST GEN H SALONICA 2/7/17 - 26/10/18 CONTRACT TERM ON A/C ILL HEALTH		
HELEN PATRICIA BARNES (DENT) 1	17/03/1888	MBBS LSMW 1913	RES OBS OFF & OPHTH HO BRI, LATE RES MO WOLVES GH, S RES MO & HS BRISTOL R H CHIL/WOMEN, HO IPSWICH			EMB 2/8/16 MALTA - 27/7/17 RAMC, SOUTHERN COMMAND 10/9/17 - 6/6/18, UNI WAR H S'TON, THEN RESIGNED	EXAMINED WOMEN FOR WAAC	MATERNITY AND CHILD WELFARE MO, LEICESTER (MD 1924)
ELIZABETH GOULD BELL (FISHER) 21	24/12/1862	MBBCh BAO 1893				EMB 2/8/16 -'IN CHARGE WARD IN MALTA H' - 27/7/17, REQUESTED IRISH COMMAND - UNAVAILABLE		WORKED AS GP IN BELFAST UNTIL AT LEAST 1928 (LK)
MARY FLORENCE BIGNOLD 31	20/09/1883	MBChB (Edin) 1907	RES MO BLACKBURN FEVER H, RES MO BLACKBURN WORKHOUSE, RES MO JENNY LIND H CHILD, NORWICH		MO 2ND SERBIAN UNIT, VALJEVO	EMB 12/8/16 MALTA - 5/3/19, SOUTHERN COMMAND 6/3/19 - 11/11/19 UNI H S'TON, ROYAL VICTORIA H NETLEY		ASS MOH, BRIGHTON
MABEL KATE BISHOPP 20	04/05/1876	MRCs LRCP LSMW 1914				EMB 2/8/16 MALTA, EASTERN COMMAND -R HERBERT H, GREENWICH 23/11/18 - 2/10/19		LONDON ADDRESS BUT NO JOB (MD 1924)
MARY ALICE BLAIR 75	36YRS	MBBS 1907 LSMW, MD 1910			CMO IN SALONIKA, CORSICA	EMB 26/9/16 MALTA (FROM CORSICA) 65 GEN H SALONIKA 2/7/17 -28/11/17, EASTERN COMMAND 18/1/19 - 16/8/19	SENIOR MEDICAL OFFICER IN CHARGE CMP ISLEWORTH H, WAAC 1/17	PREVENTION DYSENTERY IN CAMP DISCUSSED MWF MEETING 4/11/19
CATHARINE LAURA BOYD 11	27/11/1881	MBCh BAO 1903 DPH Camb 1908	HS CH HOSP, DUBLIN. 1913 SCH MO YORKS ED COM			EMB 2/8/16 MALTA, 64 GEN H SALONICA 18/6/17 - 11/3/18 (CONTRACT TERM ILL HEALTH, EASTERN COMMAND 15/11/18 - 8/1/19		SCH MO, ENFIELD ED COM
EVELINE ROSETTA COHEN 74	36YRS	MBChB (Edin) FRCSI				EMB 17/9/16 MALTA- 23/9/17, ALDERSHOT, CAMBRIDGE MH 1/11/18 - 16/12/18		NOT LISTED 1920
BEATRICE COXON 5	31 ON 2/8/16	LRCPS(?Ed), LRFPS (Glas) 1909	RES MO & LECT BATTERSEA BRIDGE CLAPHAM MAT HOSP	SRF NO 3, KRAGUJEVATZ		EMB 2/8/16 MALTA- 1/8/17(THENCE TO SALONIKA SRF)		
EFFIE MARION DOUGLAS CRAIG 73	37 YRS	MBChB (Edin) 1912	ASS MOH B'HAM			EMB 17/9/16, 65 GEN H SALONICA 2/7/17, MALTA 14/11/18, SCOTTISH COMMAND 1/3/19 - 11/4/19 2ND SCOTTISH GEN H CRAIGSLEITH -		WORK MALTA/SALONICA, MALARIA/SCURVY IN SERBS MWF MEETING 4/11/19. ASS MOH & SCH MO WIMBLEDON

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NAME	DOB	QUALS	PRE WAR	VOL UNIT	SWH	ATTACHED RAMC	QMAAC	POST WAR
						DEMOB		
BARBARA MARTIN CUNNINGHAM 22	26/08/1877	MBChB(Edin) DPH Camb	MO NAT INS COMMISSION			EMB 2/8/16 MALTA - MILITARY HOSPITAL MTARFA , 61ST GEN H SALONIKA 2/7/17 - 1/8/18 MID 28/11/17		AWARDED OBE. MO MINISTRY OF HEALTH
ELSIE JEAN DALYELL 65	30/12/1881-1948	MBBS Sydney 1909	RES MO ROYAL PRINCE ALFRED H, BEIT RESEARCH FELLOW LISTER INSTITUTE 1912, REFUSED BY WO	6TH RESERVE HOSPITAL, USKUB. SKOPJE UNTIL OVERRUN BULGS OCT 1915	ROYAUMONT BACTERIOLOGIST FROM MAY- OCT 1916	EMB MALTA 20/10/16, 63RD GENERAL H SALONIKA 1/6/17 - 1/7/19 MID LG 28/11/17 & MID LG 5/6/19, ARR ENG 1/7/19 EXP CONTRACT. 82ND ISTANBUL CHOLERA 1919. OBE 1919		MRC/LISTER INSTITUTE - RICKETS RESEARCH - SUNLIGHT AND VITAMIN DEFICIENCIES VIENNA. RETURNED AUS 1923. 1924 SENIOR ASS MICRO DEPT PUBLIC HEALTH. DEVT CLINIC/LAB FOR VD AT RACHEL FOSTER WOMEN'S H. BTS FOR RED CROSS IN SWW
GEORGINA ELIZABETH DAVIDSON 27	03/12/1886	MBChB (Edin) 1914			JOINED STAFF TO REPLACE ILL DRS IN SERBIA ?LATE 1915 - 2ND UNIT	EMB 12/8/16 MALTA, SALONIKA 1/6/17 - 16/10/19, CONTRACT EXP 11/8/19, ARR HOME 16/10/19,MID SALONIKA 5/6/19, SANITARY WORK CONSTANTINOPE, WILLING TO GO ABROAD 17/10/19		ADDRESS EDIN BUT NO JOB 1923
ROSE LILIAN HUMPHREY DAVY 83	7/1/1877	MBBS 1908 LSMW, DPH 1914	ASS SCH MO DURHAM CC			E COMMAND - GUILDFORD 12/12/16 EMB MALTA 17/1/17 - 2/7/17, 62 GEN H SALONIKA 11/7/17 - 25/7/18 RELINQUISHED, MALTA 30/9/18 - 11/2/19 REAPPOINTED, E COMMAND 4/3/19 - 29/9/19		SCH MED INSP W RIDING YORKS CC 1923
VIOLET MABEL DEALE (ROSS) 72	10/08/1890	MBBCh BAO 1916 Univ Dublin				EMB MALTA 24/9/16, 64 GEN H SALONIKA 18/6/17 - 28/10/17		MED SUPT PORTSMOUTH MUNICIPAL MATERNITY HOSP & MUN MAT AND CHILD WELFARE CENTRES 1923
GERTRUDE MARGARET DOBRASHIAN 19	23/01/1887	MBBS 1911 LSMW	RES MO RANSOM SANITORIUM, MANSFIELD			EMB 2/8/16 MALTA - 1/8/17, IMTARFA MIL HOSP, HOME 24/?9/17 - RAMCJ 1918 RE BACILLARY DYSENTERY		PATHOLOGIST I/C NOTTINGHAM CITY LABORATORY 1919
MARGARET BERNARD DOBSON 9	28/12/1874	MB 1900 LSMW, MD 1905	MO WEST LONDON DIST SCHS, MO INFANT CONS BORO POPLAR (R ASYLUM WAKEFIELD, AUTHOR EYE PAPERS 1907)			EMB 2/8/16 MALTA - 27/7/17 VALLETTA MIL HOSP, LONDON DISTRICT (TEMP DUTY 27/4/18), EGYPT 4/5/18 - 23/4/19 ARR HOME, EXP CONTRACT 3/5/19		VALETTA H MALTA - DRAWINGS OCULAR PATHOLOGY, EGYPT - 44 ?WHEN. CHIEF CLIN ASS EYE DEPT GUYS HOSP, OCULIST LCC TREATMENT CENTRE, KILBURN
KATHERINE ROSEBERY DRINKWATER 7	11/11/1872	LSAMBBS 1906, DPH Liv 1909	TEACHER COM MIDWIVES BOARD ,MED INSP SCH CHILDREN WREXHAM ED AND DENBIGH CO COUNCIL, ARTICLE FORCEPS 1913			EMB 2/8/16 MALTA - 27/7/17 COMMAND MILITARY FAMILIES HOSP, STAFF AND DEPTS		AWARDED OBE. ASS SCH MO WREXHAM ED COMM

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NAME	DOB	QUALS	PRE WAR	VOL UNIT	SWH	ATTACHED RAMC	QMAAC	POST WAR
IRENE CECIL DAVY EATON 6	21/09/1882	MBBS 1909 LSMW, DPH 1914	ASS MOH AND ASS SCH MO WILLESSEN DIST			EMB 2/8/16 MALTA- ?, (LISTED AS BACTERIOLOGIST)	APPOINTED MEDICAL CONTROLLER EASTERN COMMAND 17 OCT 1917	MO MINISTRY OF HEALTH
ELIZABETH MARY EDWARDS 57	10/4/1886	MBChB Aber 1912, DPH 1913	ASS MOH HUDDERSFIELD			EMB 10/9/16 MALTA, 64 GEN H SALONIKA 18/6/17 - 10/9/18 MID LG 28/11/17, EASTERN COMMAND - ADDINGTON PARK 8/10/18 - 23/4/19 RESIGNED		NOT LISTED 1920/3
ANNIE GRANGE FERGUS 64	30/03/1881	MBChB Edin 1910	ASS MO BRADFORD UNION, ASS MOH ROCHDALE			EMB 20/10/16 ST DAVID'S, MALTA, 62ND GENERAL H SALONIKA 2/7/17 - ADVERSE REPORT, ARR HOME 6/3/18, E COMMAND-COLCHESTER 18/3/18 - 20/10/18, MALTA 14/11/18, SOUTHERN COMMAND 28/2/19 - 6/5/19 DEMOB		NO JOB LISTED 1923
IDA EMILIE FOX 52	14/04/1876	MBBS 1902 LSM, MD Dur 1906	HP NEW HOSP WOMEN			EMB 10/9/16 MALTA, 65 GEN H SALONIKA 2/7/17 - 9/3/18, EASTERN COMMAND 27/11/18 - 10/12/18 RESIGNED, SOUTHERN COMMAND 24/1/19 - 29/5/19 1ST SOUTHERN GEN H, B'HAM		NO JOB LISTED 1923
LOUISE ELIZABETH FRASER 30	08/10/1891	MBChB St And 1916	HS DUNDEE ROYAL INFIRMARY			EMB 12/8/16 MALTA, SALONIKA 1/6/17 - 11/8/19 ARR HOME 11/8/19 PAID UP TO 16/11/19 IE 3 MONTHS FROM EMBARKATION AT CONSTANTINOPLE.NEURAESTHENIA DISABILITY WAR SERVICE 100%, LANCASTER GATE 30% 29/10/19		NO JOB LISTED 1923
PRUDENCE ELIZABETH GAFFIKIN 58 LK	18/8/?74	LRCP LRCS (Edin) LFPS Glas 1900	1907 ASS MOH HUDDERSFIELD,SCH MO ENFIELD, 1910 LECTURED WITH DR MARY THORNE IN IRELAND. 1913 SUPT PEAMOUNT SANITORIUM, DUBLIN			EMB 10/9/16 MALTA - MANOEL ISLAND - 9/9/18, SOUTHERN COMMAND 12/12/18 - 14/1/19 RESIGNED		IMPORTANT HEART WORK WITH SIR ARTHUR GARROD PUBLISHED JOURNALS, NO JOB LISTED 1923, CHILD WELFARE LECTURES
JESSIE HANDYSIDE GELLATLY 49	07/12/1882 - 1936	MBChB Edin 1906, MD 1910, DPH 1910	LEITH HOSP, MO CADBURY, BOURNEVILLE, 1909 MO WALTHAMSTOW SAN, 1914 ASS MOH CAMBS CO COUNCIL			EMB 1/9/16 MALTA, 65 GEN H SALONIKA 2/7/17 - 18/9/18	MEDICAL OFFICIAL 18 SEPT 1918	?ASS MOH CAMBS CO COUNCIL 1919

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NAME	DOB	QUALS	PRE WAR	VOL UNIT	SWH	ATTACHED RAMC	QMAAC	POST WAR
ELIZABETH TAYLOR GILCHRIST 32	23/10/1863	LRCPS(Edin) LRCPS(Glas) 1893, MD Bruxelles 1909	RES PHYS HOSP WOMEN AND CHILD, EDIN GP PANEL (SMSEC)			EMB 12/8/16 MALTA, SALONIKA 2/7/17 - 27/12/18, SCOTLAND-PERTH WAR H 27/12/18 - 1/6/19 (LEAVE TO 17/1/19)		NOT LISTED 1923
ELEANOR AMELIA GORRIE 23	17/04/1881	MBChB(Edin)				EMB 12/8/16 MALTA - 22/11/17, WESTERN COMMAND 5/2/18 - 11/8/18, 3RD WESTERN GENERAL, NEWPORT. MED BOARD LEAVE 1/12/17 - 31/12/17, BOARDED 21/1/18 FOUND FIT, POSTED W COMMAND		
HELEN EVANGELINE ELIZABETH MARY ANNE GREENE 55	22/03/1865	LSA 1894 LSMW, MD Brux 1896	JUN RES MO BATTERSEA BR CLAPHAM MATERN			EMB 10/9/16 MALTA, EGYPT 17/12/17 - 9/5/19. CITADEL HOSPITAL CHRISTMAS 1917.CAIRO -STAYED EGYPT UNTIL MAY 1919		PHYS PROVIDENT DISP AND BASS ST HOME
EDITH MARY GUEST 50	15/06/1873	MBBS 1908 LSMW, MD (Lond) 1914	HS NEW HOSP WOMEN, 1908 HP BELGRAVE HOSPITAL CHILDREN, SCHOOLS MO			EMB 1/9/16 MALTA - ST DAVID'S H MEDICAL WARDS, BRIEFLY MANOEL HOSPITAL, EGYPT 17/12/17 - 4/8/18, CHARGE XRAY DEPT 45 GH, THEN ABBASSIA, 27 CAMP HOSP.RELEASED ON 4/8/18 WITH PAY TO 3/8/18 & FULL GRATUITY CAIRO - REFUSED TO RENEW CONTRACT DUE TO LACK COMMISSION - RETURNED HOME		ASS MO LCC
ANNIE MABEL GURNEY 62	28/7/1868	MBChB (Edin) 1903, DPH Cantab 1911	ASS MOH CAMBRIDGE			EMB 20/10/16, EGYPT ? UNTIL ?21/4/19 DEMOB		ASS MOH AND SCH MO CAMBRIDGE
ETHNE HAIGH 66	18/07/1889	MBBS Dur 1916, MRCS LRCP 1916	SEN HP ROYAL VICT INF NEWCASTLE			EMB 20/10/16 FLORIANA H, MALTA, 65 GEN H SALONIKA 2/7/17 - 28/10/17 RESIGNED, LONDON DISTRICT 1/8/18 - 30/6/19 CEASED DUTY HOSPITAL CLOSING		ASS MO MAB FEVER HOSP SERVICE
HELEN BEATRICE DE RASTRICKE, HANSON 45	6/1/1874 - 1926	MB 1901 LSMW, MD 1904, DPH Ox 1911	MO KINAIRD MEM HOSP LUCKNOW 1905 - 9, MED ASS PUBLIC HEALTH DEPT LCC	ANTWERP AND ANGLO-FRENCH H, AND SERBIA - MRS CLAIR STOBART,SRF NO 3, KRAGUJEVATZ		EMB 24/8/16 MALTA, 61ST GEN H SALONIKA 2/7/17 - 29/5/20, RENEWED 12 MON 24/8/17 &24/8/18,RENEW 3/12 FROM 24/11/19 AND 2/12 FROM 24/2/20, LEFT CONSTANTINOPLE 11/4/20 FOR UK,ARR UK 29/5/20, CONTRACT EXP 23/4/20		ORDER ST SAVA, RED CROSS DECORATION, MED ASS PUBLIC HEALTH LCC
DOROTHY CHRISTIAN HARE 4	14/09/1876	MBBS MD (Lond), DPH Camb				EMB 2/8/16 MALTA -JAN 1918. ST GEORGE'S HOSPITAL - COLONEL SCANLON. ARRIVED HOME 6/2/18	ASSISTANT MEDICAL DIRECTOR WRNS FROM APRIL 18	DISCUSSED OBSCURING OF AGG TESTS FOR PARATYPHOID BY VACC WITH WMF POSTWAR

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NAME	DOB	QUALS	PRE WAR	VOL UNIT	SWH	ATTACHED RAMC	QMAAC	POST WAR
FRANCES MARGARET HARPER 3	06/07/1876 - 3/10/45 39 1/1/16	MBChB 1903 Edin, DPH 1904 Camb, DTM1913 Eng	ASS MO ST HELENS/STOKE ON TRENT, HS GLASGOW MAT HOSP, MED INSP SCHOOLS LANCASTER CC		(WT RES &BACTERIOLOGIST, ROYAL SURREY COUNTY H, GUILDFORD (SMSEC))	EMB 2/8/16 MALTA- 10/2/19, SOUTHERN COMMAND, MIL H DEVONPORT 6/3/19-6/5/19, DEMOB		MO ENGLISH MISSION CZECHOSLOVAKIA. MED MISSIONARY LAKE LEOPOLD II, AFRICA
KATHARINE HEANLEY 53	1869	LSA				EMB 10/9/16 MALTA, SALONIKA1/6/17 - 10/9/18, WESTERN COMMAND ?? HEATH 23/11/18 - 30/4/19 RESIGNED		
MABEL HECTOR 33	16/12/1879	MBChB (Aberdeen)				EMB 12/8/16 MALTA- 1/8/17, 2ND WESTERN GENERAL, MANCHESTER 1/9/17 - 20/6/1918, EGYPT 21/6/18 - 21/8/19 (TERM CONTRACT 20/8/19, ARR ENG 21/8/19)		
EDITH BLAKE HOLLWAY 48	1874 - 26/12/48	MBBS LSMW 1906	SMO CANNING TOWN WOM SETTLEMENT HOSP PLAISTOW		KRAGUIEVATZ 1 DEC 14 - 1 MARCH 16, CORSICA 20 APR 16 - 16 AUG 16	EMB 26/8/16 MALTA - ST DAVID'S HOSPITAL , 62 GEN H SALONIKA 2/7/17 -6/11/17 MID 28/11/17 CONSTANTINOPLE UNTIL 26/7/21 , CONTRACT FOR 6/12 FROM 26/8/20 @ £650, OBE 3/6/19 LG 12/12/19, MID SALONIKA LG 11/6/20, RETURN TO CONST (ON LEAVE) 10/7/20		WOMENS MEDICAL SERVICE INDIA 1923
JANET GERTRUDE HORWOOD 2	1870	LRCPS(ED),FRCSI				EMB 2/8/16 -?27/5/17, MALTA INVALIDED 12/6/17, SOUTHERN COMMAND, BIRMINGHAM 20/8/17 - 20/11/18, RESIGNED		
ELIZABETH HURDON 46	1870 - 1941	MDCM(Toronto) Fell Amer Coll Surgeons, MD 1895	SPECIALISED IN GYNAE PATH, STUDIED UNDER OSLER, AT JOHN HOPKINS HOSP, BALTIMORE			EMB 24/8/16 MALTA, 65 GEN H SALONIKA 2/7/17, EASTERN COMMAND GREENWICH &WOOLWICH H 27/9/18 - 5/1/19, RESIGNED		PRESENTED CASES MALTA/SALONIKA MWF MEETING 4/11/19,DIRECTOR MARIE CURIE H, WROTE TEXTBOOK CANCER UTERUS, CBE
MARY MURIEL GRIFFIN ILES 71	41YRS	MBBS 1899,MD (Lond) 1901, DPH 1906		?SRF NO 3, KRAGUIEVATZ - POW		EMB 1/9/16 MALTA - 14/9/17, TO INDIA AT HER OWN EXPENSE		NO JOB LISTED 1920/3
HILDA GRACE JOHNSON 12	11/08/1889	MRCs LRCP MBBS				EMB 2/8/16 MALTA, 64 GEN H 18/6/17 - 14/8/18		
HELEN ISOBEL WINIFRED KERR (TAYLOR) 68	23YRS	MBChB Glasgow				EMB 20/10/16 MALTA, INVALIDED ?7/5/18, WESTERN COMMAND 23/7/18 - 31/8/19 MILITARY H, PARK HALL CAMP, OSWESTRY		
BEATRICE MARY KIDD 59	28/12/1876	?MBBS Lond				EMB 10/9/16 MALTA - 9/9/17 ARR HOME		
ANNIE AMANDA LAWYER 61	1866	MDCM R Med Coll Queens Univ MRCPS Ontario				EMB 20/10/16 MALTA - 22/12/16 INVALIDED OUT OF THE SERVICE		

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NAME	DOB	QUALS	PRE WAR	VOL UNIT	SWH	ATTACHED RAMC	QMAAC	POST WAR
ELSIE MARIAN LAYMAN 24	17/2/1883	MBBS 1908 LSMW	LATE SEN OBS ASS RFH,MO FED MALAY STATES GOVT			EMB 2/8/16 MALTA, 64 GENERAL SALONIKA 18/6/17 -?24/8/18 RELINQUISHED		SRF NISH, SERBIA NO JOB LISTED 1923
ELIZABETH HERDMAN LEPPER 14	03/07/1883 - 23/12/71	MBBS 1907 LSMW, MD 1910	PHYS OPD S LONDON HOSP WOMEN, PATHOLOGIST NEW H WOMEN, RICHARD HOLLINS RESEARCH SCHOLAR CANCER RESEARCH LAB MIDDX HOSP, JOURNAL ART 1912 RE BLOOD COAG			EMB 2/8/16 MALTA ST DAVID'S HOSPITAL , 65 GEN H SALONIKA 2/7/17-25/7/19 (CONTRACT EXP 1/8/19))JOINT PAPER WITH MAJOR ARKWRIGHT ON CAUSE OF BLACKWATER FEVER, JRAMC 1/4/18		CBE 3/6/19, 4/11/19 PRESENTED CASE FULM CEREBRAL MALARIA/BW FEVER AND AMOEBIC LIVER ABSCESS AT MWF MEETING, 1919 BEIT MEMORIAL RESEARCH FELLOW MEDICAL RESEARCH,1920 PATHOLOGIST EGA HOSP,1937 RESEARCH OVARIAN CYSTS
AGNES MOORE LIVINGSTONE-LEARMONTH 17	02/07/1877	MBChB (Edin) 1901				EMB 2/8/16 MALTA,61ST GEN H SALONIKA 2/7/17 - 1/8/19 (EXP CONTRACT), VARIOUS AWARDS - CBE		NO JOB LISTED 1923, NO LISTINGS FOR HER OR HUSBAND BEFORE THAT
MARGARET HELEN MACKILLOP 67	30YRS	MBChB Glasgow 1913	NO JOBS LISTED			EMB 20/10/16 MALTA - 12/2/18, EGYPT 13/2/19, SPECIALIST PAY AS BACTERIOLOGIST 13/7/18		NO DETAILS 1920/23
JESSIE ALEXANDRIA MACLAREN 90	1886	MB				EASTERN COMMAND 6/12/16, EMB 2/7/17 MALTA, EGYPT 10/2/18 - 1/7/19(CONTRACT EXP) ?14/7/19 (ARR UK)		
MARY EDITH MARTIN 29	19/07/1875	LRCPS((Edin) LFPS(Glas) LSA (Lond)				EMB 12/8/16 MALTA - 12/11/17		MEMBER MEDICO-PSYCHOLOGICAL ASSN GB AND IRELAND
MARY MARTIN 16	1889	MBChB (Edin)				EMB 2/8/16 MALTA, INVALIDED FROM MALTA, EMB FOR EGYPT 24/2/18 - 1/2/19, EASTERN COMMAND R HERBERT, WOOLWICH		
EUPHAN MONTGOMERIE MAXWELL 18	29 ON 2/8/16					EMB 2/8/16 MALTA 1/11/17, RESIGNED LEFT MALTA 25/10/17, 14 DAYS LEAVE 20/1/17 SICILY, LEAVE FROM MALTA 7/3/17, ARR DUBLIN 15/3 ILLNESS FATHER		
MARGARET JOSEPHINE MCENERY 69	29 YEARS	MRCs LRCP MBBS (Lond)				EMB 20/10/16 MALTA, 65 GEN H SALONICA, EGYPT 2/7/17, EGYPT 4/5/18-24/4/19 DEMOB		
ADA MCLAREN (WILKINSON) 35	40YRS	1902 MBChB Edin	WORKING IN S AFRICA WITH HUSBAND PRE WAR	BERRY UNIT, SERBIA, TAKEN PRISONER 2/12		EMB 12/8/16 MALTA, EGYPT, 21/3/18 - 14/9/19, CONTRACT EXP 11/8/19, ARR UK 12/9/19,DEMOB 14/9/19 BACTERIOLOGIST 27 GH 13/8/18		1921 PRIVATE LAB CAIRO
ELIZABETH JANE MOFFETT 36	49 YRS	MD(Lond)				EMB 12/8/16 MALTA - 11/2/19 VALLETTA HOSPITAL ON 21/5/18		SUFFRAGIST, 50 ON ARRIVAL MALTA, RESEARCH FUNDI IN TRENCH FEVER

Appendix A Malta, Salonika, Egypt, Constantinople Women Doctors

NAME	DOB	QUALS	PRE WAR	VOL UNIT	SWH	ATTACHED RAMC	QMAAC	POST WAR
GERALDINE MURPHY 98						EMB 9/12/16 MALTA - 22/2/18, EGYPT 23/2/18 - 9/5/19 DEMOB 27/5/19		
LILLIE JOSEPHINE MURPHY 78	14/02/1891	MBBCh BAO NUI 1915				EMB 18/11/16 MALTA, 62 GEN H SALONIKA 2/7/17 - 8/5/19		
MARY AGNES BEAUSANG MURPHY 79 LK	21/09/1887	MBBCh BAO UI 1912 DPH				EMB 18/11/16 MALTA . VOLUNTEERED FOR FRANCE 2/10/17, FRANCE FROM 22/11/18 AS PATHOLOGIST, S COMMAND - 1ST S GEN H 14/2/19 - 11/5/19, IRISH COMMAND 12/5/19 MILITARY FAMILY H, CURRAGH - PAID 5 SHILLINGS/DAY AS SPECIALIST IN GYNAE/MIDWIFERY		
MARY DOROTHEA MURRAY 38	15/10/1883	MBChB (St.And)				EMB 12/8/16 MALTA, 62 GEN H SALONICA 2/7/17, EGYPT 30/9/18 - 31/10/19, DEMOB IN EGYPT WEF 31/10/19		
SARAH O'FLYNN (WINSTEDT) 70	1888 - 9/9/72	MBChB (Edin) 1912	ASS OBS RFH. 1913 COLONIAL MEDICAL SERVICES IN MALAYA			EMB 15/9/16, SALONIKA 1/6/17, E COMMAND 19/12/18 -14/12/19 FORT PITT, CHATHAM - CEASED DUTY		1919 MEDICAL MISSION NORTH RUSSIA. 1921 SURGEON SINGAPORE GENERAL HOSPITAL. 1932 HEAD PAED WARD SGH. RETURNED ENGLAND 1937. MARIE CURIE HOSP HAMPSTEAD
MARGARET GEMMELL ORMISTON 51	9/5/1880	MBChB ST AndREW 1906, MD	ASS SCH MO CHESHIRE CO COUN			EMB 1/9/16 MALTA, 64 GEN H SALONIKA 18/6/17 - 11/12/19 ARR IN UK, CONSTANTINOPLE 12/11/20 - 21/4/21 CONTRACT EXP 30/11/19, NEW CONTRACT FOR £650 SIGNED 29/1/20, EMB CONST 12/11/20, DISEMB 21/4/21		ASS SCH MO CORN CO COUNCIL, SCH MO LIVERPOOL ED COMM
DOROTHY ELLEN PRATT 8	19/09/1871	MBChB MD 1898 Edin, MD 1912	SUPT STATE HOSP WOMEN AND CHILDREN SRINAGAR			EMB 2/8/16 MALTA -24/11/16		ASS COUNTY MO PLAISTOW FEVER HOSP, MO INSP SCHOOLS KENT CC, ASS TB OFF LAMBETH
JANE ELIZABETH REYNOLDS 39 LK	28/09/1876	MBBCh BAO 1905				EMB 16/8/16 MALTA, 61ST GEN H SALONIKA 2/7/17, SOUTHERN COMMAND, 4TH SOUTHERN GEN H 9/1/19 - 18/8/19	APPOINTED QMAAC	RES MO POOR LAW INS DERBY 1920
MOSS MORRISON ROUGVIE 76	17/04/1888	MBChB(Edin) 1911				EMB 20/10/16 MALTA, 61 GEN H SALONIKA 2/7/17, SOUTHERN COMMAND 10/1/19 - 19/4/19 1ST SOUTHERN GEN H B'HAM		MO HMP PRISON SERVICE

Appendix A Malta, Salonika, Egypt, Constantinople Women Doctors

NAME	DOB	QUALS	PRE WAR	VOL UNIT	SWH	ATTACHED RAMC	QMAAC	POST WAR
MARGARET ELIZABETH RUTHERFORD 63	18/10/1884	MBChB Glas 1910	ASS MO GOVAN PARISH SCHOOL BOARD, RES MO SMITHSTON POOR HOUSE AND ASYLUM, HS ROYAL SAMARITAN HOSP, GLASGOW		ASS SURGEON, ROYAUMONT JUNE - 23 OCT 1915, RESIGNED CRITICAL MISS IVENS	EMB 20/10/16 MALTA, SALONIKA 1/6/17, SOUTHERN COMMAND 24/1/19 - 19/5/19 4TH SOUTHERN GEN H, LETTER DDMS S COMMAND 26/?9/19 CEASED DUTY 19/5/19		
ALICE EMELIE SANDERSON 41	14/5/1875	MBBS MD BSc (Lond)				EMB 16/8/16 MALTA, 61ST GEN H SALONICA 2/7/17 - 16/2/18		
ISABELLA STENHOUSE 25	30/07/1887 - 28 1/1/16	MBChB (Edin) 1913	HS LIVERPOOL ROYAL INFIRMARY	ANGLO-ETHIOPIAN HOSPITAL, FREVENT, PAS DE CALAIS 20/3/15 - 29/9/15		EMB 12/8/16 MALTA, EGYPT 4/5/18 - 7/5/19 ALEXANDRIA, ARR FROM EGYPT 4/4/19 - GRANTED 6/52 SICK LEAVE TO 7/5/19 (FROM DATE EMBARCATION) ON A/C INJURY RECEIVED (NOT ON DUTY) IN EGYPT.		MAT AND INFANT WELFARE POPLAR, EGA HOSP, NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE AND DURHAM COUNCIL
MARGARET ANN HENDRY STEWART 56	06/10/1890	MBChB				EMB 10/9/16 MALTA, 64 GEN H SALONIKA 18/6/17 - 28/10/17, EGYPT, ALDERSHOT COMMAND 28/10/17, EGYPT 4/5/18 - 5/6/19, ARR FROM EGYPT 5/6/19, DEMOB 8/6/19		
MARTHA JANE MOODY STEWART (WEBB) 28	05/02/1884	MBBCh(Belfast))	RMO WORCESTER ROYAL INFIRMARY FROM 1 FEB 1915	SRF DISPENSARY REKOVATZ	(HS BIRMINGHAM MAT H APRIL 16)	EMB 12/8/16 MALTA- SPINOLA H, SALONIKA 1 JUNE 1917 - 31/8/18 RELINQUISHED		EMIGRATED TO S AFRICA POST WAR (WORCESTER MUSEUM)
ISOBEL ADDEY TATE 44 LK	1/5/1878 - 1917	MBBCh BAO 1899, MDRUI 1902 DPH Manch 1904	1904 MMO BURNLEY UNION INF, 1908 MO INPS CHILDREN SHROPSHIRE CC, MED INSP SCH CHILDREN LANCS ED COMMITTEE, 1914 PUBLIC HEALTH OFF MANCHESTER CC	SRF NO 3, KRAGUJEVATZ ILL IN BELGRADE	(1915 -16 GRAYLINGWELL WAR HOSP, CHICHESTER)	EMB 24/8/16 MALTA, ST PAUL'S HUTMENT CAMP, CHARGE BACTERIOLOGY UNIT, VALETTA H - 28/1/17, DIED IN MALTA ?TYPHOID, FUNERAL 30/01/17		
MARY THORNE 15	13/01/1861	LSA 1895 MD Brux 1895 FRCSI 1902	HON PHYS DIS WOM ST MARYLEBONE GEN DISP, CLIN ASS RFH NEW HOSP, PAPERS GYNAE PATH			EMB 2/8/16 MALTA - MO I/C SISTERS HOSP & STAFF DEPTS MIL FAMILIES HOSP, MALTA, LONDON DISTRICT 8/7/18- 12/7/19 NURSES H VINCENT SQUARE		AWARDED OBE, WORKED R FREE H POST WAR. RETIRED BY 1923
ELIZABETH STEPHENSON WALKER 47 LK	20/07/1890	MBChB BAO 1915				EMB 24/8/16 MALTA - 1/7/17, 62ND GEN H SALONIKA 2/7/17 - 29/9/18, EGYPT 30/9/18 - 14/9/19, CONTRACT EXP 23/8/19, ARR UK 12/9/19, DEMOB 14/9/19		MO WOMEN'S MEDICAL SERVICES FOR INDIA 1925 ONWARDS
MARY BROADFOOT WALKER 54	17/04/1888	MBChB(Edin)1913	RES MO HACKNEY UNION INF HOMERTON			EMB 10/9/16 MALTA, SALONIKA 1/6/17 - 10/6/19, ARR ENG 10/6/19		ASS SCH MED INSP STAFFS ?DATE

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NAME	DOB	QUALS	PRE WAR	VOL UNIT	SWH	ATTACHED RAMC	QMAAC	POST WAR
ENID MARGARET WALTERS 40	10/06/1882	MBBS(Lond)			ROYAUMONT FROM OCTOBER 1917	EMB 16/8/16 MALTA , LONDON DISTRICT TO 30/9/17 RESIGNED		
JANET PARK WALTON 60	09/09/1890 - 25 1/1/16	MBChB (Edin)	ASS MO CRAIGLOCKHART POORHOUSE EDIN (25/12/15 SMSEC)			EMB 10/9/16 MALTA, 64 GEN H SALONIKA 18/6/17 - 13/3/18		
KATHERINE ADA WARING 34	9/3/1885	MBBS 1915 LSMW	ASS MO NW FEVER HOSP, HP NEW HOSP WOMEN			EMB 12/8/16 MALTA, 61ST GEN H SALONIKA 2/7/17 - 26/12/17 REFUSED RENEW CONTRACT WHILE IN SALONIKA, RETURNED HOME ?JAN 18, APPLIED HS HAMPSTEAD GENERAL BUT MAN APPOINTED	MO WAAC	ASS MO QUEEN MARY'S HOSP CHILDREN CARSHALTON
GLADYS MARY JOAN WATTS 13	03/10/1881	MBBS (Lond)		ANTWERP H AND ANGLO-FRENCH NO 2, CHERBOURG-MRS CLAIR STOBART		EMB 2/8/16 MALTA (RETURNED REDUCTION ESTABLISHMENT), 24/3/19 -16/8/19 SOUTHERN COMMAND, B'HAM SPECIAL SURG H		
SARAH MARGUERITE WHITE 10	04/02/1883	MDMS Univ Ill USA	ASS SURGEON CARL BECK NORTH CHICAGO HOSPITAL CLINIC			EMB 2/8/16 MALTA, ST ELMO H - 5/8/19 (EMB CHICAGO 20/9/19) APPOINTED SPECIALIST IN OPERATIVE SURGERY MALTA WITH EXTRA PAY UNDER PARA 36		
NORA TERESA WILLIAMS 37	29/11/1864	LRCPSI ?LM(Cambs)				EMB 12/8/16 MALTA - 5/12/16, TERMINATED ON A/C ILL HEALTH		
ELECTRA LAZELL ANDERSON WILSON 43	12/06/1881 - 1942	MB Univ Tor, MRCPS Ontario	HUSBAND CAMC JUNE 1915. EARLY 1916 GRAYLINGWELL WAR HOSPITAL, CHICHESTER			EMB 24/8/16 MALTA - 14/7/19, EGYPT ?EXACT DATES, EXPIRATION OF CONTRACT		MARRIED DR A WILSON 27/9/11 VANCOUVER - TEMP LT RAMC, POST WAR BOTH PRACTICED IN ENGLAND

Appendix B WHC Women Doctors

NAME	DOB	NATIONALITY	QUALS	PRE WAR	VOL UNIT	ATTACHED RAMC	QMAAC	POST WAR
TOTAL 37 +1 DENTIST								
LOUISA GARRETT ANDERSON	1873 - 1943 - 41		MBBS 1898, MD 1900 LSMW	HS RFH 1901, OSLER'S CLINICS BALTIMORE 6/12, CLIN ASS/SURGEON NEW HOSP 1902, FOUNDED WOMEN'S HOSP FOR CHILDREN WITH FM		PARIS, WIMEREUX, ENDELL STREET		CBE HARROW RD HOSPT, CHILDREN'S HOSP CLOSED LACK FUNDS
HARRIE MARGUERITE ARNELL (NEE HOOD- BARRS)	1886 - ?28		MBBS 1911 LSMW	RFH		ENDELL STREET 1918		
JOAN BABINGTON					STOBART ANTWERP SEPT 1914, CHERBOURG	ENDELL STREET ?1915		
MARJORIE ADA BLANDY (MARTIN)	1887 - 1937 27		LRCP MRCS 1914 LSMW, MBBS 1917, MRCP 1922			WHC PARIS, 'LENT' TO RAMC FOR 6/12 13TH STATIONARY H, BOULOGNE		HS/HP RFH, GOS FEB 1917, HP AND THEN REG AT NATIONAL HOSP, ASS PHYS EGA
ELEANOR ELIZABETH BOURNE	1878 - 1957 36	AUSTRALIAN	MB CM SYDNEY 1903, DPH 1920	PRE-WAR - HON OPD PHYS HOSP SICK CHIL, BRISBANE, CHIEF MED INS SCHS QUEENSLAND		ENDELL ST - ASS SURGEON (LT) 1916 - 31 DEC 17	MEDICAL CONTROLLER QMAAC , NORTHERN COMMAND, YORK 2 JAN 1918	1925 - ASS MOH (MAT & CHILD WELFARE) CITY OF CARLISLE
VERA SCANTLEBURY BROWN	1889 - 1946 25	AUSTRALIAN	MBBS Melb 1914	1915 RESIDENT STAFF CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL		ENDELL ST - 1917 ?-1919		RETURNED TO AUSTRALIA 1919, FIRST DIRECTOR INFANT WELFARE VICTORIA 1926, OBE 1938
EMMA BUCKLEY (TURKINGTON)	1881 - ?33	AUSTRALIAN	MBChM 1911	ROYAL NORTH SHORE, SYDNEY. SAILED FROM SYDNEY 5 MAY 1915. LISTER INSTITUTE -AIF 1915 -16		ENDELL ST ?1918, KING GEORGE MILITARY H, LONDON UNTIL 1919		RETURNED TO AUSTRALIA FEBRUARY 1919
WINIFRED FINNIMORE BUCKLEY	1885 - 1959 29		LSMW MRCS LRCP 1913, DPH 1912	PRE-WAR HS VICT H SICK CHILD HULL, OBS ASS NEW HOSP LOND, JUN MED RES MO WOM & CHILD, EDIN		ENDELL ST OPENING, ASS SURGEON 1915 - 19		OBE
HELEN M CHAMBERS	1879 -1935 35		LSMW MBBS 1903/4, MD PATH 1908	PRE-WAR CLIN PATH R FREE, DEMONS PATH/BACT LSMW		ENDELL ST OPENING, PATHOLOGIST		CBE, WROTE PAPER IN BMJ ON USE SALICYLIC ACID. STUDY ON USES OF B.I.P., POST WAR RESEARCHER MRC. RADIO TX CA CERVIX AT MIDDX H, HELPED SET UP MARIE CURIE H, HAMPSTEAD
RACHEL ?KAY CHAMPION (SHAW)	1890 -1965 25	AUSTRALIAN	MBBS Melb 1914			ENDELL ST SURGEON 1916 -17		NEVER WORKED AS DR AFTER MARRYING
HAZEL HOWARD CUTHBERT (NEE CHODAK-GREGORY)	1886 - 1952 28		MBBS 1911 LSMW, MD 1913, MRCP 1915, FRCP 1935	ASS PATH R FREE, RES M/S OFF CHILD H B'HAM, HP R FREE OBS ASS NEW H		WHC FRANCE, ASS SURGEON ENDELL STREET		MRCP 1915, 1916 ACTING ASS PHYS RFH, 1919 ASS PHYS 1919 (FIRST WOMAN APPOINTED TO HON STAFF) ASS PHYS WOMEN H FOR CHILDREN, HARROW RD (1920), 1927 CHILDREN'S PHYS RFH UNTIL

Appendix B WHC Women Doctors

NAME	DOB	NATIONALITY	QUALS	PRE WAR	VOL UNIT	ATTACHED RAMC	QMAAC	POST WAR
								1946. 1935 FRCP
(EVA HANDLEY-READ)	1878 -? 36		DENTIST			ENDELL ST OPENING, DENTAL SURGEON)		
ELIZABETH ISOBEL HAMILTON-BROWNE	1882 - ? 32	AUSTRALIAN	MB Sydney 1909, MBChM 1910	RES MO/PATH SYDNEY H, MED SUPT ROY HOSP WOM, SYDNEY		ENDELL ST 1916 , 19TH GENERAL H EGYPT, FRANCE -MO TO US WOMEN CLERKS		MED DIR 1917 ONWARDS, ADDRESS UNCOMMUNICATED
DOROTHY TREVOR DAINTREE	1889 -?25		LRCP MRCS 1917			ENDELL STREET 1918		
GERTRUDE DEARNLEY	17/8/1884 - ?30		MBBS 1912 LSMW, MD 1916	JESSOP H WOMEN, SHEFFIELD		ENDELL STREET 1915 ONLY		CONSULTANT GYNAE RFH, QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S HOSP AND MARIE CURIE HOSP. FOUNDER FELLOW RCOG
MARGARET HELEN FRASER	1872 42		MBBS 1905	RFH, SLHFW, CTWSH		ENDELL STREET 1915 OPENING - ASS SURGEON		
GERTRUDE GAZDAR (FORRESTER)	1880 -? 34		MBBS LSMW 1908	JUN HS NEW H WOMEN, ASS CLIN PATH/HP RFH		WHC FRANCE, ASS SURGEON ENDELL STREET 1915 - MAY 1916. NORTHAMPTON WAR HOSPITAL		?JOB POST WAR. SISTER MAUD (SAME ADDRESS ESSEX) MBBS LSMW 1918
REFNA HORNE - WARNER (NEE MALLET)	1887 - ?27		LRCP MRCS 1914			?1917		
ROSALIE JOBSON (HOLMES) 87	1886 - 1963 28		LRCP MRCS LSMW 1914			WHC PARIS, 'LENT' TO RAMC FOR 6/12 BOULOGNE, E COMMAND, COLCHESTER 13/12/16 - 24/8/17 RESIGNED (FRIEND M BLANDY)	MEDICAL OFFICIAL 17 JUNE 1918, MED DIR 1920 AND 1922	GOS ?1917 UNTIL DISMISSED WHEN MALE DRS RETURNED, MARRIED DR GORDON HOLMES
CHARLOTTE GRACE JUDGE (SKENE)	1883 -1967 31		MBBS LSMW 1913	MO WOMEN'S HOSP CHILDREN		WHC PARIS/ WIMEREUX- ASS SURGEON		1916 HS GEN HOSP NORTHAMPTON, NOT LISTED 1918 ONWARDS
AGNES EMILIE KEEN	1882 -?32		ST 1917			1918		
WINIFRED MARY KINDNESS (STEEL)	1893 25 IN 1918		MBChB 1918, DPH 1921			ENDELL ST 1918 -19		
OCTAVIA MARGARET LEWIN	1869 -?45		MBBS 1896, MD 1903 CHICAGO	LONDON HOMEOPATHIC H		1918		
FEDE MARGHERITA MACKENZIE (SHATTOCK)	1888 -?26		MBBS 1914, DPH 1944, MD 1949			ENDELL ST ?1918		
ETHEL MAY MAGILL	1881 -?33		LSA 1906 MBBS 1914 LSMW, DPH 1912	CLIN ASS MENSTON ASYL, INSP SCH ESSEX COM, JUN OBS ASS R FH		ENDELL ST RADIOLOGIST/MO I/C ELECTROTHERAPY UNIT IN 1916 - 1918		NOT LISTED AFTER 1920

Appendix B WHC Women Doctors

NAME	DOB	NATIONALITY	QUALS	PRE WAR	VOL UNIT	ATTACHED RAMC	QMAAC	POST WAR
FLORA MURRAY	1869 - 1923 45		MBBS 1903, MD 1905 Durham, DPH 1906	PRE-WAR MO BEGRAVE H FOR CHILDREN, ANAES CHELSEA H WOMEN, JOINT FOUNDER WOMEN'S H FOR CHILDREN		PARIS, WIMEREUX, ENDELL STREET		
MARY ELIZABETH PHILLIPS (EPPYNT - PHILLIPS)	1874 -?40		MB 1900	LEEDS MATERNITY H				
ELLEN MARY PICKARD	1883 -?31		MBBS LSMW 1909, MD 1913	CLIN ASS MED OPD GOS, CLIN ASS R HOSP DIS CHEST, CITY RD, 1916 MED REG R FH, 1917 ASS PHYS S LHFW, 1918 PHYS SLHFW, 1921 PHYS WOM SETTLEMENT H, CANNING TOWN		ENDELL ST PHYSICIAN FROM 1919, REPLACED DR WOODCOCK		MEDICAL BOARD LONDON
MORNA LLOYD RAWLINS (VAUGHAN)	1882 -?32		MBBS 1911	RFH		1915 - MAY 1916 - ASS SURGEON		
EVA CAIRNS ROBERTS (NEE GLASIER)	1887 -?27		MBChB 1916, DPH 1919			ENDELL ST 5/17 GRILLE LIST		
SYDNEY JESSIE SCOTT- REID (VERNEY)	1880 -?34		MRCS LRCP 1913			ENDELL ST 1916 - 17, ENDELL ST 5/17 GRILLE LIST IN ALEXANDRIA JUNE 1918		
AMY SHEPPARD	1864 - 1936 50		MB 1892 LSMW, DPH 1898	OPHTH SURG NEW H WOM/MED MISS H CANNING TOWN. 'FEW YRS BEFORE WAR, SEASON AT AMRITSAR'. PAPER ON CATARACTS 1911. TAX RESISTER 1913		OPHTH SURGEON OBE, ENDELL STREET OPENING - 4 AND HALF YEARS		1920 OPHTH SURG EGA, ENDELL ST AND QMAAC H, ISLEWORTH, 1921 EGA/WOM SETT, CLAPHAM MAT H
ELLEN SYLK	1885 -?29		LRCP MRCS 1917, MBBS 1917			?		
MARGARET GRACE THACKRAH	1880 - 10/1/37 34		LSMW 1909, MD 1914, MRCP 1920	CLIN ASS WEST END H NERV DIS, 1916 ASS PHY S LONDON H, 1918 PHYS CANNING TOWN W SETT H, PHYS INFANT Q CHARLOTTE		ENDELL ST PHYSICIAN FROM MAY 1917		MO MUNITIONS FACTORY, ASS PHYS S LONDON H FROM 1915. 1925 PHYS SLHFW, PHYS INFANT Q CHARLOTTE
LILIAN MARY WEMYSS- GRANT (NEE BLONG)	?		ST 1898, MD 1898 Brussels	HR		ENDELL ST OPENING - ASS SURGEON		
EVA MURIEL WHITE	1886 -?28		LRCP MRCS 1915			RESIGNED MAY 1916		
FRANCES EVELYN WINDSOR (LEACOCK)	1887 -?27	CANADIAN	MB 1908 TORONTO	SCHOOL BOARD PHYSICIAN CALGARY		WORKED AS ANAESTHETIST AT ENDELL ST ?1917		
LOUISA WOODCOCK	1865 - 17/2/17		MBBS LSMW 1900, MD LOND 1904, MA Dub 1907	DEMONS CLIN PATH LMSW, PHYS NEW HOS WOMEN SINCE 1907 (WAS HS NEW H, HP RFH 1901)		ADMIN UK FOR WHC PARIS, ENDELL STREET OPENING, PHYSICIAN - DIED FEB 1917		

Appendix B WHC Women Doctors

Additional References

LSE WL 7LGA/6/01 Papers of Louisa Garrett Anderson, Women's Hospital Corps Doctors

LSE WL 7NLA/2/04 Papers of Nina Last- photographs

WL (SAMWF168) Account by Winifred Buckley Endell Street Military Hospital

J. Geddes, "Women as Army Surgeons': The Women's Hospital Corps' (MA Dissertation, Modern British Women's History, London Metropolitan University, 2005), Appendix B

F. Murray, *Women as Army Surgeons: Being the History of the Women's Hospital Corps in Paris, Wimereux and Endell Street, September 1914 – October 1919* (Cambridge University Press, 2014 [1920])

Notes on Number of Doctors at Endell Street

WL (SAMWF168) Account by Winifred Buckley Endell Street Military Hospital - Dr Buckley states 14 doctors at opening Endell Street

7LGA/3 Endell Street Military Hospital Scrapbook Press cuttings state the following number of doctors:-

January 1916 LGA/FM and 14 other doctors

12 August 1916 15 doctors, 7 assistant doctors including 3 Australians

Photograph August 1916 LGA/FM and 11 other doctors

3 November 1916 LGA/FM and 14 other doctors

2LSW/E/03/7 List of signatories 1917 petition to Sir Alfred Mond, First Commissioner of Works asking to remove grilles from Ladies Gallery in House of Commons:-

LGA/FM and 9 other doctors signed petition in 1917

Appendix C Irish Women Doctors

NAME	DOB	QUALS	PRE WAR	VOL UNIT	SCOTTISH WOMENS	ATTACHED RAMC	QMAAC	OTHER
TOTAL 28								
MARY JOSEPHINE AHERN 77	24/09/1889	LRCPSI 1913				EMB 18/11/16 MALTA (EFFECT FROM 1/11/16), 62 GEN H SALONIKA 2/7/17 - 5/5/19 DEMOB		RMO ST VINCENT'S HOSPITAL, DUBLIN
LILY BAKER LK	?1879	MBChB 1906 FRCSI 1913	ANATOMY DEMONS BRISTOL 1908-11. ASS SURG/GYNAE BRISTOL			(REPLACED OBS SURG AT BRI WHEN IN RAMC)	HONORARY MEDICAL OFFICER IN CHARGE WRAF IN THE FIELD (FRANCE), POST WAR GYNAE TO RHINE ARMY OF OCCUPATION	RETURNED TO BRI, OBS REG FOUNDATION MEMBER RCOG
ELIZABETH GOULD BELL (FISHER) 21 LK	24/12/1862	MBBCh BAO 1893				EMB 2/8/16 - 'IN CHARGE WARD IN MALTA H' - 27/7/17, REQUESTED IRISH COMMAND - UNAVAILABLE		GP IN BELFAST
EILEEN MARY BOUCHIER- HAYES(LAWLOR) 81	08/10/1891	UC, Dublin 1916				ALDERSHOT COMMAND, CONNAUGHT H 11/11/16 'UNTIL AFTER FLU EPIDEMIC'		SINGLEHANDED GP LONDON UNTIL 86YRS
CATHARINE LAURA BOYD 11 LK		MBCh BAO 1903 DPH	HS CH HOSP, DUBLIN. 1913 SCH MO YORKS ED COM			EMB 2/8/16 MALTA, 64 GEN H SALONIKA 18/6/17 - 11/3/18 (CONTRACT TERM ILL HEALTH), EASTERN COMMAND 15/11/18 - 8/1/19		SCH MO, ENFIELD ED COM
ELIZABETH BUDD LK	?1885	LRCPI LRCSI 1916					MEDICAL DIRECTOR WAAC 1917 UNTIL DISBANDED	
MARJORIE CHAPMAN 123 LK	?1889	? MBBCh BAO 1912				EASTERN COMMAND 23/3/17 COLCHESTER, ROYAL ARSENAL 24/3/17		? GP
INA MARION CLARKE 109	1885	LRCPI LM LRCSILM 1909 FRCSI 1910	DEMONSTRATOR ANATOMY TCD AND RCSI 1914	STOBART ANGLO- FRENCH H, NO 2 CHATEAU TOURLAVILLE, CHERBOURG, 1 JAN 15 ONWARDS		EASTERN COMMAND 18/1/17 - 5/5/19 R HERBERT H		ASS OPD GROSVENOR H WOMEN AND EGA, PHSY WOMEN'S WORKERS DISPENSARY AND ST MARYLEBONE DISP
VIOLET MABEL DEALE (ROSS) 72 LK	10/08/1890	MBBCh BAO 1916 Univ Dublin				EMB 24/9/16, 64 GEN H SALONIKA 18/6/17 - 28/10/17		MED SUPT PORTSMOUTH MUNICIPAL MATERNITY HOSP & MAT AND CHILD WELFARE CENTRES 1923
MABEL A D CRAWFORD	3/07/1890	TC Dub, MD, MAO FRCSI	ASS MASTER ROTUNDA H				MEDICAL CONTROLLER 22 OCT 1917, IRISH COMMAND	HON SURG LIVERPOOL & SAMARITAN H'S, LIVERPOOL MAT H. OBE
(MARY JOSEPHINE FARRELL) LK	19/4/1892	1916						MEDICAL REFEREE LONGFORD WAR PENSIONS COMMITTEE (1921-26)

Appendix C Irish Women Doctors

NAME	DOB	QUALS	PRE WAR	VOL UNIT	SCOTTISH WOMENS	ATTACHED RAMC	QMAAC	OTHER
JANE MCGULLY FULTON 132 LK		MBBCh BAO 1907	ASS MO KENT COUNTY ASYLUM, MAIDSTONE			ALDERSHOT 23/4/17 - 19/6/19 CONNAUGHT H. RESIGNED		NO ADDRESS/JOB LISTED 1923
PRUDENCE ELIZABETH GAFFIKIN 58 LK	18/8/?74	LRCPLRCS (Edin) LFPS Glas 1900	1907 ASS MOH HUDDERSFIELD, SCH MO ENFIELD, 1910 LECTURED WITH DR MARY THORNE WNHA IN IRELAND. 1913 SUPT PEAMOUNT SANITORIUM, DUBLIN			EMB 10/9/16 MALTA - MANOEL ISLAND - 9/9/18, SOUTHERN COMMAND 12/12/18 - 14/1/19 RESIGNED		IMPORTANT HEART WORK WITH SIR ARTHUR GARROD PUBLISHED JOURNALS, NO JOB LISTED 1923, CHILD WELFARE LECTURES
SUSANNA HOSFORD GOOD 84 LK	1/11/1885	LRCPILM, LRCSILM 1914				IRISH COMMAND 20/11/16 - 19/7/17 ?RESIGNED		
ARABELLA CRORY KIRKER 89 LK (CONFIRMED BMJ)	23/9/1893	BCh BAO 1916				JOINED 1ST SOUTHERN GEN H 6/12/16 - 14/4/19 RESIGNED		ASS MOH MAT AND CHILD WELFARE, DOWN 1921
ANNE LOUISE MCILROY	1874 - 1868	MBChB 1898, MD 1900	GYNÆ SURG VICTORIA INFIRMARY, GLASGOW 1906 -10		TROYES, CMO GIRTON AND NEWNHAM, SALONIKA 8 MAY 15 - 1 SEPT 19	SURGEON RAMC IN CONSTANTINOPLE? DATE		OBE, CROIX DE GUERRE, MEDAILLE D'HONNEUR, ONE OF FIRST FRCP, PROFESSOR & TEACHER AT RFH (O & G), SURGEON MARIE CURIE HOSP. DAME?FIRST CONS IN NAVY SWW
GERALDINE MURPHY 98						EMB 9/12/16 MALTA - 22/2/18, EGYPT 23/2/18 - 9/5/19 DEMOB 27/5/19		
LILLIE JOSEPHINE MURPHY 78 LK	14/02/1891	MBBCh BAO NUI 1915				EMB 18/11/16 MALTA (EFFECT FROM 1/11/16), 62 GEN H SALONIKA 2/7/17 - 8/5/19		
MARY AGNES BEAUSANG MURPHY 79 LK	21/09/1887	MBBCh BAO UI 1912 DPH				EMB 18/11/16 MALTA , VOLUNTEERED FOR FRANCE 2/10/17. FRANCE FROM 22/11/18 AS PATHOLOGIST, S COMMAND - 1ST S GEN H 14/2/19 - 11/5/19, IRISH COMMAND 12/5/19 MILITARY FAMILY H, CURRAGH - PAID 5 SHILLINGS/DAY AS SPECIALIST IN GYNÆ/MIDWIFERY		
AMY FLORENCE NASH 130 LK	1887	LRCPILM LRCSILM 1910				WESTERN COMMAND 1/3/17 - 27/11/17	MEDICAL OFFICAL 27 NOV 1917	TEMP ASS MO COUNTY ASYLUM, RAINHILL 1925

Appendix C Irish Women Doctors

NAME	DOB	QUALS	PRE WAR	VOL UNIT	SCOTTISH WOMENS	ATTACHED RAMC	QMAAC	OTHER
SARAH O'FLYNN (WINSTEDT) 70	1888 - 9/9/1972	MBChB (Edin) 1912	ASS OBS RFH. 1913 COLONIAL MEDICAL SERVICES IN MALAYA			EMB 15/9/16, SALONIKA 1/6/17, E COMMAND 19/12/18 - 14/12/19 FORT PITT, CHATHAM - CEASED DUTY		1919 MEDICAL MISSION NORTH RUSSIA. 1921 SURGEON SINGAPORE GENERAL HOSPITAL. 1932 HEAD PAED WARD SGH. RETURNED ENGLAND 1937. MARIE CURIE HOSP HAMPSTEAD
JANE ELIZABETH REYNOLDS 39 LK		MBBCh BAO 1905				EMB 16/8/16 MALTA, 61ST GEN H SALONIKA 2/7/17, SOUTHERN COMMAND, 4TH SOUTHERN GEN H 9/1/19 - 18/8/19	APPOINTED TO QMAAC	RES MO POOR LAW INS DERBY 1920
MARTHA JANE MOODY STEWART (WEBB) 28	05/02/1884	MBBCh (Belfast))	RMO WORCESTER ROYAL INFIRMARY FROM 1 FEB 1915. HS BIRMINGHAM MAT H APRIL 16	SRF DISPENSARY REKOVATZ		EMB 12/8/16 MALTA- SPINOLA H, SALONIKA 1 JUNE 1917 - 31/8/18 RELINQUISHED		EMIGRATED TO S AFRICA POST WAR (WORCESTER MUSEUM)
FLORENCE STONEY	1870 - 1932	MB 1895, BS 1898 LSMW, MD 1899	RES MO HULL, CA'S NEW H WOMEN, CA SOUTHWARK EYE H, 1896 ASS ANAES RFH, ASS ENT RFH 3YRS, 1897 HS VHSC HULL 14/12, AN DEMONS LSMW 1898-1903, AN TEACHER MBOPTC, MA 2 SCH, APP MED ELECTRICIAN 1902 ?FIRST FEMALE RADIOLOGIST, ALL FEMALE DEPT, 1902 STARTED RADIOLOGIY NEW H, CONTINUED I/C UNTIL FWW	STOBART UNIT CMO ANTWERP (BELGIAN RED CROSS) 16 SEPT - 14 OCT 14, CMO ANGLO-FRENCH H NO 2, LE CHATEAU TOURLAVILLE, CHERBOURG 6 NOV 14 - 24 MARCH 15		APPOINTED CONS RADIOLOGIST, FULHAM MILITARY HOSPITAL MARCH 1915		OBE 1919. HON MO THEN HON PHYS ROYAL VICTORIA H AND VICTORIA HOME FOR CRIPPLED CHILDREN, BOURNEMOUTH
LUCIA FRANCES SARAH STUART STRANGMAN (FITZGERALD) 119 LK	?1873	LRCPILM LRCSILM 1896 FRCSI 1902	SEN MO FEM HOUSE CORK ASYLUM			IRISH COMMAND 23/2/17 - 12/4/19 FERMOY MIL HOSP, DEMOB		SEN PHYS I/C FEM HOUSE CORK MENTAL HOSP
ISOBEL ADDEY TATE 44 LK	1/5/1878	MBBCh BAO 1899, MDRUI 1902 DPH Manch 1904		SRF NO 3, KRAGUJEVATZ		EMB 24/8/16 MALTA, CHARGE BACTERIOLOGY UNIT, VALETTA H - 28/1/17 DIED.ILL IN BELGRADE, DIED IN MALTA ?TYPHOID, FUNERAL 30/01/17		
ELIZABETH STEPHENSON WALKER 47 LK	20/07/1890	MBChB BAO 1915				EMB 24/8/16 MALTA - 1/7/17, 62ND GEN H SALONIKA 2/7/17 - 29/9/18, EGYPT 30/9/18 - 14/9/19, CONTRACT EXP 23/8/19, ARR UK 12/9/19,		MO WOMEN'S MEDICAL SERVICES FOR INDIA 1925 ONWARDS

Appendix C Irish Women Doctors

NAME	DOB	QUALS	PRE WAR	VOL UNIT	SCOTTISH WOMENS	ATTACHED RAMC	QMAAC	OTHER
						DEMOB 14/9/19		
MARY FRANCES RAYMOND WELPLY (HARRISON) 95 LK	?91	LRCPI LM LRCSI LM 1915				IRISH COMMAND 23/11/16 - 25/2/19 MILITARY H, BELFAST		

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Appendix D Australian and New Zealand Women Doctors

NAME	DOB	QUAL	PRE WAR	VOL UNIT	SWH	ATTACHED RAMC	QMAAC	POST WAR
AUSTRALIAN	TOTAL 26							
KATIE LOUISA ARDILL 118			HONORARY ANAESTHETIST AND OPD MO SOUTH SYDNEY WOMEN'S HOSPITAL	ANGLO-BELGE HOSPITAL, CALAIS		NAPS BURY H, ST ALBANS UNTIL JAN 1917; WOMEN & CHILDREN GARRISON DOVER MILITARY H; GLASGOW ROYAL INFIRMARY, FLU 1918. EGYPT 4/5/18 - 6/6/19 CITADEL H, CAIRO RECALLED TO ENGLAND JULY 1919,		REPATRIATED OCTOBER 1919
AGNES ELIZABETH LLOYD BENNETT	1872 - ?42 IN 1914	MB 1899 EDINBURGH, MD 1911 Edin	SYDNEY 1901 - DIFFICULTY ESTABLISHING PRACTICE, MOVED NZ - WELLINGTON PRACTICE. MO ST HELEN'S HOSPITAL 1908, HON PHYS CHILDREN'S WARD WELLINGTON HOSPITAL		CMO 7TH MED (AMERICA) UNIT, MACEDONIA 4 AUG 16-1 SEPT 17. HANDED OVER COMMAND TO MARY DE GARIS WHEN INVALIDED. ORDER OF ST SAVA 3RD CLASS, MEDAL OF RED CROSS OF SERBIA	ATTACHED TO NZMC, PONT DE KOUBBEH AND CHOUBRA, EGYPT MAY 1915 - APRIL 1916. GLASGOW ROYAL INFIRMARY FLU EPIDEMIC. 1918 NETLEY MILITARY H, SOUTHAMPTON,		ACCOMPANIED WOUNDED ANZAC BACK TO AUS, TROOPS SHIPS <i>WILTSHIRE</i> AND <i>PARARPA</i> , AND CARGO SHIP <i>ESSEX</i> . OBSTETRICIAN ST HELEN'S H, WELLINGTON. FIRST FEMALE SUPERINTENDENT PUBLIC H
ELEANOR ELIZABETH BOURNE	1878 - 1957 36	MB CM SYDNEY 1903, DPH 1920	PRE-WAR - HON OPD PHYS HOSP SICK CHIL, BRISBANE, CHIEF MED INS SCHS QUEENSLAND			ENDELL ST - ASS SURGEON (LT) UNTIL 31 DEC 17	MEDICAL CONTROLLER QMAAC, NORTHERN COMMAND, YORK 2 JAN 1918	1925 - ASS MOH (MAT & CHILD WELFARE) CITY OF CARLISLE, BMA, SOC MOH
GRACE MARION BRIDGE		MA, LMSSA (Lond)				(MILITARY BLOCK, ROYAL FREE H 1915 - 1919, ?CMP/RAMC)		RETURNED TO AUSTRALIA VIA USA
VERA SCANTLEBURY BROWN	1889 - ? 25	MBBS Melb 1914, MD 1924	1915 RESIDENT STAFF CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL, MELBOURNE, LATER SMO			ENDELL ST - 1917 - 18		FIRST DIRECTOR INFANT WELFARE VICTORIA 1926, OBE 1938
SUSAN ANNIE BUCKINGHAM		MBChB Edin, DPH				EGYPT 71 GH, CITADEL H CAIRO 23/2/19		
EMMA BUCKLEY (TURKINGTON)	1881 - ? 33	MBChM 1911	ROYAL NORTH SHORE, SYDNEY. SAILED FROM SYDNEY 5 MAY 1915. LISTER INSTITUTE -AIF 1915 -16			ENDELL ST ?1918, KING GEORGE MILITARY H, LONDON UNTIL 1919		RETURNED TO AUSTRALIA FEBRUARY 1919
HILDA BULL ESSON							MEDICAL OFFICIAL 7 SEPT 1918	
RACHEL ?KAY CHAMPION (SHAW)	1890 -1965 25	MBBS Melb 1914				ENDELL ST SURGEON 1916 -17		C/O LONDON BANK 1920 AND 1922 (NOT IN 1918), NEVER WORKED AS DR AFTER MARRYING

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NAME	DOB	QUAL	PRE WAR	VOL UNIT	SWH	ATTACHED RAMC	QMAAC	POST WAR
PHOEBE CHAPPLE	31/3/1879 - 1967	ADELAIDE 1904	HS ADELAIDE HOSP, RMO SYDNEY MEDICAL MISSION 1906, ADELAIDE ?1908 , HON MED SUPT MCBRIDE'S MAT HOSP. LEFT ADELAIDE FEB 1917			CAMBRIDGE MILITARY H, ALDERSHOT	ABBEVILLE FROM NOV 17 - AUG 18, ROUEN AND LE HAVRE, 29 MAY 1918 INSPECTING WAAC CAMP 1 WHEN BOMBED, SHELTERED IN TRENCH WITH 40 WOMEN - 9 KILLED, WOUNDED+	FIRST WOMAN TO BE AWARDED MM FOLLOWING BOMBING ABBEVILLE CAMP. NOT ENTITLED TO MC AS NOT COMMISSIONED OFFICER. RETURNED AUSTRALIA IN 1919. PRACTICED ADELAIDE. 1921 HON MO NIGHT CLINIC ADELAIDE HOSP
EVELINE ROSETTA COHEN 74	36YRS	MBChB (Edin) FRCSI				EMB 17/9/16 MALTA- 23/9/17, ALDERSHOT 1/11/18 - 16/12/18 - CAMBRIDGE		NOT LISTED 1920
LILIAN VIOLET COOPER	1861 - 1947 55	LSMW (EM AUS)			AMERICAL UNIT1 AUG 16 - 1 SEPT 17 , MACEDONIA AND SERBIA			ONLY SURGEON CONTINUING POST WAR, BECAME FIRST FRACS
CATHERINE CORBETT				TYPHUS HOSPITAL IN KRAGUJEVAC				
GRACE CORDINGLY (BRIDGE)		MD			SERBIA AND MACEDONIA 1915,?ALSO ENGLAND			
ELSIE JEAN DALYELL 65	30/12/1881- 1948	MBBS Sydney 1909	RES MO ROYAL PRINCE ALFRED H, FT POST MED SCHOOL, BEIT RESEARCH FELLOW LISTER INSTITUTE 1912, REFUSED BY WO	6TH RESERVE HOSPITAL, USKUB. SKOPJE UNTIL OVERRUN BULGS OCT 1915	ROYAUMONT BACTERIOLOGIST FROM MAY - OCT 1916	EMB MALTA 20/10/16, 63RD GENERAL H SALONIKA 1/6/17 - 1/7/19 MID LG 28/11/17 & MID LG 5/6/19, ARR ENG 1/7/19 EXP CONTRACT. 82ND ISTANBUL CHOLERA 1919. OBE 1919		MRC/LISTER INSTITUTE - RICKETS RESEARCH - SUNLIGHT AND VITAMIN DEFICIENCIES VIENNA. RETURNED AUS 1923. 1924 SENIOR ASS MICRO DEPT PUBLIC HEALTH. DEVT CLINIC/LAB FOR VD AT RACHEL FOSTER WOMEN'S H. BTS FOR RED CROSS IN SWW
MARGARET BERNARD DOBSON 9	28/12/1874	MBMD (Lond)	MO WEST LONDON DIST SCHS, MO INFANT CONS POPLAR (R ASYLUM WAKEFIELD, AUTHOR EYE PAPERS 1907)			EMB 2/8/16 MALTA - 27/7/17, LONDON DISTRICT (TEMP DUTY 27/4/18), EGYPT 4/5/18 - 23/4/19 ARR HOME, EXP CONTRACT 3/5/19		VALETTA H MALTA - DRAWINGS OCULAR PATHOLOGY. CHIEF CLIN ASS EYE DEPT GUYS HOSP, OCULIST LCC TREATMENT CENTRE, KILBURN
MARY CLEMENINA DE GARIS		Melbourne MD 1907	RESIDENT SURGEON TIBOOBURRA, NSW. ENGAGED TO COLIN THOMSON. SAILED AUS RED CROSS 1916	FIANCE DIED 4 AUG 1916 POZIERES	CMO AMERICA UNIT 27/2/17-30/09/18, TOOK OVER FROM AGNES BENNETT WHEN SHE BECAME ILL. SURGEON. SERBIAN ORDER OF ST SAVA 3RD CLASS			OBS/GYNAE VICTORIA

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NAME	DOB	QUAL	PRE WAR	VOL UNIT	SWH	ATTACHED RAMC	QMAAC	POST WAR
LAURA FOSTER		BERNE		NURSE 1ST BALKAN WAR,BELGIAN FIELD H; PETROGRAD;RUSSIAN RED X CAUCASUS;ZALESHCHIKI H, DIED FLU/HEART FAILURE 11/2/17				
LUCY EDITH GULLETT	1876 - 1949	MBChM SYDNEY	RMO WOMENS HOSPITAL, CROWN ST, RES SURGEON HOSP SICK CHILDREN, BRISBANE. 1906 GP BATHURST, NSW. TRAVELLED OWN EXPENSE	FRENCH RED CROSS MILITARY HOSPITAL LYONS -HOPITAL D'ULSTER, LYONS 1915 - 16				MO CITY ROAD EMERGENCY HOSPITAL, SYDNEY FLU EPIDEMIC 1919. HON OPD PHYS RENWICK HOSP INFANTS 1918 - 32
ELIZABETH ISOBEL HAMILTON-BROWNE	1882 - ? 32	MB Sydney 1909, ChM 1910	RES MO/PATH SYDNEY H, MED SUPT ROY HOSP WOM, SYDNEY			ENDELL ST, 19TH GENERAL H EGYPT, FRANCE -MO TO US WOMEN CLERKS		MED DIRECTORY 1917 ONWARDS NO DETAILS, ADDRESS UNCOMMUNICATED 1921
LAURA MARGARET (FOWLER) HOPE		1891 FIRST WOMAN GRADUATE ADELAIDE	INDIA WITH HUSBAND DR CHARLES HOPE		KRAGUIVATZ, 12 SEPT 15 - 12 FEB 16 (CAPTURED 11/15) IMPRISONED 2 MONTHS HUNGARY WITH HUSBAND, UK 16			
MARIORY ELAINE LITTLE	1884 - 1974	MB 1915 SYDNEY, FRACP 1956	1915 JUNIOR, 1916 -17 SENIOR RMO ROYAL PRINCE ALFRED HOSPITAL. PATHOLOGIST	LISTER INSTITUTE		PATHOLOGIST AT NO 25 STATIONARY H, ROUEN, I/C LAB AT NO 46 STATIONARY H, ETAPLES AS ?CAPTAIN		RETURNED AUSTRALIA JANUARY 1920, WORKED WITH PROFESSOR WELSH AT SYDNEY UNIVERSITY
MABEL MURRAY-PRIOR		LLMRCP RCS DUBLIN	HONG KONG OUTBREAK WAR, TRAVELLED ENGLAND 1915 INITIALLY VAD			AFTER QUALIFYING DR ROYAL HERBERT H, WOOLWICH, EDINBURGH H UNTIL AFTER ARMISTICE ?CMP/RAMC		
ISABEL ORMISTON (GARVICE)	1882 - 1958	SYDNEY	IN LONDON OUTBREAK OF WAR, WORKING BRCS	QUEEN BELGIANS H OSTEND/LA PANNE 1914 -15, WOUNDED ALLIES RELIEF(W.A.R.) H MONTENEGRO 1916 - 17, BRCS DEPOT EGYPT 1916 & W.A.R H LIMOGES				MARRIED MAJOR GARVICE 1929 WHO DIED WITHIN YEAR, WORKED AS SENIOR MO MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, CAIRO POST WAR
ISABELLA YOUNGER ROSS						?		?ENGLAND, SCOTLAND

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NAME	DOB	QUAL	PRE WAR	VOL UNIT	SWH	ATTACHED RAMC	QMAAC	POST WAR
HANNAH MARY HELEN SEXTON	1862 - 1950	MBBS 1892 MELBOURNE	SURGEON - GYNAE. FOUNDED QUEEN VICTORIA H FOR WOMEN AND CHILDREN. TOURED EUROPE 1912 - 14	REFUSED AAMC SO FOUNDED HELEN SEXTON HOPITAL, AUTEUIL & VAL-DE- GRACE H, PARIS. RANK MAJEUR FRENCH ARMY				MEDAILLE DE LA RECONNAISSANCE FRANCAISE. RETURNED AUS 1917
NEW ZEALAND	TOTAL 6							
MARY ALICE BLAIR 75	36YRS	MBBS 1907 LSMW, MD 1910			CMO IN SALONIKA, CORSICA	EMB 26/9/16 MALTA (FROM CORSICA) , 65 GEN H SALONIKA 2/7/17 - MID LG 28/11/17,EASTERN COMMAND 18/1/19 - 16/8/19	SENIOR MEDICAL OFFICER IN CHARGE CMP ISLEWORTH H, X/WAAC 1/17	PREVENTION DYSENTERY IN CAMP DISCUSSED MWF MEETING 4/11/19
ANNIE GRANGE FERGUS 64	30/03/1881	MBChB (Edin)	ASS MO BRADFORD UNION, ASS MOH ROCHDALE			EMB 20/10/16 ST DAVID'S, MALTA,RENEW FOR 12 MONTHS, 62ND GENERAL H SALONIKA 2/7/17 - ADVERSE REPORT, ARR HOME 6/3/18, E COMMAND-COLCHESTER 18/3/18 - 20/10/18, MALTA 14/11/18, SOUTHERN COMMAND 28/2/19 - 6/5/19 DEMOB		NO JOB LISTED 1923
ELIZABETH CATHERINE GUNN	23/05/1879 - 26/10/63	MBChB (Edin) 1903	1908 GP WELLINGTON. 1912 SCHOOL MEDICAL SERVICES			NZMC CAPTAIN - TRENTAM MEASLES HOSPITAL, MARCH 1916 TROOPSHIP TAHITI TO EGYPT,JUNE 1916 TRENTAM MILITARY CAMP		INVALIDED NZMC 2/1917. SCHOOL MEDICAL SERVICES, FOUNDED HEALTH CAMPS
ADA MCLAREN (WILKINSON) 35	40YRS	1902 MBChB Edin	WORKING IN S AFRICA WITH HUSBAND PRE WAR	BERRY UNIT, SERBIA, TAKEN PRISONER 2/12		EMB 12/8/16 MALTA, EGYPT, 21/3/18 - 14/9/19,BACTERIOLOGIST 27 GH 13/8/18. CONTRACT EXP 11/8/19, ARR UK 12/9/19,DEMOB 14/9/19		1921 PRIVATE LAB CAIRO
GRACE RUSSELL	1874 - 1967					CIVILIAN DR PONT DE KOUBBEH H, EGYPT, ARMENIAN REFUGEE CAMP		
JESSIE A SCOTT	1883 - 1959	MBChB 1909 Edin, MD 1912, DPH Lond	1913 MAORI SMALLPOX EPIDEMIC. I/C HOKITKA TEMP H		LAZAREVAC SERBIA 1915, POW 1916. AMERICA UNIT SERBIA 4 AUG 16 - 1 JAN 17. ROMANIA 1918 - SERBIAN ORDER OF ST SAVA 4TH CLASS	ATTACHED AS SURGEON 61ST GEN H, SALONIKA 1918, ?FRANCE 1919		GYNAECOLOGIST CHRISTCHURCH H 1926 - 1935

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Appendix E Canadian and US Women Doctors

NAME	DOB	QUALS	PRE WAR	VOL UNIT	SWH	ATTACHED RAMC	QMAAC	POST WAR
TOTAL 12								
HARRIET MACMILLAN COCKBURN	1873	1897 OMCW, TORONTO		STOBART UNIT SERBIA, TOOK PART GREAT RETREAT				MEDICAL INSPECTOR SCHOOLS
MARGARET ELLEN DOUGLASS	1878-1950	OMCW TORONTO, POSTGRAD US AND UK	PRACTISED IN WINNIPEG				MEDICAL OFFICIAL 12 APRIL 1918	
MARY LEE EDWARD	1885	1908 TORONTO		1917 WOMEN'S OVERSEAS HOSPITAL (SUPPORTED SUFFRAGE), PART OF 10TH FRENCH ARMY, CHATEAU SENLIS SURGERY++				AWARDED CROIX DE GUERRE, NEW YORK HOSPITAL
MARGARET ETHEL VICTORIA FRASER	1871	1899 OMCW, TORONTO		DIRECTED AMERICAN WOMEN'S HOSPITAL IN LA FERTE-MILON				AWARDED MEDAILLE DE LA RECONNAISSANCE FRANCAISE. PRIVATE PRACTICE COLORADO, DENVER COUNTY H, STATE BOARD OF HEALTH
EDNA GUEST	1883	1910 TORONTO	WORKED IN INDIA		CMO AJACCHIO 31 OCT 17-9 JUN 18. ROYAUMONT 1 JUL-1 AUG 18	MAY 1916 NORTHAMPTON WAR HOSPITAL?ATT RAMC		CHIEF OF SURGERY WOMEN'S COLLEGE H, TORONTO. OBE 1932
ELIZABETH HURDON 46	1870	MDCM(Toronto) Fell Amer Coll Surgeons	SPECIALISED IN GYNAE PATH, FIRST WOMAN PROF AT JOHN HOPKINS HOSP, BALTIMORE			EMB 24/8/16 MALTA, 65 GEN H SALONIKA 2/7/17, EASTERN COMMAND GREENWICH & WOOLWICH H 27/9/18 - 5/1/19, RESIGNED		PRESENTED CASES MALTA/SALONIKA MWF MEETING 4/11/19, DIRECTOR MARIE CURIE H, WROTE TEXTBOOK, AWARDED CBE
ANNIE AMANDA LAWYER 61	1866	MDCM R Med Coll Queens Univ MRCPS Ontario				EMB 20/10/16 MALTA - 22/12/16 INVALIDED OUT OF THE SERVICE		
IRMA LE VASSEUR	1877	1900 ST PAUL UNIVERSITY SCHOOL MEDICINE, MINNESOTA		VOLUNTEERED APRIL 1915, TEAM 4 DRS SERBIA, WORKED ALONE, RETREATED				
MARGARET PARKS	1876	OMCW TORONTO 1901, POSTGRAD US AND UK	PRACTICE ST JOHN, NEW BRUNSWICK			ENLISTED AS NURSING SISTER CAMC, NO 1 CCCS ANAESTHETIST		IMMIGRATION SERVICE CAN GOVT, QUEBEC, ENGLAND AND CONTINENT
CATHERINE TRAVIS	1873 -	MCGILL, JOHN HOPKINS MD 1905		SRF OCT 14				MEDICAL MISSIONARY CHINA
ELECTRA LAZELL ANDERSON WILSON 43	12/06/1881	MB Univ Tor, MRCPS Ontario				EMB 24/8/16 MALTA - 14/7/19, EGYPT ?EXACT DATES, EXPIRATION OF CONTRACT		MARRIED DR A WILSON 27/9/11 VANCOUVER - TEMP LT RAMC, POST WAR BOTH PRACTICED IN ENGLAND

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NAME	DOB	QUALS	PRE WAR	VOL UNIT	SWH	ATTACHED RAMC	QMAAC	POST WAR
FRANCES EVELYN WINDSOR (LEACOCK)	1887 - 1966 29 IN OCT 1916	MB 1908 TORONTO	INTERN JOHN HOPKINS H, BALTIMORE AND PENN WOMEN'S MEDICAL COLL, PHIL. 1911 IN PRACTICE WITH DR ROSAMUND LEACOCK. SCHOOL BOARD PHYSICIAN CALGARY			14 NOV 1916 ENLISTED CAMC. WORKED AS ANAESTHETIST AT ENDELL ST ?1917		MARRIED MR E.P. LEACOCK RETURNED CALGARY 1918. MO BLACKFOOT TRIBE 1928 - 1948, MADE MEMBER OF TRIBE
US								
SARAH MARGUERITE WHITE 10	04/02/1883	MDMS UNIV ILLINOIS, CHICAGO 1912	ASS SURGEON CARL BECK NORTH CHICAGO HOSPITAL CLINIC			EMB 2/8/16 MALTA, ST ELMO H - 5/8/19 (EMB CHICAGO 20/9/19) APPOINTED SPECIALIST IN OPERATIVE SURGERY MALTA WITH EXTRA PAY UNDER PARA 36		

Additional References

LAC RG 150, Accession 199-3/166, Box 7603-10 Item No 564186) Attestation Papers of Margaret Parks

LAC RG 150, Accession 199-3/166, Box 10492-25 Item No 324837 Attestation Papers of Francis Evelyn Windsor

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'The Lady doctor from Petrolia winner of the Croix de Guerre', *Ontario Medicine*, 2 December 1991, p. 30

S. Bhimji and R. Sheinin, 'Dr Edna Guest: She promoted women's issues before it was fashionable', *Canadian Medical Association Journal*, 141, 15 November 1989, p. 1093

Dr. D. Brearley, *Female Physicians: A Directory of short character sketches about female physicians who graduated from the Ontario Medical College for Women in Toronto* (Quinte Branch, Ontario Genealogical Society, 2017)

http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/people/douglass_me.shtml Margaret Ellen Douglass, viewed 23 July 2019

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<http://womenandmuseum.com/btravis.htm> Catherine Travis, viewed 26 July 2019

Appendix F Home Hospital Women Doctors

NAME	DOB	QUALS	PRE WAR	VOL UNIT	SWH	ATTACHED RAMC	QMAAC	POST WAR
TOTAL 43 OR 33% IN RAMC REGISTER								
ANNIE THOMPSON BARNARD 80	06/08/1861 - 56YRS	MD ?LSMW				SOUTHERN COMMAND 2/12/16 - 2/2/17		
JANETTE FRANCES AGNEW GRAEME BATTEN 105	BEFORE 1860'	LCRP LRCS Edin 1895, MD Brux 1895, LRFPS Glas 1895	SURGEON LADY KINNAIRD MEMORIAL H, LUCKNOW			EASTERN COMMAND 23/1/17 - 18/4/17 GUILDFORD WAR H TRANSFER TO R HERBERT H		
CLOTILDA BAYNE BEVIS 116	1894	MBChB RAO Dublin 1916, MD 1921	HS GT NORTH CENTRAL H LONDON			EASTERN COMMAND 10/2/17 -15/5/18 GUILDFORD WAR H- RESIGNED		RES MO POOR LAW INF, NEWCASTLE ?WHEN. GP IPSWICH 40 YRS
EILEEN MARY BOUCHIER-HAYES 81	08/10/1891	MBChB BAO NUI DUBLIN 1916				ALDERSHOT COMMAND, CONNAUGHT H 11/11/16 'UNTIL AFTER FLU EPIDEMIC'		SINGLEHANDED GP LONDON UNTIL 86YRS
GOFFINA MAUDE CARWITHEN 129	24/7/1880	MBChB Edin 1910				ALDERSHOT COMMAND 9/3/17		
MARJORIE CHAPMAN 123 LK		MBBCh BAO 1912 (CONFIRMED MD 1914)	HP RADCLIFFE INF,OXFORD			EASTERN COMMAND 23/3/17 COLCHESTER, ROYAL ARSENAL 24/3/17		DONEGAL ADDRESS, NO JOB LISTED. MD 1920
DOROTHY CHICK (WOOD) 82	07/09/1887	MRCS LRCP 1915 LSMW	HP QUEENS HOSP CHILD HACKNEY	MRS BERRY ANGLO- INDIAN UNIT		EASTERN COMMAND - COLCHESTER 12/12/16 - 29/8/17 RESIGNED, DIED INFLUENZA FEB 1919		
JULIA VERONICA CHRISTIE 99		MBChB Edin1913	RES MO EASTERN DISP, BATH			SOUTHERN COMMAND 15/12/16 - 1/10/17 1ST SOUTHERN GEN H	MEDICAL CONTROLLER RECRUITING BIRMINGHAM 1 OCT 1917	NO RETURN 1920
INA MARION CLARKE 109	1885	LRCPI LM LRCSILM 1909 FRCSI 1910	DEMONSTRATOR ANATOMY TCD AND RCSI 1914	STOBART ANGLO- FRENCH H, NO 2 CHATEAU TOURLAVILLE, CHERBOURG,1 JAN 15 ONWARDS		EASTERN COMMAND 18/1/17 - 5/5/19 R HERBERT H RESIGNED		ASS OPD GROSVENOR H WOMEN AND EGA, PHYS WOMEN'S WORKERS DISPENSARY AND ST MARYLEBONE DISP
JANE FLORENCE COLQUHOUN 128		MBBChBAO Dub1913, DPH 1916	HS ROYAL VICT EYE AND EAR HOSP DUBLIN			EASTERN COMMAND 18/4/17 - 22/6/19 COLCHESTER R ARSENAL 18/4/17 - RESIGNED		ASS SCH MO & ASS MOH GLOUC CO
HILDA ALEEN DRIVER 102	03/02/1872	LRCPI LM LRCSI LM 1902				JOINED 1ST SOUTHERN GEN H 31/12/16 - 30/1/17, TRANSFERRED READING WAR H 31/1/17, CONTRACT TERMINATED		

Appendix F Home Hospital Women Doctors

NAME	DOB	QUALS	PRE WAR	VOL UNIT	SWH	ATTACHED RAMC	QMAAC	POST WAR
JANE MCGULLY FULTON 132 LK		MBBCh BAO 1907	ASS MO KENT COUNTY ASYLUM, MAIDSTONE			ALDRSHOT 23/4/17 - 19/6/19 CONNAUGHT H. RESIGNED		NO ADDRESS/JOB LISTED 1923
SUSANNA HOSFORD GOOD 84 LK	1/11/1885	LRCpILM,LRCSILM 1914	HP ROYAL DEVON AND EXETER HOSP			IRISH COMMAND 20/11/16 - 19/7/17 ?RESIGNED		NO JOB LISTED 1920/3
ELIZABETH GRAY 103	01/08/1891	MBChB Aber1915				EASTERN COMMAND 18/1/17 R HERBERT H, FRANCE 26/11/18 - 6/2/20 AS PATHOLOGIST, ARR AT DOVER 6/2/20, CONTRACT EXP 25/2/20		NO JOB LISTED 1923
ANNIE CARR GREENEP 85	21/4/1887	MBChB Edib 1910, DPH 1913	RES MO CHILD HOSP DERBY ?DATE			NORTHERN COMMAND, 5TH NORTHERN GEN LEICESTER 1/1/17 - 31/3/19 CEASED DUTY		ASS SCH MO SHEFFIELD ED COMMITTEE
EILEEN MABEL HEWITT 86	23/2/1888	MD				EASTERN COMMAND 14/12/16 - 31/10/18 ROYAL ARSENAL WOOLWICH, REPORTS IN PAY OF MINISTRY OF MUNITIONS 25/11/18		
ROSALIE JOBSON (HOLMES) 87	1886 - 1963 28	LRCP MRCS LSMW 1914				WHC PARIS, 'LENT' TO RAMC FOR 6/12 BOULOGNE, E COMMAND, COLCHESTER 13/12/16 - 24/8/17 RESIGNED (FRIEND M BLANDY)	MEDICAL OFFICIAL 17 JUNE 1918	GOS ?1917 UNTIL DISMISSED WHEN MALE DRS RETURNED, MARRIED GORDON HOLMES
MARY EMMELINE JOLL (MASON) 88	19/9/1891	MBBS 1915 LSMW, MD 1917	OBS ASS NEW HOSP WOMEN, HS/HP RFH			EASTERN COMMAND 15/12/16 - 15/9/17 COLCHESTER ?IPSWICH RESIGNED		CHIEF CLIN ASS ROYAL LONDON OPHTH HOSP. REFRACT ASS ST BART HOSP, DEMONS ANATOMY LSMW
MARY MARGARET KEIRNS 121	4/2/1891					SCOTTISH COMMAND ?/3/17 - 12/9/19 EDINBOROUGH WAR H CEASED DUTY		
ARABELLA CRORY KIRKER 89 LK	23/9/1893	BCh BAO 1916				JOINED 1ST SOUTHERN GEN H 6/12/16 - 14/4/19 RESIGNED		ASS MOH MAT AND CHILD WELFARE, DOWN 1921
ADA JOHANNA MACMILLAN 117				IMPRISONED SERBIA ?UNIT		EASTERN COMMAND 27/2/17 - 31/7/17 COLCHESTER GEN H - RESIGNED		
EVA MCCALL 122						IRISH COMMAND 31/3/17 - 23/12/17,MILITARY H BELFAST, TIPPERARY - RESIGNED		
NINA GERTRUDE COTTON MACCARTHY 104	? - 1962					EASTERN COMMAND 10/1/17 - 12/7/17, CHATHAM(DEATH FATHER), 1/12/17 - 1/3/18 (ILLNESS HUSBAND), 20/4/18 -		

Appendix F Home Hospital Women Doctors

NAME	DOB	QUALS	PRE WAR	VOL UNIT	SWH	ATTACHED RAMC	QMAAC	POST WAR
						7/12/18, 1 MONTHS NOTICE 14/11/18, ACCEPTED POSTING IRISH COMMAND, PROCEEDED 7/12/18 REQUESTED NOTICE GIVEN PREVIOUSLY TO BE ACCEPTED		
MARJORIE MCMULLEN (WESTBY) 108		LRCPSI				EASTERN COMMAND 15/1/17 - 14/11/17 R HERBERT H, APPT WAAC	MEDICAL OFFICIAL 14 NOV 1917	
JEAN MOFFATT 127	34 (1/1/16 SMSCE)	MBChB ?Glas (ADDRESS FOR SMSCE)	GP WITH PANEL			SOUTHERN COMMAND ?TO 6/12/17 RESIGNED		
AMY FLORENCE NASH 130 LK	1887	LRCPILM LRCSILM 1910				WESTERN COMMAND 1/3/17 - 27/11/17, APPOINTED TO WAAC	MEDICAL OFFICIAL 27 NOV 1917	TEMP ASS MO COUNTY ASYLUM, RAINHILL 1925
AGNES ESTCOURT OSWALD 114	21/4/1874 - 1965	MBBS 1903 LSMW, DPH, DOMS 1925	MED INSP SCHOOLCHILDREN, COLCHESTER.CLIN ASS MOORFIELDS, PAPERS RE OPHTH 1911		ROYAUMONT BACTERIOLOGIST 22/11/15 - 1/5/16 AND 30/9/16 - 30/10/16	EASTERN COMMAND 6/2/17 - 15/11/19 COLCHESTER MILITARY HOSPITAL		1919 OPHTHALMOLOGIST COLCHESTER
MARY MINNIE PATTERSON 107	17/1/1878					WESTERN COMMAND 16/1/17 - 20/1/20 MILITARY H PEMBROKE DOCK, CEASED DUTY		
AGNES ELLEN PORTER 91	28/9/1881	MBChB (Edin) 1906, MD DPH 1909	RESEARCH ROYAL VICT HOSP CONSUMPTION EDIN. 1910 ASS BACTERIOLOGIST ROYAL INST PUB HEALTH LONDON, 1911 RESEACH SCHOLAR LISTER INSITUTE. CARNEGIE SCHOLARSHIP/FELLOWSHIP. SCHOOL INSP STAFFORDSHIRE CC 1915		BACTERIOLOGIST/ANAE FRANCE, SERBIAN RETREAT	E COMMAND ?NO2 GEN H EASTBOURNE 23/11/16, CENTRAL MILY ? CAMBRIDGE, 5TH N GEN 5/2/17 - 31/7/18 RESIGNED, SCOTTISH COMMAND 17/12/18 - 31/8/19 CEASED DUTY		
MARY RATHBONE 92	30/11/1866					WESTERN COMMAND 5/12/16 - 23/5/18 ALDERHAY MILITARY HOSPITAL RESIGNED		ST JOHN'S HOSPITAL, LEWISHAM
MARGARET KIRK JOLLY RIDDEL 110		MBChB Edin 1915	HP PLYMOUTH, HS CHILD HOSP DERBY			SOUTHERN COMMAND 14/2/17 - 18/2/18 4 SOUTHERN GEN H - RESIGNED		HON ANAE ROYAL EYE INF & ENT HOSP PLYMOUTH
MARGARET ?EASON ROBERTSON 120						EASTERN COMMAND 7/3/17 - 8/11/17 COLCHESTER H APPOINTED TO WAAC	APPOINTED TO WAAC - SUPERVISION ROUEN AND LE HAVRE	

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NAME	DOB	QUALS	PRE WAR	VOL UNIT	SWH	ATTACHED RAMC	QMAAC	POST WAR
WINIFRED MARGARET ROSS 93	5/8/1885	MBChB Glas 1909	HS PAISLEY PAROCHIAL HOSP		ROYAUMONT	EASTERN COMMAND 8/12/16 - 31/8/18 ROYAL HERBERT H, RESIGNED		OBE
CONSTANCE BRODRIBB SLATER 131		MB 1903, BS 1916	LATE MO CIVIL HOSP, SECUNDERABAD			ALDERSHOT CONNAUGHT 8/7/16 - 2/12/17, SOUTHERN COMMAND 1/7/18 - 20/4/19 (RESIGNED 1 MONTH FROM 3/11/19) UNIVERSITY WAR H, SOUTHAMPTON. CLAIM FOR TRAVELLING EXPENSES		LADY ELGIN HOSP, JUBBULPORE, INDIA 1923
ETHEL LILY STANLEY 125	14/1/1874					WESTERN COMMAND ?/3/17 - 15/12/19 KINMEL PARK MIL H - CEASED DUTY		
LUCIA FRANCES SARAH STUART STRANGMAN (FITZGERALD) 119 LK	?1873	LRCPI LM LRCSILM 1896 FRCSI 1902	SEN MO FEM HOUSE CORK ASYLUM			IRISH COMMAND 23/2/17 - 12/4/19 FERMOY MIL HOSP, DEMOB	SEN PHYS I/C FEM HOUSE CORK MENTAL HOSP	
EMMA (MRS)) TAYLOR 112		LRCP LRCS Ed, LRFPS Glas 1902	PRE WAR E ANGLIAN SANATORIUM, NAYLAND, COLCHESTER (TB) - RUN DR JANE WALKER			EASTERN COMMAND 29/1/17 - 7/4/19, FORT PITT TO EWELL WAR H AFTER A COURSE AT MAUDSLEY		ADDRESS POST WAR UNKNOWN, ?WORKING 1918,1919,1920
HENRIETTA KATE TREVITHICK NEE CORNFORD 94	2/4/1862 - 23/5/55	LRCP LRCS Edin 1895, MD Brux 1895	CLIN ASS KASR-E-L AINI HOSP CAIRO			SOUTHERN COMMAND 15/11/16 - 11/7/18 - 4TH S GEN H E COMMAND MIL H KINGSTON ON THAMES,12/7/18 - 25/12/18 RESIGNED		NO JOB LISTED 1923
MARY FRANCES RAYMOND WELPLY (HARRISON) 95 LK	?91	LRCP LM LRCSI LM 1915				IRISH COMMAND 23/11/16 - 25/2/19 MILITARY H, BELFAST		
RONA LOCKHART WETHERSPOON 97		LRCP LRCS LRFPS&SG&E 1914				EASTERN COMMAND 1/12/16 - 7/12/16 ILL HEALTH		
MARGUERITE WILSON 113		MB ChB Glas 1914	HS ROYAL SAMARIT HOSP GLAS 1914-15, ASS MO RETREAT,YORK (MENTAL HEALTH) 1915-17			SOUTHERN COMMAND 1/2/17 - 12/8/18 1ST SOUTHERN GEN H (STIRCHLEY SECTION)- RESIGNED, 12/10/18 - 20/2/19 2ND SCOTTISH GEN H EDIN - RESIGNED		

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NAME	DOB	QUALS	PRE WAR	VOL UNIT	SWH	ATTACHED RAMC	QMAAC	POST WAR
MARTHA MACLEAN WILSON (NEE BUCHAN) 96	25/11/1880	MB ChB(dist) Glas 1907, MD Glas 1910				WESTERN COMMAND 27/11/16 - 13/5/19 JOINED 1ST SOUTHERN GEN H 1/2/17 CEASED DUTY ANAES FAZERKERLEY AND FRODSHAM AUX MIL H, VIS MO KNOWSLEY CONVAL H WOMEN MUNITIONS WORKERS		POST WAR HON ANAES LIVERPOOL STANLEY H
MARJORIE ISOBEL STUART WOOD NEE MCGREGOR 100		MBChB Edin 1916	HP LEITH GEN HOS, HS EGGINGTON HALL MIL H DERBY ?WHEN			SCOTTISH COMMAND 18/1/17 - 17/11/17 DUNDEE WAR H, RESIGNED		
5 NOT IN RAMC REGISTER								
DAISY ANNABELLE BENNETT	10/01/1874	MBChM 1898 Glas, MD 1904				SURGEON 4TH SCOTTISH GENERAL ?CMP		?JOB POSTWAR, DIED 1928
PHOEBE CHAPPLE	31/3/1879 - 1967	ADELAIDE 1904	HS ADELAIDE HOSP, RMO SYDNEY MEDICAL MISSION 1906, ADELAIDE ?1908 , HON MED SUPT MCBRIDE'S MAT HOSP. LEFT ADELAIDE FEB 1917			CAMBRIDGE MILITARY H, ALDERSHOT	ABBEVILLE FROM NOV 17 - AUG 18, ROUEN AND LE HAVRE, 29 MAY 1918 INSPECTING WAAC CAMP 1 WHEN BOMBED, SHELTERED IN TRENCH WITH 40 WOMEN - 9 KILLED, WOUNDED+	FIRST WOMAN TO BE AWARDED MM FOLLOWING BOMBING ABBEVILLE CAMP. NOT ENTITLED TO MC AS NOT COMMISSIONED OFFICER. RETURNED AUSTRALIA IN 1919. PRACTICED ADELAIDE. 1921 HON MO NIGHT CLINIC ADELAIDE HOSP
GRACE MARION BRIDGE		MA, LMSSA (Lond)				MILITARY BLOCK, ROYAL FREE H 1915 - 1919, ?CMP/RAMC		RETURNED TO AUSTRALIA VIA USA
MABEL MURRAY-PRIOR		LLMRCP RCS DUBLIN	HONG KONG OUTBREAK WAR, TRAVELLED ENGLAND 1915			(INITIALLY VAD, ROYAL HERBERT H, WOOLWICH, EDINBURGH H UNTIL AFTER ARMISTICE ?CMP/RAMC)		

Appendix F Home Hospital Women Doctors

NAME	DOB	QUALS	PRE WAR	VOL UNIT	SWH	ATTACHED RAMC	QMAAC	POST WAR
FLORENCE STONEY	1870 - 1932	MB 1895, BS 1898 LSMW, MD 1899	RES MO HULL, CA'S NEW H WOMEN, CA SOUTHWARK EYE H, 1896 ASS ANAES RFH, ASS ENT RFH 3YRS, 1897 HS VHSC HULL 14/12, AN DEMONS LSMW 1898-1903, AN TEACHER MBOPTC, MA 2 SCH, APP MED ELECTRICIAN 1902 ?FIRST FEMALE RADIOLOGIST, ALL FEMALE DEPT, 1902 STARTED RADIOLOGIY NEW H, CONTINUED I/C UNTIL FWW		STOBART UNIT CMO ANTWERP 16 SEPT - 14 OCT 14, CMO ANGLO- FRENCH H NO 2, LE CHATEAU TOURLAVILLE, CHERBOURG 6 NOV 14 - 24 MARCH 15		FULHAM MILITARY HOSPITAL	OBE 1919. HON MO THEN HON PHYS ROYAL VICTORIA H AND VICTORIA HOME FOR CRIPPLED CHILDREN, BOURNEMOUTH

Notes

Fewer dates of birth recorded for later entries in RAMC Book 82 so harder to trace

Entries without numbers not recorded in RAMC Book 82

Additional References

A. Thomas and F. Duck, *Edith and Florence Stoney, Sisters in Radiology* (Switzerland: Springer, 2019)

<https://www.universitystory.gla.ac.uk/> viewed 28 July 2019

Appendix G Women's Services Women Doctors

NAME	DOB	QUALS	PRE WAR	SWH	ATTACHED RAMC	QMAAC	POST WAR
WAAC/QMAAC TOTAL 54							
HANNAH K ALTON		MBBS Lond 1917				MEDICAL OFFICIAL 1 OCT 1917, FOLKESTONE RECEIVING DEPOT FOR OVERSEAS, VACCINATIONS DONE HERE	
OLIVE M ANDERSON						MEDICAL OFFICIAL 1 MAY 1918, APPOINTED ISLEWORTH HOSPITAL	
HELEN PATRICIA BARNES (DENT) 1	17/03/1888	MBBS LSMW 1913	RES OBS OFF & OPHTH HO BRI, LATE RES MO WOLVES GH, S RES MO & HS BRISTOL R H CHIL/WOMEN, HO IPSWICH		EMB 2/8/16 MALTA - 27/7/17 SOUTHERN COMMAND 10/9/17 - 6/6/18, UNI WAR H S'TON, THEN RESIGNED.	EXAMINED WOMEN FOR WAAC	MATERNITY AND CHILD WELFARE MO, LEICESTER (MD 1924)
CHRISTINA BARROWMAN	21/02/1886	MBChB 1911 Glas				QMAAC	MARRIED, LIVED IN JESMOND, ?WORKED POST WAR
ELEANOR ELIZABETH BOURNE	1878 - 1957 36	MB CM SYDNEY 1903, DPH 1920	PRE-WAR - HON OPD PHYS HOSP SICK CHIL, BRISBANE, CHIEF MED INS SCHS QUEENSLAND		ENDELL ST - ASS SURGEON (LT) UNTIL 31 DEC 17	MEDICAL CONTROLLER QMAAC, NORTHERN COMMAND, YORK 2 JAN 1918	1925 - ASS MOH (MAT & CHILD WELFARE) CITY OF CARLISLE, BMA, SOC MOH
ELIZABETH BUDD		LRCPI LRCSI 1916				MEDICAL CONTROLLER RECRUITING BELFAST 8 OCT 1917 UNTIL DISBANDED	
HILDA BULL						WAAC	
ISABELLA CAMERON			MATERNITY/CHILD WELFARE WITH LOCAL GOVT BOARD			TEMPORARILY ONE OF FIRST FULL TIME WOMEN APPOINTED WAAC TO UNDERTAKE MEDICAL BOARDS, PRESIDENT OF BOARD 1917, RETURNED TO LOCAL GOVT BOARD ?SEPT 1917	
ADELINE HERBERT CAMPBELL	1887 - 1965 28YRS IN 1916	MBChB 1912	HS VIC H SICK CH, CHELSEA 1915	KRAGUIVATZ 1915, MILITARY HOSPITAL BELGRADE		MEDICAL OFFICIAL 25 JAN 1918, AMERICAN HOSPITAL, LE HAVRE	ORDER OF ST SAVA, SERBIAN WAR SERVICE MEDAL
PHOEBE CHAPPLE	31/3/1879 - 1967	ADELAIDE 1904	HS ADELAIDE HOSP, RMO SYDNEY MEDICAL MISSION 1906, ADELAIDE ?1908, HON MED SUPT MCBRIDE'S MAT HOSP. LEFT ADELAIDE FEB 1917		CAMBRIDGE MILITARY H, ALDERSHOT ?CMP/RAMC	ABBEVILLE FROM NOV 17 - AUG 18, ROUEN AND LE HAVRE, 29 MAY 1918 INSPECTING WAAC CAMP 1 WHEN BOMBED, SHELTERED IN TRENCH WITH 40 WOMEN - 9 KILLED, WOUNDED+ WAAC - FIRST WOMAN TO BE AWARDED MM AS UNABLE TO BE AWARDED MC AS NOT COMMISSIONED OFFICER.	RETURNED AUSTRALIA IN 1919. PRACTICED ADELAIDE. 1921 HON MO NIGHT CLINIC ADELAIDE HOSP
JULIA VERONICA CHRISTIE 99		MBChB Edin1913	RES MO EASTERN DISP, BATH		SOUTHERN COMMAND 15/12/16 - 1/10/17 1ST SOUTHERN GEN H	MEDICAL CONTROLLER RECRUITING BIRMINGHAM 1 OCT 1917	NO RETURN 1920
KATHERINE J S CLARK	15/07/1886	MBChB 1903, DPH 1906, MD 1907	HP LEITH H/RES MO CRAIGLEITH H, SCH MO YORKSHIRE/EDIN			MEDICAL CONTROLLER, SCOTTISH COMMAND 1 DEC 1917	
DOROTHEA COLMAN						MEDICAL BOARD LONDON	

Appendix G Women's Services Women Doctors

NAME	DOB	QUALS	PRE WAR	SWH	ATTACHED RAMC	QMAAC	POST WAR
AGNES M COWAN						MEDICAL OFFICIAL 7 MAY 1918	
MABEL A DOBBIN-CRAWFORD	3/07/1890	TC Dub, MD, MAO FRCSI	ASS MASTER ROTUNDA H			MEDICAL CONTROLLER 22 OCT 1917, IRISH COMMAND	HON SURG LIVERPOOL & SAMARITAN H'S, LIVERPOOL MAT H. OBE
STEPHANIE P L H T DANIEL						MEDICAL OFFICIAL 22 FEB 1918	
MARGARET ELLEN DOUGLASS	1878-1950	TORONTO, POSTGRAD US AND UK	PRACTISED IN WINNIPEG			MEDICAL OFFICIAL 12 APRIL 1918	
IRENE CECIL DAVY EATON 6	21/09/1882	MBBS 1909 LSMW, DPH 1914	ASS MOH AND ASS SCH MO WILLESSEN U DIST		EMB 2/8/16 MALTA- ?, EASTERN COMMAND TO 17/10/17 (LISTED AS BACTERIOLOGIST)	APPOINTED MEDICAL CONTROLLER EASTERN COMMAND 17 OCT 1917	MO MINISTRY OF HEALTH
HILDA ESSON						MEDICAL OFFICIAL 7 SEPT 1918	
MARY B FERGUSON						MEDICAL CONTROLLER RECRUITING 18 OCT 1917 - TOOK OVER FROM AGNES HENDERSON NEWCASTLE	
MARGARET FRASER						MEDICAL BOARD LONDON	
LUCIE GAINSFORD						MEDICAL OFFICIAL AMERICAN SECTION	
JESSIE HANDYSIDE GELLATLY 49	07/12/1882 - 1936	MBChB Edin 1906, MD 1910, DPH 1910	LEITH HOSP, MO CADBURY, BOURNEVILLE, 1909 MO WALTHAMSTOW SAN, 1914 ASS MOH CAMBS CO COUNCIL		EMB 1/9/16 MALTA, 65 GEN H SALONIKA 2/7/17 - 18/9/18 TO QMAAC	MEDICAL OFFICIAL 18 SEPT 1918	?ASS MOH CAMBS CO COUNCIL 1919
LILIAN M W GRANT						MEDICAL OFFICIAL 3 MAY 1918	
LOUISA HAMILTON						MEDICAL BOARD LONDON	
AGNES ?HESTER M HENDERSON						MEDICAL CONTROLLER RECRUITING NEWCASTLE 15 OCT 1917 (MARY FERGUSON TOOK OVER LATER)	
AMY HODGSON		MD, MRCP	MO CH HEALTH HUDDERSFIELD			MEDICAL CONTROLLER RECRUITING CARDIFF 7 NOV 1917	CON PAED LONDON
ROSALIE JOBSON (HOLMES) 87	1886 - 1963 28	LRCP MRCS LSMW 1914			WHC PARIS, 'LENT' TO RAMC FOR 6/12 BOULOGNE, EASTERN COMMAND, COLCHESTER 13/12/16 - 24/8/17 RESIGNED (FRIEND M BLANDY)	MEDICAL OFFICIAL 17 JUNE 1918, MED DIR 1920 AND 1922	GOS ?1917 UNTIL DISMISSED WHEN MALE DRS RETURNED, MARRIED GORDON HOLMES
CELIA M C MACNEIL		MBChB 1913 Edin	GRADUATED 1913, WORKED MILITARY HOSPITAL ACROSS LINKS - EDINBURGH HP TO DR TT GRAHAM BROWN, LEITH WAR H			MEDICAL OFFICIAL 27 NOV 1917	

Appendix G Women's Services Women Doctors

NAME	DOB	QUALS	PRE WAR	SWH	ATTACHED RAMC	QMAAC	POST WAR
MARY MCCULLOUGH (NEE CASKEY)						MEDICAL CONTROLLER WESTERN COMMAND 1 DEC 1917	
MARJORIE MCMULLEN (WESTBY) 108		LRCPSI			EASTERN COMMAND 15/1/17 - 14/11/17 R HERBERT H, APPT WAAC	MEDICAL OFFICIAL 14 NOV 1917	
ELEANOR A MONTGOMERY						MEDICAL CONTROLLER RECRUITING DONCASTER AND NOTTINGHAM 8 OCT 1917, QMAAC HOSPITAL ISLEWORTH	
AMY FLORENCE NASH 130 LK	1887	LRCPLM LRCSILM 1910			WESTERN COMMAND 1/3/17 -27/11/17, APPOINTED TO WAAC	MEDICAL OFFICAL 27 NOV 1917	TEMP ASS MO COUNTY ASYLUM, RAINHILL 1925
AGNES NICHOLL						MEDICAL CONTROLLER OVERSEAS NORTHERN 12 AUG 1918	
CICELY M PEAKE		LSMW 1908				MEDICAL CONTROLLER 27 OCT 1917, LONDON DISTRICT	
ELLEN PICKARD						MEDICAL BOARD LONDON	
MABEL PULTENAY						MEDICAL BOARD LONDON	
ALICE RATTRAY		MBChB ?1915/16				MEDICAL OFFICIAL 7 FEB 1918	
JANE ELIZABETH REYNOLDS 39 LK	28/09/1876	MBBCh BAO 1905			EMB 16/8/16 MALTA, 61ST GEN H SALONIKA 2/7/17, SOUTHERN COMMAND, 4TH SOUTHERN GEN H 9/1/19 - 18/8/19	APPOINTED TO QMAAC	RES MO POOR LAW INS DERBY 1920
ADELINE ROBERTS	1873 - 8/1/55	MB 1898, BS 1899 LSMW, MD 1902	CLIN ASS MOORFIELDS, CONS OPHTH SURG SLHFW			RECRUITING MEDICAL CONTROLLER 1 OCT 1917, PRESIDENT LONDON RECRUITING/MEDICAL BOARDS, FOR 2YRS. CONTROLLER MEDICAL SERVICES FROM AUG 1919 ON RESIGNATION OF JANE TURNBULL - PRESIDENT OF LONDON SICK BOARD AFTER END OF RECRUITING	OBE 1919
ANNIE S ROBERTSON						MEDICAL OFFICIAL 1 MAY 1918	
MARGARET (MADGE)?EASON ROBERTSON 120					EASTERN COMMAND 7/3/17 - 8/11/17 COLCHESTER H APPOINTED TO WAAC	APPOINTED TO WAAC - SUPERVISION ROUEN AND LE HAVRE	
LAURA STEWART SANDEMAN	1862 - 1929	MBChB Edin 1903	GP ABERDEEN	CHIEF MEDICAL OFFICER TROYES, GIRTON NEWNHAM 8 MAY 15 - 1 SEP 15		CONTROLLER MEDICAL SERVICES OVERSEAS 12 OCT 1917, SUPERVISED NORTH FRANCE. FRANCE FROM 14 OCT 17	DUNDEE WORKHOUSE
ZILLER SCRUBY	? - 1955	MBBS DPH				MEDICAL CONTROLLER OVERSEAS SOUTH, LATER WITH WAACS ATTACHED AMERICAN WOMEN'S CORPS AT TOURS AND BOURGES	

Appendix G Women's Services Women Doctors

NAME	DOB	QUALS	PRE WAR	SWH	ATTACHED RAMC	QMAAC	POST WAR
AMY SHEPPARD	1864 - ? 50	MB 1892 LSMW, DPH 1898	OPHTH SURG NEW H WOM/MED MISS H CANNING TOWN. 'FEW YRS BEFORE WAR, SEASON AT AMRITSAR'. TAX RESISTER 1913		OPHTH SURGEON, ENDELL STREET OPENING - 4 AND HALF YEARS	QMAAC H, ISLEWORTH,	OBE. 1920 OPHTH SURG EGA, 1921 EGA/WOM SETT, CLAPHAM MAT H
GRACE ELEANOR SOLTAU	? - 1962	LRCPS Edin, LRFPS Glas		KRAGUIVATZ 1 DEC 14 - 1 JUN 15, INVALIDED HOME DIPHThERIA		MEDICAL CONTROLLER RECRUITING BRISTOL 17 NOV 1917, TOOK OVER FROM L FAIRFIELD AS AREA CONTROLLER SOUTHERN COMMAND	3RD CLASS ORDER OF ST SAVA, KING OF SERBIA
ALICE STALKER	? - 1955	MBChB, DPH				MEDICAL CONTROLLER 1 DEC 1917, ALDERSHOT	DIED 16 JAN 1955 SOUTHPORT, LANCS
CHARLOTTE A F STURM						MEDICAL CONTROLLER RECRUITING BRISTOL 5 JULY 1918	
ELIZABETH THACKRAY						MEDICAL BOARD LONDON	
TORRANCE THOMSON						WAAC SCOTLAND THEN WRNS	
JANE TURNBULL						CONTROLLER MEDICAL SERVICES HOME 1 OCT 1917, RESIGNED AUGUST 1919	RESIGNED QMAAC TO BECOME MO TO MINISTRY OF HEALTH
KATHERINE ADA WARING 34	9/3/1885	MBBS 1915 LSMW	ASS MO NW FEVER HOSP, HP NEW HOSP WOMEN		EMB 12/8/16 MALTA, 61ST GEN H SALONIKA 2/7/17 - 26/12/17 REFUSED RENEW CONTRACT WHILE IN SALONIKA, RETURNED HOME ?JAN 18, APPLIED HS HAMPSTEAD GENERAL BUT MAN APPOINTED	MO WAAC	ASS MO QUEEN MARY'S HOSP CHILDREN CARSHALTON
ANNE MERCER WATSON	53YRS 1/1/16	LRCPLRCSG LP&SG	GP PANEL ABERDEEN 1916			MEDICAL CONTROLLER RECRUITING EDINBURGH, 8 OCT 1917, ABBEVILLE	PAPER ON INFLUENZA OUTBREAK IN QMAAC HOSTEL IN EDINBURGH JAN 1919
ALEXANDRA MARY CHALMERS WATSON (NEE GEDDES)		MBChB Edin 1896, MD 1898	MATERNITY DISTRICT ASSN PLAISTOW, DR BARNARDO'S KENT. EDINBURGH HOSP AND DISP FOR WOMEN & CHILDREN			CONTROLLER (ADMINISTRATOR)	LGA'S COUSIN, A GEDDES SISTER
WRNS TOTAL 4							
MARY BELL						ASSITANT MED DIRECTOR, WRNS - CHARGE DRAFTING HOSTEL	
ANNIE FORSTER						MEDICAL DIRECTOR WRNS UNTIL APRIL 1918	
DOROTHY CHRISTIAN HARE 4	14/09/1876	MBBS MD(Lond), DPH Camb			EMB 2/8/16 MALTA -JAN 1918. ST GEORGE'S HOSPITAL - COLONEL SCANLON. ARRIVED HOME 6/2/18	MEDICAL ASSISTANT DIRECTOR WRNS FROM APRIL 18	DISCUSSED OBSCURING OF AGG TESTS FOR PARATYPHOID BY VACC WITH WMF POSTWAR,

Appendix G Women's Services Women Doctors

NAME	DOB	QUALS	PRE WAR	SWH	ATTACHED RAMC	QMAAC	POST WAR
TORRANCE THOMSON						WAAC SCOTLAND THEN WRNS	
WRAF TOTAL 2							
LETITIA FAIRFIELD	10/03/1885	MBChB Edin 1907, MD 1911, DPH Lond 1912	ASS MO LCC 1912 -			MEDICAL AREA CONTROLLER, SOUTHERN COMMAND WAAC OCT 1917-JUNE 1918, TRANSFERRED TO FORM WRAF, CHIEF OF MEDICAL SERVICES, WOMEN'S ROYAL AIR FORCE JUNE 1918 - MARCH 1920	CBE 1919. SWW -ADVISOR TO DIRECTOR GENERAL ARMY MEDICAL SERVICE & DIRECTOR ATS
LILY BAKER LK	?1879	MBChB 1906 FRCSI 1913	ANATOMY DEMONS BRISTOL 1908-11. ASS SURG/GYNAE BRISTOL		(REPLACED OBS SURG AT BRI WHEN IN RAMC)	HONORARY MEDICAL OFFICER IN CHARGE WRAF IN THE FIELD (FRANCE), POST WAR GYNAE TO RHINE ARMY OF OCCUPATION	RETURNED TO BRI OBS REG . FOUNDATION MEMBER RCOG
3+ OTHER UNKNOWN WOMEN DOCTORS							

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KATIE LOUISA ARDILL 118	CITADEL CAIRO
J M ALEXANDER	IN ALEXANDRIA JUNE 1918
MARY HARVEY BAIRD 101	EGYPT 21/6/18
BLACKHAM	IN ALEXANDRIA JUNE1918
SUSAN ANNIE BUCKINGHAM	EGYPT 71 GH, CITADEL H CAIRO 23/2/19
HESTER MAY CHJURCH 111	EGYPT 24/2/18-4/4/19
MT DAVID	31 GH EGYPT FROM 18/5/18
MARGARET O'ROURKE GALLAGHER	RAMC EGYPT 1918
JEAN PATON GORDON 115	19 TH GH EGYPT 24/2/18-4/4/19
U P GRIFFIN	31 GH EGYPT FROM 18/5/18
HADDEN	IN ALEXANDRIA JUNE1918
A HALL	31 GH EGYPT FROM 18/5/18
ELIZABETH ISOBEL HAMILTON-BROWNE	19TH GENERAL H EGYPT
HAMILTON-JOHNSTONE	IN ALEXANDRIA JUNE 1918
MURIEL H KERR	EGYPT 31 GH FROM 18/5/18
MACLAY	IN ALEXANDRIA JUNE 1918
F E MILLARD	CITADEL HOSPITAL, CAIRO 20/5/18
O'DRISCOLL	IN ALEXANDRIA JUNE 1918
O'HALLORAN	IN ALEXANDRIA JUNE 1918
SUSIE ROBERTSON (BUCKINGHAM)	EGYPT 71 GH, CITADEL H CAIRO 23/2/19
SYDNEY JESSIE SCOTT- REID (VERNEY)	IN ALEXANDRIA JUNE 1918

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	MD	DPH	(MD AND DPH)	DTM	FRCSI	MRCP	FRCP	%
ATT RAMC (151)	29	18	(7)	1	5			35
WOMEN'S SERVICES (60)	7	9	(4)		2	1		32
WHC (37)	11	8	(2)			3	1	62

Table 1 - Postgraduate Qualifications Women Doctors

See Appendices A,F,G,H

	MD	DPH	MD AND DPH	DTM	FRCS	MRCP	FRPSG	FRCP	%
SCOTTISH MALE DRS (68)	18	9	(2)		1		2	1	45

Table 2 - Postgraduate Qualifications Male Doctors

Sample of Scottish Male Doctors Registered Scottish Medical Service Emergency Committee (Total 108 with surnames beginning A but those on active service excluded as no qualifications given. Higher % partly due to larger % male consultants who were also more likely to have stayed behind)

<http://smsec.rcpe.ac.uk/> Surnames beginning A

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CEF 561409 Attestation Papers of Ona Gore Nicholson

CEF 566185a/b Attestation Papers of Margaret Parks

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LSE Women's Library

7GLS Papers of Gertrude Lind Setchfield 1914-1919

7LGA Papers of Louisa Garrett Anderson

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7LGA/2/2 Letters regarding Women's Hospital Corps, Paris, France

7LGA/3 Endell Street Military Hospital Scrapbook

7LGA/6/01 Women's Hospital Corps Doctors

2LSW/E/03/7 List of signatories 1917 petition to Sir Alfred Mond, First Commissioner of Works asking to remove grilles from Ladies Gallery in House of Commons

7MGF/E/4/03 Papers of Millicent Garrett Fawcett- Speech notes and material relating to women's war service

7NLA/2/04 Papers of Nina Last- photographs

7NLA/1/016 Papers of Nina Last - Writings of Nina Courage, orderly (nee Last)

6NCS/2/B/20 Records of the National Association of Women Civil Servants - Correspondence and papers 1913-1923

8SUF/B/118 Box 1 Fairfield, Dr Letitia

7VJH Papers of Vera Hulme

2WTR Records of the Women's Tax Resistance League

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