

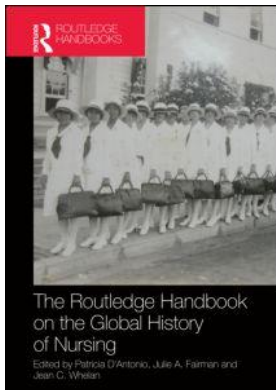
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Access details: *subscription number*

Publisher: *Routledge*

Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954 Registered office: 5 Howick Place, London SW1P 1WG, UK



Routledge Handbook on the Global History of Nursing

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Wartime Nursing and Power

Publication details

<https://www.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9780203488515.ch2>

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Published online on: 24 May 2013

How to cite :- Kara Dixon Vuic. 24 May 2013, *Wartime Nursing and Power from*: Routledge Handbook on the Global History of Nursing Routledge

Accessed on: 06 Dec 2023

<https://www.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9780203488515.ch2>

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WARTIME NURSING AND POWER

Kara Dixon Vuic

Wartime nurses make good Hollywood subjects. Often, they serve as romantic figures who grace the silver screen in billowing white uniforms mysteriously unsullied by work or war, while they selflessly soothe and comfort tragically wounded young men with whom they frequently fall in love. Others receive the audience's admiration as they stoically withstand their fears and the dangers of war to prove their worth as women, as nurses, and as representatives of their country. And while most film depictions of nurses blend these qualities, they consistently rely on gendered tropes to explain nurses' motivations, their work, and the meanings of their service. The 1943 production *So Proudly We Hail*, for example, undermined the tragic experiences of nurses imprisoned by the Japanese—nurses who were at the time of the film's release still living in prison camps in the Philippines—by framing the story as a wartime romance. Nearly sixty years later, the blockbuster film *Pearl Harbor* (2001) reduced the skill of nurses to their femininity, as they literally used lipstick and nylons to triage and treat the casualties of the attack on the US naval base. Admittedly, films are made to entertain. But even so, popular portrayals of wartime nurses such as these tend to paint a melodramatic picture that belies a much more complicated and even heroic story.

Historians offer a more nuanced account of wartime nursing that grounds nurses' experiences and the meanings of their work in the context of changing gender norms, the evolution of women's and men's public roles, and broad considerations of the meanings of wartime military service.¹ By placing nurses at the center of wider examinations of the history of war, women, gender, medicine, and militarization, historians reveal the ways nurses have both embodied gender ideologies and created gender change. Historians demonstrate the ways in which evolving gender norms have shaped nurses' access to warzones and battlefields, characterized their conceptions of nursing practice, and regulated their duties. They consider the ways nurses have embraced both conventional and progressive notions of gender, as well as wartime service, as tools to

secure their professional status and their place in the nation.² Finally, historians are beginning to consider even more complicated meanings of wartime nursing as they examine the ways nursing itself has functioned as martial power.

Gender as power

Although popular images of wartime nurses usually feature fresh-faced, stylishly uniformed women sacrificially caring for wounded young soldiers, until the mid-19th century most wartime nurses were men.³ Beginning in the Crimean War, female nurses argued for a new model of wartime nursing, one steeped in conventional understandings of women as innately suited for domestic matters and thus better qualified to be nurses. Trained and untrained nurses alike argued that allowing them to extend their feminine talents to warzone hospitals would have great benefits for medical care, while sympathetic military officials reasoned that women would domesticate the martial environment. Historians maintain that women, in harnessing traditional gender norms to smooth their entrance to the masculine environs of hospital, military, and war, contained the radical potential of their newfound work by upholding the existing class and race ideologies that defined proper womanhood and thereby excluded men and non-white women. Gender thus functioned as a form of power for women who relied on feminine ideals to justify their place as wartime nurses, and as a powerful tool of exclusion for those who did not fit an evolving mold of conventional femininity. In short, gendered rationales both united and divided nurses, in ways that simultaneously expanded and restricted the meanings of their work.

In the transformative era of the Crimean War, Florence Nightingale and her band of nurses upturned popular conceptions of the care of strangers as disreputable work for women and of warzones as dangerous, dirty sites where no respectable woman should venture. They did so, Anne Summers suggests, by arguing that women's supposed innate nurturing characteristics would transform patient care and hospital efficiency. But while notions of feminine care smoothed the entry of middle- and upper-class women to the wartime hospital, gender stunted their ability to exert authority in the wards. Accustomed to the influence their privileged class status imparted them and unwilling to be treated as servants, Nightingale's nurses struggled with the limited reception they received as medical advisors.⁴ In fact, Summers maintains, Nightingale's efforts to transform medical care were not as successful as has been traditionally asserted because most nursing practice occurred "outside Florence Nightingale's jurisdiction, and without reference to her ideas of proper professional practice."⁵ Still, Nightingale's gendered rationalizations of nursing as an extension of feminine nurturing began a shift in public understandings of wartime nursing and of women's wartime roles.⁶

Just as the Crimean War marked a significant change in notions of wartime nursing in Europe, the Civil War prompted transformations in the United States only a few years later. Confronted with conceptions of war as physically and morally treacherous, middle- and upper-class women extended the ideology of women's domestic sphere to justify and deem respectable their place in warzone hospitals.⁷ Jane Schultz demonstrates that women characterized wartime nursing as respectable by likening

nursing to their usual feminine work in the home and by characterizing soldiers as family. In this vein, women who could afford to volunteer their time argued that their work was more wholesome and meaningful than that of working-class, African American, and slave women who were assigned more physically challenging, menial, and less patient-focused tasks, and who (despite being the majority of female hospital workers) received no postwar recognition or pension.⁸ Unlike nurses in Scutari, however, women in the hospitals of Antietam, Gettysburg, and Shiloh employed gender ideologies to advocate for more power in the hospital. When female nurses' assertions of medical authority brought them into conflict with physicians and military officials, Judith Ann Giesberg finds, women argued that if their feminine characteristics ideally suited them to care for the wounded, then they should have the authority to make medical decisions.⁹ In Nancy Scripture Garrison's assessment, women bridged a conventional ideology of middle- and upper-class femininity with a more progressive push for medical authority by framing "nursing as an extension of their womanhood" and "an affirmation of their strength."¹⁰

Domestic and familial metaphors assumed new meaning during World War I, when, as Susan Grayzel indicates, national rhetoric in Britain and France defined "motherhood as women's primary patriotic role and the core of their national identity."¹¹ Maternal images of nurses even successfully transformed public opinion of nursing in France, Margaret H. Darrow argues, from a disreputable task to a natural extension of motherhood, feminine righteousness, and women's patriotic service to soldiers.¹² Britain's volunteer First Aid Nursing Yeomanry nurses utilized these maternal ideals to expand their nursing practice, Janet Lee attests, "by grounding their call to service in an essentialized femininity of nurturance."¹³ But while maternal symbols ascribed meaning to nurses' work, complicated ties between gender, class, and professionalism divided them within the hospital. According to Janet S.K. Watson and Susan Ouditt, untrained upper-class Voluntary Aid Detachment nurses easily conformed to Britons' notions of nurses as sacrificial mothers.¹⁴ Trained working- and middle-class nurses who required payment for their services conformed less easily to prevailing notions of sacrificial motherhood and felt compelled "to demonstrate the essential and unique skills that only graduates of recognized nursing training programs possessed" to justify their place in the wartime hospital.¹⁵ However much professional and economic concerns divided them, Christine Hallet finds that both trained and untrained nurses believed a familial environment to be important for patient recovery and invoked notions of domesticity to guard against suspicion of their motivations.¹⁶

By World War II, women no longer needed to rationalize nursing as an extension of domesticity or motherhood to secure their place in war. In many ways, as the war ushered women into many previously "masculine" roles in militaries and workforces, the profession's codification as feminine protected nurses from criticism and suspicion. And yet, gendered understandings of nursing excluded many qualified nurses from wartime service. Despite a shortage so serious that the US Congress nearly drafted nurses and in spite of a qualified population of African American and male nurses, Barbara Tomblin explains, the US military resisted opening the corps to either group.¹⁷

According to Cynthia Toman, the Canadian military similarly excluded First Nation, black, and Asian women, as well as men.¹⁸

The post-World War II period witnessed remarkable changes in gender roles, and yet, my work on army nurses in the Vietnam War reveals that even after the military admitted men as nurses, gender remained a central part of the military's and the men's understanding of the work. While the army devoted considerable effort to delineating distinct roles for male and female nurses, men frequently ascribed masculine qualities to the tasks they performed in an effort to distinguish themselves from lingering associations of nursing and femininity.¹⁹ Scholars have yet to evaluate fully the influence of gender on wartime nursing in late 20th-century conflicts, but the field is ripe for analysis. Although some, like Jan Bassett in her coda on Australian nurses in the first Gulf War, suspect that gender functions less for modern military nurses than it did for their predecessors, there is much to learn about the ways that female and male nurses conceive of gender, nursing, and power today.²⁰

War as power

As nurses embraced gender to secure their place in wartime hospitals, wartime service also became a source of power for women who sought unparalleled opportunities and national recognition. Wartime service presented some women with personal experiences that most women did not have, and it allowed them to engage in a heightened and complex level of practice that escaped most nurses. Many women embraced these opportunities and sought military rank as a means of securing tangible and ideological reward for their service. As historians have convincingly shown, nurses have both reflected and shaped larger debates about acceptable and obligatory wartime roles for women. Investigating their experiences allows historians to contemplate the changing place of women in the nation and the wider world.²¹

Although domestic metaphors defined wartime nursing as merely an extension of women's nature, the reality of nurses' wartime lives "subverted the ideology of separate spheres."²² Wartime experiences were "transitional" for women, Garrison argues in her history of Sanitary Commission nurses during the US Civil War, as they exchanged "domesticity for independence and challenge."²³ British nurses in World War I might have similarly operated within feminine convention, Summers demonstrates, but they also crossed "social and political frontiers" and helped "normalise the idea of women's war service."²⁴ War also facilitated a transformative professional experience for nurses pressed to perform a wider range of practice than normally expected. Toman reveals, for example, that the closer Canadian nurses in World War II were to the front, the more they were able to practice autonomously and to take on responsibilities ordinarily carried out by physicians.²⁵ I argue that the demands of the Vietnam War created similar situations for nurses who embraced their increased responsibilities as a sign of professional equality.²⁶ Ultimately, while scholars suggest that connections between conventional gender norms and nursing might have limited women's push for complete autonomy, they concede that wartime nursing allowed women to move beyond conventional propriety to participate in war, hold positions of authority, and create a "new political culture."²⁷

Even as wartime demands expanded women's lives and their professional practice, military nurses continued to face restrictions and discrimination because of their gender. Initially employed as contract workers and then varyingly enlisted only in temporary or reserve services, nurses' military status remained ambiguous until the mid-20th century. Nurses were, in Summers's words, "in but not of" the military.²⁸ Nurses began a concerted effort to secure formal military rank during World War I, an era ripe with discussions about the expansion of women's public roles and their rights as citizens. As Susan Zeiger and Kimberly Jensen maintain, US military nurses' frustrations with their lack of hospital authority convinced them that officer rank would protect them from professional abuse and workplace harassment. Moreover, nurses began to argue not only that they needed rank for these professional reasons, but also that they had earned the benefits of such status through their work.²⁹ Nurses continued their efforts after the war to expand the meaning of their wartime service, arguing that their service to the nation should garner women more social and political rights. As Jensen suggests, nurses believed that their military service signaled a more progressive "civic equality and professionalism."³⁰

Nurses continued to lobby for the expansion of their military status in the years following World War I, but only another war proved a compelling enough reason for belligerent nations to extend the privileges and power of rank to women. The British military granted officer commissions to nurses in the Queen Anne's Imperial Military Nursing Service in 1941, while American nurses held only relative rank until June 1944, when Congress granted temporary commissions with equal pay and benefits for the war's duration plus an additional six months.³¹ Military rank provided real power for nurses, though in limited ways. Toman notes that when Canadian nurses received officer commissions in 1942, their rank facilitated a more equitable relationship with physicians than nurses experienced in civilian nursing, even though they only held authority over other women and patients and received fewer postwar veterans' benefits than men.³² Even after the 1947 Army-Navy Nurses' Act provided permanent commissioned officer status for US military nurses, women found the benefits of militarization to be mixed.³³ The military's opening of all ranks to women in the late 1960s and the promotion of the chief of the Army Nurse Corps to the rank of general in 1970, I argue, marked profound progress for nurses and for women. And yet, even as many nurses believed that they owed martial obligations equal to men and ascribed progressive meaning to their experiences, postwar depictions once again projected a much more conservative image of nurses and the meaning of their service than the women believed they had achieved.³⁴

Historians convincingly argue that nurses' wartime service has been partially to credit for women's expanding roles beyond the hospital since the mid-19th century. And while scholars have provided a solid analytical base from which to work, we know significantly less than we should about the ways that nurses in World War II or even the long Cold War era helped to shape notions of women's changing social roles. Historians suggest that women's participation in World War II planted the seeds for the growth of second-wave feminism. They also note that the postwar era was a complex time in which political fears manifested in anxieties about gender, in which women's employment

opportunities multiplied, and in which the meanings and rewards of military service changed radically. We need a deeper understanding of the ways in which wartime nursing shaped, and was shaped by, each of these changes.

Nursing as power

Moving beyond strict definitions of war as a declared conflict between nations, historians are now extending their analyses to the ways nursing itself functions as a form of martial power. Rooted in studies that have demonstrated the role of medicine and gender in exerting imperial control, historians argue that nurses and nursing have functioned to extend both formal and cultural power.³⁵ In these ways, historians are heeding Julia F. Irwin's argument that nursing history "should not be relegated to the peripheries of U.S. international history . . . but must be made central in any historical consideration of the United States in the world."³⁶ These considerations of nursing as an agent of power also complicate our understanding of nursing as a humanitarian act. Although historians acknowledge the benevolence that nurses perform in the fulfillment of their medical duties, they are beginning to understand that the extension of medical care occurs within a political, social, and cultural context that gives it meaning. Nurses heal, certainly, but they do so as agents of nations, militaries, and organizations that extend services as part of a larger political ideology. In moving beyond a simplistic notion of nursing as humanitarian and of war as a military engagement, we are moving toward a more complex understanding of nursing as an element not only of waging war, but also of waging power.

Nurses have struggled with questions of nursing's powerful potential, though as scholars note, they have typically considered the matter in the context of nursing's function within wars. Military nurses in particular have struggled with whether their martial obligations conflicted with or even undermined their work as nurses. As Penny Starns explains, for example, increased militarization changed nursing practice among British World War II nurses who came to value tidy ward administration more than traditionally feminine expressions of tenderness and compassion.³⁷ Not all women welcomed these militarized notions of nursing. As Toman and Bassett note in their histories of Canadian and Australian nursing during the war, Commonwealth nurses in particular resisted exchanging conventional gender for militarization. Although eager to prove their worthiness of military status, nurses in both cases expressed a reluctance to salute other military officials because they associated the military tradition with masculinity.³⁸

Considerations of the complex relationship between medical care and military mission extend to questions about the function of nursing for individual patients. In his examination of World War I hospital magazines, Jeffrey S. Reznick argues that soldiers viewed their regimented nursing care as an extension of war's militaristic control of their bodies.³⁹ Hallett maintains in her study of American and British nurses in World War I that nurses' regimented procedures "contained" instead of controlled patients, but even she acknowledges the ways that nursing practice advanced military causes.⁴⁰ Moreover, historians note that nurses in as varied wars as the two World Wars and the

Vietnam War expressed frustration over their constant efforts to heal wounded soldiers only to see them returned to battle.⁴¹ When called upon to treat the victims of their own military's actions or prisoners of war, nurses strained even more to reconcile their medical charge to heal with their membership in the military that waged such destruction and that defined patients as enemies. Race, ideology, and language further divided nurses from these patients and frustrated nurses' efforts to bridge their medical and military motives.⁴²

In addition to seeing contradictions between nurses' medical and military duties, scholars argue that nursing itself has functioned as an element of military and organizational policies. In some ways, Toman points out, nursing became an element of war as medical care assumed a strong national identity and became an essential part of militaries' efforts to wage war. As "medical units became strategic components of battle plans" during World War II, she argues, nurses' noncombatant status blurred.⁴³ Medicine and strategy combined in similar ways during the Vietnam War. American army nurses participated in the US government's Medical Civic Action Program, an ostensibly humanitarian aid project that delivered basic medical care to Vietnamese civilians but that also sought to create a favorable view of the American government among villagers and to craft a humanitarian image of the American military intervention. Although many nurses enjoyed the chance to work with the local population, their work undermined their own image of nursing as purely humanitarian and made the nurses complicit in government propaganda efforts.⁴⁴

Nurses' participation in wartime policies perhaps most obviously conflicts with medical aims in the history of nurses' involvement in Nazi extermination policies. In Bronwyn Rebekah McFarland-Icke's disturbing but insightful history of psychiatric nurses' efforts to reconcile their professional aims with government sterilization efforts, she reveals the process by which nurses altered their perception of patients to rationalize their increasingly brutal and dehumanizing treatment. As nurses divorced their intent from the consequences of their actions, they relied on their place at the bottom of the medical hierarchy to acquiesce their consciences to the results of their work. Disproving the easy notion that nurses simply had little choice but to conform to Nazi policies, McFarland-Icke describes a much more disturbing process by which professional and government ideologies provided nurses "with the kind of psychological reinforcement that eased the journey down the slippery slope from treatment to complicity in murder."⁴⁵

Studies such as these complicate the notion of wartime nursing as an apolitical, humanitarian endeavor and invite broader questions about the ways nursing has functioned as a powerful agent in cultural extensions of national power, and even as an agent of social and political control. Scholars contend that cultural imperialism frequently paves the way for more explicit political and military power, and they are beginning to understand how nursing has functioned to extend those influences. Irwin, for example, examines the work of four Red Cross nurses who traveled the world in the immediate post-World War I era to establish nurse training schools and mother/child health programs. Believing that nursing would create opportunities for women to uplift their nations and that improving public health in nations around the world was a

necessary precursor for democratic society, these nurses not only paved the way for more extensive intervention on the part of the US government, but also, Irwin reveals, served as a form of diplomacy by “masking the more violent and aggressive aspects of American empire and defining U.S. influence in the world as a force for good.”⁴⁶ Catherine Ceniza Choy finds similar connections between nursing, US imperialism in the Philippines, and subsequent Filipino nurse migration. Arguing that nursing concealed the unequal relationships inherent in and the more violent nature of American cultural imperialism, she demonstrates that the formation of nursing programs in the Philippines was not simply an act of American benevolence, but one that furthered the gender and racial hierarchies of American nursing and imperialism.⁴⁷

With these fruitful works as a guide, nursing historians can continue to advance our understanding of the militarization of nursing and its use as an agent of power. Nations have waged “wars” on drugs, poverty, and terror. State organizations have employed nurses in medical work and experiments that rested on and furthered ideologies of racial hierarchy. We have much to learn about how nurses have thought about their role in such efforts and about how the subjects of such work perceived the nurses. We may not continue to imagine wartime nurses as romantic figures wiping fevered brows on foreign fields, but the story we tell can teach us much more about nursing and power in all its manifestations.

Notes

- 1 I do not mean to suggest that there are no melodramatic or romanticized “historical” accounts of war nursing. There are many. Here, however, I will focus on the ways analytical histories of wartime nursing investigate the subject and the interpretations they provide. Additionally, I exclude from my analysis several invaluable official military histories. These works provide a solid foundation for any nursing historian, but they do not offer an academic interpretation grounded in the scholarship of nursing history, medical history, the history of women, or the history of gender. I certainly recommend their use, though with an understanding that military-produced histories are written at least in part to advance the military’s ideologies.
- 2 Certainly not all nursing historians agree, though I argue that most interpretations fall within Margaret R. Higonnet and Patrice L.-R. Higonnet’s “double helix” metaphor, which holds that wars both enhance and retard women’s status in broader society. Three works suggest the range of interpretations. In her chronicle of Australian military nurses, Jan Bassett suggests that, until very recently, military service extended the social and political limitations that women faced, in part because of economic discrimination. Even in her conservative analysis of the benefits conveyed by military service, however, she acknowledges that women serving in the Australian military enjoyed experiences beyond those that they would have faced in civilian life.

As documented by historians who have studied militaries across the globe and centuries, military women indeed faced sexual discrimination. Paid less than men, accorded limited privileges, and denied upward mobility within the ranks, women serving as military nurses have struggled for equality on many fronts. However, as Cynthia Toman argues in her study of Canadian nurses in World War II, women were not powerless within these constraints and “negotiated significant social and professional space within this traditionally male domain.” Offering a similarly nuanced interpretation of the mixed opportunities and restrictions military nursing provided women, I argue in my examination of the US Army

Nurse Corps during the Vietnam War that even while retrograde gender conventions shaped nurses' work and lives in many ways, military nursing provided some opportunities that neither nurses nor women in general enjoyed outside the ranks. Vietnam-era nurses certainly negotiated power within the limitations of the military, as Canadian nurses had decades prior, but they also found that the army offered professional rewards such as equal pay and professional advancement that feminists were struggling to secure in other occupations (Margaret R. Higonnet and Patrice L.-R. Higonnet, "The Double Helix," in Margaret Randolph Higonnet et al. (eds) *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987, pp. 31–47; Jan Bassett, *Guns and Brooches: Australian Army Nursing from the Boer War to the Gulf War*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press Australia, 1992; Cynthia Toman, *An Officer and a Lady: Canadian Military Nursing and the Second World War*, Studies in Canadian Military History, Vancouver, Canada: University of British Columbia Press, 2007, pp. 11–12; Kara Dixon Vuic, *Officer, Nurse, Woman: The Army Nurse Corps in the Vietnam War*, War/Society/Culture, Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010).

- 3 The gendered connotations of wartime nursing changed slowly even in the mid-19th century. Even as female nurses made inroads in their efforts to secure a place in the wartime hospital, Summers notes that the British military continued to use more men than women as nurses until after the Boer War, while Jane Schultz points out that more men than women nursed during the American Civil War. See Anne Summers, *Angels and Citizens: British Women as Military Nurses, 1854–1914*, New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1988, pp. 1–2; Jane E. Schultz, *Women at the Front: Hospital Workers in Civil War America*, Civil War America, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004, p. 18; also Vuic, *Officer, Nurse, Woman*, p. 47.
- 4 Summers, *Angels and Citizens*, pp. 67–96, 118–120.
- 5 Summers, *Angels and Citizens*, p. 46.
- 6 Summers, *Angels and Citizens*, pp. 29–66.
- 7 As Mary Denis Maher shows in her history of nuns in the war, military officials initially requested that Catholic sisters work as nurses. Nuns had performed wartime nursing care for many years and military officials were confident in their skill and experience. Moreover, the sisters' religious commitment to serving others averted the questions of propriety that other women who volunteered their service faced. Mary Denis Maher, *To Bind up the Wounds: Catholic Sister Nurses in the U.S. Civil War*, Contributions in Women's Studies, No. 107, New York: Greenwood Press, 1989, pp. 30–85. Schultz argues that military officials also requested the work of nuns because they asked for no payment. Schultz, *Women at the Front*, pp. 21, 43.
- 8 Schultz, *Women at the Front*, pp. 19–44, 46–63, 87–104; Judith Ann Giesberg, *Civil War Sisterhood: The U.S. Sanitary Commission and Women's Politics in Transition*, Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2000, pp. 33–52.
- 9 Giesberg, *Civil War Sisterhood*, pp. 113–133; also Schultz, *Women at the Front*, pp. 6, 108–141.
- 10 Nancy Scripture Garrison, *With Courage and Delicacy: Civil War on the Peninsula, Women and the U.S. Sanitary Commission*, Mason City, IA: Savon Publishing, 1999, p. 130.
- 11 Susan R. Grayzel, *Women's Identities at War: Gender, Motherhood, and Politics in Britain and France during the First World War*, Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1999, p. 3.
- 12 Margaret H. Darrow, "French Volunteer Nurses and the Myth of the War Experience in World War I," *American Historical Review* 101:1, February 1996, pp. 86–92.
- 13 Janet Lee, *War Girls: The First Aid Nursing Yeomanry in the First World War*, Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2005, pp. 35, 41–42.
- 14 Janet S.K. Watson, "Khaki Girls, VADs, and Tommy's Sisters: Gender and Class in First World War Britain," *International History Review* 19:1, February 1997, pp. 32–51; Sharon

- Ouditt, *Fighting Forces, Writing Women: Identity and Ideology in the First World War*, London: Routledge, 1994, p. 10.
- 15 Janet S.K. Watson, "Wars in the Wards: The Social Construction of Medical Work in First World War Britain," *Journal of British Studies* 41:4, October 2002, pp. 494, 486.
 - 16 Christine E. Hallett, *Containing Trauma: Nursing Work in the First World War*, Cultural History of Modern War, Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2009, pp. 177–180, 202.
 - 17 The army accepted only a very small quota of black women to serve and assigned them to segregated hospitals and prisoner of war wards. Military officials contended that men could not serve as nurses in the armed forces because they would not be able to submit to authority or provide intimate care for men. Barbara Brooks Tomblin, *G.I. Nightingales: The Army Nurse Corps in World War II*, Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1996, pp. 11, 123–124, 191–193, 197, 201, 210; Vuic, *Officer, Nurse, Woman*, p. 49; Darlene Clark Hine, *Black Women in White: Racial Conflict and Cooperation in the Nursing Profession, 1890–1950*, Blacks in the Diaspora, Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1989, pp. 162–186.
 - 18 Toman, *An Officer and a Lady*, pp. 3, 21, 44–45.
 - 19 Vuic, *Officer, Nurse, Woman*, pp. 47–52, 99–111.
 - 20 Bassett, *Guns and Brooches*, pp. 207–208.
 - 21 On the ways in which military service has conferred citizenship rights and the ways women have sought military service as a way of asserting their claim to equal citizenship, see Linda K. Kerber, *No Constitutional Right to Be Ladies: Women and the Obligations of Citizenship*, New York: Hill and Wang, 1998; Linda K. Kerber, "May All Our Citizens be Soldiers, and All Our Soldiers Citizens': The Ambiguities of Female Citizenship in the New Nation," in Jean Bethke Elshtain and Sheila Tobias, eds., *Women, Militarism, and War*, Savage, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1990, 89–104; Linda K. Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America*, Institute of Early American History, Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1980; Cecilia Elizabeth O'Leary, *To Die For: The Paradox of American Patriotism*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999, 30–37, 73–104; Kimberly Jensen, "Women, Citizenship, and Civic Sacrifice: Engendering Patriotism in the First World War," in John Bodnar, ed., *Bonds of Affection: Americans Define Their Patriotism*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996, 139–159; Ilene Rose Feinman, *Citizenship Rites: Feminist Soldiers and Feminist Antimilitarists*, New York: New York University Press, 2000; Nina Silber, *Daughters of the Union: Northern Women Fight the Civil War*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005, 263–265.
 - 22 Giesberg, *Civil War Sisterhood*, p. 116.
 - 23 Garrison, *With Courage and Delicacy*, p. 2.
 - 24 Summers, *Angels and Citizens*, pp. 151, 152, also 142–153, 271–290.
 - 25 Toman, *An Officer and a Lady*, pp. 118, 122–133.
 - 26 Vuic, *Officer, Nurse, Woman*, pp. 73–80.
 - 27 Giesberg, *Civil War Sisterhood*, p. 8; also Schultz, *Women at the Front*, p. 3; Garrison, *With Courage and Delicacy*, p. 2; Ouditt, *Fighting Forces, Writing Women*, p. 33; Lee, *War Girls*, p. 52.
 - 28 Summers, *Angels and Citizens*, p. 4.
 - 29 Kimberly Jensen, *Mobilizing Minerva: American Women in the First World War*, Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2008, pp. 117–141; also Philip A. Kalisch, "How Army Nurses Became Officers," *Nursing Research* 25:3, May–June 1976, pp. 164–177.
 - 30 Jensen, *Mobilizing Minerva*, p. ix; also Susan Zeiger, *In Uncle Sam's Service: Women Workers with the American Expeditionary Force, 1917–1919*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999, pp. 137–174.
 - 31 Janann Sherman, "They Either Need These Women or They Do Not: Margaret Chase Smith and the Fight for Regular Status for Women in the Military," *Journal of Military History* 54:1, January 1990, pp. 66–67; also Kalisch, "How Army Nurses Became Officers."

- 32 Toman, *An Officer and a Lady*, pp. 87–91, 94, 99.
- 33 The Army–Navy Nurses’ Act of 1947 provided permanent commissioned officer status with equal pay and allowances for nurses. The 1948 Women’s Armed Services Integration Act integrated women into permanent positions in the military. See Army–Navy Nurses’ Act, ch. 38, United States Statutes at Large 61 Stat. 41; *Women’s Armed Services Integration Act of 1948*, 62 Stat. 356, Public Law 80–625, June 12, 1948.
- 34 Vuic, *Officer, Nurse, Woman*, pp. 52–57, 66–69, 154–186.
- 35 For studies on the ways medicine has functioned as an extension of national power see Roy MacLeod and Milton Lewis, eds., *Disease, Medicine, and Empire: Perspectives on Western Medicine and the Experience of European Expansion*, London: Routledge, 1988; David Arnold, *Colonizing the Body: State Medicine and Epidemic Disease in Nineteenth Century India*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993; Laura Briggs, *Reproducing Empire: Race, Sex, Science, and U.S. Imperialism in Puerto Rico*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003; Mary-Ellen Kelm, *Colonizing Bodies: Aboriginal Health and Healing in British Columbia, 1900–1950*, Vancouver, Canada: University of British Columbia Press, 1998. On the centrality of gender to the extension of empire see Donna Alvah, *Unofficial Ambassadors: American Military Families Overseas and the Cold War, 1946–1965*, New York: New York University Press, 2007; Helen Callaway, *Gender, Culture, and Empire: European Women in Colonial Nigeria*, Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1987; Amy Kaplan, “Manifest Domesticity,” in Donald E. Pease and Robyn Wiegman, eds., *The Futures of American Studies*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002, pp. 111–134; Laura Wexler, *Tender Violence: Domestic Visions in an Age of U.S. Imperialism*, Cultural Studies of the United States, Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2000.
- 36 Julia F. Irwin, “Nurses without Borders: The History of Nursing as U.S. International History,” *Nursing History Review* 19, 2011, p. 80.
- 37 Penny Starns, “Fighting Militarism? British Nursing during the Second World War,” in Roger Cooter, Mark Harrison, Steve Study (eds.) *War, Medicine, and Modernity*, London: Sutton, 1998, p. 198.
- 38 Toman, *An Officer and a Lady*, pp. 92–98; Bassett, *Guns and Brooches*, p. 3.
- 39 Jeffrey S. Reznick, *Healing the Nation: Soldiers and the Culture of Caregiving in Britain during the Great War*, Cultural History of Modern War, Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2004, pp. 65–98.
- 40 Hallett, *Containing Trauma*, p. 6.
- 41 Zeiger, *In Uncle Sam’s Service*, pp. 134–35; Toman, *An Officer and a Lady*, pp. 85–87; Vuic, *Officer, Nurse, Woman*, pp. 80–85.
- 42 Vuic, *Officer, Nurse, Woman*, pp. 83–84; Tomblin, *G.I. Nightingales*, pp. 147–150.
- 43 Toman, *An Officer and a Lady*, pp. 85, 117.
- 44 Vuic, *Officer, Nurse, Woman*, pp. 82–83, also Robert J. Wilensky, *Military Medicine to Win Hearts and Minds: Aid to Civilians in the Vietnam War*, Lubbock, TX: Texas Tech University Press, 2004.
- 45 Bronwyn Rebekah McFarland-Icke, *Nurses in Nazi Germany: Moral Choice in History*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999, p. 171.
- 46 Irwin, “Nurses Without Borders,” p. 94.
- 47 Catherine Ceniza Choy, *Empire of Care: Nursing and Migration in Filipino American History*, American Encounters/Global Interactions, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003, p. 19.

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