

Chapter Three

Military Specialties and Civilian Responsibilities: Victorian Fiction and Crimean War Heroines

Before turning to the actual and fictional roles of women in the Crimean War, I would like to briefly place this war in its historical context. I will also comment on the alteration of the military's characteristics with regard to how women were, at first, included, and then excluded from the regiments. Next, I will discuss how the British government recognized the need for women to be involved in war as nurses and civilians. Finally, I will comment on how this context presaged the Vietnam War of our own century.

Women have always been included in armies as part of the "camp and train" that followed armies for as long as people can remember (Hacker 644). They have washed, cooked, cleaned, procured food and items of clothing as well as caring for the men either to whom they were married, or for the regiments that allowed them to remain after their husbands were killed. This situation was the norm from almost the very beginnings of war until the nineteenth century. The defeat of Napoleon Bonaparte in 1815 marked the end of this cycle of military history (Hacker 665).

The alteration in the makeup of the armies, and their "camp and train" occurred during the first few decades of the nineteenth century primarily because of industrialization which enabled a type of revolution in military forces of the period. Several features of this "revolution" included

the elimination of the last vestiges of nonmilitary support services. The process also might be described as the armed forces final incorporation of such direct support services as supply while laying the groundwork for a

vastly larger concept of support that has come to include the whole of society. In time this process would draw women back into military service in roles very different from those that they had had earlier, but by the time such change took place, women had almost vanished from military life. (Hacker 665-66)

The nineteenth century delineates this break with the tradition of the military's past.

Women had been phased out due to changes in the army's structure as well as changes within the society itself. Middle and upper class women were supposed to remain at home tending to their families, and to their social responsibilities. Lower class women were not permitted to accompany their husbands to war, and were, therefore, left at home to fend for themselves. Consequently, women were not as much a part of the military as they had been in prior centuries; however, during the Crimean War, which occurred after 40 years of peace following the Napoleonic Wars, new reasons arose, such as the overall state of military medical care thus revealing the necessity for women to be part of the military as nurses, and to provide other support services under the auspices of the military.

The Crimean War (1852-56) that was, at first, popular with the British people soon became Victorian Britain's most unpopular war primarily because information from the battles and the conditions of the men were known at home within two weeks of the actual occurrence. The British public had a view of war that was, hitherto, unknown. For example, the lack of proper medical care published in the daily papers created an uproar that began an alteration of the army through a variety of reforms, and continued well into the twentieth century. Also, this war marked a change in the officers of the British Army—the generals who had been so qualified in the Peninsular Campaigns and at Waterloo managed, by their lack of recent experiences, to mismanage the men, the

materiels, and the battles particularly when old tactics did not coincide with new weapons. Consequently, the new, younger officers received a “baptism of fire” that would serve them well in the next series of wars fought in Africa and Asia, but not in the Crimean War (Farwell 75). A case in point is Lord Raglan. William Baring Pemberton in *Battles of the Crimean War* writes that Lord Raglan (Commander-in-Chief, age 67) was a perfect gentleman with a

high sense of honour, scrupulous conduct, perfect manners, kindness of heart and unselfish devotion to duty . . . a patrician with roots in the eighteenth century, proud, reserved, completely the master of his emotions, remote from the rough and tumble of everyday life . . . but, [t]he tragedy of Raglan is that these fine qualities unfitted him for command of an army in the Crimea after 40 years of peace. (170)

These very qualities not only caused him problems in the Crimean campaign, but also caused William Russell to send scathing reports back to England concerning the gross inadequacy of Raglan and his staff largely due to Raglan’s lack of ability as well as his lack of interest in the press. Although many of the Crimea’s problems were the result of “London’s appalling slowness and the incorrigibility of the existing departmental system” (Hibbert 218), the blame fell squarely on Lord Raglan’s shoulders especially for the lack of supplies and medical personnel. Lord Raglan had, on one occasion, ordered that

no regimental hospital was to be carried in the advance on Sebastopol; the regimental surgeons were limited to a pair of panniers [baskets for carrying persons on the back of a mule], a small box of medical comforts, and a bell tent. In other words, while facilities for first aid were carried, there was not a single hospital bed for the entire army. And the men were ordered to leave their knapsacks behind at Kalamita Bay where they landed. (Richardson 57)

The British became involved in the Crimean War because of fears that Russia wanted “to extend her power and influence over Turkey” (Farwell 68). According to A.J.P. Taylor, “the Crimean War was fought for essentially European considerations—

against Russia rather than in favour of Turkey” (217). Taylor also concludes that Britain’s involvement in the Crimea was aimed at maintaining the balance of power in Europe; that is, as a means to prevent the French from regaining the dominance they had had under Napoleon Bonaparte. In order to have sufficient allies, the Ottoman Turks first enlisted the assistance of the French and the Sardinians in an effort to prevent Russia’s seeming interest in a warm water port, and the surrounding territory. Then, on 27 March 1854, the British, who felt that their presence was needed to keep the French from becoming too influential, declared war on Russia. The British forces were, at first, not large when compared to the other countries’ complements, though historical sources do not concur on the number of British troops initially involved. “The Army of the East . . . consisted of five infantry divisions and one cavalry division, but the units were small and the total army amounted to less than 30,000” (Richardson 68-9). Emerson in *A History of the Nineteenth Century Year by Year* indicates that Britain landed an army of 20,000 (1190) whereas Hibbert in *The Destruction of Lord Raglan* agrees with Farwell (*Queen Victoria’s Little Wars*) concerning the numbers of troops which comprised the British forces in the Crimea.

Unlike other British wars, the Crimean War has only a few major battles as recorded by history: the Battles of Varna, Alma, Sevastopol, and Inkerman. One smaller battle at Balaclava gained fame because of a poem—“The Charge of the Light Brigade” by Tennyson. These few battles *are* the Crimean War which is, “in short, a war that did not come off, a war without a decision” (Taylor 227). The Crimean War and the Vietnam War are very similar because of their lack of decisive results or maintainable conclusions as in World Wars I and II. These two wars are also similar because early popularity soon

turned into a nationwide demand to bring the troops home, mainly, engendered by the actions of the press in the war zone, and the expedited reports to the general public.

Insofar as this dissertation is concerned, another similarity between the Crimean War and the Vietnam War may be found in the reluctance of the military officers to have women *officially* assigned to the hospitals in the Crimea. For example, the medical and staff officers did not give much credence to the women who might volunteer for the Crimea. Not unlike the high-ranking officers of the Vietnam War, the Crimean War officers had very definite ideas about the “rightness” of women being in a war zone. According to Cook, “the idea of employing female nurses at Scutari had been mooted before the army left for the East, but was abandoned . . . because it was not liked by the military authorities” (167). In addition, Sir John Hall, who was head of the British military medical services, deeply resented having any females in his hospitals, and other officers poked fun at the idea of having women in the Crimea. Lieutenant-Colonel Anthony Sterling wrote rather scathingly about “how women imagined that war can be made without wounds; they will be teaching us how to fight next, and some of the ladies actually took to scrubbing floors” (Cook 168). Further, these two wars are similar because each was fought on foreign soil in an effort to prevent one country from dominating a region for political gain. The British success involved the lessening of Russian influence in Europe and the prevention of the French from regaining dominance in Europe. In this last respect, the Crimean War was successful; however, it is not because of the battles or even Tennyson’s poem that this war is memorable or even notable.

Instead, the Crimean War represents both the end of one era and the beginning of

a new era in British military history not unlike the American Vietnam War which ended the traditional roles of women in war and began a new era of women moving into combat roles. In addition, out of this war came nursing pioneer—Florence Nightingale—along with the organized training of nurses, the “seeds” of the civilian organizations that were so important in the Vietnam War, and the recognition of nursing as a respected and *officially* recognized career. Nursing had gone through the developmental stages (as discussed in Chapter Two). The Crimean War provided an opportunity for nursing to move forward as a professional organization. In fact, the Crimean War gave both Nightingale, along with her vision of nursing and care of the soldiers, that opportunity.

Chapter Three, then, will have several specific areas of focus. First, Chapter Three will focus on the women who went to the Crimea with Florence Nightingale as well as the women who went with other groups, and the impact that their presence had on both the men and the military. Since Nightingale was discussed so thoroughly in Chapter Two, she will be included as the founder of modern nursing as the Crimean War concludes. Further, anecdotal material from the women who kept diaries, or wrote accounts of their experiences during the Crimean War will be examined in order that their experiences can be compared to their fictional counterparts. Like the women of the Vietnam War, those women who went to the Crimea, for the most part, remained for one year. Also like the women of the Vietnam War, these women returned to Victorian Britain permanently changed by their experiences suffering from ailments that today are known as post traumatic stress disorder. These Victorian warriors went to help care for the soldiers not because they had to, but because they saw a need, and mostly, volunteered to fulfill that need. Second, Chapter Three will show that the Crimean War

nurses were not the female characters of fiction, but were, like their Vietnam counterparts, ordinary women performing ordinary tasks under extraordinary conditions.

Finally, I will discuss six works of fiction which have the Crimean War as their focal point. These works are *One of the Six Hundred* (James Grant 18_?_), *Pride of the Mess: A Naval Novel of the Crimean War* (William J. Neale 1855), *Under the Red Dragon* (James Grant 1878), *Forget the Glory* (Emma Drummond 1931), *The Fortress* (Catherine Gavin 1964), and *Badge of Glory* (Douglas Reeman 1984). Although each of these novels includes some traits of the stereotypes of “madonna”/“angel,” “mother,” and “whore,” none has a complete characterization of women, and none of the novels show women in actual nurses’ roles.

All six novels whether written during, sometime after, or in the twentieth century are very much like the romance novels of today—sleek, glossy and insubstantial in characterization. The audience for the earliest novels seems to be female with the corresponding Victorian philosophy of not bringing a blush to a fair cheek. Next, these novels are artifacts which reflect some of the feelings of the reading public, but completely lack the power and force of the well-developed war genre novel; finally, each novel contains only *hints* of the stereotypes that will become somewhat slightly more pronounced in the novels by Drummond, Gavin, and Reeman of the twentieth century, and that will evolve into a more graphic almost pornographic form in the Vietnam War novels.

The actual historical accounts of women who went to the Crimea present them either as paid nurses, or as volunteers. Interestingly, the volunteers were known as “Ladies” (women of the middle and upper class), while the paid nurses came from the

lower class of Victorian society. Each of these groups of women have a commonality of experience, but their day-to-day routines are somewhat different, much like the experiences and routines of the Vietnam nurses and civilian women over a hundred years later.

Although Nightingale took 38 women with her, and Lady Mary Stanley, whose ideas of nursing ran counter to Nightingale's becoming the source of many conflicts between the two, brought approximately 20 women, actual accounts are few. I would argue that several reasons exist for the lack of personal recollections by these women. One reason for the scarcity of the accounts is the disapprobation of the lady volunteers' families. These families wished to have their daughters' experiences in the Crimea forgotten since the women were expected to disregard that part of their lives and return to their upper class status. Another reason for the scarcity of the accounts is disinterest by the reading public for information about an unpopular war. Each of these arguments reappears in the stories and accounts of the Vietnam War military and civilian women.

Four representative accounts present women from both the upper class and the lower class. Betsy Cadwaladyr (aka Elizabeth Davis) was a Welsh woman who went as a professional nurse; that is, she was paid by the government to go to the Crimea with Lady Stanley's party. Sarah Anne Terrot, a Sellonite sister, went as a volunteer with Florence Nightingale. Frances Magdalen Taylor went out after the Nightingale party was in transit; her group was under the leadership of Lady Mary Stanley, who was supposed to turn these women over to Nightingale as part of her group. Florence Nightingale was very upset at the addition of new nurses when she hadn't managed to get the first group settled. Because of the friction between Stanley and Nightingale, the Stanley nurses

mostly left Scutari and moved to Koulali. Both Terrot and Taylor thought very highly of Nightingale; whereas, Cadwaladyr took issue with Nightingale's administrative policies, and several conflicts resulted. One other account is that of Mary Seacole. She is especially unique because she was Jamaican, and a "doctress." Seacole had offered her services to the government, but was not accepted. Therefore, she paid her own way to the Crimea, and spent most of the Crimean War at the front.

Frances Magdalen Taylor wrote an in-depth account of what she saw, felt, and experienced in the Crimean War. A reading of her account reveals a woman very much affected by the accounts of suffering published in *The Times*, and her heartfelt desire to find a way to relieve the suffering. Taylor's memoir is filled, at first, with innocent commentary that reads like a travelogue; for example, when she first sights Constantinople she writes,

about noon the first haze of Constantinople appeared on the horizon, and every eye was fixed in that direction. The first distant view disappointed us. But it is only on rounding Seraglio Point, and entering the Golden Horn, that, as the eye slowly gathers in the wonderful extent of mosques and minarets, the varied shipping, the palaces and the groves of cypresses, the marvelous beauty of the imperial city bursts forth. (30)

She quickly, though, brings her thoughts back to her purpose in being in such an exotic part of the world by remembering the suffering of the men, and how she longs to help them, "how our hearts burned and yearned to be in those hospitals, to be accomplishing the object for which we had left our dear country and our loved homes, to be soothing in some small degree a portion of the mighty mass of suffering collected in those wards" (Taylor 31).

Like all the women who went to the Crimea, Taylor wanted to get to work. Nightingale took her on one of her inspection tours shortly after she arrived. Taylor

writes that “I much admired Miss Nightingale’s manner to the men—it was so tender and kind” (70). At the conclusion of the inspection tour, Miss Nightingale assigned her “half A corridor, the whole of B, half C, the whole of I, and all the wards leading out of these respective corridors” (71). The patient total came to about 1500 sick and wounded men. For these men, two ladies and one nurse were assigned to see to their physical needs, and to provide food, clean bedding, and clothes. Taylor writes that, within a short time, she was exhausted and suffering from the extreme cold of the Crimea. At one point, in her memoirs she writes, “at night we lay down wearied beyond expression; but not so much from physical fatigue, though that was great, as from the sickness of heart from living amidst that mass of hopeless suffering” (73). As her time in the Crimea lengthened, her writing becomes more filled with a distressing hopelessness:

The thought of its [the Barracks Hospital at Scutari] immensity and apparent hopelessness was oppressive beyond description. All that was done for relief seemed but a drop in the ocean, and ere things could get set to rights, or order restored, how many hundreds of precious lives would have passed away. (85-86)

Additionally, Taylor describes in some detail the youthfulness of the soldiers, the incredible diseases and wounds, and the overwhelming frustration of the women trying to alleviate their pain and suffering.

The other volunteer, Sarah Anne Terrot, wrote similar accounts in her journal, which was found among her belongings by a descendent, and edited by Robert Richardson. Sarah Anne Terrot was one of eight Sellonite sisters (an Anglican order) who went to Scutari with Florence Nightingale in November, 1854 (13). She, unlike many of the ladies, had helped nurse the poor during a cholera epidemic in the slums of Plymouth, England. Terrot worked at the General Hospital in Scutari. Although large,

the facility did not have proper latrines—the waste flowed back onto the floors—the roof leaked soaking the sick and the wounded, and it was so close to the Turkish burial grounds that rain water came from the cemetery and fouled the hospital’s water supply. Additionally, the wood floors and the wooden shelves that were used as beds harbored both vermin and rats.

Terrot’s journal reads similarly to Taylor’s account of her experiences in the Crimea. Terrot writes about how she found out that she and eight other Sellonite sisters had been selected, and the gladness she felt at being chosen: “as I rejoined the sisters, Sister Bertha said she knew it [Terrot’s joy] was some pleasant mission, I looked so happy. I did feel thankful and happy . . .” (66). Terrot’s account of her trip to the Crimea is far different from Taylor’s. The ship was small, badly overcrowded, and the various storms that they encountered terrified the women. Their voyage faced constant gales, and then turned incredibly cold. By the time they arrived, they were exhausted, with salt-encrusted clothing and supplies. Upon their arrival, they discovered that ten women were assigned to a very small room without adequate heat and blankets, but an overabundance of fleas.

Terrot’s description of the hospital confirms the reports sent by Russell, *London Times* correspondent, back to England. She wrote that “these wards were at this time very unfit for use. The roof let in water; the windows were rickety, and were sometimes blown in on dying men; the broken windows were stuffed with rags—everything looked deplorable” (87). Further, Terrot’s description of the men, in her charge, also confirms Russell’s dispatches. She wrote that the wards they passed through contained “patient, gentle, noble sufferers, not one rude unseemly word was heard; they seemed like worn-

out children sinking to rest; languid, and already almost dead to everything, except when their eyes brightened with love and gratitude . . .” (89-90). Not only do these two primary sources confirm the reports of the newspapers and history, nowhere is there an account of the women who went to the Crimea being treated as whores. Most often, the men referred to the women as angels: “after all I suffered in the camp and on the voyage, when I got here and was laid on a quiet bed, and the ladies and nurses spoke so kind and tender, I just felt as if I had got to heaven at last” (140). These two women also discuss some of the men and their illnesses or wounds who made an impact on them, personally—a primal scene not unlike similar incidents which the women of the Vietnam War report. Terrot refers to the soldiers repeatedly as brave, noble fellows. Throughout both sources, the stoicism of the soldiers and the care and concern of the women comes through to the reader.

The third woman, whose memoirs were told to Jane Williams, an oral historian, in order to be recorded, is Betsy Cadwaladyr or, as she is better known, Elizabeth Davis. She had changed her name to Davis because prior to the Crimean War a report was published in England titled, *The Report on the State of Education in Wales* (1847). This report, better known as “The Treachery of the Blue Books” depicted the Welsh as “irreligious, drunken, immoral, and lacking in even the most basic education . . . in its remarks upon the moral laxity of Welsh women, [the text claims that their] indulgence . . . was alleged to be responsible for unacceptable levels of illegitimacy in Wales” (Davis’ Introduction xi). Because of the English view of the Welsh, Betsy “changed her name to Elizabeth Davis for the greater ease of dealing with the English” (Davis’ Introduction xvi). Elizabeth Davis was not educated like Sarah Anne Terrot or Frances Magdalen

Taylor; rather, she was a domestic servant who traveled widely. When Davis read about Nightingale and her party going to the Crimea, she determined to go, too. However, she joined Lady Mary Stanley's group. According to the memoir's Introduction, "this was perhaps just as well since from first hearing her name Elizabeth Davis took a dislike to her. 'I did not like the name Nightingale. When I first hear a name, I am very apt to know by my feeling whether I shall like the person who bears it'" (xvii). Davis' hostility toward Nightingale did not diminish by contact with her in the Crimea. Instead what she termed Nightingale's bureaucratic procedures and strict adherence to regulations caused more than a little conflict between the two women (Davis' Introduction xix). Davis was also on the same ship with Taylor, and her memoir records much the same information as Taylor's in regard to their sighting of Constantinople. For the most part, Davis' story seems to center on her anti-Nightingale feelings and complaints about the high-born ladies. Davis comments,

I do not undervalue the services of any of the ladies, but real, high-born gentlewomen are not accustomed to hard manual labour, and are not strong enough for it. In performing servile offices they put constraint upon themselves, and hurt the feelings of the men, who were acutely sensible of the unfitness of such work for persons of high station. Ladies may be fit to govern, but, for general service, persons of a different class, who could put their hands to anything, were more useful. (174)

Besides Davis' negative feelings toward Nightingale and the other ladies, she writes mainly about the problems with the kitchen and cooking for both the officers and the soldiers. After she returned to England, she kept up her attempts to make the British public "see" Nightingale's "faults," and to blame her for the lack of supplies which reached the soldiers. She was unsuccessful, largely because of Queen Victoria's approbation and the English public's adoration of Nightingale (Woodham-Smith, *Queen*

Victoria 483).

The fourth woman is, perhaps, the most unusual of the four. Mary Seacole was a Jamaican “doctress.” Like Davis, she had traveled widely, and had studied various forms of folk medicine. Mary Seacole was born in Kingston, Jamaica—the exact date is unknown. Like Nightingale, Seacole wanted, at an early age, to heal people or animals of their various illnesses or hurts. When the Crimean War required nurses, Seacole wanted to go as a nurse. She tried every avenue she could, and was rejected for multiple reasons—all the positions were filled, or the person that she needed to see had just left for the Crimea. Seacole even speculates that it might be “possible that American prejudices against colour had some root here [in England]” (Seacole 85).

Since Seacole couldn’t find a way to go to the Crimea with an official party, she spent her life’s savings (\$4,000) to buy passage, food, medicines, and other supplies. When she arrived in the Crimea, she “established her headquarters close to the front lines between Balaclava and Sebastopol. From here she ventured forth to treat the wounded during the heat of the battle. Mary Seacole remained [in the Crimea] until the end of the war and won a bet as the first woman to enter Sebastopol after it fell” (Seacole Prologue 5). She returned to England, sick, wounded, and penniless. Although the press vilified those persons called sutlers as social vultures, Mary Seacole, who was considered by some as a sutler, was not castigated. Rather, Russell wrote the introduction to her autobiography, which glowed with his praise.

If singleness of heart, true charity, and Christian works; if trials and sufferings; dangers and perils; encountered boldly by a helpless woman on her errand of mercy in the camp and on the battlefield, can excite many readers. . . . She is the first who has redeemed the name of sutler from the suspicion of worthlessness, mercenary baseness and plunder. . . .” (qtd in Epilogue 10)

Interestingly, Seacole's autobiography reads more like an adventure novel than an account of experiences in a war zone. She focuses more on the experience of setting up her store/restaurant on the wharves than on the men who came to her for help. However, like the other accounts, no mention is made of the whore stereotype. The men that she helped and fed (she charged a fee for the food and medicines in order to buy more) also looked upon her as an angel.

The four women's accounts of their Crimean War year read very similarly. Terrot's and Taylor's accounts read very much like travel books. These two—a Sellonite Sister and a lady—wrote about their experiences by including details such as the weather during their crossings, what the sailors did aboard ship, the exotic sights, smells and sounds at each port, and who hosted their land stays. Terrot and Taylor both spoke glowingly of Nightingale's tender, concerned care for the soldiers, and both wrote closely similar accounts of day-to-day hospital activities; for example, the problems with Dr. John Hall who did not want females in *his* hospital, and the difficulties getting food to the soldiers because a doctor had forgotten to order food. They also wrote about their constant battles with rain coming through the holes in the roof, the leaking windows, and the overflowing toilets.

Further, Terrot and Taylor discussed their personal quarters. These were small and very crowded with at least ten women to a room. Like the rest of the hospital their quarters leaked. They had thin blankets, and the weather was always very hot, very cold, or very wet. Food was as difficult for these women to procure for themselves as it was to obtain for the sick and wounded soldiers.

The other two women's accounts bear the sameness of the Terrot and Taylor

accounts. Cadwaladyr told about her trip, the weather, and the scenery. However, her account differs in two notable areas. First, she did not like Florence Nightingale, and in addition, she frequently made negative comments about the other ladies who had volunteered. Second, rather than nurse the soldiers, Cadwaladyr found a different form of service, spending her time preparing food. She became known for her ability to locate food where none seemed to be, and to prepare the food efficiently.

The fourth account, that of Mary Seacole, seems the most unusual of the group; however, her general experiences were the same. That is, her travel experiences, what she saw, what she did, could be, within general categories, the same as the other three women. Like Cadwaladyr, though, Seacole found a specialized means of helping the soldiers. In her case, she sold food as well as provided medicines for the men closer to the front. Seacole did not serve in the hospitals, but nearer where she felt the men needed her specialized form of expertise.

These four women are representative of those that went to the Crimea in order to relieve the suffering of the British soldiers. However, they succeeded in more than just nursing the soldiers; these women helped Nightingale establish the necessary precedents for a professional nursing order. Further, they proved that women do have a place and a reason for being in a war zone.

The actual women who went to the Crimea should have become, like the women of the Vietnam War, patterns for female characters in novels written during, immediately after, and within a decade of the actual war; however, such is not the case. The three early novels were written by men. While not containing the stereotypes, as they will develop, each novel does contain hints or motifs of these stereotypes that will become so

pronounced in war genre fiction with the Vietnam War as their setting.

Prior to analyzing the six selected novels, several points and two important terms need to be addressed. First, the Crimean War novels are romances rather than in-depth perspectives on women and war. None of the female characters served as nurses with Florence Nightingale, or in any of the hospitals established in the Crimean War. The female characters are, with one exception, “window-dressing” for the exploits of the soldiers, sailors, and Marines. The one exception, who will be discussed in some detail, is not a nurse, but rather becomes a *vivandiere* similar to Mary Seacole but still different because Seacole was a “doctress,” a Jamaican, and a sutler, or “a person who follows an army and sells provisions to the soldiers” (*Random House* 1434). Further, these fictional women have been, more or less, ill-treated by a former spouse, or have suffered in order to win the attention and love of the hero. These female characters don’t see the wounded or ill in the hospital. Rather, they are on the periphery of the nursing world, and marginally closer to the world of war. The fictional female characters are not well-developed; they are motifs of the “madonna”/“angel,” “mother,” “whore” stereotypes. The diary accounts of Frances Magdalen Taylor, Sarah Anne Terrot, and Betsy Cadwaladyr are alike, in their substance to each other, but vastly different from the fictional accounts. Taylor, Terrot, and Cadwaladyr could have been in an entirely different war and/or decade from the pictures presented in the fiction because these women were present in the hospitals, and actually nursed the wounded and the ill. One fictional character, Mary Clarke, differs from the Nightingale nurses, and the other fictional female characters since she goes into the battlefields to aid the wounded, but she is similar to Mary Seacole because of her willingness to bring aid, food, water, and

medicines to the wounded and the ill at the front while risking her own life.

Besides these points, it is important to note two terms that are not found in the Vietnam War fiction, but are very important in the Crimean War fiction. These two terms are “camp follower” and “*vivandiere*.” Camp follower is defined as “a civilian who follows a military unit to attend or exploit military personnel, specifically, a prostitute” (*Webster’s* 199). The term’s current connotation of “prostitute” is not completely accurate when discussing the Crimean War. What prostitution that did occur was mainly from the indigenous populations wherever the regiments were located. The women who were with the regiments were actually military dependents: wives, widows, mothers, and daughters. More often than not, these women had no other option than to follow their male relatives because they either had no other relatives, or because they had been born into a particular regiment with no experience outside the military. The numbers of camp followers, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were regulated (although such regulations did not always work especially in the case of a girl born to one of the regiment’s men, and then marrying one of the soldiers) by the armies to “3-6 women per company or 1 per 10-15 soldiers” (www.gendergap.com 1). In effect,

many performed what today’s armed forces would classify as a military occupational specialty (MOS). They cooked and laundered for the troops, melted lead and made ammunition, carried water, tended the wounded and delivered dispatches. When the army was not in the field many of these women lived on post in frontier forts where they worked in the kitchen and laundry, maintained the grounds and equipment and tended the children, animals and vegetable gardens. (www.gendergap.com 1)

One of the biggest issues facing camp followers was food. The army, basically, took care of the enlisted men since

the soldier was provided with a daily ration but his family was not and unless his wife could earn a half-ration through her work on the post or

was stationed where civilian employment was available she and her children often lived on whatever food she could grow, catch or trade for. (www.gendergap.com 2)

These women drew “half-rations for themselves and their children in exchange for cooking, sewing and laundering,” and usually, “thousands of camp followers lived in the forts and accompanied armies into the field” (www.gendergap.com 1). Further, when these camp followers’ husbands, brothers, or fathers died of disease or wounds, they had to find another male to “belong” to, or be left behind should the regiment deploy, or change forts. Robin Berry wrote “Ode to a Camp Follower” which gives the reader an idea of how the life of a camp follower was based on the capriciousness of a disease or a bullet.

But sixteen she was the day
 she'd meet Sweet Johnny on mourner's hill.
 'Weep no more my lady' he said.
 'I'll take good care of you.'
 'No, No' she cried.
 'Don't you see,
 my love belongs to him.'
 Then with a sorrowful face
 and a steady hand
 he brought her to her feet.
 'Hush, hush my sweet.'
 Captain Durban was a noble gent
 when first he spoke of you to me.
 'Should I die by Billy's fiery lead,' he said
 'take her to thy bed and give her a kiss for me.'
 Then with arms strong as an Oaks
 Sweet Johnny quickly swooped her up
 and carried her back to camp.
 'For the Captain' he said
 wiping tears from her face
 and bruising her lips with his.
 'Life is for the living,' he said
 'sorrow but for the grave!'
 'Death has legions of mourners
 for his righteous fall brave. . .
 mothers,

sisters,
 and wives enough. . .'
 'Can't you see? he asked
 'Life is for the living,'
 "sorrow but for the grave!"
 'The loving cup of victory,' Johnny said
 'tarnishes left to long on the shelf,
 But under the steady hand
 of a new champion
 she shines again brand new!'

'Sweet Johnny reached out his hand to her
 'Weep no more my lady,' he said
 'for I'll take good care of you.' (members.tripod.com)

As the poem indicates, the loss of the male soldier often left the camp follower without food or shelter. Unless someone new would take her in, she was often, even with children, abandoned wherever the regiment happened to be at the time.

The other term requiring clarification is "*vivandiere*." Although somewhat similar to camp follower in that the person is female, a "*vivandiere*" is "sort of a female regimental battlefield medic that provides drink to the thirsty and dresses the wounds of the fallen. A '*vivandiere*' might carry a revolver for self-defense, and wear a decorative military outfit" (rampages.onramp.net 2). The distinguishing uniform separated the "*vivandieres*" from the "camp followers," and provided them the freedom to leave the camp in order to follow the soldiers, or wait for their return. Most of the *vivandieres*' lives are shrouded in mystery since the military did not keep records of the women who were "camp followers" or "*vivandieres*." What is known about these women is that they dressed in a uniform of their own design, and they bought tobacco, meat and other items not provided for the soldiers. Sometimes they were paid by the regiment they served, but more often than not their pay came from whatever monies were left over after purchasing the various items needed (rampages.onramp.net 2).

Vivandieres of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were mostly associated with the French, German, and Russian armies, but not the British army. Mary Clarke in *Forget the Glory* (Drummond) patterns her “uniform” and her behavior after a French *vivandiere* she meets in the Crimea. Unlike the camp followers who might go near, but not into the hospitals, the *vivandieres* were at the front, and did not witness any of the trials of the hospital nurses.

Moving into a discussion and analysis of the six selected novels will show that these are not the war genre novels which developed later, nor do they present the stereotypes in the same format that is so apparent in the Vietnam War novels. Therefore, I have divided the six into two obvious chronological groups: those written contemporaneously with the Crimean War, and those written in the twentieth century. The three earliest novels which have the Crimean War as part of their setting also reveal their closeness to the Victorian ideas of telling a good story which might edify the reader without embarrassing any young lady who might be reading or hearing the novel read. The three early novels were written by men. While not containing the stereotypes, as they will develop, each novel does contain hints or motifs; for example, a Sister of Charity’s name is Sister Archange, which is almost the angel stereotype that will become so pronounced in war genre fiction with the Vietnam War as its setting. The earliest Crimean War novels will be summarized, and the motifs, if any, will be noted.

The first of the Crimean time-frame novels *One of the Six Hundred* (Grant) is an “autobiography” which gives an air of authenticity to the story; actually, the first 80% of the novel takes place in England and only a small portion in the Crimea. Mr. Newton Norcliff, the twenty-four year old narrator, proposes to “relate the plain, unvarnished

story of a cavalry subaltern's life during the stirring events of the last ten years" (Grant 6). Like many war stories, the narrator begins by describing how boring life is with parades, stable duty, and the day-to-day routines of military life without a war to fight. In his lack of experience, he longs for the battlefield. The two main female characters are remain-at-home women: Cora Calderwood, the nineteen-year-old cousin of Norcliff, and Lady Louisa Loftus. Newton falls immediately for Lady Louisa's charms virtually ignoring his adoring cousin. The two ladies are exact opposites of each other—Cora is young and unsophisticated; whereas, Lady Louisa is very worldly and quite sophisticated. As in many novels of the Victorian period, Newton fails to see that Lady Louisa is only adding him to her collection of suitors, while Cora is the true, honest, the faithful "I've always loved him" girl next door.

After a month's leave, Norcliff describes the war preparations of his regiment. The day of departure, Norcliff describes the "camp scene as being filled with weeping mothers, soldiers' wives tellin' [sic] their husbands good-bye, and a great number of foolish virgins" (190). As in Terrot's autobiography, the sea passage is very rough with the men expecting to die enroute. After finally arriving in Gallipoli, Norcliff describes his surroundings mentioning a "pretty French *vivandiere* . . . who is twice as piquante and saucy" as Jenny Lind to whom he compares her (239). His words hint at the whore stereotype, but he does not use the terminology. Later, in the story, after he becomes ill, a Sister of Charity comes to nurse him. He describes her as being "kind, gentle, and having a divine expression" (279). Her name is Sister Archange who, it would seem, must be the prototype of the "madonna"/"angel" stereotype. Norcliff heals rapidly with her care, but later, after several battles, he finds her near the front lines dying of cholera.

She begs him for a proper burial which he provides.

The narrator dwells on the battles, and especially on the charge of the Light Brigade which he, amazingly, survives. At the conclusion of this rather lengthy novel, Newton Norcliff returns to England wounded in mind and body to find the faithful Cora has waited for him, and they plan a life together. The novel ends with a rather patriotic salute to the brave lads who fought and died in the Crimea.

Pride of the Mess A Naval Novel of the Crimean War (William Johnson Neale) begins very much like *One of the Six Hundred*; the scene is set for the hero to go off to war, and his cousin, Geraldine, to wait in England, faithfully, for his return. The novel's hero, Herbert Annesley, is a sailor. This fact is the only major difference between this novel and the previous one. The time spent at home before Annesley leaves for the Crimea is, as in the other novel, filled with the upper middle class activities of hunting, shooting, caring for the home estate, and a constant round of visits and parties. Also as in the other novel, this novel's hero comments on the glory that is to be won in battle as well as the eagerness of the men to engage the enemy. The battles, in this novel, take place just offshore from Sebastopol with the British Navy attempting to destroy any enemy vessels attempting to remove their soldiers from the front, and shelling the shore in order to provide cover for the British army. The fighting goes back and forth, and Annesley is wounded severely enough to be taken to the hospital at Scutari. His wounds are treated, and he leaves the hospital several weeks later. The Scutari nurses are not mentioned.

Geraldine, the only female character in the story, does not go to the Crimea; however, when Herbert's ship returns to England, she convinces her father to allow her to

join the Navy vessels in Southampton. Geraldine boards the ship in Southampton, and begins to care for Herbert. When Geraldine first sees Herbert after he returns from the Crimea without his left arm, she is very solicitous. She finds him a comfortable chair, and a pillow for his head. She says he is still in a weakened condition. As the only female, she characterizes the mother motif in the novel, and she is also somewhat of a “madonna” because she puts Herbert first before thinking of herself. Her acts are always unselfish. For example, Geraldine’s presence on a naval vessel in port is, by Victorian standards, improper, but she wants to be near Herbert in order to care for him; therefore, she sacrifices her good reputation for Herbert’s well-being. On a later furlough, Geraldine and Herbert marry.

The last of these early novels is *Under the Red Dragon* (James Grant). Because this novel has the same author as the first, the style, story line, and narration are quite similar; the main difference is that this novel is not presented as an autobiography, nor does it have first person narrative.

The hero of this novel is Harry Hardinge, a young lieutenant in the army, and as in the first novel, two female characters are prominent—Winnie and Dora Lloyd. These two are opposite in appearance with Winnie, the dark-haired beauty, and Dora, the younger sister, a golden-haired beauty, plus the novel has a Lady Estelle who has decided to have young Harry as an addition to her string of adoring admirers. Again, all these female characters who are prominent early in the novel, stay in England.

In the chapters that focus on the Crimea—again less than a quarter of the novel—Grant inserts criticism of the government’s handling of the war, and the lack of supplies. Interestingly, the exact wording is used in both novels; for example, Grant talks about the

lack of medical care of the British soldiers, and he quotes Russell's dispatches from *The London Times*, exactly. Not unexpectedly, Harry gains many field promotions so that he rises rapidly to the rank of Captain mainly through the loss of life of the commanders. At Christmas, Harry is reported missing, and believed dead—a situation which renders Winny Lloyd quite ill with grief.

Only one brief four-to-five page segment addresses an actual female character at or near the front. The episode occurs while Harry is on a mission, and is “pleasantly” captured by a Russian countess, Valerie Volhonski, who the author describes as being so incredibly beautiful, with masses of golden hair, as to take away the breath from an ordinary man. The young Russian lady seems very solicitous to Harry who has been wounded in an attack by Cossacks. She ministers to his wounds, and seems to be unmindful that he is English until he says that he wounded, perhaps mortally, the leader of the Cossacks who is her brother. Valerie is, in these chapters, both madonna/angel and mother. Her beauty is otherworldly, and her manner that of a worried mother over the hurt of her child. Interestingly, the Russians seem eager to smuggle young Harry back to his own lines lest he be harmed! Harry returns to his regiment suffering both from his physical wounds, and his unrequited love for Valerie. At the siege of Sebastopol, his left arm is wounded which requires amputation. Harry is evacuated back to England where the faithful Winny is waiting for him. He proposes; she accepts, and they live happily ever after.

Each of these three novels contains the briefest glimpses of the stereotypes present. Hints of the “madonna”/“angel” in *Sister Archange*, and Valerie as well as the “mother” stereotype are present, in a small way. Valerie also shows that the author may

have been thinking along these lines, but with the Victorian ideas of not causing the “gentle reader” harm, the author was responding to societal constraints. The whore stereotype is less apparent in these three novels; perhaps the closest is the French *vivandiere*. She is described as “saucy.” These novels are less in the war genre mode than a romance novel with war as the backdrop for the hero to perform daring deeds, and then, he returns to England to marry the faithful, honest girl he left behind.

Finally, the last three of the Crimean War novels will be analyzed to determine whether or not the three stereotypes are emerging in a more pronounced manner, and whether, as these stereotypes emerge, each one becomes more graphic. I would argue that those novels that were written with a Crimean War setting by Victorian writers will produce less graphic stereotypes much closer to motifs than those written with a Vietnam War setting.

Emma Drummond’s novel (*Forget the Glory*) “is based on the personal accounts and regimental records of those who undertook this incredible journey” which required the 43rd Dragoon Regiment (cavalry) to march from India to the Crimea as reinforcements for the lost Light Brigade (Drummond, Author’s Note). Drummond provides the reader with a map of the route that the 43rd Dragoons took. They marched overland from Khunobad, India to Bombay. They crossed the Arabian Sea, and went up the Red Sea to the tip of the Sinai Peninsula. From the Sinai Peninsula, the regiment, again, marched overland through Suez to Cairo, and finally, to Alexandria where they boarded naval vessels for the trip across the Mediterranean to Constantinople. At Constantinople, they entered the Black Sea, and landed in the Crimea. The novel ends after the Battle of Sebastopol in September 1855.

The main male character is the Honorable Rowan DeMayne, a British aristocrat, who has been removed from his family's traditional regiment because of an affair with a courtesan, and assigned to the Dragoons. He is known to be a very flamboyant and reckless individual. Because he is trying to unsully his name, he takes more chances than the other officers which almost always gets him into trouble. DeMayne is searching for the "right" woman to "settle him down." While the regiment is still in India, he marries Lydia Moonfield, a young society woman who has no understanding of the requirements of an officer's wife. During the march from India to Egypt, she complains constantly about the heat, the lack of water, the smells, and the unpleasantness of being with a regiment moving from one place to another.

The other main character in the novel is Mary Clarke. Mary's parents both die at the beginning of the novel. Her father dies in a battle, and her mother drinks herself to death. Mary marries Jack Rafferty, a trooper, while the regiment is still in India. He married Mary when she was twelve because her father and mother had both died, and Mary would starve to death if not married to a soldier. Her husband's low opinion of her is reflected in Mary's opinion of herself, "what evidence did he have—did anyone have—for thinking of her as anything other than a low, vulgar creature with a mind that accepted poverty and brutishness without protest" (31). Mary is referred to by the soldiers as more of a drunk than an abused woman. The hero, Rowan DeMayne, calls her a "bottle-tipper" (22). He also comments that her looks are so unsavory that her husband has to be drunk in order to have relations with her (22). Further, he thinks of Mary as a "grog-swilling slut" and the other women, including officers' wives, as courtesans (23). Jack Rafferty is killed, and Mary becomes an eighteen-year-old widow who has no male

to care for her. Mary has to find a way to get to England where she has never been, or find another soldier to marry her. A victim of misconceived male judgment because she was born into the regiment, Mary has had no opportunity for either an education or experiences outside of regiment life. Aristocrats, like DeMayne, have preconceived ideas about the troopers' women. The regiments who went to the Crimea had officers who believed that the men could be used, abused, and more men could be obtained in England. Therefore, their wives must be the same.

When Mary is left without a male protector, Sergeant Clarke, who has been shot between the legs and emasculated, offers her a place in his quarters, access to his books, and an uninterrupted life with her only responsibilities being his food and the care of his clothes, and companionship. She accepts. The women with whom she lived in the barracks-block (enlisted men's quarters shared with wives and children) take note of her improved state—she has her own bed, curtains, a travelling box, and a ring—and harass her. Some of the women call her “milady” whereas others call her a “barrack-block whore” and a “barren cow” (41). Throughout the novel, Mary's attempts to make a better life for herself results in further name-calling and mistreatment by the women of the regiment.

Clarke dies from cholera before the regiment leaves India. Once again, Mary has to find some way to remain with the regiment. The opportunity presents itself when she “falls” for Rowan DeMayne though there is no overt show of affection between the two. Harry Winters, a Surgeon-Captain, realizes that Mary will have to find a way to stay with the regiment so he approaches her with an idea.

I have come to offer you some solution to your predicament. Colonel Daubnay has given me leave to place at your convenience a space in one

of the small storerooms adjacent to the hospital. . . . I would not normally consider exposing any female to the sights of a hospital, but you were born into the regiment and are used to the roughness of the troopers. . . . (44)

Mary is good with the soldiers, and earns some measure of respect from them. However, once again, Mary is targeted by the women of the regiment who call her the “Surgeon’s light skirt” (46). The remainder of the regiment makes bets on how long it will be before the Surgeon-Captain will “take Mary” (53).

When the regiment is ordered to the Crimea, Mary is devastated. Her job at the hospital will be over, and she will be alone in India. She doesn’t have the money to go to England. When Rowan DeMayne tells Lydia that the regiment is about to deploy, and she will have to leave her Indian maid behind, she is very upset. She is, after all, a lady—impoverished and not very welcome in polite society in England because of an earlier “indiscretion” with a soldier—but still a lady. When she hears about Mary Clarke’s problems, she immediately hires her as her maid, and begins to teach her better manners, language, and how to dress. The result of this training makes Mary more attractive to Rowan; although, he knows “she is from a class of society which he should disdain. Rowan finds Mary displays all those qualities he found wanting in his wife. . . courage, common sense, a feeling for adventure, honesty, humility, and a fierce pride for the regiment” (181).

The trip from India through Egypt and across the Sinai desert to the Crimea is an arduous one, especially for Lydia DeMayne who complains and whines during the entire trip. Mary, though, is quite accustomed to the rigors of the regiment, and the roughness of the troopers; for example, a trooper spots Mary trying to walk without her boots because of the blisters on her feet. He offers her a ride in the baggage-train. The trooper

also teases her about the possibility of a closer relationship than just a ride. He further comments that he has had his eye on her for a long time. The last suggestion causes Mary to remark, “Have you now. . . . Well, you’d best take it off again smartish. I’m not a camp follower. They’re not my style” (109). Drummond, in this case, uses the modern connotation of camp follower instead of the nineteenth century definition which would have shown greater accuracy in her Crimean War novel.

During the Black Sea segment of the ocean voyage to the Crimea, a terrible storm comes up (probably the rare hurricane that occurred in that area in November 1854). Lydia is terrified of storms, and panics. She goes down to the hold of the ship where the cavalry horses are stabled. The ship’s lurching action throws Lydia to the deck and a frightened horse tramples her to death. Once again, Mary has no job, and no one to protect her.

Mary finds herself another lady’s maid job. This time, though, the lady is Julia Cox, wife of a lieutenant. Unlike the DeMaynes, the lieutenant and his wife are coarse, and treat Mary as though she is devoid of any intelligence. Their behavior shocks Mary especially when Lt. Cox “wants” his wife completely ignoring Mary’s presence. On one occasion, Mary is told to get out of the tent for an hour or two.

Mary was trembling with anger as she stepped over them and made a rapid escape. Even at the end of a barrack-block public displays of lust were unknown. The pair always went elsewhere for their pleasure—or resignation, which it usually had been in her own case. How dared they roll about the ground like a pair of mating animals, then expect their so-called inferiors to respect them? (263)

“Deep inside she knew she would not stand much more of her present situation. But until a suitable alternative presented itself she had to carry on” (264). Mary’s search for a better situation comes when she notices the many sick and dying soldiers.

Since many of the British soldiers are dying from cholera in Scutari, Mary approaches Harry Winters whom she had worked for in India about helping out in the hospital so that she can help nurse the men. Then, Drummond summarizes all three of Mary's thoughts about whether she will be able to help out in the hospital on one page of the novel. Mary comments, in the form of her thoughts, follow Florence Nightingale's ideas that she needed to control the numbers of women involved in hospital nursing so that a nursing core of women can be built, and nursing care can be confined to the hospitals. First, Mary realizes that the hospital nurses and ladies don't seem to need her since "a flood of trained nurses, Holy Sisters experienced in healing, and high-born charitable ladies were providing as much feminine caring for sick and wounded as was needed now" (264). Second, Mary "mused that these female paragons did not appear to extend their ministrations outside the stout wooden hospitals that were being erected all over the slopes due to the news that a commission was being sent to investigate reports of appalling medical neglect" (264). Mary's comments show the "madonna"/"angel" and "mother" motifs' presence, but certainly not in the form that will exist in a hundred years. Third, "it seemed to Mary that the victims needed care outside the hospitals, where they often had to be transported miles along tough, winding roads in all weathers from the front line trenches where the war was still being bitterly waged despite the apparent lightheartedness by those in the rear" (264).

As Mary tries to decide how to keep herself alive, help the soldiers, and leave the employ of the Coxes, she encounters a girl dressed as a soldier

walking between the tents was a girl dressed as a soldier. No, not quite like a soldier, for she had a full skirt over the uniform trousers, which was what had made her stand out from the melee of French grenadiers. But her shapely torso was clothed in the elaborate colourful tunic of the

regiment, and on her head was a dashing plumed headdress. (267)

Mary's first thought is, "Lordy, are they so short of men they have women filling the ranks?" (267). Her answer is provided by a lieutenant who overhears her comment, and tells her that

she is a *vivandiere*—an innovation of the French military which I feel we should emulate. Most of their regiments have these girls who travel with the army to mingle with the troops and sell food or additional provisions, but out here these valiant girls have taken to riding out amongst their wounded after a battle to give water, sustenance, and sometimes even wind a bandage round an obvious wound. They gallop back and forth, apparently fearless, and one would not believe it of them from their looks for most of them are attractive enough to make a man well merely by smiling at him. (268)

The information causes Mary to stop and think, "there was a woman of the regiment, in the fullest sense of the word!" (268). Later, Mary finds an opportunity to meet the French *vivandiere*, and she attempts to ask her questions about what she does. The girl manages only a little information since neither one speaks the other's language. Mary finds out that her name is Veronique (meaning "forerunner of Victory" or "true image" which refers to the shroud of Christ), and that she has a horse, several drinking cups and a barrel of water for the men. She also notes that when the *vivandiere* passes by a group of soldiers they treat her with respect unlike the treatment Mary is accustomed to receiving from the soldiers.

Consequently, with the respect she sees the French *vivandieres* receiving, and her desperate wish for a similar respect, Mary determines to become a *vivandiere*, too. Accordingly, she develops a uniform which resembles the Dragoon Regiment that she was born into, and begins taking medicine, food, and water to the wounded and sick at the front. When Rowan notices her care and concern for the regiment that he loves, he

finds her a horse and teaches her to ride. Additionally, she realizes that she has, finally, found a job that will bring her respect, and “for the first time she realized the traditional role of women. All her life she had been in the thick of the regiment, whatever it had been doing. She had lived with it, marched with it, married into it, nursed it” (276). As she feeds the men and tends their wounds, she hears “God bless you, ma’am,” “You’re an angel,” or “Lor’ love you, miss, you’ve saved me life.” Not one soldier abused her or made coarse suggestions. They treated her with something amounting to reverence” (277).

Mary’s new found position which gives her the respect that she has wanted so badly creates a serious conflict with Mrs. Cox. As the infantry begins to straggle back from their defeat at the battle of Sebastopol, Mary meets them on the road with water, “and encouraging feminine words when they were needed” (278). As the sun sets, Mrs. Cox finds her, and begins to berate Mary for leaving her all alone, not tending to her needs, but choosing an entirely different course of action, as Mrs. Cox seems to see her behavior.

‘What do you think you are doing?’ she cried, seizing Mary and swinging her roughly to face her. ‘Have you quite forgotten yourself, girl? How *dare* you solicit for custom in this way? Her thoughts and mood broken so roughly, Mary could only look at the thin rat-like features of her mistress and say, ‘I’m afraid I don’t understand what you are saying.’” ‘Then I shall put in plain language,’ came the furious response. ‘I do not expect my maid to play the whore by the roadside.’ (278-79)

The demeanor of Mrs. Cox, and the harshness of her words cause Mary to decide not to answer. Instead she thinks, “could this woman look at her bloodstained dress and the buckets of water beside her, and really believe she was offering to tumble men who were racked, broken, and bleeding?” (279). Mary turns to walk away, and continue with

giving water to the thirsty men when Mrs. Cox yells at her to not leave while she is speaking. Mary does not lose her composure which only angers her employer that much more. Finally, Mrs. Cox slaps Mary, and Mary returns the slap with a silent vow to never allow anyone to mistreat her again. She walks toward the wagon loaded with wounded and suffering men convinced that her course of action as a *vivandiere* is the right one.

This one scene is very reminiscent of the stories of the Vietnam War women who were frequently accused by superior officers of only wanting sex from the soldiers. Almost always, these accusations came after 12-18 hours in the operating room, or in the intensive care units, or after a long day of trying to find a game to distract the soldiers from the stress of war. This scene also encapsulates all of the stereotype motifs which are seen in the Vietnam War novels. Mary is a representative of all three. She is an angel of mercy, and a mother figure to the wounded, and according to Mrs. Cox, she is a whore.

Mary Clarke is the closest to the actual women who went to the Crimea; however, she is not a nurse. She is, at first, a camp follower, in the traditional sense, and then, a *vivandiere*. Her experiences provide a solid transition from the near motifs of the earliest three novels to the strongest forms of those stereotypes in the Vietnam War novels. Mary Clarke's character represents the first step in the evolving stereotypes in the Crimean War novels written in the twentieth century. Beginning with the novels of Grant and Neale, which contained motif forms of the stereotypes, the Drummond novel takes a step closer to the use of the stereotypes of "madonna"/"angel," "mother," and "whore." Whore is hinted at when Mary is the wife of a regiment soldier, and has the rough language and manners of the other women in the "camp and train," and used by Mrs. Cox during the

argument, but not, yet, to the extent that will be seen in the novels of the Vietnam War.

Drummond's novel (1931) contains the closest forms of the stereotypes of the three twentieth century novels. I would argue that the publication date impacts the stereotypes. Drummond's novel published just prior to the global outbreak of World War II focuses more on Mary and how she helps the men rather than focusing on the battles much like Scarborough's *The Healer's War*. The other two novels (1964 and 1984) were published just before the build-up of troops in Vietnam and within ten years of the fall of Saigon. In these two novels, the authors revert back to the Victorian style of romance novels exemplified by the three earlier novels already discussed. I would argue that the romance style with the hero rescuing the "damsel in distress" represents escape reading to make the stories palatable to a country that was either unprepared for a war in Southeast Asia, or for an unpopular war that had taken more than 58,000 lives and altered the country's perception of war and the government. Gavin and Reeman's novels are romance novels with very little emphasis on either the Crimean War or women. Rather the focus of both novels is on the hero and his exploits.

The Fortress (Catherine Gavin) has a broad setting ranging from Finland, to Sweden, to parts of Russia, and the Baltic. The hero of the novel is John Brand Endicott who is an American captain for his grandmother's shipping line. Disgraced in Sweden, by his arrest as drunk and disorderly on the docks, he is relieved of duty as Master of his ship; his grandmother suggests either a desk job in London, or that he join the British Navy in their coming battles against the Russians in the Crimea. Brand Endicott meets two young women: Mary Ryan, the daughter of an Irish-American captain from Boston, and Alexandra (Alix) Gyllenlove, a Finnish princess who is very desired by the Russian

court. These two women are similar in that each one wants to be the wife of Brand Endicott; however, they are also very different.

Mary Ryan is the young daughter of a sea captain, and spends much of her time at sea living a very sheltered life. She looks after her father, and tries to make their ship's quarters as home-like as possible. Both she and her father have known Brand Endicott a long time. When Endicott comes to visit them while they are in port, Mary is so excited that she blushes while putting on her new rose-colored ribbon and necklace of green glass beads (Gavin 74). Endicott takes Mary and her father out for dinner which pleases Mary because she "liked nothing better than to listen to music and collect the admiring looks of men and the appraising glances of other women" (75). Later, Endicott compliments her on the décor of the room, and how it is just as comfortable as their cabin on their ship, the Molly-O. "At these words Mary Ryan's heart, so eager for experience, went out to Brand completely" (75). What Mary doesn't realize is that Brand considers himself a "man of the world," and Mary as a baby. Mary represents the sweet innocence of youth in this novel.

The other female character is Alexandra Ivanova (aka Anna Larsson and Alexandra Gyllenlove). Alix, as she prefers to be called, does not like her Russian name that the Czar uses. Alix is a member of the royal house of Finland whose existence is, mostly, in the hands of the Russians, and she is also a very rebellious young woman. She doesn't like to do what is expected of her (socially). Her main focus is Finland's freedom from Russian dominance.

Alix holds no love for the Russians—she spends most of the novel trying to escape to America. The British think that Alix, along with the women and children, are

Russians, not Finns. Their capture creates great excitement in England where they are imprisoned. Alix and the other Finns spend several long months in the Hulks (derelict ships anchored in the Thames River, and used for prisons) as well as in the War Prison in London. While in prison, Alix cares for the sick women and children, using her hidden roubles [sic]. Many of the prisoners die from jail fever—is a disease caused by the wet, rotting wood of the ship, and the lack of food, warm clothes, and medical attention. Alix also asks the Rector of St. John's to buy warm clothes and food for the British soldiers, but not to say where the items came from (216). The Rector recognizes the Alix's leadership qualities as well as her apparent education since her language is more easily understood, and she takes charge easily.

The Fortress is strictly a naval novel. The time spent in the Crimea is all aboard ship attempting to keep the Russians from bombarding the shore where the British and French troops are fighting. Although a war novel, no mention is made, directly, of the three stereotypes. However, Alix's care of the sick women and children definitely hints at the "mother" stereotype. The "madonna"/"angel" stereotype is absent from this novel. Nevertheless, one brief note is mentioned of the poorest Russian women who become prostitutes in order to buy food for their starving children. These women are not looked down on, nor are they treated in a base manner. Rather, Gavin treats these women sympathetically and understandingly. Basically, *The Fortress* is a romance novel which focuses on the love between Alix and Brand, and their struggle to realize a future together. The novel successfully completes the mission with a happy ending.

The final novel that I will analyze is the only novel of the last three authored by a male. *Badge of Glory* (Douglas Reeman) is the most recent novel that I found with a

Crimean War setting. Like Neale's novel, this novel is also centered on the British Navy with a particular focus on the Royal Marines. Unlike the Neale novel, Reeman goes immediately to the Crimea rather than writing a protracted story beginning in England with a complicated plot. In one respect, this novel is the closest to the Vietnam War novels in that the women are, mostly, secondary to the actions of the men and the war; however, the stereotypes are closer to the contemporary Crimean War novels with one exception which will be discussed.

The major male character is Captain Philip Blackwood. He is 26 years old, and being a marine is part of his family's tradition. Philip Blackwood has a brother, Harry, who is also a marine. Harry's mother is Philip's stepmother. These last two characters are important because the main stereotype present is the whore. Blackwood's ship is the HMS Audacious. Prior to being ordered to the Crimea, he and his ship have fought in the Maori war (New Zealand). Later in the novel, Blackwood and his ship are sent to Africa to help rescue Davern Seymour and her father. Dr. Seymour went to Africa to help the natives resist being enslaved, but instead he is captured by them and killed.

The main female character is Davern Seymour. She is a very quiet, almost shy girl who is captured by tribesmen after her father is killed. Blackwood rescues Davern. The girl is found beaten, tied and gagged, and possibly raped. However, whether she has been raped is not confirmed until the end of the novel. Blackwood doesn't exactly fall in love with her, but he does think about her quite often.

At one point, he has been sent back to England for a brief rest, he has dinner with Davern and her uncle. During dinner, he thinks about her in an ungentlemanly manner, and thinks "perhaps his wound and the bloody fighting he had survived had also

unhinged him in some way. He looked up and saw her watching him from the far end of the table. No, he was not mistaken. He could see it in her eyes like hunger” (246).

Blackwood’s thoughts hint strongly at the whore stereotype without saying the word. He is, obviously, not thinking about Davern as a future wife, but more like a woman who could be bought for his pleasure more than likely based on her “fallen” state.

Reeman’s novel has two other characters who are quite different from Blackwood and Davern. These two characters are Blackwood’s brother, Harry, and Philip’s stepmother. While the ship is in home port, Harry goes to visit the Lt. Colonel’s wife, Julia Fynmore, a lady that he got to know while he was in training. She pretends to be shy and coy with Harry, but her lack of clothing underneath the dressing gown that Harry has given her reveals her willingness to take what she wants. The rape scene in the novel is quite different from the usual rape scenes. Harry goes to her house, and they exchange greetings. Harry tries to take her in his arms, but she stiffens. He reaches “around her and touches her neat buttocks” (268). After he rips the robe from her body, she tries to cover her nakedness with her hands. Harry slaps her across the cheek, and “then he knelt over her, her protests forgotten as he explored her body and touched her breasts while she lay quite still, her eyes watching his hands as if they belonged to someone else” (269). She begs once more for him to stop, but “he thrust her last resistance aside and stifled her pain with his mouth” (269).

At this point, the reader must be horrified at the callous nature of this marine who blatantly takes his pleasure wherever he chooses. However, after he leaves, and she can no longer hear the sound of his horse, she lies in bed staring up at the ceiling, “her heart pounding as she relived each frightening, beautiful moment” (269). Toward the end of

the novel, Julia Fynmore's "wanton" ways come full circle. She seduces a young officer while the fleet is in Malta. However, this time she is not so careful, and becomes pregnant. Both Philip and Julia's husband find out about the pregnancy, and her husband blames Harry for the "problem." Lt. Col. Fynmore sends Harry on what turns out to be a suicide mission. Philip confronts the Lt. Col. about his brother's new assignment as part of the mission. Fynmore is adamant about sending Harry into the thick of the battle much like King David sent Bathsheba's husband on a similar suicide mission. In the assault, Lt. Col. Fynmore is killed. The Queen's Crimean War medal is awarded to him posthumously. Harry survives the mission, and at the end of the novel, moves on to another assignment a sadder but wiser man; while, Julia returns home to England to have her baby, and reap the dubious rewards of a fallen woman.

The importance of noting the "wanton" ways of the Lt. Col.'s wife is for comparison to the heroine of the novel, Davern Seymour. Davern is not a nurse, but she is "rescued" from her "fallen state" by the love of a good man—her husband. Davern and Philip meet, toward the end of the novel, at the Hospital of St. Angelo on the island of Malta. Davern tells Philip that she married Paul Hadley, her husband, because she didn't want to hurt Philip's career and because "after what happened in Africa, [she] did not know, did not dare to look for love in any man" (282). She, finally, tells Philip about the rape while he holds her tightly against him. Philip is the perfect gentleman since he refuses to allow his emotions to rule his physical self. Unlike his brother, he allows Davern to leave, and he maintains his honor. Davern, unlike Julia, refuses to overstep the bounds of "proper behavior," and be with the man she loves. Davern who should be the fallen woman isn't, and Julia who should be the epitome of respect and deportment is. I

would argue that these two characters are motifs of the angel and the whore. Their stories are juxtaposed so that the reader will be forced to compare them, and hopefully, learn from the ‘indiscretions’ of the Lt. Col.’s “lady.”

Finally, a mention of women being in the Crimea occurs. Philip Blackwood’s second-in-command, Lieutenant Dick Cleveland arrives in the Crimea with a detachment of reinforcements. When he sees Philip, he runs to him breathless with news that new stores and medical supplies have arrived at the base camp. Cleveland says, “[y]ou could have knocked me down with a feather, Philip, er, *sir*. Women, out here in the bloody Crimea, well, I ask you.” “The prettiest one of the lot came straight up to me and asked if I knew *you* of all people!” (333). Philip can hardly believe his ears when the lieutenant tells him that her name was Davern or something or another. Then he thinks “of the dark-haired woman by the harbor. Already they were being called angels of mercy by the wounded and sick from the battlefield” (334). Philip’s thoughts take the reader from the novel’s plot focus to the women who went to the Crimea to nurse the soldiers, and ultimately, to *the* angel of mercy, Florence Nightingale. Once again, the *idea* of the stereotypes is brought to the attention of the reader, but not a version of the stereotype that will be found in the Vietnam War novels.

At the novel’s conclusion, Philip is wounded in a battle (the name and the location are not revealed), and he spends time in a hospital. When he awakens, Davern is by his side, and says, “I’m here, Philip. I’ll never lose you again” (353). No scenes in the novel show him being cared for in the hospital. The reader can only imagine what has occurred during his hospital stay. He is transferred back to England no longer capable of fighting in order to finish his convalescence.

The Epilogue to the novel is a short four pages. All of the loose ends are tied up in a few sentences. The stepmother leaves for Paris after Philip's father dies (he never sees Philip again). Harry does not return to England, and his whereabouts remain unknown. Philip slowly recovers, and three months pass. In the novel's final scene, Davern, free of her husband who died in the Crimea, comes to Philip never to leave him again. Like other romance novels, *Badge of Glory* ends with the hero getting the heroine, and all's well that ends well.

Although Reeman's novel is the most recent, it is like Gavin's novel, closer to the novels of Grant and Neale. This novel has only suggestions of the "madonna"/"angel," "mother," "whore" stereotypes. These suggestions are motifs. Julia is the whore of the novel, but not a nurse. Davern is the "madonna"/"angel" and "mother" of the novel, but not a nurse. The base hospital is mentioned, but the author never takes the reader inside. The hero is wounded, and placed in the hospital, but only, it seems, as a method to get the hero and heroine together. All of the novels, with the Crimean War as their setting, are romance novels. They are sleek and glossy, and do not include the stereotypes except as motifs. The 1964 and 1984 novels are, obviously, more lurid and closer to the Vietnam fiction because of the time frame they were written in.

The women who served with Florence Nightingale, or who went with Lady Mary Stanley, or, like Mary Seacole, spent their own money to secure passage are not the stereotypical women seen in novels. Each of the women discussed in this chapter went to the Crimea in order to serve their country, but more importantly, to provide care to the soldiers who so desperately needed them. Taylor notes, at the end of her two-volume memoir, that nursing

is no easy task to bear with patience the endless fretfulness of hundreds of sick, to listen to long complaints with real sympathy, and speak soothing words when body and mind are alike worn. To stand by the sufferer when about to undergo some fearful operation, to maintain a cheerful spirit when the familiar sounds are those of moans, of sufferings, or sharp cries of agony, while the very atmosphere is impregnated with disease Watchful care must be taken that familiarity with the sight and sound of suffering does not bring that hardening to it which is apt to creep over even a naturally tender nature No, a good nurse must receive every new case of affliction as though it was her first. Yet all this and far more would be the portion of a hospital nurse. (272-73).

Taylor shows, in her assessment of nurses, that the task faced by nurses is a formidable one. From her experiences in the Crimea, she learned the enormity of a nurse's job. Her comments even mirror similar feelings expressed by Vietnam War nurses that care had to be taken to avoid becoming too callous to the suffering while trying to maintain the tenderness needed to perform one's duty efficiently and promptly. Further, Taylor seems to indicate that some form of training must be done in order to provide the very best nurses and the very best care for the hospital patients. These, then, are the women who showed Britain what a nurse should be, and who Nightingale wrote her guide book for. These women helped create the foundation for modern nursing.

The Crimean War gave impetus to create modern nursing. Florence Nightingale was at the right place at the right time with the knowledge to give guidance to the birth and early development of the art of professional nursing. With her status in Victorian society and the personal funds that she had at her disposal, Nightingale was able to alter her society's ideas about what sort of person a nurse was, or could become. The months that she spent in the Crimea coupled with the fever that she was slow to recover from did not dim the force of her belief that nurses could and should be respected members of society. Further, her experiences gave her the added knowledge that nursing should be

considered an art and a calling.

Nightingale's *Notes on Nursing* provided the medical world with a roadmap and a guidebook to elevate nursing from the Sairy Gamp caricature to the dedicated professional organization that she envisioned. Cook wrote that "Miss Nightingale was the founder of modern nursing because she made public opinion perceive, and act upon the perception, that nursing was an art, and must be raised to the status of a trained profession" (445). Nightingale's nurses are the foundation for both civilian and military nursing. The use of nurses in a war zone that began on such a small scale in the Crimea would come to full fruition in the Vietnam War.