



“Till I Have Done All That I Can”

An Auxiliary Nurse’s Memories of World War I

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Abstract • The scrapbooks and wartime papers of American Alma A. Clarke reveal how one woman repurposed gendered propaganda during the Great War. Clarke was in France from January 1918 to July 1919 as both a child welfare worker with the Comité franco-américain pour la protection des enfants de la frontière and as an auxiliary nurse in the American Red Cross Military Hospital in Neuilly-sur-Seine. The Great War provided Clarke with new ways to contribute, new arenas in which to share her expertise, and perhaps most importantly, new perspectives on the significance of her contributions to society.

Keywords • American Red Cross, auxiliary nurse, child welfare, gender, humanitarian aid, propaganda, World War I

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Alma A. Clarke set sail for France on 16 January 1918. The SS *Espagne*, which carried civilians when not serving as troop transport, traveled without a protective convoy although Germans had sunk 182 ships the month before. Clarke remained in France until July 1919, providing humanitarian aid to refugee children and caring for wounded soldiers as an auxiliary nurse. Clarke’s wartime experiences might have faded into obscurity, acknowledged only generally in the lines historians have penned about the thousands of female volunteers who served in Europe, had she not created two scrapbooks.¹ As Ellen Garvey argues in *Writing with Scissors*, scrapbooks “open a window into the lives and thoughts of people who did not respond to the world with their own writing.”² As such, Clarke’s albums offer a visual parallel to better known historical sources, such as memoirs, journalism, and fiction produced by women during World War I.³

Scholars have amply documented the ways individual American women used wartime exigencies to their benefit.⁴ However, much of this writing within the context of the United States emphasizes either the home front or the professionally trained nurse at war.⁵ First a humanitarian working with children and then an auxiliary nurse caring for soldiers, Alma Clarke’s experiences blended the many roles women played during World War I.



Born in 1890 in Paris, France, to the well-known American artist Thomas Shields Clarke, by any measure Alma Adelaide Clarke had led a privileged life before the war.⁶ As a young woman, Clarke defied her mother's wishes by enrolling in the Froebel League training institute. Founded in New York City by Marion B. B. Langzettel in 1899 "to provide a center where mothers, nurses, and others who have the care of young children may acquire a practical as well as a theoretical knowledge of Froebel's principles of education," the league sponsored its own schools in addition to offering teacher education.⁷

When World War I broke out, Clarke was traveling in Europe.⁸ Unlike her brother, Jack, an art student off sketching in Bordeaux who was held as a potential spy until the American ambassador to France intervened, Clarke made her way from Baden-Baden via Geneva to Paris, arriving at the end of August.⁹ Clarke's fluency in French and abundant financial resources doubtlessly facilitated her travel during these first days of the war. Family lore has it that Clarke paid a farmer to take her on the final leg of her journey across the border into Paris, as the invading Germans had already destroyed the train tracks.¹⁰ Upon her arrival in Paris, Clarke immediately joined the Red Cross and was assigned to nurse the wounded in the recently opened American Ambulance Hospital.¹¹

Organized by sympathetic expatriates, the American Ambulance Hospital grew out of the existing American Hospital in Paris. At the start of the war, the French government turned over a recently completed school, the Lycée Pasteur, to these volunteers, who assumed responsibility for its administration. The roster of supporters and administrators read like the blue book, and prominent American medical schools sent both physicians and nurses, despite America's official status as neutral.¹² Many volunteers, like Clarke, came from wealthy families, giving rise to the joking sobriquet of the "Heiress Corp."¹³

In October 1914, Clarke returned home, as did her brother. Once the United States entered the war, however, Clarke proved eager to return to Europe.¹⁴ Her application to the Comité franco-américain pour la protection des enfants de la frontière was received with great eagerness in the fall of 1917. Mrs. Langzettel of the Froebel League provided "a hearty recommendation," and Mrs. C. P. (Virginia) Howland, secretary of the Executive Committee in New York, expressed her certainty that Clarke would "be of great value to the Committee, and the children."¹⁵ Howland forwarded Clarke's application to France with the following telegraphic endorsement: "Miss Alma Clarke, kindergartener, volunteers indefinitely. Six years [*sic*] experience, highly recommended, Froebel League, born lived much France, young strong attractive pays own expenses bringing equipment, Free January; urge acceptance, cable at once if wanted."¹⁶ Indeed Miss Clarke was wanted, as indicated by the reply: "we are in greatest need services Miss Alma Clarke."¹⁷

Founded by Frederic Coudert, an American lawyer in Paris when the war started, the Comité was "an emergency relief measure to care for a

small number of the destitute refugees from the invaded districts of France and Belgium.”¹⁸ Coudert, appalled by the hundreds of children fleeing the invasion of Alsace, began finding them temporary homes in Paris. He, along with like-minded American philanthropists, started the charity, and he remained as its head even after he returned to the United States. The Comité worked closely with the American Red Cross to locate children in war-stricken areas, and Red Cross personnel also provided medical care for the children. The Comité relied on voluntary workers, both French and American, to tend to the children. In December 1917, shortly before Clarke began working with them, the Comité oversaw twenty-seven colonies and seven evacuee depots, providing care to over seventeen hundred children.¹⁹ In addition to feeding, clothing, and housing the children, the Comité endeavored to ensure that the children received an education as well.²⁰

Clarke’s scrapbooks follow a rough chronology of her war work. The album that covers her time with the Comité begins with official documents, ephemera from her ocean crossing, and a few photographs documenting the devastation wrought by bombs in Paris. It contains photographs of the colonies she visited, many drawings and letters from children she met, printed public health materials, and official photographs, ephemera, and clippings from a Child Welfare Exhibit in which she participated during the spring of 1918.²¹ A second scrapbook begins in the fall of 1918, when Clarke returned to nursing. It contains soldiers’ accounts of their injuries and drawings and poems by them, magazine clippings, newspaper articles, official photographs of the hospital and its staff, as well as candid photos of Clarke, her co-workers, and patients, postcards, and other wartime ephemera.

As Patricia P. Buckler notes in her discussion of scrapbooks as historical sources, such albums create “a kind of autobiographical composition . . . through a combination of pasted in items and handwritten explanatory comments.”²² Reconstructing Clarke’s autobiography through her wartime scrapbooks is complicated by several factors. Not only did Clarke leave almost no personal accounts, such as letters or a diary, to use in contextualizing the material, but also the precise dates of her scrapbooks are frustratingly difficult to pin down.²³ The child welfare scrapbook seems to have been compiled, at least in part, after the events it documents. It contains clippings from May 1919, long after Clarke left the Comité. The title “France 1918–19” indicates that at least the front page was completed after Clarke’s participation in the war had ended, while the penciled annotation “Alma A. Clarke American Red Cross Paris France” provides evidence that she started this scrapbook after she left the Comité and had returned to nursing during the war.

In contrast, the nursing scrapbook, titled “Memories of France,” is dated only 1918, suggesting that it was perhaps created first, although it documents the second phase of Clarke’s wartime work. Pages by wounded men from the nursing scrapbook were clearly contributed while they were in the hospital during the fall of 1918, and Clarke’s only letter in her archived papers, which dates from January 1919, makes reference to this album.²⁴

She describes the scrapbook as “a most unique souvenir. . . . [T]he boys have all drawn and written in it till it is almost full—besides which I have a very interesting collection of hosp. photos. . . . I cherish them, every one and the album is the pride and joy of my life.”²⁵

Clippings in this scrapbook range from issues of the *Red Cross Magazine* published during and after the war, to newspaper accounts of contemporaneous events. The scrapbooks therefore are best viewed as an accumulation of layers of remembering.²⁶ As the editors of *The Scrapbook in American Life* remark in their introduction, scrapbooks involve a doubling of memory, representing both the “memory of the compiler” and the capturing of “the memory of the cultural moment in which they were made.”²⁷ A complex interaction between Clarke’s memorializing and her repurposing of commercial souvenirs, propaganda, and press coverage makes interpreting them a challenging but a fascinating endeavor.

As Jessica Helfand notes in *Scrapbooks: An American History*, while “often crude exercises in graphic design,” scrapbooks “represent amateur yet stunningly authoritative examples of a particular strain of visual autobiography, a genre rich in emotional, pictorial, and sensory detail.”²⁸ While offering a compelling visual autobiography, Clarke’s scrapbooks are at the same time somewhat haphazard and not as carefully wrought as others created by Red Cross nurses.²⁹ Edges of clippings are often uneven. Some pages are filled completely, others only partially. Clarke often annotated photographs, especially with the names of patients or members of staff, but her handwriting scrawls at odd angles. Clarke compressed her script to fit into small spaces, rendering it at times almost illegible. Photos sometimes seem randomly placed on pages, with no discernable relationship to each other or the surrounding material. For example, alongside a slightly blurry shot of one of her patients, Clarke placed an official photograph of wounded men sleeping on the floor when the hospital was deluged after the battle of Chateau-Thierry in June 1918, when she was not yet a nurse.³⁰ These photos are linked by their common image of wounded men, but the cheery note from the home front addressed “to an American soldier ‘somewhere’ . . . from an American girl in govt. work in Washington” that accompanies them on the page is a decidedly discordant addition.³¹

Furthermore, Clarke’s scrapbooks reflect what Katherine Ott has characterized as “the mundane absurdity” that she found in physician William Middleton’s wartime album, which also combined seemingly discordant documents.³² Clarke’s child welfare scrapbook begins with her official travel documents, shifts to images of ruined churches and bombed outbuildings, and then moves to page after page of children playing or at their lessons. Similarly, the nursing scrapbook contains two adjacent pages of colorful postcards and invitations celebrating Thanksgiving and Christmas, followed by a photographic series showing the return of Sergeant Keast, a wounded soldier Clarke nursed, to a site where a German sniper killed several Americans before Keast killed him.³³

However, some pages of Clarke's albums reveal carefully crafted narratives. Next to the poem "We Shall Not Sleep," better known as "In Flanders Fields," Clarke wrote the names of four deceased men, at least one of whom died in her hospital. She provides burial dates and the location of gravesites for two of them. A lone photograph of a cross marking a grave echoes the imagery in Philip Lyford's picture of a fallen soldier that is pasted nearby. The effect is chilling, and it is clear that Clarke felt the loss every bit as much as the poet mourned his fallen comrades in arms.

From Jean Bethke Elstain's *Women and War* to Jonathan Ebel's *Faith in the Fight*, scholars have explored gendered roles in wartime and how Great War propaganda amplified them.³⁴ Absent any coherent narrative in Clarke's own words, the visual rhetoric of her scrapbooks remains, offering insights into how one woman received this propaganda.

World War I occasioned the creation of the first federal propaganda office, the Committee on Public Information. During the course of US participation in the war, the CPI issued seventy-five million pamphlets, and distributed six thousand press releases to newspapers and magazines nationwide.³⁵ Within the CPI, the Division of Women's War Work existed specifically to create and distribute propaganda related to the "role of women in the war effort."³⁶ Syndicated stories by the CPI reached an estimated twelve million monthly readers.³⁷ The Red Cross enjoyed the services of some of the most prominent illustrators and artists of the day, and Clarke's scrapbooks include examples by Charles Dana Gibson, James Montgomery Flagg, N. C. Wyeth, and J. Luis Mora. Offering "everyday heroines," these images still conformed to a "culturally available pattern of expectation" for women.³⁸ As Patricia P. Buckler notes, scrapbooks combine "cultural conventions with unique personal choices."³⁹

In Clarke's case, the availability of publications during wartime, the prevalence of dominant gendered narratives of war, and her own individual preferences led her to combine disparate sources into two coherent narratives.⁴⁰ Her scrapbook about nursing reflects the common interpretation of that work as a patriotic sacrifice akin to serving in the military, while her child welfare scrapbook depicts humanitarian work as a form of patriotic expertise.

For Clarke, and many other women involved in Progressive-era reform, World War I offered opportunities to demonstrate the education or skills they had acquired. These opportunities were even more valued by the "nonprofessional women" of Clarke's class, who were invited "to do a patriotic and humane service" equal in importance to serving in the military.⁴¹ This framing was aided by a transformation of child welfare from a benevolent women's cause into a matter of vital national security. Writing in the *New York Medical Journal*, Dr. S. Josephine Baker concurred with the British Board of Education: "The European War has given new emphasis to the importance of the child as a primary national asset. The future and strength of the nation unquestionably depend on the vitality of the

child.⁴² Combining the Progressive-era enthusiasm for social engineering with a Victorian zeal for moral reform, Clarke's approach to her work with the Comité emphasized the resiliencies of the children, hoping to build on them a "new future for the French race."⁴³ Her sentiments echoed the Red Cross Child Welfare Bureau stance that "children represent the second line of national defense."⁴⁴ She carefully collected literature on pediatrics, hygiene, and maternal and infant care, all in the service of rehabilitating these youngest victims of the war. Clarke doubtless shared the sentiments of Mrs. W. H. Hill, who in a report from France that appeared in the June 1918 Comité newsletter, "Children of the Frontier," observed that their work had "changed completely" the "poor children" who had arrived war-ravaged victims but were now students who exhibited "splendid . . . concentration and application."⁴⁵

In keeping with Clarke's primary role in the Comité, not as a direct caregiver to individual children but rather "aiding and improving the general welfare of the children . . . and the colony as a whole," her scrapbook shows her leading children in healthful outdoor play or instructing them.⁴⁶ Letters from grateful mothers and children whom Clarke encountered through her work with French preschools in Lyon attest to the widespread impact of her child welfare work.⁴⁷ M. H. Mejean of Lyon, for example, wrote with "affectionate gratitude" to invite Clarke to deliver a lecture to mothers, which she frames with an appeal to "the good that unites us . . . improving the education of children who are the hope of tomorrow."⁴⁸

Clarke's expertise in children's education gave her a central role in the Exposition L'enfance, organized by the American Red Cross and French child welfare professionals, to showcase the most modern methods of child-care and pediatric health.⁴⁹ Clarke, "on loan" to Dr. William Palmer Lucas, head of the Children's Bureau of the American Red Cross, along with two other women, "entirely prepared this [kindergarten] exhibit and put it on and worked with the children who daily attended the class."⁵⁰ Clarke also delivered a lecture at the Exposition on "Kindergarten in the United States."⁵¹ Clarke's handwritten notes on the subject, perhaps drafted for this very talk, provide the clearest evidence of how she framed her work with children as a service to the war.⁵² After declaring that "the future of France is in the children," Clarke ended her speech with a stirring patriotic declaration: "Those who died gave their lives that the Children of France can live. It is our task to [ensure] . . . that they did not die in vain."⁵³ By caring for children, Clarke saw herself not only as aiding the youngest victims of the war, but also as honoring the war dead and contributing to France's national revival, a sentiment echoed in French propaganda. Press coverage of the exposition expostulated that "[t]o save children is to save France! . . . The noble French race must remain for civilization."⁵⁴

While Clarke framed her child welfare scrapbook within this optimistic narrative of Progressive-era reform, humanitarian propaganda often relied on more domestic rhetoric, using a "subjective, coded . . . imagery" that

portrayed Red Cross workers as “nurturing mothers” rather than as officious bureaucrats. In this maternal metaphor, a child, the perfect war victim and, by virtue of age, both neutral and noncombatant, stood in for Europeans in need of American aid.⁵⁵ A page of Clarke’s scrapbook made the comparison between the damaged nation and the lost children explicit. Next to a photograph of a bombed building, she placed a card from the *Ligue contra la mortalite infantile*.

Clippings from the *Red Cross Magazine* show how Clarke positioned her child welfare work within the larger framework of war propaganda. While each *Red Cross Magazine* generally contained a four-page color insert of related images, Clarke selected images from two issues to create her own pictorial narrative. These illustrations combined patriotism with a religiously inspired humanitarianism. A female Red Cross worker from the series titled “The Red Cross in Action” stoops to aid a wounded child, while his mother, clutching a baby, looks on.⁵⁶ In this case, the action seen is not a battle, but the caption emphasizes the parallel service of the Red Cross worker and the soldier. The biblical caption “[S]uffer them to come unto me” is followed by the explanatory note, “The American Red Cross Worker ministering to refugees in the nightmare regions of incessant battle.”⁵⁷ The work described in the caption, “[F]eeding the children, caring for the mothers,” is precisely what Clarke did for the Comité.⁵⁸ The next two illustrations, which depict American servicemen interacting with children, are taken from the series “The Child-Loving Doughboy in France” by Henry J. Soulen.⁵⁹ Clarke creates a continuum of care directly linking service workers’ efforts to servicemen’s dedication to the people of France.

The title page of the scrapbook attests to a second strand of propaganda that resonated with Clarke. It features a painting by N. C. Wyeth of a soldier who salutes Christ on the Cross as he supports a wounded French soldier off the field of battle.⁶⁰ As Jonathan Ebel argues in *Faith in the Fight*, both soldiers and war workers invested the Great War with “religious meaning,” including “modern forms of martyrdom and *imitatio Christi*.”⁶¹ Ebel depicts “American men [who] drew on images of Christ” and “women [who] often turned to more general domestic ideals.”⁶² However, in this image, and more extensively in the nursing scrapbook, the Christlike sacrifice of the American Expeditionary Forces is compared to the willing sacrifices made by women during war.

By the fall of 1918, Clarke left the Comité and returned to the Red Cross nursing staff. The close ties between the Comité and the Red Cross likely facilitated her transfer to the hospital where she had first worked in the fall of 1914. Second to the Red Cross in the summer of 1917, the American Ambulance Hospital of Clarke’s first nursing stint now stood as the model medical facility in France, known as American Red Cross Military Hospital No. 1 (ARCMH #1). While the hospital still drew socialite volunteers and enjoyed considerable patronage from American elites who endowed entire wards, it also found support among thousands of ordinary citizens, who

through various patriotic organizations pledged small amounts to support a bed in one of the wards. ARCMH #1 was the hub of the American Red Cross's involvement in Paris, which allowed for more effective participation of American volunteers like auxiliary nurses.

Wartime propaganda, particularly that of the Red Cross, promulgated an ideal of female wartime sacrifice for all women, although Clarke's role as a nurse's aide was somewhat ambiguously positioned between the home front, which focused on wives and mothers, and the medical field, which aimed to recruit trained nurses. Clarke was not attracted to the heroic narrative most associated with nurses closer to the front and, most especially, to female ambulance drivers. She also eschewed the maternal and romantic images associated with mothers, wives, and sweethearts on the home front. Instead, she seems to have been drawn to a popular narrative of sisterly sacrifice in support of servicemen that viewed "volunteer nurses . . . as the female counterparts to soldiers."⁶³

Clarke, in her late twenties, like most auxiliaries was closer in age to a sister than a mother to the soldiers for whom she cared. In "Sister to a Million Men," which Clarke pasted into her scrapbook, the selflessness of a wealthy young woman is celebrated.⁶⁴ After first describing a bit of fluff, one of the "scores of girls" who sat on "country club porches" before the war without "a thought in her head," the author then discounts the young woman's patriotic motives: "[S]he had a very definite thought and it's taken her to France. . . . Perhaps she went to France with false notions of sentimentality or with an absurd impulsive offer of service which seemed very immature and impractical."⁶⁵ However, the author then reveals that this country club socialite has been transformed, both corporeally as well as spiritually: "She has a blue veil on her head now instead of a floppy hat. She has a pile of bandages or clean sheets in her hands instead of the parasol . . . [W]atch her now in the ward where she rules over a score and a half of wounded men in her own right."⁶⁶

The "sister" here, of course, refers not only to the British practice of referring to nurses as "sisters," a practice not adopted by American Red Cross workers, but also to the easy familiarity with which the socialite-turned-nurse jokes with the men on her ward. The twin sacrifice of both servitude and propriety in the service of patriotism has this "girl who wouldn't have washed her own hair before the war" now blithely inquiring of a soldier if he "feel[s] well enough for that long-promised bath?"⁶⁷ She stoically endures, without flinching, the painful redressing of a soldier's wounds, while distracting him with her carefree chatter. Because she serves out of love for her country, the auxiliary keeps her wealth hidden from the men. However, at the end of the day, this dedicated volunteer slips up when she is asked, "Say, sister, was you ever on a farm" and absentmindedly responds in the affirmative, betraying herself as "unmarried" yet owning a large farm "all by herself."⁶⁸ The men are momentarily stunned into silence, realizing that their handmaiden is an heiress. This is of little matter, though, to the

selfless auxiliary, who brushes aside any thoughts of her sacrifices to continue her rounds.

“Heroines of the War: Some Things Women Have Done at the Battle-Front,” another clipping Clarke preserved, recapitulates the narrative of “Sister to a Million Men.”⁶⁹ “The daughter of a Chicago millionaire,” now a nurse’s aide helping “the hospital surgeon on his rounds in the ward, dressing the horrible wounds,” recalls “I thought once I should faint, but I realized how uncomfortable the poor boy was, and after the first few days I became accustomed to it and only thought of the service I would be able to render.”⁷⁰ This common plot appears as well in another article Clarke preserved. “The Man with the Hands” from the September 1918 issue of *Metropolitan Magazine* focuses on “Helen Carter . . . assistant nurse,” who from her “sheltered pleasant life had longed to be one of those who really did things.”⁷¹ Thrust into a patient ward after only a short four days on the dietary service, Carter had quickly learned “what steel and gunpowder can do” while helping to change dressings with “hands that hardly trembled and a face only a little whiter than the handkerchief that covered her head.”⁷²

Clarke’s men viewed her as “mother, sister and a jolly good friend to every body [*sic*],” a sentiment echoed by a visitor who described her as “so friendly and sympathetic and withal so sensible with the boys.”⁷³ However, at least some of Clarke’s patients were also aware of her social standing and viewed her sacrifice along similar lines as that depicted in “Sister to a Million Men.” One soldier recalled that all the men knew she was “quite set apart from the regular R. C. nurses” and that she “came over for the real love of the work and [was] prompted by the highest kind of patriotism without any regard to pay.”⁷⁴ His comments highlighted a tension between work and service that existed among the various roles played by women in the hospital.

The American Red Cross made much of its principles of social egalitarianism, accepting volunteers from all social classes, unlike the British Voluntary Aid Detachment, which was populated almost exclusively by pedigreed women. However, a complex class dynamic existed between trained nurses, largely middle-class women who worked to support themselves, and those volunteers who populated the auxiliaries and who often came from “a more elite socioeconomic background.”⁷⁵ Most auxiliaries, like Clarke, apparently did not need, and indeed often refused, a salary, which made “the Auxiliary Nursing Service practically voluntary.”⁷⁶

Because Clarke left few written records of her war experiences, it is difficult to ascertain whether she received pay for her service, or how she responded to the material privations of war. However, she did paste the regulations for auxiliary nurses into her scrapbook, preserving at least a glimpse into the strictures of her daily life.⁷⁷ The rules stipulated not only the uniforms to be worn—ones that marked them as distinct from the trained nurses—and the hours to be worked—from eight in the morning to six at night, six days a week—but also proscribed social intercourse between

auxiliaries and other staff members and prohibited auxiliaries from directly addressing the physicians. Clarke's only reflections on the demands of serving are a single reference in a letter to her brother about being "so tired at night that I drop right off to sleep after dinner."⁷⁸

Rather than focusing on the conditions of her labor, Clarke's scrapbooks revolved around her greater purpose and the parallels between the service of nurses and the sacrifice of soldiers. Next to an article praising the bravery of the American soldiers, Clarke pasted "Won't You Help?" a propaganda image created specifically for the Red Cross, this time by Robert Reid.⁷⁹ In this example, a Red Cross nurse fends off the angel of death while using her body to shield a fallen soldier.⁸⁰ While Clarke served at a hospital far from the front, as a nurse who also served at the American Ambulance Hospital noted, while they did not "hear the cannon or . . . the dying horses scream . . . [but they] did get a glimpse behind the scenes of its most real, its most lasting part" while tending to the wounded and the dying.⁸¹

Clarke drew on her religious faith to understand this suffering. She carefully annotated a photograph of Abbé Felix Klein, the hospital chaplain in her scrapbook, and among her papers are many brochures and postcards of churches that she visited in France.⁸² On the pages of her scrapbook, she repurposed the religious imagery that appeared in much wartime propaganda. The title page of the hospital scrapbook featured a religiously inspired image of a nurse. An oversized nurse, the protective angel, stands over a sleeping soldier.⁸³ Created by Paul J. Meylan for the Red Cross as part of a campaign to address the desperate shortage of nurses, in this image "the patient is overshadowed by the nurse tending to his every need."⁸⁴ The beatific visage of the nurse originally appeared with the incongruous slogan "Nurses of America: You are needed over there!" with the invocation of "over there" making an explicit connection between men's service in the military and women's offering of service to the armed forces. Clarke removed the recruiting slogan, and replaced it with the handwritten "A mother to guide him."⁸⁵ The larger-than-life figure of the nurse, with her flowing veil, gave the impression not of a maternal figure, a trope Clarke largely avoided, but rather of the Virgin Mary, much like the well-known British propaganda poster "The greatest mother in the world," which mimicked Michelangelo's *Pieta*, with a uniformed Red Cross nurse cradling a fallen soldier.⁸⁶ Similar religious iconography appears on a page where Clarke pasted the poem "The Prayer of the Women" by Sara Teasdale, which invokes "a mother leaning, long ago, over a manger cradle," accompanied by a drawing by F. Luis Mora in which an angel hovers in front of the shape of the service agency's cross (not the cross of the crucifixion), while a nun and a young service woman pray.⁸⁷

This religious imagery was mixed with patriotic figures in Clarke's scrapbook. For example, in *Columbia's Greater Task*, an image drawn by Charles Dana Gibson for the Red Cross, an oversized allegorical female form comes to the aid of a fallen soldier. Columbia appears as a Red Cross nurse

who escorts a wounded man from the battlefield. While lone depictions of allegorical females might “not necessarily have inculcated a sense of agency in historical figures,” in this image, Columbia actively aids a wounded *poilu*.⁸⁸ Echoing a sentiment Clarke expressed in her humanitarian work, the original caption for Gibson’s drawing emphasized that America’s “task” was more than victory in the war: “America Even While She Is Preparing to Destroy and Kill as She Must Moves to Rebuild and Heal.” Alongside Columbia aiding the fallen man, Clarke pasted four photographs of the men she nursed, including a group shot of her first ward, inviting a direct comparison.⁸⁹

Clarke also mixed her personal photographs of life at the hospital alongside official wartime propaganda. ARCMH #1 housed some the worst wounded during their long convalescences, and Clarke remained on duty until the convoy of men left the hospital on 1 February 1919. A photograph taken that final day shows a motley assemblage of nurses, auxiliaries, orderlies, and patients all posing together far more informally than in the official staff photos Clarke scattered throughout her album.⁹⁰ She provided not only the names of some of the men she nursed for many months, but also details about their wartime experiences, hometowns, or ages. When sitting by their bedsides or pushing a wheelchair in the gardens, Clarke grew well acquainted with the men. Commiserating with her brother over the travails of the service, she confides, “I have been enough with the men to know how they feel.”⁹¹ Clarke, who had been serving in France for a year, expressed her steadfast commitment to seeing her duty through: “I am rather tired I confess but I do hate to go home till I have done all that I can in France.” After overseeing the closure of the ARCMH #1, Clarke returned to the Red Cross Children’s Bureau, serving as a home visitor.⁹²

She was released from her service to the Red Cross in early July 1919 and sailed home at the end of the month, returning to the family estate in Lenox, Massachusetts.⁹³ One final page remains in the scrapbook. Clarke appears, still in uniform although it is now August, posing incongruously for a photograph in the garden. Opposite this image Clarke pasted James Montgomery Flagg’s patriotic version of a Red Cross nurse between a soldier and a sailor, and the sentimental poem by Elsie Janis, “Lest We Forget.” While Clarke was likely never mistaken for one of Flagg’s idealized American girls or called a sweetheart of the American Expeditionary Forces, Janis’s nickname, the lines of the poem captured Clarke’s sentiments:

And, for me, my greatest glory was
That I got to know you.
To know you in your hardships;
To know you in your joys;
To know that my life’s finest hours
Were spent among you boys.

Despite her return to the United States, Clarke's involvement in the work of World War I continued, through both the Red Cross and also veterans' organizations like the American Legion and the Women's Overseas Service League. Clarke marked her first Armistice Day spent stateside still in service to the cause of World War I. From notes written in her own hand, perhaps for remarks she was invited to make to the Red Cross Educational Committee the day before the Armistice celebrations, Clarke clearly continued to frame her service as similar to that of members of the military. Although requested to speak in general about the American Red Cross and "patriotism," Clarke also stressed that while the fighting men might have returned to civilian life, the Red Cross both exemplified the "American spirit" and continued as the "only org[anization] always mobilized."⁹⁴ From her dangerous sea voyage to France through her year and a half overseas as a volunteer—not a draftee like seven out of ten American infantrymen—Clarke had every reason to see herself as a true peer of the soldiers.

In keeping the scrapbooks, Clarke asserted, long before historians did, that her participation in the Great War mattered; yet she never completed either scrapbook. Perhaps the return home and the demands of her social life kept her from this task. However, her memorabilia must have been close to hand, as ephemera from the 1930s and World War II appear scattered throughout her papers and tucked into the scrapbooks. That conundrum, Alma Clarke's treasured yet uncompleted "Memories of France," provides an apt metaphor for much of the historiographical debate about the impact of World War I for women. The centennial of the war has only reinvigorated long-standing historiographical controversies. Gail Braybon recently suggested that a "superficial approach" based on "a few sources" that take "'the British experience' . . . as the norm" still characterizes even the most recent studies that take the "watershed" approach.⁹⁵ Conversely, Birgitta Bader-Zaar, in her lengthy treatment of the historiography, emphasizes that while "the idea that World War I was a watershed in gender relations has pervaded both contemporary narratives and historiography . . . research now tends to give a more nuanced and differentiated view . . . that distinguished war and postwar state policies as well as public discourse from individual subjectivities and self-representations."⁹⁶

World War I gave Clarke's life purpose for two decades. When Clarke's father died unexpectedly in 1920, Clarke became her mother's companion. Trailing dutifully behind her, Clarke moved between New York and Palm Beach and eventually returned to live in Paris for at least part of each year. By 1923 Clarke had joined the Paris Post of the Ladies Auxiliary of the American Legion, working in their school for children of American servicemen and serving as chairman of the Volunteer Interpreter's Service during Legion Convention Week, held to mark the fifth anniversary of the Armistice. By the late 1920s Clarke had become the "right hand" of Auxiliary president Mrs. Arthur Kipling. In 1929 she represented the Auxiliary as part of the official Legionnaire delegation in Paris to dedicate an

American Legion memorial building.⁹⁷ In the 1930s Clarke became “welfare chairman” of the Auxiliary, tending to “the needs and the problems of the ex-serviceman and his family” in France.⁹⁸

Eventually, as president of the Paris Post, Clarke advocated for French wives and children of American soldiers who had been abandoned by them.⁹⁹ Clarke claimed that the Legion currently “care[d] for 300 children deserted by American fathers who married French girls during the war.”¹⁰⁰ She recounted “the case of one French wife who was taken to the United States, and then sent back from Chicago, arriving at the American Legion headquarters in Paris virtually starving” as she pled for funds to aid these women.¹⁰¹ Clarke also highlighted the plight of “penniless children . . . in such deplorable circumstances that Americans would blush for shame.”¹⁰² Clarke adopted three girls and remained in France until the mid-1930s. When the winds of war again swept through the continent, she returned to the United States, living in the Philadelphia area near her remaining family.¹⁰³

As Erika Kuhlman argues in *Reconstructing Patriarchy after the Great War*, women’s transnational activism during national reconstruction involved both “the forces of tradition and change.”¹⁰⁴ Although Kuhlman writes of German history, Clarke’s leadership role in the American Legion is similarly caught between these two poles. The Poppy Campaign was part of what one scholar has described as the centerpiece of a “gendered economics of remembrance.”¹⁰⁵ The appeal, spearheaded by women, raised funds by selling paper poppies initially made by “war widows and other impoverished women” but eventually by “disabled vets.”¹⁰⁶ While the actual remuneration proved slight, a “gendered currency of self esteem [*sic*]” was viewed as central to reestablishing the masculinity of the most severely disabled soldiers.¹⁰⁷ Thus, a complex dynamic allowed women like Clarke to assume positions of leadership within an organization for veterans, while war widows were largely shunted aside in favor of wounded veterans. The Poppy Campaign relied on this rhetoric until the Great Depression left the American Legion in financial straits. Even when Clarke took on the role of a public spokesperson on behalf of French wives and orphans, she resorted to sentimental rhetoric, and newspaper accounts emphasized that the Legion funds went only to legitimate children of American fathers. Clarke’s criticism, however, placed her in an ambiguous position within national narratives that celebrated American soldiers as liberators of France.

This tension, between opportunities and constraints, change and continuity, makes a less satisfactory historical conclusion than sweeping claims for World War I as a watershed event, or even as a minor deviation from tradition. Clarke’s papers and scrapbooks reveal how one woman chose to document her wartime experiences, but similar examples appear scattered throughout other archives. Clarke’s wartime trajectory, moving between humanitarian aid and nursing, was not unusual. Anna Reed Parsons, for example, worked at the sister hospital to Clarke’s in Juilly and with orphans

along the frontier.¹⁰⁸ Maternal letters to Clarke's sister auxiliary nurse Elizabeth Deeble have been archived, providing an intriguing opportunity to explore how women on the home front responded to women who served overseas.¹⁰⁹ Like Clarke, many other women set down their wartime memories in scrapbooks, where they await the attention of scholars to complete their stories of women and World War I.¹¹⁰

Notes

1. I am grateful to Bryn Mawr College Special Collections for digitizing Alma Clarke's scrapbooks. In this process they gave the scrapbook that covers her work with the Comité the title "French WWI Scrapbook," and hereafter I refer to it by that title. I have used the image number of the digitized scrapbook pages as unique identifiers, since the album was given a single URL. Alma A. Clarke, French WWI Scrapbook, Alma A. Clarke Papers, Bryn Mawr College Special Collections, accessed 25 June 2016, tritych.brynmawr.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/almaclarke/id/450. The scrapbook covering her time nursing was entitled the "English WWI Scrapbook," and hereafter I refer to it by that title. I have used the numbers of the digitized scrapbook pages as unique identifiers, since the album was given a single URL. Alma A. Clarke, English WWI Scrapbook, Alma A. Clarke Papers, Bryn Mawr College Special Collections, accessed 25 June 2016, tritych.brynmawr.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/almaclarke/id/178.
2. Ellen Gruber Garvey, *Writing with Scissors: American Scrapbooks from the Civil War to the Harlem Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 44.
3. Edith Wharton, *Fighting France: From Dunkerque to Belfort* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915); Ellen Newbold La Motte, *The Backwash of War* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1916); Gertrude Atherton, *The Living Present* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1917); Addie W. Hunton and Kathryn Magnolia Johnson, *Two Colored Women with the American Expeditionary Forces* (Brooklyn, NY: Brooklyn Eagle Press, 1920); Agnes Cardinal, *Women's Writing on the First World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Dorothy Goldman, *Women Writers and the Great War* (Woodbridge, CT: Twayne Publishers, 1995); Nora Saltonstall, *"Out Here at the Front": The World War I Letters of Nora Saltonstall* (Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 2004); Mary Borden, *The Forbidden Zone: A Nurse's Impressions of the First World War* (London: Hesperus Press, 2008).
4. Margaret R. Higonnet, Jane Jenson, Sonya Michel, and Margaret Collins Weitz, eds., *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989); Maurine Weiner Greenwald, *Women, War, and Work: The Impact of World War I on Women Workers in the United States* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990); Lettie Gavin, *American Women in World War I: They Also Served* (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1997); Susan Zeiger, *In Uncle Sam's Service: Women Workers With the American Expeditionary Force, 1917–1919* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000); Susan R. Grayzel, *Women and the First World War* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002); Kimberly Jensen, *Mobilizing*

- Minerva: American Women in the First World War* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008).1990
5. Margaret R. Higonnet, ed., *Nurses at the Front: Writing the Wounds of the Great War* (Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 2001); Christine E. Hallett, *Containing Trauma: Nursing Work in the First World War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011); Alison S. Fell and Christine E. Hallett, eds., *First World War Nursing: New Perspectives* (New York: Routledge, 2013); Christine E. Hallett, *Veiled Warriors: Allied Nurses of the First World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Molly Wood, "Mothers, Wives, Workers and More: The Experience of American Women on the Home Front during World War I," in *Personal Perspectives: World War I*, ed. Timothy Dowling (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2006), 273–296; Kate Adie, *Fighting on the Home Front: The Legacy of Women in World War One* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 2014).
 6. David Bernard Dearinger, *Paintings and Sculpture in the Collection of the National Academy of Design: 1826–1925* (New York: Hudson Hills, 2004), 457.
 7. "Reports from London, England; Savannah, GA.; South Africa; and the General Field, Etc.," *Kindergarten Magazine* 15, no. 3 (1902): 185.
 8. "Lenox Women Play Baseball Miss Clarke Red Cross Nurse in Paris," *Sun*, 30 August 1914, 5.
 9. "Lenox Gains through European War," *New York Times*, 16 August 1914, 59; "Many Lenox Colonists Returning from Europe," *Sun*, 16 August 1914, 6; "Lenox Cottagers Caught in Europe," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 16 August 1914, 38; "Spray from Summer Tides of Society's Ebbs and Flows," *Washington Post*, 23 August 1914, 19.
 10. Interview with Cynthia A. Clarke, 6 August 2015.
 11. "Miss Alma Clarke Becomes a Red Cross Nurse in Paris Hospital," *Sun*, 22 August 1914, 9; "Spray from Summer Tides of Society's Ebbs And Flows," *Washington Post*, 23 August 1914, 19.
 12. "The American Ambulance Hospital in Paris," *Science* 41, no. 8 (8 January 1915): 58–59.
 13. Arlen Hansen, *Gentlemen Volunteers: The Story of the American Ambulance Drivers in the Great War*, 1st ed. (New York: Arcade Publishing, 1996).
 14. "In the Berkshires," *New York Tribune*, 1 October 1914, 1.
 15. Virginia Howland to Alma A. Clarke, 12 November 1917, Box 1, Folder 2, Comité franco-américain pour la protection des enfants de la frontière correspondence, 1918, Alma A. Clarke Papers, Bryn Mawr College Special Collections.
 16. *Ibid.*
 17. Telegram from August Jaccaci, 16 November 1917, AlmaClarkeFrench_BMC_0002r, French WWI Scrapbook, Alma A. Clarke Papers, Bryn Mawr College Special Collections. I am indebted to Christina Virok, who translated the French documents in the Clarke papers.
 18. *Children of the Frontier: Third Annual Report* (New York and Paris: Comité franco-américain pour la protection des enfants de la frontière, 1918), 5.
 19. *Ibid.*, 9.
 20. Comité franco-américain pour la protection des enfants de la frontière, *Children of the Frontier: Third Annual Report*, 6–7.
 21. Heather Lucas conducted research on Clarke's participation in the Child Welfare Exhibit.

22. Patricia P. Buckler, "Letters, Scrapbooks, and History Books: A Personalized Vision of the Mexican War, 1846–48," in *The Scrapbook in American Life*, ed. Susan Tucker, Katherine Ott, and Patricia P. Buckler (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2006), 60.
23. Clarke seems to have written few letters. A card from her sister asks, "Why Don't you Write no[t] once in six months hey?": AlmaClarkeFrench_BMC_0053rb, French WWI Scrapbook; a postcard from her brother urges her to write: Charles J. Clarke to Alma A. Clarke, 11 January 1919, Box 1, Folder 7, Correspondence to and from Private Charles J. Clarke, Alma A. Clarke Papers, Bryn Mawr College Special Collections; in Clarke's surviving letter from the war, she makes excuses for not writing more frequently: Alma A. Clarke to Charles J. Clarke, 28 January 1919, Box 1, Folder 7, Correspondence to and from Private Charles J. Clarke, Alma A. Clarke Papers, Bryn Mawr College Special Collections.
24. Alma A. Clarke to Charles J. Clarke, 28 January 1919.
25. *Ibid.*
26. Mark A. Snell, *Unknown Soldiers: The American Expeditionary Forces in Memory and Remembrance* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2008); Steven Trout, *On the Battlefield of Memory: The First World War and American Remembrance, 1919–1941* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2010).
27. Tucker, Ott, and Buckler, *The Scrapbook in American Life*, 3.
28. Jessica Helfand, *Scrapbooks: An American History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), xvii.
29. See, for example, the scrapbook of Ethel Anderson, "Under the Red Cross Flag at Home and Abroad: Base Hospital Unit No. 44, Evacuation Hospital No. 5," the Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs: Photography Collection, New York Public Library, accessed 25 June 2016, digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47dd-ed6b-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99.
30. AlmaClarke_BMC_008r, English WWI Scrapbook.
31. *Ibid.*
32. Katherine Ott, "Between Person and Profession: Scrapbooks of Nineteenth-Century Medical Practitioners," in Tucker, Ott, and Buckler, *The Scrapbook in American Life*, 36.
33. AlmaClarke_BMC_045r, AlmaClarke_BMC_045v, English WWI Scrapbook. I have relied on research conducted by Kyle Robinson on the soldiers who signed Clarke's album. Jenna Kaiser conducted research on Clarke's holiday memorabilia.
34. Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Women and War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); Jonathan H. Ebel, *Faith in the Fight: Religion and the American Soldier in the Great War* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010); Alan Axelrod, *Selling the Great War: The Making of American Propaganda* (London: Macmillan, 2009); Pearl James, *Picture This: World War I Posters and Visual Culture* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010); Martin J. Manning and Clarence R. Wyatt, *Encyclopedia of Media and Propaganda in Wartime America* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2011).
35. Manning and Wyatt, *Encyclopedia of Media and Propaganda in Wartime America*, 456.
36. Axelrod, *Selling the Great War*, 95.
37. *Ibid.*
38. *Ibid.*, 70–71.

39. Buckler, "Letters, Scrapbooks, and History Books: A Personalized Vision of the Mexican War, 1846–48," 63.
40. Clarke's clippings files reveals that she read *Stars and Stripes*, *Le Matin*, *New York Herald International Edition*, *Daily Mail Continental Edition*, *L'Illustré*, *Le Journal*, *L'Intransigeant*, and also saved an issue of the trench newspaper *La Rire aux Éclat*. There are clippings from the *Saturday Evening Post*, the *Literary Digest*, *Scribers*, the *Delineator*, as well as the the *Red Cross Magazine*. During the war she became friends with Lansing Warren, then an ambulance driver. They reconnected in the 1920s when she lived in Paris and he worked as a newspaper correspondent. He became godfather to her middle daughter, Cynthia (Interview with Cynthia A. Clarke, 6 August, 2015). Warren copied out one of his poems, "War's Absolution," in Clarke's scrapbook (AlmaClarke_BMC_042r, French WWI Scrapbook). Eve Romanowski conducted research to identify and source the poems in Clarke's album.
41. Alice Wellington, to Smith College ARC, quoted in Julia F. Irwin, *Making the World Safe: The American Red Cross and a Nation's Humanitarian Awakening* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 101.
42. S. Josephine Baker, "The Relation of the War to the Nourishment of Children," *New York Medical Journal* 107, no. 7 (16 February 1918): 292.
43. Letter from Mrs. W. H. Hill, "Children of the Frontier," newsletter of the Comité, pasted in Clarke's scrapbook, AlmaClarkeFrench_BMC_0045v-vb, French WWI Scrapbook.
44. Statement by William Palmer Lucas M.D. Chief Children's Bureau, Démonstration Jardin D'Enfants, pamphlet, n.d., AlmaClarkeFrench_BMC_0028ra, French WWI Scrapbook.
45. Letter from Mrs. W. H. Hill, AlmaClarkeFrench_BMC_0045v-vb, French WWI Scrapbook.
46. Ibid.
47. Letter, n.d., AlmaClarkeFrench_BMC_0026v-AlmaClarkeFrench_BMC0026va, French WWI Scrapbook.
48. AlmaClarkeFrench_BMC_0026rgr-AlmaClarkeFrench_BMC_0026rgv, French WWI Scrapbook.
49. Irwin, *Making the World Safe*, 132.
50. Letter from Mrs. W. H. Hill, AlmaClarkeFrench_BMC_0045v-vb, French WWI Scrapbook.
51. Newspaper clipping, n.d., AlmaClarkeFrench_BMC_0025r, French WWI Scrapbook.
52. Alma A. Clarke, notes, n.d., AlmaClarkeFrench_BMC_0026rh-AlmaClarkeFrench_BMC_0026rk, French WWI Scrapbook.
53. Ibid.
54. Les Revindications des Bébés, n.d., AlmaClarkeFrench_BMC_0029b-AlmaClarkeFrench_BMC_0029r, French WWI Scrapbook.
55. Irwin, *Making the World Safe*, 88.
56. "The Red Cross in Action," *Red Cross Magazine* 13, no. 9 (September 1918): 33.
57. Ibid.
58. Ibid.
59. "The Child-Loving Doughboy in France," *Red Cross Magazine* 14, no. 5 (May 1919): 15, 20.
60. *Red Cross Magazine* 13, no. 7 (July 1918): cover.

61. Ebel, *Faith in the Fight*, 18–19.
62. *Ibid.*, 128.
63. Janet S. K. Watson, *Fighting Different Wars: Experience, Memory, and the First World War in Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
64. Roy S. Durstine, "Sister to a Million Men," *Scribners* 64, no. 6 (December 1918): 706–708; AlmaClarke_BMC_008v-AlmaClarke_BMC_008ve, English WWI Scrapbook.
65. Durstine, "Sister to a Million Men," 706.
66. *Ibid.*
67. *Ibid.*
68. *Ibid.*, 707.
69. Helen H. Hoffman, "Heroines of the War: Some Things Women Have Done at the Battle-Front," *Outlook* 121, no. 8 (1919): 299–301; Box 1, Folder 5, Newspaper Clippings, 1919, Alma A. Clarke Papers, Bryn Mawr College Special Collections.
70. Hoffman, "Heroines of the War," 301.
71. Katharine Buell, "The Man with The Hands," *Metropolitan Magazine* (September 1918). I have not been able to identify the page numbers for this clipping. Box 1, Folder 4, Newspaper Clippings, 1918, Alma A. Clarke Papers, Bryn Mawr College Special Collections.
72. *Ibid.*
73. Reginald McClurg to Alma Clarke, 1 February 1919, AlmaClarke_BMC_027vd, English WWI Scrapbook; Ralph S. Kuykendall and Lorin Tarr Gill, *Hawaii in the World War* (Honolulu: Historical Commission, 1923), 234.
74. Reginald McClurg to Alma Clarke, 1 February 1919, AlmaClarke_BMC_027vd-AlmaClarke_BMC_027ve, English WWI Scrapbook.
75. Watson, *Fighting Different Wars*, 60.
76. *Ibid.*
77. AlmaClarke_BMC_043r English WWI Scrapbook. Marygrace Urmson conducted research into the day-to-day activities of Red Cross nurses.
78. Alma A. Clarke to Charles J. Clarke, 28 January 1919.
79. Robert Reid was born in Massachusetts, studied in Paris, and for thirty years has ranked among the United States' distinguished artists. "Make it Unanimous," *Red Cross Magazine* 13, no. 12 (December 1918): 53.
80. *Ibid.* Mary Manfredi identified this, along with several other images, from the scrapbook.
81. K. K. and M. E. H., "Experiences in the American Ambulance Hospital, Neuilly, France," *American Journal of Nursing* 15, no. 7 (1 April 1915): 549.
82. AlmaClarke_BMC_034v, English WWI Scrapbook. See also Abbé Felix Klein, *Diary of a French Army Chaplain* (London: Andrew Melrose, 1915).
83. Martha Banta, *Imaging American Women: Idea and Ideals in Cultural History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987).
84. James, *Picture This*, 346.
85. AlmaClarke_BMC_003r, English WWI Scrapbook.
86. James, *Picture This*, 346–347.
87. Lynne Pauls Baron, *F. Luis Mora: America's First Hispanic Master (1874–1940)* (Madison, CN: Falk Art Reference, 2008), 218; AlmaClarke_BMC_001v, English WWI Scrapbook. This image was the frontispiece of *Red Cross Magazine* 13, no. 12 (December 1918): 2.

88. James, *Picture This*, 278.
89. AlmaClarke_BMC_009v, English WWI Scrapbook.
90. AlmaClarke_BMC_040v, English WWI Scrapbook.
91. Alma A. Clarke to Charles J. Clarke, 28 January 1919.
92. Service, *History of American Red Cross Nursing*, 809.
93. Red Cross Director of Permits and Passes to US Passport Division, 3 July 1919, Box 1, Folder 9, American Red Cross correspondence and official documents, 1918–1920, Alma A. Clarke papers, Bryn Mawr College Special Collections.
94. Alma A. Clarke, notes, n.d., Box 1, Folder 16, Overseas Service League Materials, Alma A. Clarke Papers, Bryn Mawr College Special Collections. The invitation appears in image AlmaClarke_BMC_047vb, English WWI Scrapbook.
95. Baron, *F. Luis Mora*, 218.
96. Birgitta Bader-Zaar, “Controversy: War-Related Changes in Gender Relations: The Issue of Women’s Citizenship,” in *1914–1918 Online: International Encyclopedia of the First World*, ed. Ute Daniel, Peter Gatrell, Oliver Janz, Heather Jones, Jennifer Keene, Alan Kramer, and Bill Nasson, issued by Freie Universität Berlin, Berlin, doi: 10.15463/ie1418.10036, accessed 25 June 2016, encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/controversy_war-related_changes_in_gender_relations_the_issue_of_womens_citizenship.
97. Special Cable to New York, “Legionnaires Arrive For Visit In Paris,” *New York Times*, 7 August 1929, 9. Clarke is also mentioned in a report of the American Legion Auxiliary, “Miss Alma Clark (sp) of Paris, who asked for aid in caring for the American children in France presented medals . . . to national auxiliary officers.” “Legion Auxiliary Will Give \$25,000 for Rehabilitation,” *Indianapolis News*, 26 January 1931, 25.
98. Miss Alma Clarke, “Auxiliary Welfare,” *Paris Post* 1, no. 4 (May 1930): 4; Box 1, Folder 19, Alma A. Clarke Papers, Bryn Mawr College Special Collections.
99. “Paris,” *Carry On (Newsletter of the Overseas Service League)* 7, no. 1 (1928): 31; Susan Zeiger, *Entangling Alliances: Foreign War Brides and American Soldiers in the Twentieth Century* (New York: New York University Press, 2010).
100. “Wartime Marriages Americans’ French Wives Wholesale Desertions,” *Daily News* (Perth, Western Australia), 27 May 1931, accessed 25 June 2016, nla.gov.au/nla.news-article83922873. See also “U.S. Soldiers’ Wives Deserted,” *Advocate* (Burnie, Tasmania), 3 June 1931, 1, accessed 25 June 2016, nla.gov.au/nla.news-article67721439. Although this article indicates that it is a “Special to *The Daily News*” from “WASHINGTON,” I can find no accounts in major American newspapers of this story. A brief mention of the same figures appears in “Enjoy Sojourn in Paris and Its Famous Environs,” *Corsicana Daily Sun* (Corsicana, TX), 22 August 1931, 4, accessed 25 June 2016, www.newspapers.com/newspage/13180733.
101. “An Ugly Truth, Many Children in France Deserted by American fathers,” *The Tipton Daily Tribune* (Tipton, IN), 30 May 1931, 4, accessed 25 June 2016, www.newspapers.com/newspage/179821.
102. Ibid.
103. She died in May 1962 in Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania.
104. Erika Kuhlman, *Reconstructing Patriarchy After the Great War* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 5.
105. John M. Kinder, *Paying with Their Bodies: American War and the Problem of the Disabled Veteran* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 202.

106. *Ibid.*, 203.
107. *Ibid.*, 204.
108. Anna Nuzzalese discovered this connection. Anna Reed Parsons's papers are held at the New York Public Library. Her letters appear in *War Letters, 1917–1919* (privately published, 1921).
109. The letters Deeble received from her mother, Mrs. W. Riley Deeble, are held by the Chevy Chase Historical Society.
110. There are similar albums in other archives, including the following: Vashti Bartlett Collection, Alan Mason Chesney Medical Archives of the Johns Hopkins Medical Institutions; Mary Curry Breckenridge Souvenir Album, Breckenridge Family Papers, Library of Congress; Elizabeth Hudson Collection of E. Æ. Somerville & Personal Papers, General Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University; Geraldine K. Martin Scrapbook, Francis A. Countway Library of Medicine, Harvard University; Beatrice MacDonald Scrapbook, Ann Fraser Brewer Papers, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University; Mary Anne Murray Morgan Papers, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University; Minnie B. Parker Collection, East Carolina Manuscript Collection, J. Y. Joyner Library, East Carolina University; Jessie M. Preston Scrapbook, Ryerson and Burnham Archives, Art Institute of Chicago.