

‘Really Rather Extraordinary’: The Leadership of Matron Beryl Campbell in the Australian Army Nursing Service in World War I

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Abstract: This chapter explores the previously unrecorded nursing leadership of Beryl Campbell in the Australian Army Nursing Service (AANS) in World War I. It traces her transformation from colonial girlhood in outback Queensland in the 1880s through nursing training and service with Australian hospitals in Heliopolis in Egypt in 1914 to becoming matron of a 1200-bed British hospital in Salonica, Greece, in 1918. The chapter adds to growing scholarship in Australian nursing history in World War I by locating this individual history within the leadership of the AANS. AANS matrons were recognised as a group of powerful women, who had to lead wartime nursing, often in atrocious conditions, while defending AANS independence and upholding an ethic of care for both their patients and their Australian nursing staff. The challenge of incomplete archival records and fragmented personal texts, common issues facing AANS researchers, is addressed through detailed readings of Beryl Campbell’s partial service record, surviving letters, Salonica photographs and two major decorations awarded by the British and French governments.

Keywords: Australian Army Nursing Service, World War I, matron, Australian nursing history, Australian nursing leaders

Australian nursing historian Ruth Rae once said of her research on the Australian Army Nursing Service in World War I, ‘I love the process of research and I love being able to tell a story, in some detail, about a supposedly ordinary nurse who, of course, was really rather extraordinary – a nurse, a woman, who has been missing from history for far too long’.¹ What follows in this chapter is the story of just such a woman. It is the history of a young woman who emerged from colonial Australia to become a leader in the Australian Army Nursing Service (AANS) in World War I. To be a part of that leadership was to be one of a select group of powerful women who had to manage the effort of wartime nursing, often in appalling conditions, while at the same time resisting attempts by the military medical establishment to control them. Here, I explore the transformation of Miss Beryl Campbell, raised on a remote Queensland cattle station in the 1890s, into Matron B.A.

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Campbell, leader of a military hospital in Salonica, Greece, in 1917, decorated for her war service by the British and French governments, and a member of this commanding group of Australian women.

‘Militarily impudent’

This exploration is built around three photographic images and two military decorations that illustrate Beryl Campbell’s journey to nursing leadership. The first image shows twenty-two-year-old Miss Beryl Campbell, novice trainee nurse, standing stiffly in the entourage of the enthroned doctor at Rockhampton Hospital, Queensland, in 1910. The second shows Matron Campbell, returned to a final tour of duty in Egypt after a near fatal illness in South Africa in 1917. The third presents Matron B.A. Campbell in confident pose on her camp stretcher in Salonica in 1917. For her ‘valuable services with the British Forces in Salonika’, Beryl Campbell was awarded the Royal Red Cross (1st class), and the *Médaille des Epidemies (en Argent)*.² The *Médaille des Epidemies* was given by the French Government especially for nursing services in wartime. Only three Australians were presented with this medal in World War I; all were nurses.³ The Royal Red Cross (RRC) was a creation of Queen Victoria, awarded only to women and bestowed on those who had demonstrated outstanding devotion nursing the sick and wounded of the imperial armed forces.⁴ A.G. Butler, who wrote the official history of the Australian Army Medical Services in World War I, postwar, lists forty-two RRC awards, while the Australian War Memorial (AWM) notes fifty RRC (1st class) recipients.⁵ The variation in official numbers is an example of the incomplete or inaccurate records which have frustrated nursing historians of the AANS in World War I and which have made tracing Beryl Campbell’s nursing life difficult.⁶

The photographs and decorations mentioned offer a way of reading Beryl Campbell’s journey to leadership in the AANS as part of a history of Australian nursing, which had from its inception been the province of a succession of strong women. Lucy Osburn, who led the first contingent of Nightingale-trained nurses to colonial Sydney, clashed with both Florence Nightingale and with medical authorities in a struggle over control of nursing at the Sydney Infirmary.⁷ AANS matrons in World War I such as Ellen (Nellie) Gould, Margaret Graham, Rose Creal, Adelaide Maud Kellett, Grace Wilson, Jessie McHardie-White and Jane Bell were already senior civilian nurses before serving overseas; they brought with them distinct understanding of the role and responsibilities of nursing leadership. In the AANS in World War I this often meant negotiating a complex path between compliance with orders, defending AANS independence and upholding a strong ethic of care for both patients and Australian nursing staff.⁸ As an example, in her posting

to Number 1 Australian General Hospital (1AGH) in Egypt, Jane Bell almost immediately clashed with the commanding officer, Colonel W. Ramsay Smith, over nursing management.⁹ Butler regarded Jane Bell as a woman of 'commanding ability' and regretted her subsequent removal from 1AGH as a result of this clash.¹⁰ The AANS principal matron on Salonica, Jessie McHardie-White, was similarly forthright in her views, especially that the AANS should have independence from the British nursing arm. She clashed with British medical command when a contingent of AANS bound for Salonica in 1917 was instead dispersed to hospitals in Egypt, and with the Australian Imperial Forces (AIF) headquarters in England when she felt they had abandoned the Salonica nurses with regard to promotion.¹¹ Australian nursing sisters were not particularly amenable to restrictions imposed on them. Nurses were especially hostile to official attempts to segregate them from the Australian soldiers – the Diggers – they had enlisted to serve.¹² In October 1916, when Matron Grace Wilson relayed an order forbidding fraternisation to the Australian nursing staff of 3AGH in Brighton, there was outrage, as Sister Anne Donnell reported in a letter home.

Matron had an order to give us, and when she had given it we felt as if a thunderclap had burst. She said, 'I give it to you this once, and only once; I shall never tell it again. Now that you sisters have got the rank of officers and wear stars, you are not to go out with NCOs or Privates, or speak to them, excepting on duty. And if you do so you will be sent away at once into a British hospital.'¹³

When Matron Wilson confirmed that sisters could neither circumvent the order by sneaking out 'in mufti' nor bend the rules to fraternise with brothers visiting from the front, there was consternation. The nurses roused themselves to resist. They wrote letters, lobbied politicians and enlisted the indignation of newspapers at home. Anne Donnell later wrote with satisfaction: 'That's all over now, and things are going on in the same old way.'¹⁴ Ruth Rae speculates that early enfranchisement had given the AANS 'a level of political autonomy' not enjoyed by their British nursing counterparts in Queen Alexandra's Imperial Military Nursing Service (QAIMS), a possible factor in shaping resistance to such orders.¹⁵ Other factors included the dismissive manner of some QAIMS members towards colonials and the appalling treatment meted out to AANS staff by male medical staff and officers.¹⁶ Butler also lauded what he saw as a stubborn streak of Australian egalitarianism in the AANS which he felt mirrored that of the AIF.¹⁷ He noted with approval that wherever Australian nurses served they brought with them a particularly Australian value for democratic ideals, with an accompanying disregard for military hierarchy.

Australian nurses, wherever they went, were courageous and tactful standard bearers of Australian democracy; and highly illuminating is a social gesture and experiment – militarily impudent perhaps, but 'put over' with a success that has

made it part of AIF history – carried out by the nurses of No. 3 AGH. The hospital, it will be recalled, was at Abbeville on the Somme ... The sisters' mess, as fitted out by the Red Cross and adorned with original frescoes by two of the 'orderlies', was spacious and attractive. Hither, on a general invitation, during the fighting of June to September, assembled on Sunday afternoons irrespective of rank or any other distinction, a complete cross-section of the AIF meeting on equal terms, drawn by the same nostalgic impulse that desired the Australian atmosphere.¹⁸

One of Beryl Campbell's fragmented letters to her sisters reflects Butler's comments.

I cannot tell you how lovely letters are when you are a wanderer on the face of the globe. Your letters are so beautifully Australian, you read of open spaces & great freedom. Much & all as I like England, I could never live here. 'Convention stands up like a great wall all around & the things we do quite casually in Australia, would make the average British matron ... [remainder missing]¹⁹

Determined female leadership and an inclination for egalitarianism were therefore shaping influences in Beryl Campbell's journey to leadership in the AANS. However, it was no easy task to arrive there, as her personal history shows.

The road to leadership

Historian Joy Damousi has written that there are no ungendered or gender neutral 'times, places and situations' in Australian history.²⁰ Photograph one illustrates her point. It was taken on Boxing Day, 1910. The temperature in Rockhampton that week reached 98 degrees Fahrenheit and was 'extremely sultry',²¹ but the young nurses stand encased in their ward dress of starched white uniforms with high necks and long sleeves, a display of the inflexible attitude towards nursing uniforms which later so bedevilled the AANS in the stifling summers of Cairo and the freezing mud of Lemnos.²² Posed in the formation around the male authority figure, Beryl Campbell presents as an example of the idealised nurse in the Nightingale tradition:

A Protestant who trained in her twenties. She combined strong middle-class moral ideas of personal purity with the capacity for hard physical work expected of working-class women.²³

Campbell was twenty-two when this photograph was taken and had just passed her second year nursing examinations.²⁴ She was the elder of twin daughters born in 1888 in the ironbark homestead built by their father in outback Queensland. While their six older siblings had seen times of hard labour and hardship, the twins arrived in a period of increasing family affluence that provided time for leisure and formal education for the youngest



Photograph 1: Rockhampton Hospital, 25 December 1910

Miss Beryl Campbell is in the back row, second from left

children. Alone of all the daughters, the twins went to boarding school in Rockhampton for a year in 1902.²⁵ The station work diaries record their mother's determination to continue their education at home with a governess.²⁶ She succeeded, and that education provided Beryl with choices unavailable to her older sisters.²⁷

Her choice was nursing, a significant choice, but no easy pursuit in Australia in 1910. The arduous training years demanded physical and mental stamina, and probationers often needed financial support from families to augment the minimal pay.²⁸ Training hours were physically exhausting and exacerbated by after-hours 'harsh cleaning and housework', and personal time was rigidly controlled.²⁹ Despite these disadvantages, there was ferocious competition for places. Beryl Campbell was only the thirty-seventh trainee to be accepted at Rockhampton Hospital since its registration with the Australasian Trained Nurses Association (ATNA) in 1901.³⁰ What nursing did provide for young women like Beryl Campbell was a form of independence. Although similar to teaching or 'governessing' as feminised work, nursing nevertheless gave its members a professional status doing paid work that was not regarded as domestic drudgery.³¹ Nursing had the imprimatur of paid labour that was socially acceptable and morally respectable, particularly for young, educated, middle-class women like Beryl Campbell. Probationers also had to 'live in' in their training hospitals, a situation that permitted respectable, single women to live away from home and liberated them 'from the expectations of and obligations to their immediate family'.³²

Beryl Campbell was registered as a trained nurse at Rockhampton Hospital in 1911, then in obstetrics at Queen's House in Adelaide in 1912.³³ The minimum training for registration with the ATNA was three years, but limited employment for nurses in hospitals led some to further training in obstetrics or paediatrics or work in a country hospital.³⁴ This was Beryl Campbell's path. Between 1912 and 1914 she worked as head nurse at Rockhampton Children's Hospital and then as matron of the Marmor Nursing Association in rural Queensland.³⁵ These examples of a history of independence, capacity for hard work and steady rise in civilian nursing indicate abilities later recognised in her promotion to nursing leadership in the AANS. War against Germany was declared in August 1914, and in December that year Campbell sailed with the second contingent of Australian nurses from Brisbane on the *Kyarra* as part of 1AGH, based in the converted Heliopolis Palace Hotel in Cairo, Egypt.³⁶

The archival record is sparse on what happened to Beryl Campbell between arriving at Heliopolis in 1915 and her appointment as matron to Salonica on the eastern coast of Greece in 1917.³⁷ Her personal records are also minimal. She left no wartime diary, and only fragments of her letters home survive in addition to thirty black and white photographs.³⁸ The lack of AANS records is not unusual. The Australian Matron-in-Chief in England, Evelyn Conyers, destroyed thousands of records relating to individual nurses at the close of the war, though why is not known. Ruth Rae points out that Matron Conyers was a close associate of the Australian Surgeon General, Neville Howse, who oversaw the destruction of 750,000 AIF medical records after the war, and who may have influenced her decision in some way.³⁹ The scarcity of records is also a part of past invisibility of AANS histories within the national archive. This issue has only been redressed in the past decade or so by feminist historians and the increasing scholarship of nursing history, and in the efforts of women curators reclaiming a space for nursing history in exhibitions.⁴⁰

Beryl Campbell's personal service record in the Australian National Archives illustrates the difficulties of researching AANS nurses. Enlistment dates in her file vary between June and November 1914, and her age varies and contradicts her date of birth. In Butler's history she appears in a footnote under the wrong initials as Miss B.I.A. Campbell, and in contemporary Australian newspaper reports her initials vary between B.I.A., B.F. and B.A. Campbell.⁴¹ Her Royal Red Cross was delivered to her father in Queensland and remains a valued family artefact, but has no name engraved upon it. Her *Médaille des Epidemies* has no accompanying French documentation. Her record notes she was promoted to sister in December 1915, and then it is silent until December 1916. Her file then documents in brief medical terminology a near-fatal bout of cerebral spinal meningitis in South Africa



Photograph 2: Matron Beryl Campbell, Egypt, 1917

en route to Australia. Off-loaded at Durban, she was transferred to the quarantine hospital on Salisbury Island off Cape Town, where she nearly died. The treatment for meningitis included the radical step of cutting off her hair. Photograph two shows Beryl Campbell with short hair, while on her uniform are the three stars denoting an AANS matron. This photo bears witness to her determination to continue in the AANS, now as a leader. In June 1917 she embarked from Australia on the RMS *Mooltan* as one of three senior matrons leading a contingent of 215 Australian nurses bound for Salonica.

Salonica

In 1915 British and French troops joined Greece to defend Serbia, now under attack from a combination of Austrian, German and Bulgarian forces. British and French hospitals were set up at Salonica to care for the wounded, and in April 1917 British command requested Surgeon General Howse to find Australian nurses to staff the four general hospitals there and relieve the British and Canadians. Howse cabled Australia asking for 364 nurses. Three

AANS units, each of ninety nurses and one matron, arrived in Salonica at the end of July 1917 under the direction of Australian Principal Matron Jessie McHardie-White.⁴² Matron Campbell and her ninety Australians took over the 50th British General Hospital (50 BGH), a 1200-bed hospital at Kalamaria.⁴³ It was a relatively well-established hospital of wooden huts for patients and staff, unlike a second tent hospital at Hortiach, some twenty miles away, where the canvas tents were regularly blown down by the ferocious Vardar wind, which, Butler wrote: 'Exceeded in bitterness and fury anything experienced in France.'⁴⁴ Despite the better accommodation, at 50 BGH Matron Campbell was still confronted with the same appalling weather, scarcity of food, lack of fresh water and pernicious malaria that debilitated the nursing staff at all the Salonica hospitals.

For the AANS, Salonica was the forgotten war. There were no AIF troops on the Salonica front, so the AANS was isolated both from the Diggers and from other Australian nursing units. Those few historians who have dealt with Salonica have labelled the AANS there as 'the neglected nurses' and the posting as one of the 'outposts of the empire'.⁴⁵ The nurses themselves felt with some bitterness that other units regarded Salonica as 'one long holiday' instead of the hardship posting it was.⁴⁶ Unofficial sources also disparaged them. Sydney socialite Olive King, who joined the Serbian army as an ambulance driver, described the AANS contingent as 'poisonously plain ... I wish they would send over some of our smart, pretty, fresh-complexioned girls, instead of these weather-beaten old hags'.⁴⁷ Butler described the privations of Salonica clearly: 'Few Australian nurses in the war can have found themselves among associations more inspiring, scenes more beautiful, or conditions more damnable.'⁴⁸ The damnable conditions included searing summer heat, winter rain, mud and glacial temperatures; lack of food and water; lice, fleas and endemic dysentery and typhus in the local population. Worst of all were the swarming mosquitoes that carried malaria to both patients and staff. Conditions worsened to critical a few days after the AANS arrived when the town of Salonica burned down, and twenty-five thousand Greek civilians were left homeless and starving. On top of the rain, the mud and the fire, the desperate Greeks took to stealing what little food was available. Historian Jan Bassett summed up these problems when she wrote: 'Earth, fire and water conspired against the Australian nurses in Salonika.'⁴⁹

The 'brass hat'

Photograph three shows matrons Christense Sorensen and Beryl Campbell in a relaxed pose outside Matron Campbell's hut in Kalamaria. On the reverse of this photo she wrote 'Sorry and I on my camp stretcher. An ad for a hair tonic', a facetious reference to her near-death bout of meningitis. Like so



Photograph 3: Matron Christense Sorenson (left) and Matron B.A. Campbell outside the Matron's hut at 50 BGH in Kalamaria, Salonica, 1918

many senior matrons in the AANS, neither of these women publicly promoted their work or their responsibilities as nursing leaders. Such reticence was a further feature of the Australian character that Butler admired in both the Australian nurses and troops. One of Matron Campbell's surviving letters to her sisters Ruby, May and Alice in Queensland shows this reserve.

Family Darling,

An Australian mail came in yesterday & I got 37 letters. How I loved the letters. Ten from you Ruby – & May, you blighter, only one – I revelled in letters all day – Refused even to do my rounds that morning – Sent Miss Draper instead. Got every letter you had written up until the 28th August. I loved hearing about your raids on the bedrooms, linoleums & flower garden. So, sisters, we will no longer endanger our corns when we stroll among the flowers! [page or pages missing]

From Alice I have not had one single word since leaving Australia. She has evidently disinherited me. Am enclosing a letter from Nicholl's – a soupy padre person, we had on the Moulton *[sic]* with us & who was on her when she was lost. I'm trying most valiantly to grapple with [missing] I read but it's pretty uphill work, for when you become a 'brass hat' you have less time than ever to your self, for always there is somebody coming to ask or want something done. [remainder missing]⁵⁰

This letter again demonstrates the difficulties of researching AANS histories. Pages are missing, and in the heading '20 January 1917', 50th General Hospital Salonika', either the month or year is incorrect as the AANS did not arrive in Salonica until July 1917. This letter casually conceals that

Matron Campbell had escaped death a second time. The *Mooltan* was torpedoed and sunk the day after she and her nurses had disembarked at Suez in 1917.⁵¹ Missing death by a day is passed over as a matter that family did not need to know. She also chose to minimise the work of nursing leadership in Salonica and the effort involved in being a 'brass hat'. Other senior nurses showed similar reticence in recording their work. Jessie McHardie-White's official account of her time in Salonica documents some work of a 'brass hat' but then states she has 'just about written out Salonique' and instead turns to describing the countryside.⁵² Matron Ethel Gray, who established an Australian Auxiliary Hospital at Harefield Park in England in 1915, told the director of the AWM in 1931 that she did not consider her war diaries to be of any interest.⁵³ Accounts by matrons Wilson and Conyers in Butler's history, however, give some insight into the heavy workload of senior matrons in 'posting, promotion, pay, discipline, leave, invaliding, reinforcement and other concerns'.⁵⁴

Beryl Campbell's military record for Salonica is written in the tight ellipsis of military notation. It begins with her arrival in Salonica on the *Osmanieh* in August 1917, then lists a six-month tour of duty there until January 1918. On 15 January she left for Egypt, returning on 2 March 1918. Three months later, in June 1918, she was awarded the prestigious RRC. No explanation is given for the three months in Egypt, or the award of the RRC soon after. She may have been on hospital ships ferrying the wounded to Egypt, or she may have been ill, or she may have been on leave. Matron Grace Wilson believed no nurse should stay in a danger zone for longer than six months, and leave to Paris or England after six months' duty was 'exact policy' for the AANS in France.⁵⁵ However, for the next twelve months from March 1918 to February 1919 Matron Campbell remained in Salonica and her record makes no note of any leave. She was among the last to leave, remaining until March 1919, well after the war had ended, overseeing the departure of the wounded and of her nurses for England.

Conclusion

The final photograph of Beryl Campbell and Christense Sorensen posing together shows them at end of their lives as leaders in the AANS. Miss Sorensen went on to a long life of prominent leadership in civilian nursing. Mrs McHardie-White also continued a long career in civilian nursing, and for twenty-five years led the Salonika Sisters' Returned Nurses' Association.⁵⁶ Beryl Campbell's record notes she was granted leave for non-military employment in London in May 1919 to complete a motor course in London, not a career option selected by many demobilising nurses, and a hint of a different future. Then in June 1919 everything changed. Familial and female

responsibilities suddenly took precedence over all else, and she was discharged from the AANS to sail to Canada and rescue her dead sister's four children, orphaned in the influenza pandemic in 1918. Returning to Australia with the children, civilian life brought marriage, motherhood and then widowhood in suburban Melbourne. All that remains of her years of AANS leadership is what is documented in this chapter. But her surviving appointment diary for the last year of her life in 1962 records 'Salonica reunion' as a significant event, witness to a time she valued.⁵⁷ Beryl Campbell's life in the AANS was in many ways no different from the lives of her contemporaries in that service, and her leadership no more exceptional than that of other matrons. The difference is that her small story, 'really rather extraordinary' in its own way, has not so far been told. In telling her story this chapter presents one Australian woman's participation and leadership in a single moment of Australian women's history.

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¹ Ruth Rae, 'Restoring the Fabric of Australian Nursing History: Veiled Lives', *Nursing.aust* 10, no. 2 (2009): 13.

² The spelling Salonika is used in contemporary sources; *London Gazette* no. 30719, Supplement, 3 June 1918, 6506–7; *London Gazette* no. 31465, Supplement, 21 July 1919, 9231.

³ Australian War Memorial (AWM), Honours and awards: <http://www.awm.gov.au/collection/records/awm28/2/awm28-2-391-0006.pdf>.

⁴ Rupert Goodman, *Our War Nurses: The History of the Royal Australian Army Nursing Corps 1902–1988* (Brisbane: Boolarong Publications, 1988), 276.

⁵ A.G. Butler (ed.), *Official History of the Australian Army Medical Services 1914–1918: Special Problems and Services*, 1st edn, vol. 3 (Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 1943); AWM, Honours and awards, <http://www.awm.gov.au>.

⁶ Jan Bassett, *Guns and Brooches: Australian Army Nursing from the Boer War to the Gulf War* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1997); Ruth Rae, *Scarlet Poppies: The Army Experiences of Australian Nurses during World War One* (Sydney: The College of Nursing, 2005); 'The Importance of Being Counted in the First World War', *Nursing.aust* 10, no. 1 (2009).

⁷ Judith Godden, 'A "Lamentable Failure": The Founding of Nightingale Nursing in Australia, 1868–1884', *Australian Historical Studies* 32, no. 117 (2001); Judith Godden, 'A "Region of Indecency and Pruriency": Religious Conflict, Female Communities and Health Care in Colonial New South Wales', *Humanities Research* XII, no. 1 (2005).

⁸ Marianne Barker, *Nightingales in the Mud: The Digger Sisters of the Great War 1914–1918* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1989); Bassett; A.G. Butler (ed.), *The*

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⁹ Harris; Rae, *Scarlet Poppies*; Michael Tyquin, 'Doctors and Nurses: Gender Relations, Jealousy, and Maladministration in Wartime', *Health History* 13, no. 1 (2011).

¹⁰ A.G. Butler, *The Australian Army Medical Services*, 549.

¹¹ Goodman, *Our War Nurses*: 93; Rae, *Scarlet Poppies*: 174.

¹² Harris; Ruth Rae, *Veiled Lives* (Sydney: The College of Nursing, 2009); Rees, *The Other ANZACS*; Rae, *Scarlet Poppies*; Janet Butler, 'Nursing Gallipoli: Identity and the Challenge of Experience', *Journal of Australian Studies* 27, no. 78 (2003); Bassett.

¹³ Anne Donnell, *Letters of an Australian Army Sister* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson Ltd, 1920), 126.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 128.

¹⁵ Ruth Rae, 'Soldiers of the Anzac Mounted Division and Nurses of the 14th Australian General Hospital: Desert Correspondents in WWI', *Australian Defence Force Journal*, no. 149 (2001): 54.

¹⁶ Harris; Rees; J. Butler, 'Nursing Gallipoli'.

¹⁷ Caroline Viera Jones, 'Unfortunate Omission: Writing Women out of the Anzac Legend', *Bulletin (Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand)* 28, no. 1–2 (2004): 114.

¹⁸ A.G. Butler, *The Australian Army Medical Services*, 557.

¹⁹ Letter from B.A. Campbell to her family, 15 November 1915.

²⁰ Joy Damousi, 'Writing Gender into History and History in Gender: *Creating A Nation* and Australian Historiography', *Gender and History* 11, no. 3 (1999): 621.

²¹ *Capricornian* (Rockhampton, Qld), 24 December 1910; *Western Champion and General Advertiser for the Central-Western Districts* (Barcaldine, Qld), 24 December 1910.

²² Bassett; Rae, *Scarlet Poppies*; Rees,.

²³ Godden, 'A "Lamentable failure"', 277–8.

²⁴ *Morning Bulletin* (Rockhampton, Qld). 9 December 1910.

²⁵ Congregational Archivist, The Institute of Sisters of Mercy of Australia, email to author, 29 April 2010.

²⁶ OM 90-02, Campbell Family papers 1893–1906, John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland, Brisbane (JOL).

²⁷ Marjorie Theobald, 'Julie Vieusseux: The Lady Principal and her School' in *Double Time: Women in Victoria – 150 years*, ed. Marilyn Lake and Kelly Farley (Ringwood, Melbourne: Penguin, 1985).

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²⁹ Judith Godden and Sue Forsyth, 'Defining Relationships and Limiting Power: Two Leaders of Australian Nursing, 1868–1904', *Nursing Inquiry* 7, no. 1 (2000): 15.

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- ³² Rae, *Veiled Lives*, 39.
- ³³ Beryl Anderson Campbell. Registered 19 October 1911 Rockhampton Hospital. Registered Obstetrics 16 October 1912 Queen's Home, Adelaide, 1924 ATNA Register (Qld section) 87 and 237, MLMSS 4144 Australasian Trained Nurses' Association Records, 1899–1976, Mitchell and Dixson Libraries Manuscripts Collection, State Library of New South Wales (ML); Personal communication with author, Ruth Rae, 2008.
- ³⁴ Harris.
- ³⁵ *Capricornian*, 17 May 1913. See also B.A. Campbell's NAA service record, B2455, National Archives of Australia (NAA).
- ³⁶ First World War Embarkation Roll, AWM Official Records series AWM8, *Unit Embarkation Nominal Rolls, 1914–18 War*, http://www.awm.gov.au/research/people/nominal_rolls/first_world_war_embarkation/person.asp?p=216021]. See also Rupert Goodman, *Queensland Nurses: Boer War to Vietnam* (Brisbane: Boolarong Publications, 1985); Rae, *Scarlet Poppies*.
- ³⁷ B.A. Campbell service record, B2455 NAA.
- ³⁸ All Campbell's letters, and the photographs reproduced in this chapter, are in possession of the author.
- ³⁹ Rae, *Scarlet Poppies*, 22.
- ⁴⁰ For example Barker; Bassett; Harris; Rae, *Scarlet Poppies* and *Veiled Lives*; Rees. See also *Nurses: From Zululand to Afghanistan*, AWM, <http://www.awm.gov.au/exhibitions/nurses/>.
- ⁴¹ A.G. Butler, *The Australian Army Medical Services*, 571, n. 52.
- ⁴² *Ibid.*, 542.
- ⁴³ Rae, *Scarlet Poppies*, 174; see also Goodman, *Our War Nurses*, chapter 5.
- ⁴⁴ A.G. Butler, *The Australian Army Medical Services*, 572.
- ⁴⁵ Bassett; Rae, *Scarlet Poppies*.
- ⁴⁶ Rae, *Scarlet Poppies*, 24.
- ⁴⁷ Hazel King, *One Woman at War: Letters of Olive King 1915–1920* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1986), 53.
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⁴⁹ Bassett, 85.

⁵⁰ Letter from B.A. Campbell to her family, dated 20 January 1917.

⁵¹ 'RMS Mooltan sunk', *Mercury* (Hobart), 1 August 1917.

⁵² Papers of Matron J. McHardie-White 2/11/3361 AWM.

⁵³ Letter from Matron Gray to J.L. Treloar, director of the AWM, 41 [976] AWM.

⁵⁴ A.G. Butler, *The Australian Army Medical Services*, 550.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 579.

⁵⁶ Barker, 94.

⁵⁷ In possession of the author.