NO MAN'S LAND

WOMEN'S PHOTOGRAPHY AND THE FIRST WORLD WAR

CURATOR'S ESSAY

DR PIPPA OLDFIELD
HEAD OF PROGRAMME, IMPRESSIONS GALLERY

In 1914, a Scottish officer named Ernest Dunlop Swinton published a collection of stories, 'written for the entertainment of soldiers', in which the phrase 'No Man's Land' appeared for the first time.[1] The author—a war correspondent working with the approval of the British Army—had recently returned from the Western Front, where he had witnessed 'that wilderness of dead bodies—the dreadful "No-Man's-Land" between the opposing lines'. The term No Man's Land, signifying a desolate wasteland, occupied only by the corpses and the detritus of trench warfare, became widely used during the conflict. The term is still being used a hundred years later, although its meaning has expanded beyond the context of war to indicate any area that is unused or unclaimed, or a topic that is indeterminate, peripheral, or overlooked.

The masculine emphasis of the term 'No Man's Land' was no accident. The military stories by Lt Col Dunlop Swinton evoke a male-dominated world from which women are entirely absent. At the start of the War, women had not yet been admitted to the armed forces, and even by its end remained sidelined; certainly prohibited from the frontline and from combat positions.[2] The indeterminate land between opposing armies may have belonged to 'No Man', but it most definitely did not belong to women either. Yet, as this exhibition demonstrates, many women did participate in the conflict in ways other than soldiering, and commented on their experiences through photography.

For a long time, I've been fascinated by the links between photography, conflict, and gender. For my doctoral research at Durham University, I investigated some of the many ways in which women engaged with photography in the Mexican Revolution, the Second World War, the Nicaraguan Revolution, and the military dictatorship of Argentina. And yet, whenever I told people about my research, I would invariably receive blank looks, and occasionally the question, 'but how will you write about women war photographers when there haven't been any?' The fact is that, despite the many important studies of pioneering figures such as Christina Broom, Gerda Taro, and Lee

Miller, the field of women's war photography is still perceived a kind of No Man's Land: barren, indeterminate and unknown.[3]

The exhibition *No Man's Land: Women's Photography and the First World War* aims to go some way to addressing this misconception. The curatorial team at Impressions Gallery had early discussions to think about how we would commemorate and respond to the First World War Centenary, and what we could offer that would add to public debates. As a photographic charity, part of our mission is 'to help people understand the world through photography', and our exhibition programme often features excluded viewpoints or overlooked histories. At the time of the First World War Centenary, when we imagined that emphasis would be placed on men's experiences, we felt it was important to offer a different perspective to add to our understanding of the conflict. The idea was enthusiastically shared by our touring partners—Bristol Cathedral, The Turnpike in Leigh, and Bishop Auckland Town Hall—some of whom had already presented Centenary projects from male perspectives and were ready for another approach.

It's fair to say that war is still conventionally assumed to be the concern of men, and that women's experiences of conflict are seen to be less important, or somehow less authentic than the fighting soldier. Most people also tend to have a specific idea about war photography as something made on the battlefield by risk-taking photojournalists: a very masculine, even macho, undertaking. This is, of course, a mode that excludes most women, who have historically been excluded from the military as well as discouraged from 'hard news' photography. Through the No Man's Land exhibition, I wanted to counter these preconceptions to show that war photography can be an incredibly broad endeavour, made by anyone who has something to say on the subject of war.

My approach as a curator has been to bring together historical material and contemporary photographic practice. I'm interested in seeing continuities and connections across the century, and exploring how gender issues and the First World War might resonate today. For this reason, the photographers featured in the exhibition are not separated into 'then' and 'now', but placed in dialogue, as if they were in conversation with each other. Rather than attempt an exhaustive survey of women's photography from or about the First World War, I chose six powerful bodies of work by six women working on different topics from different viewpoints. Their work explores an array of themes and approaches—portraiture and women's work; public and private histories; landscape and memory—and ranges from France and Belgium to Russia and Afghanistan.

Florence Farmborough: an amateur photographer at the Eastern Front

Florence Farmborough (1887–1978) was a British woman who had travelled to Russia to work as a governess for a local family. When war was declared, she volunteered for the Red Cross, passed exams in Russian to become a surgical nurse, and was assigned to a mobile military unit of the Russian Army. As a result, Farmborough was very close to combat action. She travelled with the

62nd Division as they fought on the Eastern Front, at the borders of Romania and Galicia (present day Ukraine and Poland). Conditions were hard, and they often slept in field tents or simple dug-outs in the woods.

Before the outbreak of war, Farmborough had been a keen amateur photographer. With great tenacity, she continued using her plate camera and tripod for most of the war, developing glass plates in tents or makeshift darkrooms where she could, sometimes having to abandon her work halfway if the army decided to move on.[4] As well as pictures made for her own interest, she was often in demand to make group portraits of soldiers, and seems to have worked in a semi-official capacity for the Russian authorities.[5]

An unknown soldier lying on the battlefield, 1916
Florence Farmborough
© IWM (Q98431)

Her images reveal a keen eye for composition and a strong sense of historical consciousness. They are important not only for having been made by a woman, but also for providing us with a record of the Eastern Front, which was much less photographed than the Western Front. Furthermore, at a time when graphic images were largely absent from the British press, Farmborough did not shy away from the horrors of war. She photographed many distressing sights, such as the corpses of exhausted horses at the side of roads, or the bodies of soldiers lying dead in fields. She commented in her diary,

The devastation left by warfare was terrible to see and the loss of life appalling. Everywhere… were the macabre glimpses of the aftermath of battle.[6]

After the Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917, Farmborough was forced to abandon her camera and abruptly return to the UK, but she continued to lead an eventful life. She was an excellent writer, and contributed a number of articles to *The Times*, published anonymously as 'An Englishwoman'. Her experiences of the violence and chaos of revolution led her to become a

fierce opponent of Communism, eventually assuming the role of General Franco's publicist in the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939). It may seem extraordinary that someone who was so pioneering in her rejection of conventional gender roles could align herself to Fascism, but that is the benefit of hindsight.

Farmborough clearly had a strong sense of the historical importance of her experiences, and allowed her collection of photographs to be copied for the Photographs Archive of the Imperial War Museum and, towards the end of her life, for The Liddle Collection at the University of Leeds. A few years before her death in 1978, she held a small exhibition of her photographs and souvenirs in Heswall, Cheshire, and published her memoir *A Nurse at the Russian Front*, which was enthusiastically reviewed by *The Times* and was even published in a US edition. Despite her efforts however, she remains little known and the whereabouts of her original glass plates and prints are a mystery.

Dawn Cole: lace, lies and women's work

Florence Farmborough was a particularly notable nurse, but she was only one of many. Numerous women worked in medical services during the First World War, and also made or collected photographs of their life-changing experiences. A small number of their collections are conserved in public archives such as The Liddle Collection at the University of Leeds. The majority, however, remain languishing in shoeboxes under the bed or dusty photo-albums in attics, if they have survived at all. Thankfully, the photographic archive of Clarice Spratling was rescued from oblivion by the artist Dawn Cole, who intercepted a battered family suitcase before its last journey to the tip.

Cole was greatly inspired by the contents of the suitcase: photographs made by and depicting her great-aunt, a VAD (Voluntary Aid Detachment) nurse posted to Northern France from 1915 to 1918. The photographs, creased from handling and pock-marked from drawing-pins, are a mix of light-hearted snapshots and formal portraits of hospital personnel. Cole later came into possession of her great-aunt's diary, which covers a six-month period from 1915 to 1916. Titled 'Adventures of a VAD' and subtitled 'Events of Interest in France', the diary typifies the sense of optimism and liberation felt by many young women who found their horizons expanded by the upheaval of war. Clarice Spratling clearly felt limited by the social restrictions for middle-class woman, and the first entry of her diary declares,

In time of war everyone has an idea that they ought either to join the Army or Navy and if they are unfortunate enough to belong to the female sex, ammunition work or nursing!

Spratling chose nursing, perhaps attracted by its possibilities for travel. Although nurses were conventionally seen as romantic 'angels of mercy' who were somehow shielded from the main business of warfare, Spratling's diary reveals that this gruelling work demanded a strong stomach

Wound in back and bullets came out in front, 2009
© Dawn Cole

As an artist, Dawn Cole was struck by the contrast between Spratling's cheerful and composed appearance in the photographs, and the references in her diary which revealed the horrific injuries of the patients in her care. In response, Cole devised patterns for domestic lace artefacts including collars, doilies and tea-tray cloths, using a combination of photo-etching and digital manipulation. On closer inspection, the 'lace' is made up of hundreds of intricately woven phrases taken from Clarice's diary, such as 'men had eyes removed' or 'bullets went in back and came out in front'.

Lacemaking, usually considered a domestic activity, offers Cole a particularly rich and layered way to respond to her great-aunt's experiences. A pre-war notebook belonging to Clarice included patterns for lace items, alongside recipes, household tips and other know-how necessary for a young woman destined to be a wife and mother. However, during the First World War lacemaking became inflected by conflict, and there was a small industry in lace-edged postcards and handkerchiefs to send to loved ones, often made by injured male soldiers or widowed French women. Cole also points to the Latin origins of the word lace, *laqueus*, which denotes trickery, ensnaring and deception. In some cases, she has performed her own trickery, digitally manipulating Clarice's photographs and inserting fictitious lace collars and handkerchiefs. These interventions are very subtly done, and it takes a keen eye to notice that the lace collar around Clarice's neck is, in fact, fabricated by Cole from the words 'I shed a few tears'. Cole explains that 'I'm interested in reading between the lines – in exploring the gulf between public and private, and what goes unsaid'. Her multi-layered lace photo-etchings are about as far away as you can get from conventional war photography, yet are incredibly eloquent of women's work and private experiences of war.

Mairi Chisholm: snapshots from No Man's Land

Irene 'Winkie' Gartside-Spaight in No Man's Land, c.1916
Mairi Chisholm
© National Library of Scotland

Many of the women who took photographs during the conflict were, like Clarice Spratling, untrained snapshot photographers. Before the War, snapshot photography was hugely popular, marketed to women as a suitably feminine past-time through advertisements featuring the Kodak Girl. This chic and modern figure used her camera to record her adventures and travels, encouraging women to make narratives from their own perspective. A typical pre-war advert declared:

It's always interesting – it's personal – it tells of the places, the people and incidents from your own point of view.[7]

It is therefore not surprising that female nurses and volunteers took snapshot cameras to record their experiences of war. However, their pictures seldom resembled the pleasant seaside strolls and motor excursions depicted in the Kodak adverts.

Mairi Chisholm (1896–1981) was one such snapshooter. She was just eighteen when she volunteered as a driver for The Flying Ambulance Corps, a medical unit in Belgium, along with Elsie Knocker, whom she had met on the British competitive motorcycling circuit. Knocker, who was a worldly woman in her thirties, was a forceful and brilliant figure who recognised that many injured soldiers were dying of shock while waiting to be transferred to hospitals. She and Chisholm decided to set up their own independent First Aid post just yards from the trenches, initially in the cellar of a bombed-out house in Pervyse, a village in West Flanders. Over the course of the next few years, they ran several First Aid posts in abandoned buildings in the area, serving the Belgian Army in an entirely voluntary capacity.

Using a small snapshot camera, Chisholm recorded their intense life under fire. Her images are startling in their range, veering from humorous and domestic to graphic and disturbing.

Like Florence Farmborough, she recorded the corpses and casualties of war, but she also had a mischievous sense of fun and vitality. Some of her most striking images show her friends and colleagues making the best of incredibly hard circumstances: playing with pets, pulling faces, rowing a boat nicknamed 'the Punt at Henley', or joking around on a makeshift see-saw. Chisholm later compiled a number of photo-albums, which are now in the National Library of Scotland, that perfectly reflect the incongruities of her life.

Although she began making photographs for her own interest, Chisholm soon put them to good use in the UK, promoting the work of the two women to raise funds for the First Aid post. A number of bulging albums of press-cuttings have survived, attesting to the growing celebrity of the two women, who became known as 'The Madonnas of Pervyse' and appeared in national newspapers in France, Belgium, and Britain. Chisholm and Knocker were also photographed by official photographers including Ernest Brooks. His formal and posed images are often beautiful, but do not reflect the personal and anarchic character of Chisholm's own photo-albums. For the *No Man's Land* exhibition, I wanted to convey Chisholm's own experience of war, and so the images on display have all been reproduced directly from her photo-albums. The exhibition also includes facsimiles of the pages themselves, revealing how she sequenced and captioned her images. Although Chisholm's images of exploding shells and No Man's Land might have been startling to the Kodak Girl, they most certainly followed her call to make personal images of 'places, the people and incidents' from a woman's own point of view.

Olive Edis and official photography

Official photographers like Ernest Brooks arrived relatively late in the conflict. At the outset of war, the British authorities had been slow to embrace the potential of photography to support the war effort. War Minister Lord Kitchener declared he would court-martial any soldier found in possession of a camera, but in practice this was hard to enforce. Frustrated by the exclusion of press photographers from the combat zones, illustrated newspapers and magazines such as *The Daily Mirror* and *The London Illustrated News* resorted to offering money for snapshots. Some of these images–such as the notorious photographs of the 'Christmas Truce' reproduced in newspapers in January 1915, showing British and German soldiers on friendly terms–were highly embarrassing to the British government and armed forces. To control information, a small number of photographers were commissioned to provide officially approved images that could be distributed to the press.

Until 1918, all official photographers had been male, but the Women's Work Subcommittee of the National War Museum (later re-named Imperial War Museum) petitioned for a female representative. Their choice, Olive Edis (1876-1955), was not a news photographer, but a highly successful portrait photographer whose celebrity and royal clientele included Prime Minister David Lloyd George. She was also a successful businesswoman, running her own studio in Norfolk, and a pioneer of autochrome technology, the first commercially-available colour process.

Miss Minns, Queen Alexandra's Imperial Military Nursing Service (QAIMNS), Matron of a Hospital on the Quay at Le Havre, France, 1919.
Olive Edis © IWM (Q8051)

The Subcommittee tasked Edis with documenting women in the British Army support services, working behind the frontlines in Northern France and Flanders. Women's work on the home front had already been documented by official photographer Horace Nicholls. However, the Subcommittee argued that the belated admittance of women to the British Army Auxiliary Services had not yet been adequately recorded. Not all army personnel were convinced that a woman photographer was necessary or desirable. However, as Edis patiently explained,

...the Imperial War Museum thought a woman photographer, living among the girls in their camps, was likely to achieve more intimate pictures, more descriptive of their everyday life, than a man photographer. [...] I felt very pleased that a woman should get that chance [to photograph] - it was hardly to be expected that they would allow a woman on the fighting line, but I had come in as soon as possible.[8]

And so, Edis became Britain's first official female photographer sent to a conflict zone: in fact, one of the first anywhere in the world. The commission, however, was by no means easy. Numerous delays to obtaining permits meant that Edis finally began her four-week tour in March 1919, during the Armistice period. For practical reasons, she worked in black-and-white, using a large 10x8" studio camera and tripod, with a 7x5" plate camera and a Folding Kodak as back-up, sometimes developing glass plates in makeshift darkrooms in hospital x-ray units.[9] As an official photographer, she had excellent access to a wide range of activities by women in the auxiliary services As well as traditionally feminine roles such as nursing, sewing and cleaning, she photographed female ambulance drivers, engineers, telegraphists and surgeons. Edis was technically accomplished, and

despite the challenges of working in unfamiliar surroundings many of her images are elegantly composed and beautifully lit by natural light.

Edis's images provide an important record of women's participation in war at a time when the question of votes for women was being fiercely debated. Given the historical context and nature of the commission, it is unsurprising that her images are largely celebratory of women's contributions, and present the British armed forces as ordered, efficient, and well-supplied. Compared to the free-ranging photographs of Florence Farmborough or Mairi Chisholm, Edis's images depict a rigidly hierarchical world where women in smart uniforms take tea, or polish silverware for the Officers Mess. It is tempting to imagine, however, what photographs Edis might have made had she not been so closely chaperoned. In Edis's own account of the trip, for example, she stated her wish to photograph the African American women working at a YMCA canteen in Verdun, but that it was impossible to include them in her pictures.[10] She did manage, however, to go beyond the remit of her commission to make a number of striking images depicting ruined towns and devastated battlefields, including Ypres. One of her prints, showing a desolate landscape of mud and blasted trees, is starkly captioned 'WAR', suggesting how profoundly she felt the effects of war's aftermath.

Chloe Dewe Mathews and aftermath photography

Edis's images of ruins and battlefields foreshadow the present-day approach known as 'aftermath photography'. This relatively recent practice is concerned with depicting the long-term effects of violence and its traces, rather than dramatic moments of combat action or graphic images of suffering. It is an approach used in the series *Shot at Dawn* by contemporary artist Chloe Dewe Mathews. Working a hundred years after Olive Edis, Dewe Mathews was also commissioned to photograph the First World War, but in her case she was invited by the Ruskin School at Oxford University in association with 14-18 NOW, the UK's official Centenary art programme.

Unlike Edis, Dewe Mathews was not asked to make work on a gendered theme, nor was she restricted to approved topics or straight documentary. Instead, she chose to make work about a little-known episode in the history of the Allied forces: the execution of soldiers from the British, French and Belgian armies who were shot by firing squad for 'cowardice and desertion'. Around a thousand men were court-martialled and executed between 1914 and 1918, and it is likely that at least some of these men were suffering from psychiatric illness brought on by the horrors of trench warfare.

The histories of the men have only come to light relatively recently, in part because of restrictions to files imposed by the authorities concerned, and in part due to silence on the part of some families. To be found guilty of desertion was a shameful sentence, and the families of those executed by firing squad found themselves doubly robbed of their menfolk, who were deprived not only of their lives but also of the official rites of commemoration extended to their comrades. Although Dewe

Private Henry Hughes
05.50 / 10.4.1918

Klijtebeek stream,
Dikkebus, Leper,
West-Vlaanderen

From *Shot at Dawn*, 2014

Mathews chose not to focus on women's experiences of war, the spectre of gender is never far from her work. Social attitudes in the First World War, encouraged by propaganda urging men to enlist, associated masculinity with heroism, bravery, patriotism, and the duty to protect women. Men who did not behave like men—who exhibited vulnerability or confusion; who refused to fight or ran away—were stigmatised as neurotic, cowardly, unmanly: in short, feminine.[11]

Dewe Mathews spent two years researching and photographing 23 locations at which the soldiers were shot or held in the period leading up to their execution. All are seasonally accurate and were taken as close as possible to the time of day at which the executions occurred, usually at daybreak. She explains,

As I stand in the 4a.m. darkness, at the edge of an empty field in Flanders, I know that there is an absurdity to what I'm doing. However the intention remains clear. By finding and photographing these places, I am reinserting the individual into that space, stamping their presence back onto the land, so that their histories are not forgotten.

These quiet, even eerie, landscapes are very far from the dramatic combat action pictures of conventional war photography. Dewe Mathews' images are incredibly powerful and moving, precisely because no violence is explicitly shown: your imagination fills in the blanks of the last moments of these men ritually executed by their own comrades. A snow covered forest of slender trees, some of them fallen to the ground, evokes the site where four North African soldiers were shot on the 15th December, 1914. A ditch filled with rainwater, marking the spot where Private Henry Hughes was killed, suggests the remains of a trench. Most stark of all is a brick wall, riddled with holes due to

erosion or perhaps bullets, which bears witness to the place where Private Herbert Chase met his end at half past four in the morning in the summer of 1915. Made a hundred years later, Dewe Mathews' poignant and nuanced images show places forever altered by traumatic events.

Alison Baskerville and women in the armed forces today

Alex
From *Soldier*, 2011–2016
© Alison Baskerville

The admittance of women to the British Army has been a slow process. In 1917, the War Office created the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC), opening up jobs to women in order to release more men to the frontline. Although women worked in many pioneering roles, as Olive Edis's images show, they were restricted to non-combatant positions and were paid lower wages then the men they replaced. Women continue to be a minority in the British Army today, making up around nine per cent of personnel and they continue to receive, on average, slightly lower earnings than men.[12] In 2016, restrictions were finally removed to women being allowed to serve on the front line in close combat roles, part of the army's declared aim to be 'a modern employer', and a period of transition to the new roles is now under way.

As a former soldier, the photographer Alison Baskerville has a unique insight into being a woman in the armed forces. She served for twelve years with the RAF in conflict zones including Iraq, and later worked as a military photographer for the British Army in Afghanistan. As with many of the women who joined the WAAC in the First World War, Baskerville was attracted by the promise of adventure and escape from her working-class background. It was only later that she began to question the ethos of militarism, and reflect on gender in the armed forces from a feminist perspective. When she left the army, she retrained as a photojournalist and began an ongoing body

of work depicting women's lives in the British Army.

For Baskerville, who had never heard of any female war photographers, the discovery of Olive Edis and the long history of women working in conflict zones was a revelation. In response to Edis, and in a new commission made especially for the exhibition *No Man's Land*, Baskerville has created a series of portraits of women in the British Army today. Their roles range from logistics to frontline combat medics to artillery gunners, and many of the images were made while Baskerville was embedded with the British Army in Afghanistan, sponsored by the Royal British Legion. Entitled *Soldier*, the series pays homage to Olive Edis's skills in war photography, portraiture, and photographic technology.

Baskerville explains,

I looked at contemporary representations of women as war photographers and there were very few. I started to look back a bit further and saw that Olive Edis made these beautiful autochrome portraits. I realised that she was a real pioneer.

The autochrome process was invented by the Lumiére Brothers in 1906, and was the first commercially available colour photographic technology. Edis was one of the first to master the complex technique, winning a medal at the Royal Photographic Society's 1913 exhibition, and even patenting a special 'diascope' illumination device to aid viewing the small glass plates. Baskerville studied Edis's original autochromes held at Cromer Museum in Norfolk, before working in collaboration with digital consultant Ishan Siddiqui, a specialist in recreating autochromes using 21st century techniques. The resulting digital autochromes of *Soldier* are true to the distinctive colour palette and visible grain of the originals, but are presented as large-scale LED lightboxes – embracing new technologies as Edis herself would surely have done. Presented slightly larger than life scale, the portraits have a commanding presence, but stop short of being unproblematically celebratory. These women are not archetypal heroic warriors; some look ambivalent and pensive, staring out as if lost in thought. *Soldier* may recognise women's roles and contributions in war, but Baskerville's portraits do not glorify war.

I'd like to conclude by returning to Mairi Chisholm, and her extraordinary photograph which has become the signature image of the *No Man's Land* exhibition. It shows a woman standing atop a burnt-out tank, wrapped in a heavy coat that blows in the strong winds. This image is one of a number in the exhibition that has never before been publicly shown or published, and at first the identity of the woman was a mystery. By deciphering the caption in Chisholm's photo-album, and with the help of Professor Alison Fell at University of Leeds and Catherine Shanahan at Rugby Art Gallery and Museum, we were able to identify the woman as Irene Gartside Spaight, known to her friends as 'Winkie', who was a volunteer at the Western Front. This striking image of Spaight surveying No Man's Land is an apt metaphor, encapsulating not only the recovery of women's histories through their photographs, but also the compelling ways in which women have persistently

viewed and commented upon the effects and experiences of war. Chisholm and her colleagues not only depicted No Man's Land in a literal sense, but they have also helped to demonstrate that the terrain of war photography might legitimately be occupied by women.

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Endnotes

1 The term appears in a short story called 'The Point of View' in *The Green Curve and Other Stories* by Ole Luk-Oie (Lieutenant Colonel Ernest Dunlop Swinton), published in 1914 by Garden City New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, p.243.

2 For a brief summary of women's roles, see Lucy Noakes (2014) 'Women's Mobilisation for War (Great Britain and Ireland)' in 1914—1918 Online" International Encyclopaedia of the First World War, edited by Ute Daniel et al., Freie Universität Berlin.

3 Some key contributions include Antony Penrose (ed.) (1992) *Lee Miller's War: Photographer and Correspondent With the Allies 1944–1945*, London: Conde Nast; Val Williams (1994) *Warworks: Women, Photography and the Iconography of War*, London: Virago; Hilary Roberts (2015) *Lee Miller: A Woman's War,* London and New York: Thames and Hudson; Fernando Olmeda (2007) *Gerda Taro, fotógrafa de guerra: el periodismo como testigo de la historia*, Barcelona: Random House; Anna Sparham (2015) *Soldiers and Suffragettes: The Photography of Christina Broom*, London: Philip Wilson/Museum of London.

4 A plate camera is a kind of camera that makes exposures on individual negatives (plates), as opposed to roll film. Both Florence Farmborough and Olive Edis used cameras that used glass plate negatives. Although more cumbersome and fragile, glass plates are generally much larger than the negatives produced on roll film, and therefore have the potential to record more detail.

5 Thanks to Hilary Roberts, Research Curator of Photographs at IWM (Imperial War Museums), for sharing this insight.

6 Florence Farmborough (1974) *A Nurse at the Russian Front* London: Constable, p.72.

7 From an advertisement entitled 'The Kodak Story', which featured in the June 1907 edition of *The Outing* magazine.

8 'The 1919 Account of Miss O. Edis, p.6, 89/19/1, Papers of Olive Edis, IWM (Imperial War

Museums). See also Jane Carmichael (1989) 'Olive Edis: Imperial War Museum Photographer in France and Belgium, March 1919', in *IWM Review* No 4, pp.4-11.

9 Autochrome was a expensive and complex process that resulted in a unique glass plate that could not be easily reproduced, so was probably considered unsuitable for the commission. However, some photographers did make autochromes at the Western Front, including Jules Gervais-Courtellemont, Jean-Baptists Tournassoud and Leon Gimpel.

10 'The 1919 Account of Miss O. Edis, p.6, 89/19/1, Papers of Olive Edis, IWM (Imperial War Museums), p.6.

11 See Joanna Bourke (2013) 'Gender Roles in Killing Zones' in Jay Winter ed., *The Cambridge History of the First World War, Volume III: Civil Society*, pp. 153-178.

12 'Defence Personnel Statistics' (2014), House of Commons Library; 'UK Armed Forces Equal Pay Audit' (2012) Ministry of Defence.

Further reading

The exhibition is accompanied by the New Focus project and publication *No Man's Land: Young People Uncover Women's Viewpoints on the First World War*, funded by Heritage Lottery Fund: Young Roots. Read the free eBook at issuu.com/newfocus

Diane Atkinson (2010) *Mairi and Elsie Go To War: Two Extraordinary Women at the Western Front* London: Arrow

Chloe Dewe Mathews (2014) *Shot at Dawn* Madrid: Ivorypress

Florence Farmborough (1974) *A Nurse at the Russian Front* London: Constable

John Joliffe (ed.) (1978) *Florence Farmborough: Russian Album* 1908–1918

Alistair Murphy and Elizabeth Elmore (2016) *Fishermen and Kings: The Photography of Olive Edis* Norwich: Norfolk Museums Service

Hilary Roberts (2018) 'British Women Photographers Of The First World War', IWM (Imperial War Museums), www.iwm.org.uk

Val Williams (1994) *Warworks: Women, Photography and the Iconography of War,* London: Virago

Credits

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