

No Place For Women:
A Graphic Narrative of Fanny Duberly's Crimean War

by

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ABSTRACT

Conceptualized as an academic exercise, this thesis analyzes the layered representation of Fanny Duberly's lived experience during the Crimean War to develop a historical graphic narrative. The subjective choices present in the graphic narrative, titled *No Place for Women*, erodes the dichotomy between "fictional" and "factual" storytelling, and advocates for the validity of graphic mediums to represent historical narratives. In doing so it contributes to the visual representation of the Crimean War and gives scholarly attention to the often overlooked wives of British officers who accompanied their husbands to Crimea. By regarding Fanny as a "worthy" historical subject this project dispels the patriarchal power structures that oversimplify and obscure our ability to understand the Crimean War. It also provides a preliminary methodological framework for historians interested in rendering their research in graphic medium. Finally, it argues for the fundamental recasting of terms, standards and assumptions that historians often use to qualify objective, neutral, and universal history.

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INTRODUCTION

One of the most enduring images of the Crimean War is a photograph by Roger Fenton depicting Mrs. Henry Duberly, seated on her horse Bob, with her husband Captain Henry Duberly Esqr. of the 8th Royal Irish Hussars standing beside them. The only officer's wife to remain for the entire British campaign, Frances (Fanny) Duberly accompanied her husband to ensure his survival and in the hopes of furthering his career. She was also interested in attaining fame and fortune by publishing a journal.¹ Meticulously documenting her time in Crimea, Fanny rubbed shoulders with the likes of British Commander-in-chief Lord Raglan and bore witness to the Battle of Alma, the Battle of Balaclava, and the Battle of Inkerman. Before the war's end Fanny published *A Journal kept during the Russian War – From the Departure of the Army from England in April 1854, to the Fall of Sebastopol* to great commercial success.

Through the development of a historical graphic narrative based on Fanny Duberly's written account, this thesis expands the visual representation of the Crimean War and gives scholarly attention to the often overlooked wives of British officers who accompanied their husbands to Crimea. Conceptualized as an academic exercise in presenting the past through alternative narrative structures, this project considers aesthetic principles, literary techniques, and historical analysis in the translation of *A Journal kept during the Russian War – From the Departure of the Army from England in April 1854, to the Fall of Sebastopol* into a graphic medium. A completed version of the graphic narrative, titled

¹Fanny may have had Lady Florentia Sale's bestselling work *A Journal of the Disasters in Afghanistan, 1841 - 2* (1843) in mind when she decided to publish a journal. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), xxxix.

No Place for Women, is beyond the purview of this project, and should therefore be examined in tandem with the supporting written chapters.

The title *No Place for Women* is inspired by a phrase in the January 25, 1855 entry of Fanny's journal. She writes: "Whenever I say my prayers I thank God I have no children – at any rate no daughters – for this world is no place for women – at least for ladies – it is only fit for men – and women who have no self respect."² Within the context of the full journal entry, the quote suggests that Fanny fears returning to the formalities and conventions of Victorian social life, and enjoys the independence Crimea affords her. For our purposes, the title *No Place for Women* underscores the narrative Fanny constructs in her journal. Most of the "women" in Crimea during the conflict filled the role of wife, cook, laundress, nurse, companion, or sex worker.³ As the only officer's wife to remain for the entire duration of the conflict, Fanny felt her social standing and resilience entitled her to the Crimean medal. However, the arrival of other army wives in the summer of 1855 stirred resentment in Fanny, and she subsequently minimized or erased the other women in the published version of her journal.

The Crimean War formally began on October 23, 1853 when the Ottoman Empire declared war on Russia. Several months later on March 27, 1854 France declared war against Russia with Britain following suit the next day. Forming an alliance, Britain,

² Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 137.

³ This project will use the more inclusive term 'sex worker' when referring to individuals who sells sexual services (whatever they may be). 'Prostitute' is not a neutral term, and is as likely to be used as an insult as a professional descriptor. Though 'prostitute' is appropriate from the time period discussed, it is usually layered in connotations about an individual's intelligence, worth, status, personal hygiene, and sexual health. Additionally, when Fanny encounters a female sex worker, she does not refer to her as a prostitute, but as a woman "who nobody knows anything about" in an unpublished excerpt of the January 4, 1855 journal entry.

France, the Ottoman Empire, and later Sardinia continued to fight Russia until the Armistice was signed February 28, 1856 with all parties signing the Treaty of Paris a month later on March 30, 1856.⁴ The events leading to, during, and after the Crimean War are considered in this thesis, but particular attention is paid to the months between April 14, 1854 and September 27, 1855 which mark the first and last days described in Fanny's journal.

The term "graphic novel" was first used publicly by Richard Kyle in a 1964 newsletter circulated to the Amateur Press Association. The phrase was then borrowed by Bill Spicer in his fanzine *Graphic Story World*, which he edited and published in the late 1960s to the early 1970s.⁵ The first book marketed as a "graphic novel" was Will Eisner's 1978 *A Contract with God*, but many credit Justin Green's 1972 underground comics *Binky Brown meets the Holy Virgin Mary* as the text that inaugurated comics as a medium for self-expression and paved the way for the comics narrative.⁶ Since the 1980s, the use of "graphic novel" as a publishing label has gained momentum and become part of popular vernacular.⁷ Though a common term, "graphic novel" is less inclusive of projects such as this. A written and drawn document of real events, *No Place for Women* is not a novel, but a "graphic narrative." Both terms can describe a book-length work composed in the comics medium, but only "graphic narrative" includes texts of fiction, nonfiction, and texts that reject those categories. Therefore, this project uses "graphic narrative" when referring to *No Place for Women*.

⁴ John Sweetman, *Essential Histories: The Crimean War* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2001), 7-8.

⁵ Hillary L. Chute, *Graphic Women: Life Narrative & Contemporary Comics* (New York: Columbia University Press), 15.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 3.

The scope of this project is limited to the British perspective and British campaigns along the Crimean Peninsula. Consequently, this project relies heavily on sources written or translated in the English language. In addition to the secondary sources found at Carleton University's MacOdrum Library, online primary sources like digitized letter correspondence, postcards, newspaper articles, paintings, photographs, and images of artifacts from online collections provide visual references and historical context. Online accessibility has therefore shaped the outcome of this project, more so during the current COVID-19 pandemic.

Christine Kelly's 2007 edition of *A Journal kept during the Russian War – From the Departure of the Army from England in April 1854, to the Fall of Sebastopol* is the central source for this project. In addition to the original 1855 text, Kelly includes extracts of private letters from Fanny to her sister Selina and brother-in-law Francis Marx, as well as biographical information, contemporary photographs and maps, and some of Fanny's own illustrated sketches.⁸ The narrative of *No Place for Women* is therefore influenced by Kelly's curation of correspondence available in the British Library's Duberly manuscript collection. This juxtaposition of Fanny's public and private writing demonstrates an intentional attempt by Fanny (or perhaps her publisher) to present her as a lone woman in a foreign and hostile male environment. However, an overwhelming amount of primary and secondary evidence refutes this lone woman narrative. How "true" can a representation be compared to the original event or written record? How does the process of translating a narrative from one medium to another shape the narrative itself? These ques-

⁸ The unpublished letters are from the Duberly manuscript correspondence in the British Library (reference number MSS Add, 47218). Kelly distinguishes the unpublished from the original text using italic type inside square brackets. I will specify in the footnotes if a quote was not originally published.

tions of representation are not unique to graphic narratives. As Dr. David Carr explains, "the very reality of history' -those past actions, events, experiences that constitute its subject matter - actually and intrinsically 'has the narrative form' in which it is later to be written up; so that 'far from differing in structure from historical reality, *historical narrative structure shares the form of its object.*"⁹

In analyzing the layered representations of Fanny Duberly's lived experience during the Crimean War this project achieves five objectives. First, through the development of *No Place for Women* it advocates for the validity of graphic narratives, which are often devalued in the qualitative hierarchy of historical narratives. Second, by regarding Fanny as a "worthy" historical subject it dispels the patriarchal power structures that often obscure our ability to understand the Crimean War on its own terms. Third, it identifies the subjective choices and creativity present in *No Place for Women*, thereby eroding the dichotomy between "fictional" and "factual" storytelling. Fourth, it provides a preliminary methodological framework for historians interested in rendering their historical research in graphic medium. Fifth, it argues for the fundamental recasting of terms, standards, and assumptions that historians often use to qualify objective, neutral, and universal history of the Crimean War.

This project is divided into four chapters. Chapter One establishes the historical context of the Crimean War, provides biographical information on key figures identified in *Journal kept during the Russian War – From the Departure of the Army from England in April 1854, to the Fall of Sebastopol*, and presents a historiographical overview of the

⁹Beverley Southgate, *History meets Fiction* (Toronto: Pearson Education Limited, 2009), 13-14. Emphasis original to the source.

conflict. Chapter Two contains the script for *No Place for Women*. Using the "full-script" method, this chapter includes the plot, dialogue, setting, objects within that setting, positioning of characters, and the format of panels on the page. Illustrated page layouts accompany each page of the script to provide visual and spatial context in the absence of a complete graphic narrative. Chapter Three examines the practical and theoretical methodology that informs the historical, narrative, and artistic choices made in *No Place for Women*. Chapter Four reflects on the historical, narrative, and artistic choices outlined in Chapter Three. Finally, Appendix A contains the illustrated fourth chapter of *No Place for Women*.

CHAPTER ONE: HISTORICAL CONTEXT AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

This chapter provides biographical information on key figures identified in *Journal kept during the Russian War – From the Departure of the Army from England in April 1854, to the Fall of Sebastopol*, as well as a brief overview of British participation in the Crimean War. Finally, this chapter considers a selection of scholarly works to identify patterns in historical approach and interpretation of the Crimean War, as well as determine where *No Place for Women* fits in the wider body of research on the Crimean War.

A larger historical context is necessary to ground Fanny's experiences in a context not entirely of her own creation, and to facilitate a greater comprehension of how Fanny conforms to, contradicts, or negotiates normative social boundaries. The events described in Fanny's journal occur within the wider British experience, and this context gives the details of her account meaning. However, Fanny's account is written for her contemporaries and consequently leaves out much of the minutiae a twenty-first century illustrator needs to render a plausible world for Fanny to inhabit. To compensate for the informational gaps in Fanny's journal, a patchwork of primary and secondary sources are utilized.

Fanny and Henry Duberly

The youngest of nine children, Frances (Fanny) Isabella Duberly was born September 27, 1829 to Anna Maria Selina Powell and Wadham Locke, Esq.. Her father was the senior partner of the Locke, Hughes & Co. banking firm, a deputy-lieutenant and high sheriff of Wiltshire, and was elected a Member of Parliament three years before his death in 1835. Her mother died three years later when Fanny was nine years old, leaving her el-

dest brother Wadham to take care of her.¹⁰ With their family house closed up, Fanny was sent to school in Wycombe. She had a lively mind and her letters regularly mention the books she enjoyed. After leaving school, Fanny continued to live with her brother, but her letters suggest she was happiest when visiting the home of her eldest sister Selina.¹¹ Widowed at a young age, Selina was then married to Francis Marx, a young landowner with political and journalistic ambitions.¹²

In 1846, Fanny attended the wedding of her sister Katherine Locke to Major George Duberly of the 64th Regiment. This is likely the first time seventeen-year-old Fanny met George's youngest brother Henry, who was then twenty-four years old.¹³ Henry and Fanny married in the spring of 1850. Christine Kelly's reading of Fanny's letters suggests that they were in many ways an unlikely couple. First, the couple never had children.¹⁴ Second, "Theirs was evidently a love match, but one based more on comfort and companionship than great passion and romance."¹⁵

Henry was the youngest of Sir James Duberly's four children. When his father died in 1832, all five of the family's estates were left to Henry's eldest brother James, the only son from Sir James' first marriage. The younger James had eight children to financially support, so there was little to offer Henry beyond a modest annual allowance. However, in 1839 James purchased Henry a commission as ensign in the 32nd Regiment, and

¹⁰ Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), xiii.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, xii-xiv.

¹² The majority of the letters written in *Journal kept during the Russian War – From the Departure of the Army from England in April 1854, to the Fall of Sebastopol* were addressed to Fanny's eldest sister Selina and brother-in-law Francis. Francis would later act as editor for the published version of the journal.

¹³ Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), xiv.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, xviii-xix.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, xvi.

a lieutenant's commission in the same regiment two years later.¹⁶ However, without a private income being promoted to a Guards or Cavalry regiment commission was an unlikely option for Henry.

Despite the social stigma surrounding Indian officers, a posting in India was the only way at the time for relatively impoverished officers like Henry to make a career. Promotion through the death or retirement of a senior officer was rare outside of active service, but postings in India at the time usually required active duty. In the spring of 1846, the 32nd Regiment was ordered to India. For an additional payment reluctant officers could exchange their commission for a similar rank in a regiment remaining in England, but Henry was unable to follow suit and left the 32nd on half-pay. He then went to study for the Paymaster branch of the army.¹⁷ Regarded as a poor man's job, it was essential for Henry to join a respectable regiment. In November 1847 Henry became the Paymaster of light-cavalry regiment the 8th Royal Irish Hussars. In this noncombatant position, Henry would earn twice as much as the duty officers and could be promoted without purchase up to the rank of colonel.¹⁸

Life as a cavalry officer's wife suited Fanny. A skilled horsewoman who preferred the company of men, she could enjoy herself while keeping Henry's social and professional interests in mind. However, Fanny found life of the peacetime army restrictive and wearing. When Britain declared war against Russia in March 1854, Fanny was ready for "a wider field of action."¹⁹

¹⁶ Ibid., xiv.

¹⁷ Ibid., xv.

¹⁸ Ibid., xvi.

¹⁹ Ibid., xix.

Prewar Tensions

Tensions between Britain and Russia began two hundred years prior to the Crimean conflict with Russia's territorial expansionism. Spreading west of the Caspian Sea into the Caucasus, and south into Ukraine and the Crimea, Sevastopol provided a warm-water port from which Russian fleets could sail into the eastern Mediterranean, which directly threatened British trade routes.²⁰

In 1852 a dispute between Russia and France over the guardianship of holy places in Jerusalem (then part of the Ottoman Empire) precipitated what is remembered as the Crimean War. Tsar Nicholas I as the leader of the Orthodox faith supported Orthodox Christian claims, and Napoleon III in need of conservative support for his coup d'état backed Roman Catholic claims. Once Napoleon III gained control as emperor of the French Second Republic in December 1852, he had little interest in the shrines of Jerusalem. However, both parties dug their heels in, and Britain was compelled to intervene in the interest of maintaining the status quo.²¹

Britain initially supported Russia as the wronged party until Russia's opportunity and power to successfully take Constantinople (modern-day Istanbul) became apparent. Wanting to protect their Indian trade routes, Britain felt obliged to support Turkey and gradually accepted French cooperation.²² On their part, France viewed supporting the Ottoman Empire as an opportunity to develop markets in the Ottoman state. Additionally, a

²⁰ John Sweetman, *Essential Histories: The Crimean War* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2001), 17.

²¹ Andrew Lambert and Stephen Badsey, *The War Correspondents: The Crimean War* (Gloucestershire: Alan Sutton Publishing Ltd, 1994), 2.

²² *Ibid.*, 3.

diplomatic or military victory over Russia would further legitimize Napoleon III's leadership on an international level.²³

Refusing Turkey's attempts at a compromise, the Tsar sent an envoy lead by Prince Alexander Menshikov to demand recognition of Russia's guardianship over Turkey's fourteen million Christian subjects.²⁴ The sovereignty of Sultan Mehemet Ali in his own dominions would be greatly reduced if Russia was granted guardianship, so with British and French support the Sultan rejected Menshikov's ultimatum. In response, the Tsar sent an army to occupy the Danubian Principalities (modern-day Romania) to coerce Turkey into accepting his terms. On October 14, 1853 British and French fleets entered Besika Bay to protect Turkey against unprovoked attacks. However, the Russian military was undeterred and inclement weather forced the Western powers to move their fleets to Constantinople.²⁵ By entering the Dardanelles, the British and French broke the Treaty of London of 1841 and provided Russia with cause to declare war on the Allies.²⁶ To prevent a simultaneous Turkish offensive, the Russian Black Sea fleet destroyed a Turkish squadron at Sinope on September 27, 1853. The imbalance of force and lack of British support led many to view the battle as a massacre.²⁷

The Sinope massacre swayed public opinion, and with cabinet ministers anxious to act, London decided to assemble an army at Malta.²⁸ On January 3, 1854 British and French naval squadrons entered the Black Sea with Turkish support. Eight days after en-

²³ John Sweetman, *Essential Histories: The Crimean War* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2001), 19.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 19.

²⁵ Andrew Lambert and Stephen Badsey, *The War Correspondents: The Crimean War* (Gloucestershire: Alan Sutton Publishing Ltd, 1994), 4.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 4.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 4.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 4.

tering the Black Sea, St. Petersburg received a formal note demanding all Russian warships return to Sevastopol, and a warning that further aggression against Turkey would be met with force. On February 27, 1854 Britain sent another note, this time giving Russia six days to agree to withdraw by the end of April. "Refusal or silence ... [would] be equivalent to a declaration of war."²⁹ The Tsar did not reply.

France declared war against Russia on March 27, 1854, with Britain following suit the day after. However, British troops had begun to leave south-coast ports before the formal declaration of war, with British and French officers already in Turkey to inspect defences and plan for allied intervention.³⁰ Britain and France signed a treaty of alliance on April 10, 1854 with Turkey formally joining the allies on April 15, 1854.³¹ In turn, the Tsar declared war on Britain and France the next day. The kingdom of Sardinia, anxious to gain international recognition as a significant state, joined the Allies on January 2, 1855.³²

A Just War

The British public held anti-Russian sentiments, and welcomed the war as the culmination of an ideological struggle between British liberty and Russian despotism, and a means to frustrate Russia expansionism.³³ Russia also lagged the furthest behind Britain in technological progress. "The electric telegraph, railways, shell-firing guns, rifled and breech-loading gun barrels, innumerable inventions [including] the screw-propeller

²⁹ John Sweetman, *Essential Histories: The Crimean War* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2001), 21.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 21.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 7.

³² Ian F. W. Beckett, *The Victorians at War* (New York: Hambledon and London, 2003), 164.

³³ J. W. M. Hichberger, *Images of the Army: The Military in British Art, 1815-1914* (New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1988), 49.

steamship, convinced them that a new and impressive chapter in the history of warfare was about to be written."³⁴ The British therefore expected the upcoming war to be bloody, but brief and decisive.

With forty years of peace since the Napoleonic Wars, many felt that another war was imminent. Additionally, Britain had been rearming itself since the late 1840s against fears of French invasion. J. W. M. Hichberger, author of *Images of the Army: The Military in British Art, 1851-1914* (1988) suggests Britain joined the war to prevent France from receiving any of the glory that was to be won.³⁵ For Britain, the war had little to do with the religious guardianship of holy places in Jerusalem. Hichberger suggests "[the] mythology that Britain was not militarist, and did not seek war, made it necessary to adopt the position that the nation was roused to fight in defense of Turkey. Britain was the just arbiter of world affairs, entering the war from altruistic motives."³⁶

The British government felt it was necessary to have Austrian support, and began war aim deliberations with Austria and France in December 1853. Austria wanted a reduction of Russian influence in the Danube basin, but would not accept the harsher terms proposed by Britain and France. After eight months of discussions, the Allies finally agreed on a war-aims programme. Known as the "Four Points," the following peace terms were proposed by Britain, France, and an aloof Austria to Russia in August 1854:³⁷

"1. The Russian guarantee of the Danubian Principalities was to be replaced by a European [guarantee]. 2. The Danube was to be a free river. 3. The Five Power

³⁴ Olive Anderson, *A Liberal State at War: English Politics and Economics during the Crimean War* (Toronto: Macmillan and Company Limited, 1967), 3.

³⁵ J. W. M. Hichberger, *Images of the Army: The Military in British Art, 1851-1914* (New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1988), 49.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 50.

³⁷ John Sweetman, *Essential Histories: The Crimean War* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2001) 6.

Treaty of 1841 [(the Treaty of London of 1841)] was to be revised in the interests of the balance of power. 4. The Christian subjects of the Sultan were to be placed under European and not Russian protection."³⁸

The terms of the "Four Points" were left ill-defined to open a dialogue with Russia, but the Tsar refused their terms without negotiation. To protect Austrian interest, Austria opted for neutrality. By remaining neutral, Austria and Prussia restricted the war to the geographical fringes of Europe.³⁹

Peripheral Theatres of War

Despite the name, the Crimean War took place in a number of other theatres of war outside the Crimea. The four major theatres were the Danube, the Crimea, the Baltic, and the Caucasus, with two minor theatres in the White Sea and the Pacific.

As previously discussed, actions by Russia and the Western powers in the Danube region precipitated Britain's formal declaration of war. Russia's retreat from the Danubian Principalities was in reaction to Austria's preemptive defensive measures along the Russian rear.⁴⁰ Austria's peaceful occupation of the Danubian Principalities and the transfer of British and French troops from the area to the Crimea "removed the danger of war in south-eastern Europe and between Austria and Russia."⁴¹

From the British and French perspective, Russian power had to be curtailed wherever possible. As Prime Minister Palmerston explains, "We went to war, not so much to keep the Sultan and his Mussulmen in Turkey, as to keep the Russians out of Turkey; but

³⁸ Andrew Lambert and Stephen Badsey, *The War Correspondents: The Crimean War* (Gloucestershire: Alan Sutton Publishing Ltd, 1994), 6.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁴⁰ Winfried Baumgart, *The Crimean War, 1853-1856* (New York: Oxford University Press Inc., 1999), 102.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 105.

we have a strong interest also in keeping the Russians out of Norway and Sweden."⁴²

Weeks before the declaration of war, Britain and France sent fleets to the Baltic, and after the declaration of war, a blockade of the Russian coasts was declared. "The effect of the blockade of the Russian Baltic Coast in the campaign of 1854 was slight and unimportant."⁴³ Similarly in 1855 the only operation planned by the Allies was the enforcement of the blockade, with all other efforts being concentrated to the Crimea.⁴⁴

Since the Napoleonic Wars, Britain had regarded Russia's conquest of the Caucasus as a threat to Britain's Indian empire. Turkey and Russia both sent armies to the Caucasus front, and although weak in the beginning, Russia held and eventually expanded its positions.⁴⁵ Although Turkey suffered heavy losses, none of the military engagements within the Caucasus between 1853 and 1854 were decisive.⁴⁶

In the spring of 1854 Britain and France sent five ships to blockade the White Sea. Two British ships approached a protected monastery on the main island of the Solovetskie Islands on July 18, 1854. Due to the monastery's martial appearance, the British opened a bombardment against the monastery without warning.⁴⁷ Similarly on August 22, 1854 after destroying a Russian battery a British ship started shelling the nearby fishing village of Kola. Of the 128 houses in the village, 110 were destroyed without a strategic reason. The 1855 blockade campaign was less eventful than the previous year. However, unlike the summer of 1854, Allied commanders did not allow access to Russian trading vessels, and up to sixty small coastal ships were seized. Unable to tow the seized ships

⁴² Ibid., 167.

⁴³ Ibid., 171.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 173.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 180.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 182.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 186.

back to Britain or France, they were sunk or set on fire, with crews being left in nearby coastal villages.⁴⁸

Using the outbreak of war in March 1854, Britain's China and Pacific squadrons together with French naval forces targeted Russia's maritime forces to disable Russia's newly gained influence over the Kamchatka Peninsula in the Pacific⁴⁹ The Allied armada arrived on August 28, 1854 to find Russian armed transport blocking the entrance of Avacha Bay and six batteries overlooking the harbour. On the morning of August 30, 1854 the Allies launched a major attack, but after a few hours British Commander-in-Chief Admiral Price retired to his cabin and shot himself.⁵⁰ Taking command of the Allied squadrons, French Admiral Febvrier-Despointes stopped the bombardment. The following day the Allies landed a party of sailors and marines and took one of Russia's batteries. A second raid occurred on September 4, 1854 where an estimated 115 Russians were killed or wounded. Satisfied with this result, Admiral Febvrier-Despointes called off the siege and left to winter on the western coast of North America.⁵¹ Upon their return in the summer of 1855, they found the Russian batteries deserted and partially destroyed. The Allies burnt the rest of the town down and returned to their stations "without having achieved anything."⁵²

The Crimea

The majority of scholarly work on the Crimean War is dedicated to the Crimean theatre of war. The reason, historian Dr. John D. Grainger suggests, is because "there is

⁴⁸ Ibid., 187.

⁴⁹Ibid., 188.

⁵⁰Ibid., 189.

⁵¹ Ibid., 191.

⁵² Ibid., 191.

nothing like a good battle to attract historians' attention."⁵³ The Battle of Alma began and ended on September 20, 1854 with victory for Allied forces.⁵⁴ The Siege of Sevastopol began on October 17, 1854 with a series of clashes before the Russian occupation of the city fell nearly a year later on September 9, 1855.⁵⁵ The Battle of Balaclava occurred on October 25, 1854. The Allies could claim victory, but many in Britain condensed the Battle of Balaclava into the disastrous Charge of the Light Brigade and deemed it a day of mistakes, shortcomings, and casualties.⁵⁶ In the unpublished section of her October 25, 1855 journal entry Fanny described the day as "[. . .] disastrous news – not so much perhaps for our army or our story eventually – but one that affects us all nearly & deeply."⁵⁷ On November 5, 1854 the Allies won the Battle of Inkerman, but with high casualties.⁵⁸ The Battle of Tchernaya on August 16, 1855 lasted a total of five hours. It ended with the Russians retreating and General Gorchakov's surrender. Viewed as the "last hurrah of the Russian army during the Crimean War," the Allied victory put pressure on St. Petersburg to agree to peace terms.⁵⁹

Women at War

The Crimean War is the last conflict in which women could accompany the British army in great numbers. "Only six women per regiment were allowed to accompany their soldier husbands on overseas assignments. These were chosen by lot, and they

⁵³ John D. Grainger, *The First Pacific War: Britain and Russia, 1854-1856* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2008), xi.

⁵⁴ John Sweetman, *Essential Histories: The Crimean War* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2001), 43.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 49, 75.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 56.

⁵⁷ Unpublished section of the October 25, 1854 Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 91.

⁵⁸ John Sweetman, *Essential Histories: The Crimean War* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2001), 60.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 71.

earned their keep by washing and cooking for the regiment, or by taking jobs as maids to the officers' wives."⁶⁰ Their unacknowledged position and inability to be officially employed meant soldier's wives were dependent on the sympathies of the regimental commanders to live and earn a wage in camp.⁶¹ Much like their husbands, the wives of soldiers often came from poverty and could not afford separate living quarters.⁶² Living in close proximity to the front, many wives witnessed and shared in the suffering, death, and disease of the war.⁶³ After large battles wives often walked the battlefield, searching the faces of the dead for their husbands.⁶⁴

In contrast, "[o]fficers' wives had to get permission from the commanding officer of the regiment and the Admiralty and then travelled at their own expense."⁶⁵ Therefore, the wives of commissioned officers lived as well as their husbands could afford. Fanny lived in relative comfort aboard various ships until a friend of Henry's family, Captain Lushington, built them a small house. She also employed a maid and a cook.⁶⁶ Other officer wives were not as keen to join their husbands and opted to stay at the Hôtel d'Angleterre on the shore of the Bosphorus at Therapia.⁶⁷ "The hotel was the centre for wives

⁶⁰ Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 265.

⁶¹ Helen Rappaport, *No Place for Ladies: The Untold Story of Women in the Crimean War* (London: Aurum Press Ltd, 2007), 129.

⁶² Robert B. Edgerton, *Death or Glory: The Legacy of the Crimean War* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1999), 140.

⁶³ Helen Rappaport, *No Place for Ladies: The Untold Story of Women in the Crimean War* (London: Aurum Press Ltd, 2007), 2.

⁶⁴ Robert B. Edgerton, *Death or Glory: The Legacy of the Crimean War* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1999), 144.

⁶⁵ Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 265.

⁶⁶ Robert B. Edgerton, *Death or Glory: The Legacy of the Crimean War* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1999), 147.

⁶⁷ Therapia (modern Tarabya) was where the wealthy escape the summer heat of Constantinople, and where foreign ambassadors had their summer palaces.

visiting their husbands, or mothers coming out to be near their young sons."⁶⁸ Until Fanny arrived in Balaclava she feared being forced to join the wives staying there because she disliked the thought of being surrounded by women and she found the accommodations costly.⁶⁹

The Crimean War is when British women found an active and indispensable role outside the domestic sphere as nurses. Hospital nurses at the time had rudimentary training, with duties similar to domestic servants: making beds, feeding patients, and emptying slops.⁷⁰ The larger public, including the medical profession, remained skeptical of women's ability to tolerate the work required in military hospitals. Such work, they argued was degrading to respectable ladies, and was best left to nursing sisters with a religious affiliation or male orderlies.⁷¹ However, debate on "The Woman Question" was paused to address the influx of sick and wounded crowding British military hospitals. The Superintendent of the Female Nursing Establishment in Turkey, Florence Nightingale, held similar doubts about female nurses in military hospitals and viewed their employment as a temporary measure.⁷² Nevertheless, Nightingale's ability to cut through medical bureaucracy to initiate practical reforms in hospital administration furthered the professionalizing of nursing roles for women.⁷³ For her part, Fanny wrote letters home for sick

⁶⁸ Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 266.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 266.

⁷⁰ Helen Rappaport, *No Place for Ladies: The Untold Story of Women in the Crimean War* (London: Aurum Press Ltd, 2007), 100.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 105.

⁷² Robert B. Edgerton, *Death or Glory: The Legacy of the Crimean War* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1999), 107.

⁷³ For those interested in learning more about female nurses and the hardships they faced in Crimea, I recommend Helen Rappaport's *No Place For Ladies: The Untold Story of Women in the Crimean War* (2007). Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 315.

and wounded officers, and sent condolences and mementoes of the dead back to their bereaved families. She took on these duties willingly, but she herself never set foot in the hospitals. Christine Kelly suggests Fanny felt overshadowed by Florence Nightingale, but was likely "[. . .] unaware that she was comparing herself to one of the greatest social reformers of her generation."⁷⁴

Armistice and the Treaty of Paris

British Prime Minister Palmerston was in favour of the war developing into a war of nationalities, but the rest of the Cabinet and Queen Victoria opted for Napoleon's proposal of an Austrian ultimatum. The terms of the ultimatum involved forming an alliance with Austria to force the rest of the German states to join, and thus compel Russia to propose peace.⁷⁵ The ultimatum consisted of the Four Points, with a fifth point added by Britain to give them the right to add new demands to the Four Points at the future peace conference. The Tsar accepted the ultimatum on January 1, 1856 to maintain diplomatic relations with Austria.⁷⁶

Peace negotiations opened in Paris on February 25, 1856. After nineteen sessions over five weeks, the peace treaty was signed on March 30, 1856. A formal armistice was concluded on March 14, 1856. However, Britain feared an armistice at sea would enable Russia free communications by water, so the armistice was only valid on land.

⁷⁴ Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), xxvi.

⁷⁵ Winfried Baumgart, *The Crimean War, 1853-1856* (New York: Oxford University Press Inc., 1999), 194.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 197.

For Britain the end of the Crimean War was abrupt, artificial, and forced upon them by France. Deprived of the opportunity to prove the country's military strength, the general public and those within the government viewed the conflict as indecisive, anticlimactic, and disappointing. "The Crimean campaigns had revealed as a mirage the vision of Britain as a country uniquely happy in combining naval and military prowess with constitutional freedom, the pursuit of wealth with political and social stability."⁷⁷ Instead of unified patriotism, class tensions between the middle class and aristocracy intensified during the war, and nearly all existing social and political institutions were called into question.⁷⁸ As a result, Britain turned its back on the European continent and turned its attention to reforms at home and on the consolidation of its overseas Empire.⁷⁹

Consequences of the War

The first consequence of the Crimean conflict was the loss of human life. Of the 4, 273 British officers and 107, 040 men who reached Crimea an estimated 2, 755 were killed in action, 2, 019 died from their injuries, and 16, 323 succumbed to disease before peace concluded in 1856.⁸⁰ The faults of the British system of military administration which "had been considered ripe for reform for over twenty years,"⁸¹ were under a glaring spotlight during the Crimean War. At the war's conclusion, a political atmosphere in which decisions could no longer be postponed created a platform for reform.⁸²

⁷⁷ Olive Anderson, *A Liberal State at War: English Politics and Economics during the Crimean War* (Toronto: Macmillan and Company Limited, 1967), 277.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 277.

⁷⁹ Winfried Baumgart, *The Crimean War, 1853-1856* (New York: Oxford University Press Inc., 1999), 215.

⁸⁰ French historian Paul de la Gorce estimates losses of over 300,000 among the five belligerent nations. John Sweetman, *Essential Histories: The Crimean War* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2001), 89.

⁸¹ Olive Anderson, *A Liberal State at War: English Politics and Economics during the Crimean War* (Toronto: Macmillan and Company Limited, 1967), 33.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 67.

Supply shortcomings and a lack of men for non-military tasks on the front led to five hastily formed support services being sent to Crimea.⁸³ Of the five, only two survived to become permanent military bodies. The first was the Land Transport Corps. This corps was responsible for land and coastal transportation of food, water, fuel, clothing, and the supply of technical and military equipment. Created in response to the Commissariat's ineffective wartime efforts, it was reorganized into the Military Train, which evolved into the Army Service Corps in 1870.⁸⁴ The second is the Medical Staff Corps which provided hospitals with orderlies. In 1857 it was reorganized as the Army Hospital Corps, and in 1898 joined the Medical Staff Corps to form the Royal Army Medical Corps.⁸⁵

Upon her return to Britain in September 1856, Florence Nightingale met with Queen Victoria and Prince Albert to discuss the need for reform. A Royal Commission was established to review the records Nightingale kept during her role as the Superintendent of the Female Nursing Establishment in Turkey. As a result, a number of reforms were implemented in the military medical and purveyance systems. Additionally, with donations raised for the Nightingale Fund, she instituted the Nightingale School of Nursing at St. Thomas' Hospital in 1860.⁸⁶ "The school formalized secular nursing education,

⁸³ These shortcomings were exposed in October 1854 edition of *The Times* which featured war correspondent Thomas Chenery's description of the poor conditions at the British camp and hospital in Scutari. This report is often attributed to William Howard Russell of *The Times*. Shocked and outraged by Chenery's reports, the British public pressured the government to re-evaluate the treatment of British troops. In response to this report, Queen Victoria commissioned Roger Fenton to photograph the conflict, and incited Florence Nightingale to take action. Lambert, Andrew, and Stephen Badsey, *The War Correspondents: The Crimean War* (Gloucestershire: Alan Sutton Publishing Ltd, 1994), 14.

⁸⁴ John Sweetman, *Essential Histories: The Crimean War* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2001), 92.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 92.

⁸⁶ *Encyclopædia Britannica*, s.v. "Florence Nightingale," <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Florence-Nightingale/Homecoming-and-legacy> (accessed December 4, 2020).

making nursing a viable and respectable option for women who desired employment outside the home."⁸⁷

It was during the Crimean War that the role of war correspondent was established, with William Howard Russell of *The Times* as the archetype.⁸⁸ With the invention of the electric telegraph and the increasing use of steam engine ships, the time required to send a reporter's dispatch from the battlefield to Britain was reduced from weeks to days. This brought the foreign war to the British public's breakfast tables, a phenomenon Dr. Kate Polak identifies as a quintessential modern experience.⁸⁹ However, with little to no censorship, the general public began to (correctly) suspect those who wrote for the press of lacking the qualifications to do so. By the end of the war, anonymous authorship was abandoned to allow readers to assess whether an article served the writer's own interests or reputation.⁹⁰

The impact losing the Crimean War had on Russia's influence was short-lived. A critical provision in the Peace of Paris was to neutralize the shores of the Black Sea, but with Europe preoccupied with the Franco-Prussian War in 1871, the Tsar took the opportunity to resurrect his Black Sea fleet and rebuild military installations along the coast. The following year, Russia joined the Dreikaiserbund with Prussia and Austria-Hungary to isolate France, and consequently left Britain without support to reprimand Russia for breaking the 1856 treaty.⁹¹

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Previously, newspapers relied on serving or temporarily unemployed officers to write their dispatches.

⁸⁹ Kate Polak, *Ethics in the Gutter: Empathy and Historical Fiction in Comics* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2017), 9.

⁹⁰ Olive Anderson, *A Liberal State at War: English Politics and Economics during the Crimean War* (Toronto: Macmillan and Company Limited, 1967), 77.

⁹¹ John Sweetman, *Essential Histories: The Crimean War* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2001), 90.

Fanny after the War

Fanny wrote often about dedicating her journal to Queen Victoria. In an effort to obtain permission, Fanny sent the Queen a map she drew of Sebastopol, and later copies of her letters when the map was warmly received. Ultimately her request was refused, and Fanny dedicated her journal to the 'Soldiers and Sailors of the Crimean Expedition.'⁹²

Her journal was published early December in 1855, with the war ending in spring of the following year.⁹³ Still in Crimea, reviews of the journal reached Fanny before a published copy did. Encouraged by the positive response, Fanny asked for an additional copy of the journal to be sent for her to donate for the sick and injured in the hospital to read. Her original excitement was dampened by a full page review in the December 29th edition of *The Examiner* which mocked Fanny and her writing style.⁹⁴ She reacted with anger and embarrassment, but she did not consider publishing her journal an indiscretion' until she saw the "Diary of Lady Fire-Eater" parody of herself in the more widely read *Punch* magazine.⁹⁵

Upon their arrival in Portsmouth on May 12, 1856, Fanny and the 8th King's Royal Irish Hussars were inspected by Queen Victoria and Prince Albert. While reviewing the regiment Fanny received the compliment of a low bow from the Queen and the Prince.⁹⁶ After returning from the Crimean campaign, the 8th King's Royal Irish Hussars

⁹² Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), xxxii.

⁹³ Armistice was signed in Paris on February 28, 1856 and the Treaty of Paris was signed on March 30, 1856. John Sweetman, *Essential Histories: The Crimean War* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2001), 8.

⁹⁴ Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), xxxviii.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, xxxix.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, xxiv. In addition to rejecting Fanny's dedication, the Queen did not stop to speak to Fanny during her inspection of the 8th Hussars. Some scholars argue this is a deliberate snub towards Fanny, but the Queen would likely not stop and talk to a gentlewoman who had not been presented at court.

then spent seventeen months in Ireland. In October 1857 they were ordered to Bombay to join the British suppression of the Indian Mutiny that broke out in May of that year.⁹⁷ Despite reports of violence and massacres, Fanny again accompanied Henry to ensure his welfare, and publish a second journal.⁹⁸

Her 1859 journal *Campaigning Experiences in Central India and Rajpootana during the Suppression of the Mutiny* made less of cultural impact than her Crimea journal. Fanny was not surprised by this reception, believing the campaign in India was too far away for the British people to care about. She also had greater reservations about the events she recorded, writing: "this Indian warfare is unsatisfactory work, and although it may be true that in this rebellion severity is mercy, there have been cases of ruthless slaughter of which the least said the better."⁹⁹ By February 1859 the Mutiny collapsed, and Fanny and Henry though deeply affected by the hardship of the campaign remained in India for the next five years. With the regiment's return to Britain in 1864, Fanny's letters and personal account of her life with Henry ended.¹⁰⁰ Henry retired in 1881 with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and the pair settled down in Cheltenham, Gloucestershire. Henry passed away in 1891 and Fanny remained in their home until her death twelve years later in 1903.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ The name of this rebellion is contested. It has been described as the 'Indian Mutiny,' 'Sepoy Mutiny,' 'Great Rebellion,' 'Indian Rebellion of 1857,' the 'Indian Insurrection,' and the 'First War of Independence,' among others. Additionally, Bombay is present day Mumbai. *Encyclopædia Britannica*, s.v. "Indian Mutiny," <https://www.britannica.com/event/Indian-Mutiny> (accessed November 25, 2020).

⁹⁸ Troopers' wives were forbidden and Fanny was the only officer's wife to accompany her husband. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), xlv.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, xlv.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, xlvii.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, xlviii.

Since her death, interpretations of Fanny have appeared in several works of fiction. She is mentioned in Ronald W. Clark's *Queen Victoria's Bomb* (1967), a steampunk novel about nuclear weapons in the Victorian era and whether the invention could be used to win the Crimean War. The following year Jill Bennett portrayed Fanny Duberly in the 1968 film *The Charge of the Light Brigade*. In this interpretation, Henry is depicted as meek and willfully ignorant to Fanny's alleged sexual affair with Lord Cardigan.¹⁰² George MacDonald Fraser's *Flash for Freedom!* (1971) and *Flashman at the Charge* (1973) depict an unmarried Fanny Locke as the subject of fictional protagonist Harry Flashman's lust. The mythos of Fanny Duberly in popular culture remains superficial and sexually objectifying. With a limited written record of women in Crimea, academic interpretations often regard Fanny's journal as a universal record of the experiences of British military wives during the Crimean War; despite her journal and *No Place for Women* demonstrating otherwise. As demonstrated in the following subsection on historiography, essentialist interpretations are not limited to works of fiction.

Historiography

This section considers seventeen scholarly works about the Crimean War. The selection is limited to works available in the English language from Carleton University's MacOdrum Library. Examining historical discourse from 1967 to the present, patterns in historical approaches and interpretation help us to understand how and why the historical narrative of the Crimean War has changed over time, as well as determine where *No*

¹⁰² Fanny's unpublished letters reveal a personal disdain for Lord Cardigan, and affirm her love for Henry. I would not personally recommend this film for educational or entertainment purposes.

Place for Women fits in the wider body of accepted academic research on the Crimean War.

Earlier works tend to devote most if not all of their attention to the military campaigns in the Crimea. This is due to the large British presence in the area, which in turn made it the site of several major battles. Additionally, Fanny and Russell of *The Times* both concluded and published their journals months before the war's end in February 1856.¹⁰³ Similarly, Roger Fenton under special patronage of the Queen directed his lens towards the more agreeable aspects of the war.¹⁰⁴ The modern continuation of this narrow representation of the war is a testament to the impact Fanny, Russell, and Fenton had in shaping the British conception of the Crimean conflict. However, there has been a shift in research interests from military, diplomatic, and political history to social and cultural approaches since in the 1960s, the decade in which our selection of scholarly sources begins.¹⁰⁵

Piers Compton describes his 1970 work *Colonel's Lady & Camp-Follower: The Story of Women in the Crimean War* as the first book to have the women accompanying the British army to Crimea as its central focus. Using unpublished letters, reminiscences and anecdotes from descendants, newspaper articles, and photographs, Compton emphasizes the experiences of individual women during the Crimean War. This includes promi-

¹⁰³ Russell's journal concludes in July 1854 when Russian forces evacuated Wallachia and Moldavia, and Fanny's journal concludes in September 1854 with the Fall of Sebastopol.

¹⁰⁴ J. W. M. Hichberger, *Images of the Army: The Military in British Art, 1815-1914* (New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1988), 51.

¹⁰⁵ *Encyclopædia Britannica*, s.v. "Social history," <https://www.britannica.com/topic/social-history> (accessed November 13, 2020).

ment figures like Queen Victoria, Florence Nightingale, Mary Seacole, and of course, Fanny Duberly.

Colonel's Lady & Camp-Follower: The Story of Women in the Crimean War reveals more about Compton's personal biases and less about "one of the queerest breeds ever to dizen or besmirch the annals of war."¹⁰⁶ Similar examples of his 'colourful' language can be found on page 19 where he describes subgroups among the women who accompanied regiments. Some are "slatterns," some had a "pinched patient" look, some dressed in "cheap tawdry finery or battered oddments of clothing," and some were "raw-boned scrawny types" with "gaunt" and "haggard" faces and bodies "almost devoid of sex."¹⁰⁷ On page 23 he describes the malnourished children born in the barracks as "gnome-like,"¹⁰⁸ and on page 192 mentions Mary Seacole's "ample black bosom."¹⁰⁹ Additionally, 1970's *Colonel's Lady & Camp-Follower: The Story of Women in the Crimean War* continues the Anglocentric narrative which limits the Crimean War to British campaigns in the Black Sea.

However, the experiences of women remain an afterthought for most historians of the Crimean War. David Wetzel's *The Crimean War: A Diplomatic History* (1985) dedicates a single paragraph to Florence Nightingale and other nurses. Their contributions are listed without analysis or further explanation: "Drugs were introduced. Food improved. [. . .] Disease was contained. Sanitation got better."¹¹⁰ Queen Victoria, though mentioned

¹⁰⁶ Piers Compton, *Colonel's Lady & Camp-Follower: The Story of Women in the Crimean War* (London: Robert Hale & Company, 1970), 20.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 19.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 23.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 192.

¹¹⁰ David Wetzel, *The Crimean War: A Diplomatic History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), 164.

on eight pages is likewise written with little explanation or depth. A similar treatment is given for Nightingale in J. B. Conacher's *Britain and the Crimea, 1855-56: Problems of War and Peace* (1987).

The outlier of this selection of works is Andrew Lambert and Stephen Badsey's *The War Correspondents: The Crimean War* (1994). They write, "Historians have been rather less kind to [Nightingale] than she was to herself, seeing her as a self-publicist with little understanding of the everyday harshness and cruelty of warfare who, through her connections with London society, took credit for improvements in transport, supplies and care of the sick which were already put in hand."¹¹¹ Conversely, Lambert and Badsey do not explain themselves further, nor do they cite other historians to support their conclusions.

In contrast, Robert E. Edgerton's *Death or Glory: The Legacy of the Crimean War* (1999) devotes an entire chapter to women and children. He refers to Nightingale as "the most beloved woman in Britain" and argues for other equally devoted nurses to receive the acclaim they deserve.¹¹² The conclusion to Edgerton's chapter reflects a constant in the historical study of the Crimean War, which is with "few exceptions, such as Florence Nightingale and Fanny Duberly, we know very little about the women who took part in this war, and we know even less about the children."¹¹³

¹¹¹ Andrew Lambert and Stephen Badsey, *The War Correspondents: The Crimean War* (Gloucestershire: Alan Sutton Publishing Ltd, 1994), 86.

¹¹² Robert B. Edgerton, *Death or Glory: The Legacy of the Crimean War* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1999), 163.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 163.

We see this exceptionalism in Trevor Royle's *Crimea: The Great Crimean War, 1854-1856* (2000). Royle quotes Fanny throughout his work, and praises her letters and journal as "one of the most colourful accounts of the campaign."¹¹⁴ However, several of the quotes he includes are identified in the index, rather than in text. A reader unfamiliar with Fanny and her writing could easily assume these quotes reflect the experiences of multiple women.

When compared to other authors in our selected works, Helen Rappaport's *No Place for Ladies: The Untold Story of Women in the Crimean War* (2007) is aptly titled. Rather than treat the topic of women as a footnote in an already established timeline, Rappaport uses written accounts to build a contextual narrative that recognizes the individual autonomy and agency of women. Rappaport and the editor of our central source, Christine Kelly, both mention each other on the acknowledgment page of their work. Kelly's 2007 edition of *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* uses a similar approach to contextualize Fanny's personal history into the larger historical narrative. Acting as bench marks, the nearly forty years between Piers Compton's *Colonel's Lady & Camp-Follower: The Story of Women in the Crimean War* (1970) and Helen Rappaport's *No Place for Ladies: The Untold Story of Women in the Crimean War* (2007) reflects the maturation of a once new approach to history.

Counteracting the legacy of British literature, several authors from the selected works agree that the Crimean War is poorly named. In works published after the mid 1980s, historians attempt to cover the entirety of the war and the diplomacy around it by

¹¹⁴ Trevor Royle, *Crimea: The Great Crimean War, 1854-1856* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), 140.

giving attention to the other theatres of war in the Baltic, the Caucasus, the White Sea, the Pacific, and on the Danube front. A regional approach to the conflict grew from the majority of these works' failure to fully interpret all five theatres. The majority of works published after the mid 1990s, therefore refer to the conflict as "the 'Crimean' War" when discussing their often peripheral and specialized topics.

The earliest work sampled, Olive Anderson's 1967 *A Liberal State at War*, reduces the Crimean War to "a mere two years' affair" and "a great war which failed to materialize."¹¹⁵ Continuing the Anglocentric narrative, Anderson fails to find any major military operations on either land or sea along the Black Sea. She suggests to students interested in modern warfare to start with the American Civil War, as the Crimean War is merely a small scale foreshadowing of modern wars to come. However, she does argue that the Crimean War facilitates a significant time in British domestic history; including the creation of a War Ministry,¹¹⁶ a decline in the prestige of Parliament,¹¹⁷ and the literate population joining the Press as 'participants' in the war.¹¹⁸

Andrew Lambert and Stephen Badsey in their 1994 work *The War Correspondents: The Crimean War* advocate for greater attention to the long term consequences of the 'Crimean War'. Perhaps hearing their call, a number of historians at the beginning of the twenty-first century suggest counterfactual consequences of the Crimean War. Expanding beyond the geographical confines of his predecessors, Winfried Baumgart's 1999 work *The Crimean War: 1853-1856* concludes that if fighting had continued into 1856

¹¹⁵ Olive Anderson, *A Liberal State at War: English Politics and Economics during the Crimean War* (Toronto: Macmillan and Company Limited, 1967), 26.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 58.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 87.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 71.

the "First World War would [take] place 60 years earlier."¹¹⁹ Trevor Royle comes to a similar conclusion and even cites Baumgart in his 2000 work *Crimea: The Great Crimean War, 1854-1856*. However, Royle specifies that if the United States of America entered the Crimean War, it would quickly become a global conflict.¹²⁰ Baumgart cautions against a direct line from 1854 to 1914, so this is perhaps an academic exercise rather than a fully developed interpretation.¹²¹

More recent historians have expanded their interpretation of the Crimean War to include the Danube front, the Baltic, the Caucasus, the White Sea, and the Pacific in addition to the Crimea. With a new focus on peripheral theatres, the number of consequences also expands. John D. Grainger's 2008 work *The First Pacific War: Britain and Russia, 1854-1856* looks at the war and its consequences in the Pacific. He argues that the main victim of the war is China who lost territory to a "defeated" Russia, and identifies the United States as the main beneficiary. The war also alerted the United States and others to the importance of the area, the effects of which continue to today with the Pacific remaining an area of conflict between great naval powers.¹²² Though war in the Pacific was a relatively minor event, Grainger argues that its consequences are great; perhaps greater than those in the European theatre.

Similar to more recent works by Rappaport and Kelly, *No Place for Women* studies the lived experiences and actions of individuals. Some argue that specialized topics contribute to a more fragmented historical narrative, and force readers to acquire multiple

¹¹⁹ Winfried Baumgart, *The Crimean War, 1853-1856* (New York: Oxford University Press Inc., 1999), vi.

¹²⁰ Trevor Royle, *Crimea: The Great Crimean War, 1854-1856* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), X.

¹²¹ Winfried Baumgart, *The Crimean War, 1853-1856* (New York: Oxford University Press Inc., 1999), viii.

¹²² John D. Grainger, *The First Pacific War: Britain and Russia, 1854-1856* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2008), xi.

sources of research to adequately comprehend the Crimean conflict, but these works emphasize the need to redefine existing approaches and methodology.¹²³ More general histories often minimize or ignore how historical events affect women and how women effect historical events. Therefore, by regarding Fanny (and other women) as historically "worthy" subjects, *No Place for Women* dispels the patriarchal power structures that obscure our ability to understand the past on its own terms.¹²⁴ This project does not escape the Anglocentric representation of the war, but it does contribute to a more nuanced understanding of the Crimean War.

¹²³ Always use multiple sources in your research, kids.

¹²⁴ Thomas Andrews and Flannery Burke, "What Does It Mean To Think Historically?" *Perspectives on History*, January 1, 2007, under "Teaching," <https://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/january-2007/what-does-it-mean-to-think-historically> (accessed December 6, 2020).

CHAPTER TWO: SCRIPT AND PAGE LAYOUT

This chapter contains the script and page layout of *No Place for Women*. The script format is based on the 'full-script' method as explained by comics author Mike Chinn in his 2004 work *Writing and Illustrating the Graphic Novel: Everything You Need to Know to Create Great Graphic Works*. The 'full-script' method includes details about the plot, dialogue, setting, objects within that setting, positioning of characters, and the format of panels on the page.¹²⁵ This is in contrast to the 'plot-first' method, which focuses strictly on plot and dialogue.¹²⁶ Although a more time consuming process, 'full-scripts' are helpful when more than one person is involved in the creative process.

Teams of authors, artists, and researchers are common in the production of information comics. To some a team of collaborators is a logical choice to ensure expertise for the artistic aspects and the factual aspects of a comic. Through her research in experimental translation Dr. Heike Elisabeth Jüngst agrees that in the world of information comics, expertise, narrative talent, and the ability to draw are not normally found in one person. However, what she terms as the 'expert as author' is the exception. Dividing this concept into three archetypes, the first model perhaps best describes my role in *No Place for Women*. Jüngst writes, "[an] expert in a given field but amateur artist chooses to write and draw an information comic, often for an audience he knows and for use in a situation where he is present."¹²⁷ In this case the expertise is in the field of history, the audience is the defense board, and the oral defense is the situation I will be present for. Jüngst

¹²⁵ Mike Chinn, *Writing and Illustrating the Graphic Novel: Everything You Need to Know to Create Great Graphic Works* (London: Barron's Educational Series, Inc., 2004), 42.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 45.

¹²⁷ Heike Elisabeth Jüngst, *Information Comics: Knowledge Transfer in a Popular Format* (New York: Peter Lang, 2010), 44.

emphasizes the relationship between the author and reader, suggesting that readers unfamiliar with the amateur artist may have an unintended reaction to the comics and find its visual depictions too amateur.¹²⁸

Why then use the 'full-script' method if a single person is researching, writing, and illustrating *No Place for Women*? While time-consuming in and of itself, this method benefits both the reader and author. For the reader the script contains textual directions that will only be seen visually on the final pages of a graphic narrative. Due to time and page count restraints only one chapter of *No Place for Women* will be rendered as a final version (see Appendix A). The inclusion of a detailed 'full-script' is therefore meant to compensate for the chapters that remain in the earlier stages of development. As the author a 'full-script' makes for an accessible work of reference that allows me to focus on the details specific to each role while maintaining continuity. In other words, putting more work into the script means less work during the later stages of the project.

The illustrated page layouts that accompany each page of the script provide visual and spatial context in the absence of a completed graphic narrative. Given the aforementioned constraints of the project, the staging of figures, backgrounds, the placement of speech bubbles, and other visual details associated with storyboards are omitted for the sake of clarity and practicality. Instead, the following illustrations express the sequence, placement, and size of the panels and the gutter within the general composition of each page detailed in the script.

¹²⁸ Even so, comics do not need to be artistically perfect if the message is effectively communicated. This idea will be explored in greater detail in Chapter Three: Methodology.

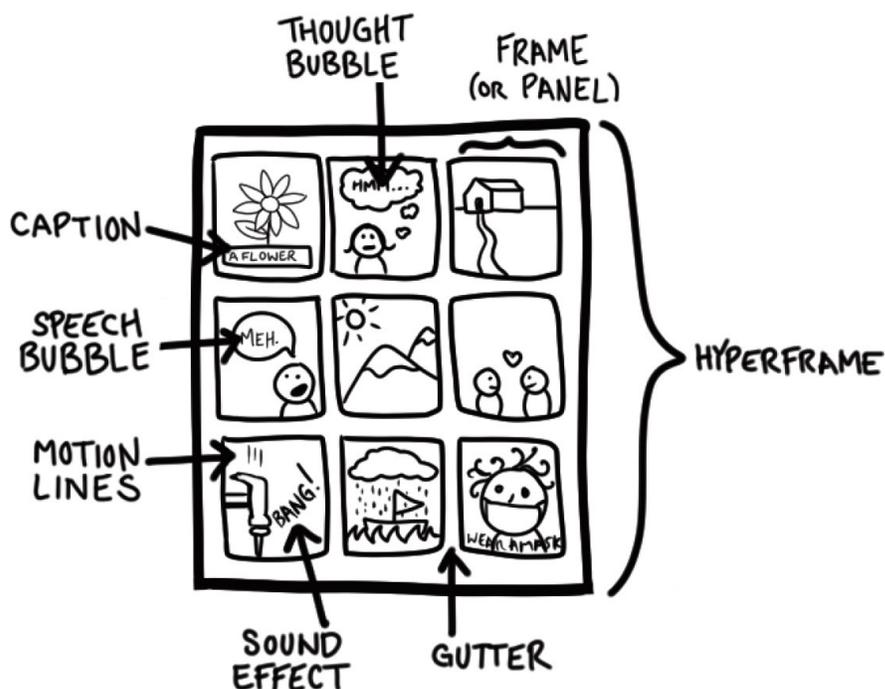


Illustration 1: Comics Page Layout

Before we proceed, the unusual format of the script for *No Place for Women* requires a few considerations. First, panels are meant to be read left to right, back and forth down the page in a 'Z' pattern. Second, new chapters, pages, and panels are labeled and numbered in bold font. Third, any text prefixed with "CAPTION" is visible on a completed page, while any text prefixed with a individual's name identifies the speaker and dialogue visible in a given panel of a completed page. Thought bubbles are visible to the reader, but not to characters in the panels. Finally, the footnotes identify the primary and secondary sources that informed the visual and textual choices made throughout the script. The footnotes also represent the information I as a contemporary historian needed to create both a historically plausible and visually cohesive graphic narrative.¹²⁹ Herein begins the script for *No Place for Women*.

¹²⁹ Note that repeating locations, persons, objects, and other elements will only be cited in their first appearance in the script.

FRONT COVER

TITLE: No Place for Women

CAPTION: Written by Katelyn McGirr

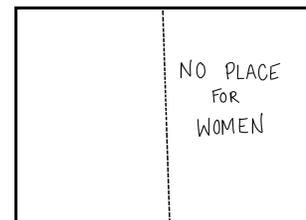


Illustration 2: Front and Back Cover

INSIDE COVER**PAGE 1****PROLOGUE****PAGE 2**

CAPTION: In 1854, at twenty-six years old, Frances (Fanny) Duberly accompanied her husband on campaign during the Crimean War. The only officer's wife to remain for the entire British campaign, Fanny kept a detailed journal of her experiences in Crimea which she published to great commercial success. The following pages interpret those experiences. It began on a chilly spring morning...

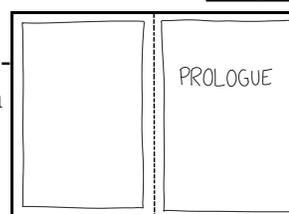


Illustration 3: Inside Cover and Prologue

MEN CHAPTER (TITLE PAGE)**PAGE 3**

CAPTION: MEN: "I could not live at home. I should suffocate. You may say this is all bosh but I assure you it is the truth. I dread going back. Fancy coming from being the only woman back into all the artificial muslin rags, conventionalities and slanders – the Fashions and the heart-grindings of English sociality – after being out here on a fresh horse, free as air, to come & go, & do what you please & not a woman near you to remind you of King David's experience, that 'their teeth are spears and arrows – & their tongues, sharp swords.'¹³⁰ Beside upon my honor I wouldn't leave Henry[.]"¹³¹

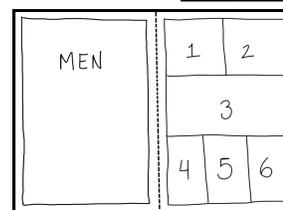


Illustration 4:
Page 3 and Page 4

MEN CHAPTER**PAGE 4**

PANEL 1: Fanny and Henry Duberly stand close together in the foreground. Their clothes and hair are tidy, and their faces are slightly rounded from a past abundance of food. Fanny looks back over her shoulder at the Royal Hotel, which is depicted in the background behind them.¹³²

CAPTION: Mrs. Fanny Duberly with her husband Captain Henry Duberly Esqr., Paymaster to the 8th Royal Irish Hussars.

¹³⁰ Ps. 57:4

¹³¹ Unpublished quote from the March 7, 1855 journal entry. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 151.

¹³²Jewitt, Llewellyn Frederick William, *Untitled*, coloured lithograph, mid 19th century, H Beard Print Collection, <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O185321/h-beard-print-collection-print-jewitt-llewellyn-frederick/> (accessed August 23, 2020).

PANEL 2: This panel is a simple text block.

CAPTION: April 25, 1854. "The near approach of this long voyage, and the prospect of unknown trials and hardships to be endured for I know not how long, overwhelmed me at the last moment; and the remembrance of dear friends left behind whom I never more might return to see, made me shrink most nervously from the new life on which I was to embark."¹³³

PANEL 3: This panel is two panels wide. Midday. A wide shot of Plymouth Dock.¹³⁴ The majority of the frame is taken up by port side of the *Shooting Star*.¹³⁵ To the left of the frame, Henry holds Fanny close to him on the dock. They both look upon the clipper ship that will take them to Crimea.

PANEL 4: Evening. The sun sets into the horizon. An anchored *Shooting Star*¹³⁶ sits in the Hamoaze of River Tamar. The port side of the *Shooting Star* is visible to the reader.

CAPTION: "[. . . With] a fair and gentle breeze, and every prospect of a prosperous voyage, we stood out to sea."¹³⁷

PANEL 5: Similar framing to PANEL 4. Night time. The *Shooting Star* weighs anchor, and with her sails now full of wind, she heads to the Celtic Sea.¹³⁸

¹³³ From the day Fanny's journey began, as described in the April 24, 1854 journal entry. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 3.

¹³⁴ PAD1131, Allom, Thomas and Henry Wallis, *Plymouth Breakwater from the West*, etching, 1829, (London, National Maritime Museum), <https://collections.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/105282.html> (accessed September 18, 2020).

As mentioned in the April 25, 1854 journal entry. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 3.

¹³⁵ PAF7752, Unknown Artist, Portrait of the Clipper Ship Shooting Star, colour lithography, 1854, (Royal Museums Greenwich), <https://collections.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/102579.html> (accessed February 9, 2020).

¹³⁶ *The Shooting Star* was an extreme clipper built by American shipbuilder James O. Curtis in Medford, Massachusetts in 1851. Built between 1845 and 1855, this class of ship gained popularity among merchants for its capacity for speed and cargo tonnage. However, due to the sharpness and depth of their floors, extreme clippers lacked stability and often did not possess enough buoyancy to sustain their own weight. "Clipper Ships," Encyclopaedia Britannica (1884), in Stoddart's Encyclopaedia Americana, https://books.google.ca/books?id=fIlMAAAAMAAJ&dq=%22extreme+clipper%22&lr=&as_drrb_is=q&as_minm_is=0&as_miny_is=&as_maxm_is=0&as_maxy_is=&num=100&as_brr=4&pg=PA151&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=%22extreme%20clipper%22&f=false (accessed February 9, 2020).

During the Crimean War several American merchant ships, like the *Shooting Star*, were chartered by British and French governments. This context explains both why the British forces had a merchant ship from an uninvolved United States, and why the *Shooting Star* rolled so severely as described on May 12, 1854 in Fanny's journal and as depicted on page 27 of *No Place for Women*. Arthur Hamilton Clark, *The Clipper Ship Era*, (New York: The Knickerbocker Press, 1911), 289, https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/The_Clipper_Ship_Era/Chapter_19 (accessed February 9, 2020).

¹³⁷ Partial quote from the April 25, 1854 journal entry. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 3.

PANEL 6: Morning. The stern (back) of the *Shooting Star* is depicted in the foreground of the panel, heading away from the reader (and the familiar) towards the landless horizon in the background.

MEN CHAPTER

PAGE 5

PANEL 7: Day time. Exterior of the *Shooting Star*.¹³⁹

CAPTION 1: Kulali. 24 May, 1854.¹⁴⁰

CAPTION 2: Only two days after disembarking at last, our orders are to have the ship ready for sea tomorrow, and to reem-bark the horses the day after.¹⁴¹

7	8	13	14
9	10	15	16
11	12	17	18

Illustration 5:
Page 5 and Page 6

PANEL 8: Interior of Fanny's cabin aboard the *Shooting Star*.

Henry and Fanny stand facing each other in her cramped cabin, with Henry holding Fanny's hands in his.

HENRY 1: Lord Lucan sent an order that unless you had an order sanctioning you to do so, you are not to re-embark on board the *Shooting Star*, about to proceed to Varna.

FANNY: I have not disembarked!

HENRY 2: Yes, and Major De Salis returned for answer, that "Mrs. Duberly has not disembarked from the *Shooting Star* and Lord Lucan had not sufficient authority to order her to do so."¹⁴²

PANEL 9: Interior of Fanny's cabin aboard the *Shooting Star*. Henry looks at Fanny as she laughs. His face is creased in worry.

FANNY: Ha ha ha!

CAPTION: "[My dear husband] looks upon the order as a soldier: I look upon it as a woman, and laugh at it."¹⁴³

¹³⁸ Ibid., 3. As stated in the April 25, 1854 journal entry, there was twelve hours between when Fanny and Henry boarded the *Shooting Star* and when it began its journey to the English Channel at three o'clock in the morning.

¹³⁹ Geoffrey Morrison, "Inside the 147-year-old clipper ship Cutty Sark," CNET, September 4, 2016, under "Scrubbin'," <https://www.cnet.com/news/cutty-sark-a-tour-of-147-years-of-sailing-history/> (accessed August 28, 2020).

¹⁴⁰ Results for "Kulali" provided locations in regions too far from Crimea to be a reasonable route for the British naval fleet to take, or locations that are landlocked and therefore cannot be disembarked to. Fanny misspells names in several journal entries, so one could insinuate she misspelled Kulali. Possible alternative locations are Nea Koutali (a municipality on the Greek island of Lemnos), Ekinlik Island (an island off the Turkish coast formally known as 'Koutalis'), or Kanali (a seaside community in northwestern Greece). Fanny Taylor, *Lower Stable Ward Koulali Barrack Hospital*, Unknown Medium, 1856 (London Hurst & Blackett), <https://wellcomecollection.org/works/q8qxsxwg/images?id=wkhckfnz> (accessed November 3, 2020).

¹⁴¹ Paraphrase from the May 22, 1854 and May 24, 1854 journal entry. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 11.

¹⁴² Ibid., 13. From the May 26, 1854 journal entry.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 13. Quote from the May 26, 1854 journal entry.

PANEL 10: Interior of Fanny's cabin aboard the *Shooting Star*. Fanny sits alone on the bottom bunk looking at the door. The “stern cabin window” is nearly closed, casting the room in shadows.¹⁴⁴

CAPTION: I spent this lovely day imprisoned in my cabin – thinking it wisest not to appear on deck.¹⁴⁵

PANEL 11: Wide angle view of the Bay of Varna. Fanny walks down the dirt road, with British troops filing past her.¹⁴⁶

CAPTION: Varna. 1 September, 1854.

PANEL 12: Fanny is stopped by Captain Lockwood, one of Lord Cardigan's aide-de-camp on a horse.

CAPTAIN LOCKWOOD: Apologies Mrs. Duberly. I have an order from "[Lord Lucan] that no officer was to embark more than one horse; those who had embarked more were to send them ashore again."¹⁴⁷

FANNY: "Pleasant news this is for me!"¹⁴⁸

MEN CHAPTER

PAGE 6

PANEL 13: Dressed in a shawl and an old feather boa¹⁴⁹ given to her the day before,¹⁵⁰ Fanny sits on the back of a horse-drawn cart.¹⁵¹ Baggage is piled around her in the araba.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 92. Phrase “stern cabin window” from the October 25, 1854 journal entry.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 13. Quote from the May 26, 1854 journal entry.

¹⁴⁶ Andrews, Mottram, *View of Varna in the Crimean War. In the background, the ships of the British fleet*, Unknown Medium, 1856, (Varna, Bulgaria), <https://eng.travelogues.gr/item.php?view=60398> (accessed September 14, 2020).

¹⁴⁷ Quote from the September 1, 1854 journal entry. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 56.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 56. Quote from the September 1, 1854 journal entry.

¹⁴⁹ Anna Rose Keefe, *Forgotten Fashions: Feather Pelerines Of The Nineteenth Century*, (Kingston: University of Rhode Island, 2016), 3, 18, 19, 101, 122, <https://digitalcommons.uri.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1965&context=theses> (accessed September, 18, 2020).

¹⁵⁰ As described in the August 31, 1854 journal entry, it was "a kind-hearted woman of the regiment" that gave Fanny the boa. This exchange between Fanny and the woman is not depicted in a panel because it is an insignificant detail in the narrative, and it undermines the reveal to the reader of other women in Crimea during the conflict in the Women chapter. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 53.

¹⁵¹ RCIN 2500466, Fenton, Roger, *Cattle and carts leaving Balaklava Mar 1855*, salted paper print, 1855 (Royal Collection Trust), <https://albert.rct.uk/collections/photographs-collection/record-of-historical-events/cattle-and-carts> (September 19, 2020).

CAPTION: "[. . .] I had no time to grumble, but hoisting myself into an araba full of baggage, and disguised as much as possible, I went down to the shore."¹⁵²

PANEL 14: Fanny hunches to make herself smaller in the araba. In the background on a raised section of the quay, Lord Lucan sits on his horse.¹⁵³ His face is neutral as he watches the embarkation. Fanny's face is in a small grin.

CAPTION: "Lord Lucan, who was there, scanned [everyone], to find traces of a lady; but he searched in vain, and I, choking with laughter, hurried past his horse into the boat."¹⁵⁴

PANEL 15: Still in her disguise, Fanny sits in a rowboat with several other crew members.¹⁵⁵ The two sailors rowing the small boat flirt with Fanny, and her cheeks blush in response. In the background Henry stands, indistinguishable from the other men waiting on the shore to embark.

SAILOR 1: "Your cheeks seems to stand the sun right well."¹⁵⁶

SAILOR 2: "You're aware there's a widow's pension all regulated I s'pose young 'ooman."¹⁵⁷

SAILORS: Ha ha ha!

CAPTION: I could see "Henry standing on the quay with the rest of the regiment not daring to come near me."¹⁵⁸

PANEL 16: Fanny is seen standing in the row boat which is now within arm's reach of the *Shooting Star*. She looks up in apprehension.

CAPTION: "The worst was having to get up the ship's side by myself, not being '[q]uality' I received no assistance."¹⁵⁹

PANEL 17: Fanny stands inside her cabin at the door. Her hand is on the door handle, as she carefully turns the key in the key hole to lock the door.

¹⁵² Quote from the September 1, 1854 journal entry. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 56.

¹⁵³ RCIN 651020, Pound, D. J., *The Right Honourable The Earl of Lucan, K. C. B.*, steel engraving, date unknown, (Royal Collection Trust), <https://www.rct.uk/sites/default/files/690487-1497972540.jpg> (accessed September 19, 2020).

¹⁵⁴ Quote from the September 1, 1854 journal entry. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 56.

¹⁵⁵ AAE-1554, Artist Unknown, Painting of clipper ship "Shooting Star", photographic print, 1851-1867, (San Francisco Public Library), <http://sflib1.sfpl.org:82/record=b1035824> (accessed September 19, 2020).

¹⁵⁶ Quote from section of the September 1, 1854 journal entry that is not included the published version of the journal. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 56.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 58. Quote from section of the September 1, 1854 journal entry that is not included the published version of the journal.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 58.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 58.

CAPTION: "However [I was received] right kindly at the top & [taken to] a cabin where I have been shut up ever since [. . .]."¹⁶⁰
 DOOR LOCK: *click*

PANEL 18: Sunny. Exterior of the *Shooting Star*. With hunched shoulders, Fanny sticks her head out her cabin window. She looks beyond the reader, her eyes scanning the unseen horizon.

CAPTION: 5 September, 1854. "[Hermetically] sealed up in the narrow cabin of a ship- I cannot breathe, even though head and shoulders are thrust out of window."¹⁶¹

MEN CHAPTER

PAGE 7

PANEL 19: This panel is two panels wide and takes up a third of the page. Medium interior shot of Fanny sitting on the bed in her cabin. She wears large boots lent to her by Bob Sayer, and a wool plaid gifted to her from Captain Naylor.¹⁶² Speech bubbles creep out of the cracks in her cabin door as Fanny overhears a conversation she is meant to overhear. Overlying the scene is a letter to Lord Raglan from Fanny.

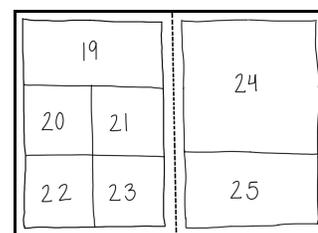


Illustration 6:
Page 7 and Page 8

CAPTION: Balaklava. 25 January, 1855.

LETTER: Lord Raglan, After our miraculous escape from explosion on 9 January, I urge you to consider how crowded all the powder ships are together in an unsafe anchorage. "The fact is, no [p]owder ought to be on board ship at all. If those wonderful wooden houses they talk so much about had come out, they could have made a Magazine in a safe place on shore – but we've been on fire once, & we've made up our minds that we don't like it." -Mrs. Henry Duberly¹⁶³

CAPTAIN HEATH: I have found a separate and unsafe mooring for the vessel.

CAPTAIN POWELL: Well, put that Mrs. Duberly and the whole lot of 'em in there!¹⁶⁴

PANEL 20: Now on shore Fanny sits aside on Bob and speaks to Lord Raglan, who sits on his horse with a shocked expression on his face.¹⁶⁵

CAPTION: "[H]earing this, [I put my] saddle into the boat & went off to Bob, who carried [me] into the jaws of Raglan [. . .] & I asked him there & then to give me a house in

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 58.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 58. Quote from the September 5, 1854 journal entry.

¹⁶² Ibid., 106, 110. Fanny mentions Bob Sayer lending her boots in the December 28, 1854 journal entry, and Captain Naylor gifting her a plaid is mentioned in the January 15, 1855 journal entry.

¹⁶³ Ibid., 112. Quote from January 21, 1855 journal entry. The January 21, 1855 journal entry is a letter addressed to Fanny's brother-in-law Francis Marx and not Lord Raglan. Fanny did write a letter to Lord Raglan about the powder ships, but the exact contents of that letter are unknown.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 110. As described in the unpublished January 25, 1855 journal entry.

¹⁶⁵ Gernsheim, Helmut and Alison Gernsheim, Roger Fenton, *Photographer of the Crimean War: His Photographs and his Letters from The Crimea* (New York: Arno Press, 1973), 65, 75, 76.

Balaclava, & took him so by surprise, that he said he would see if there was one – so there the matter rests."¹⁶⁶

PANEL 21: Fanny sits alone at the writing desk in her cabin. A broadsheet sized edition of the *Devizes Gazette* newspaper sits open in front of her.¹⁶⁷ A look of amusement is on her face.

CAPTION: 23 February, 1855

FANNY (THOUGHT BUBBLE): '*Orgies on board the Star of the South*'? "We never had any orgies – we never had the luck!"¹⁶⁸

PANEL 22: Henry and Captain Lushington stand and smile together in the middle of the British encampment, Balaclava.¹⁶⁹

CAPTION: 1 March, 1855. "Captain Lushington, who is a very old friend of Henry's family, could not have given them a greater proof of friendship: he has offered to furnish men to put up the hut, [. . .] put a staple and padlock on the door, and dig [. . .] out a cooking place & places for [our] horses and do all [he] can for [us]."¹⁷⁰

PANEL 23: Night time exterior of Fanny and Henry's newly constructed hut and adjoining marquee tent.^{171 172} A garden full of flowers grows around the structure.¹⁷³

CAPTION: 20 March, 1855.

MEN CHAPTER

PAGE 8

¹⁶⁶ Quote from the unpublished January 25, 1855 journal entry. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 112.

¹⁶⁷ In reference to the January 30, 1855 edition of *The Times*. Page 8 of the newspaper discusses the alleged orgies that took place on the *Star of the South*.

"London, Tuesday, January 30, 1855," *The Times*, January 30, 1855, 8, <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/archive/article/1855-01-30/8/2.html?region=global#start%3D1785-01-01%26end%3D1985-12-31%26terms%3D%22star%20of%20the%20south%22%20orgies%26back%3D/tto/archive/find/%252522star+of+the+south%252522+orgies/w:1785-01-01%7E1985-12-31/1%26next%3D/tto/archive/frame/goto/%252522star+of+the+south%252522+orgies/w:1785-01-01%7E1985-12-31/2> (accessed August 31, 2020).

¹⁶⁸ Quote from section of the March 23, 1855 journal entry that is not included in the published version of the journal. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 119.

¹⁶⁹"A New Hospital Tent." *The British Medical Journal* 2, no. 560 (1871), 359, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25230409> (accessed December 15, 2020).

¹⁷⁰ Quote from the March 1, 1855 journal entry. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 119.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 120. Fanny mentions that their hut is complete in the March 5, 1855 journal entry.

¹⁷² 2012.137.4.8, Robertson, James, *Hutted Camp with Balaclava Harbor in Distance*, albumen print, 1855-1856 (National Art Gallery), <https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.163424.html> (accessed September 9, 2020).

¹⁷³ Fanny writes about her flower garden in the March 30, 1855 journal entry. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 125.

PANEL 24: This panel is two panels wide and two panels tall, taking up two thirds of the page. The panel depicts a sectional diagram of the interior of Fanny and Henry's hut.¹⁷⁴ Fanny, Henry, and their dinner guests sit around the table, enjoying various courses of "[. . .] soup, fish, hashed venison [. . .] & a roast chicken & a brace of woodcocks[.]"¹⁷⁵

PANEL 25: This panel is two panels wide and takes up one third of the page. This panel mimics the framing and posing captured in Roger Fenton's photograph of Henry and Fanny. A bearded Henry stands to the left of the panel, facing Fanny who sits aside on Bob. Due to the angle, Bob appears to have only three legs. Fanny's habit skirt is draped around the saddle to hide Bob's mange spots. Henry wears his winter uniform despite the warm and sunny day.¹⁷⁶

CAPTION 1: 7 April, 1854.

CAPTION 2: "Bob, & I, & Henry were photographed [.] I on Bob & Henry at his head."¹⁷⁷

MEN CHAPTER

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PANEL 26: Roger Fenton¹⁷⁸ hands Fanny a print¹⁷⁹ of the photograph he took of her, Henry, and Bob. His photography van sits in the background.¹⁸⁰

CAPTION: "There have been an incredible number of copies struck off and sold, as I hear – at least every man I meet seems to have one – and Fenton would not charge us anything for it, I being the only Lady."¹⁸¹

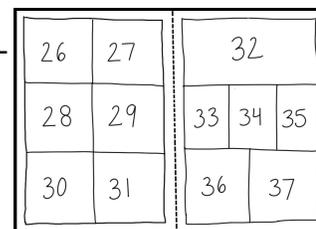


Illustration 7:
Page 9 and Page 10

PANEL 27: A thought bubble takes up most of the panel. Inside is a medium view of Fanny standing proudly with the Crimea Medal and Balaclava clasp pinned to her front

¹⁷⁴ In an unpublished section of the March 5, 1855 journal entry, Fanny gives a detailed description of their hut: "My hut is 9 foot 8 ins square built of planks, inside are a stove, a little table, piles of boxes, meat, bread, a canteen, pickles, wine &c and all the accessories of the toilette & the writing table." As well as a window made of a large sheet of plate glass. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 120.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 125. From an unpublished section of the March 26, 1855 journal entry.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 129. From an unpublished section of the April 14, 1855 journal entry.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 127. From an unpublished section of the April 8, 1855 journal entry.

¹⁷⁸ visual reference of Roger Fenton, illustration 1 of fenton book

¹⁷⁹ RCIN 2500314, Fenton, Roger, *Captain and Mrs Duberly Apr 1855*, albumen print, 1855, <https://www.rct.uk/collection/search#/26/collection/2500314/captain-and-mrs-duberly> (accessed September 9, 2020).

¹⁸⁰ RCIN 2500439, Fenton, Roger, *Photographic Van 1855*, albumen print, 1855 <https://www.rct.uk/collection/search#/8/collection/2500439/photographic-van> (accessed September 9, 2020).

¹⁸¹ From the April 14, 1855 journal entry, which was not included in the published version. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 129.

over her heart.¹⁸²

CAPTION 1: 6 May, 1855.

CAPTION 2: Sir Richard England has put me in the way of getting my medal – and I believe I am to have one with the Balaclava clasp – I am fully entitled to it – and shall be buried in it – if I do not die before it comes.¹⁸³

PANEL 28: Fanny and Henry sit beside each in separate chairs. Fanny has a pair of theatre binoculars covering her eyes. The sky is cloudless, and beads of sweat are visible on Fanny's forehead.

CAPTION 1: 7 June, 1855.

CAPTION 2: "[We started . . .] for the front, where we established ourselves in the picquet-house,¹⁸⁴ exactly opposite the Mamelon vert. The firing [. . .] was tremendous. Gun after gun, shell after shell, pitched into, on, or near the fated battery. . . The heat [. . .] was getting intolerable, so we mounted and rode home[.]"¹⁸⁵

PANEL 29: Fanny and Henry ride horses toward the left side of the panel, away from the picquet-house toward the Balaclava encampment. Both human and horse look uncomfortable and sluggish under the oppressive sun.

CAPTION: "We crawled home like lizards in the burning sun."¹⁸⁶

PANEL 30: Interior of Fanny and Henry's hut. Fanny and Henry sit and eat quietly at their table.

CAPTION: "Got some lunch . . ."¹⁸⁷

PANEL 31: Interior of Fanny and Henry's hut. Fanny and Henry sleep without blankets in separate cots.

CAPTION: "& laid down to sleep."¹⁸⁸

¹⁸² MED0069, William Wyon and Benjamin Wyon, *Crimea War Medal 1854*, silver and silk, 1854 <https://collections.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/40530.html> (accessed October 20, 2020).

¹⁸³ The Balaclava clasp is in reference to the October 25, 1854 Battle of Balaclava. This battle is discussed in greater detail in the fifth chapter: War. From an unpublished section of the May 6, 1855 journal entry. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 133.

¹⁸⁴ RCIN 2500509, Fenton, Roger, Mortar Batteries in front of Picquet house, Light Division 23 - 23 Apr 1855, albumen print, 1855 <https://www.rct.uk/collection/2500509/mortar-batteries-in-front-of-picquet-house-light-division> (accessed August 31, 2020).

¹⁸⁵ As described in the June 7, 1855 journal entry. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 141.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 141. From an unpublished section of the June 7, 1855 journal entry.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 141. Partial quote from an unpublished section of the June 7, 1855 journal entry.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 141.

FANNY : Zzzzz

HENRY: Zzzzz

MEN CHAPTER

PAGE 10

PANEL 32: This panel is two panels wide and takes up one third of the page. Exterior of Fanny and Henry's hut. A wide shot of Fanny and Henry's hut nestled in the Balaclava encampment, with the sights and sounds of battle continuing in the not-so-distant background.

PANEL 33: Medium view portrait of Lord Raglan.

CAPTION: Field Marshal FitzRoy Somerset (Lord Raglan).

PANEL 34: Medium view portrait of General Airey.¹⁸⁹

CAPTION: General Richard Airey.

PANEL 35: Medium view portrait of Rear Admiral Lushington.

CAPTION: Rear Admiral Sir Stephen Lushington.

SINGLE OVERLYING CAPTION THAT SPANS ACROSS PANEL 33, PANEL 34, AND PANEL 35: "I have had today the pain of bidding adieu to nearly the last of my kind old friends in the Crimea. [. . .] In fact when General Airey goes I shall be completely 'cleaned out', there will be not a single man whom I know, and this after knowing them all! Last winter Col. Somerset could get us coals, General Airey planks, [and now Rear Admiral Sir] Lushington built the hut[.]"¹⁹⁰

PANEL 36: Interior. Wide shot of Captain Keppel's cabins in the *Rodney*.¹⁹¹ Fanny lays in bed while Henry kneels beside her, watching her sleep. Fanny has dark circles around her eyes.

CAPTION 1: 4 August, 1855.

¹⁸⁹ RCIN 2500111, Fenton, Roger, *General Sir Richard Airey (1803-81) 1883 copy after 1855 original*, carbon print, 1883 <https://www.rct.uk/collection/2500111/general-sir-richard-airey-1803-81> (accessed September 1, 2020).

¹⁹⁰ From the July 22, 1855 journal entry. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 154.

¹⁹¹ In the unpublished August 4, 1855 journal entry, Fanny describes the *Rodney* as "[. . .] a fine old 90 gun ship." Similar to the *HMS Rodney* (commissioned 1835), *HMS Victory* is a 104 gun first-rate ship of the line of the Royal Navy that was ordered in 1758 and commissioned in 1778. Now a museum situated in Portsmouth Historic Dockyard, a 1993 VHS tape in which guide Terry Hill tours *HMS Victory* provides a visual reference for what captain's cabins could appear aboard the *Rodney*.

Lost 935, "A Tour of HMS Victory From VHS tape 1993" Youtube, 10:08-11:01, https://youtu.be/8yWH_CxlMaQ?t=608 (accessed August 30, 2020).

CAPTION 2: "I have been very ill, all last week, one day was in incessant pain [. . .] and have had Congestion of the Liver. Jaundice in this country is not like the trifling thing it is in England - but you have to swim thro' it for your life. [. . .] Henry and I are not occupying Captain Keppel's cabins in the *Rodney*[.] We dined & breakfasted & slept in what you might call only common comfort – but what is to us the luxury of royalty."¹⁹²

PANEL 37: Close-up of Fanny and Henry. Henry's hand now rests on Fanny's cheek while she sleeps.

CAPTION: "I cannot tell you how kind & good a nurse Henry has been to me...."¹⁹³

MEN CHAPTER

PAGE 11

PANEL 38: Interior, medium shot. Fanny sits in front of a stove in a hut similar in size to her own. She is wearing several layers of clothing, including "[. . .] a flannel wrapper, a cloth habit body, and an extra jacket."¹⁹⁴

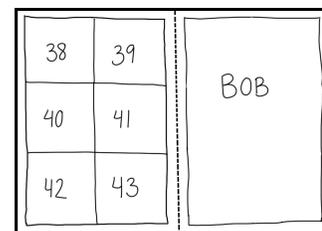


Illustration 8:

Page 11 and Page 12

PANEL 39: The same framing as PANEL 38. One of William Howard Russell's servants hands Fanny a "[. . .] boiling glass of sherry & water[.]"¹⁹⁵

SINGLE OVERLYING CAPTION THAT SPANS ACROSS PANEL 38 AND PANEL 39: "The cold of today has been intense. [. . .] If hospitable Mr Russell, [*The Times*] correspondent, had not kindly sent me down to his hut, and told me where I should find the key of the tap of the sherry cask, I think I must have collapsed with cold."¹⁹⁶

PANEL 40: Ground-level view of the leaves and flowers of a laburnum tree.¹⁹⁷ The leaves and flowers are back lit by sunshine breaking through openings in the branches.¹⁹⁸

CAPTION: 18 September, 1855.

PANEL 41: Close-up of Fanny's face. She holds her hat to her head while looking up at the tree depicted in PANEL 40. Rays of sunlight break through the leaves and cast shadows on her face.

¹⁹² From the August 4, 1855 journal entry. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 158.

¹⁹³ Ibid., 159. From the unpublished August 4, 1855 journal entry.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., 170. As described in the September 9, 1855 journal entry.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 170. As described in the September 9, 1855 journal entry.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., 170. From the September 9, 1855 journal entry.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 178. As described in the September 18, 1855 journal entry.

¹⁹⁸ Unknown, Common Laburnum (Golden Chain Tree), wood engraving, 1885-1891 <https://www.old-bookillustrations.com/illustrations/laburnum/> (accessed December 4, 2020).

PANEL 42: Wide shot. In the foreground Fanny stands looking up underneath a tree in an empty churchyard. Gravestones and the church are seen in the background.¹⁹⁹ Clouds signifying Fanny's train of thought drift from her head and into the following panel.

PANEL 43: Fanny's thought bubble continues and fills the frame.

FANNY: "In my life among the soldiers I have few opportunities, nay, I would scorn & dread to let them know such thoughts were ever in my mind. Half of them know me as the never omitted guest, where a dinner is wanted to be amusing & brilliant & half as the rider of their troublesome horses. I wish I was a man"²⁰⁰

BOB CHAPTER (TITLE PAGE)

PAGE 12

CAPTION: BOB: "You see I write more of the horses than of the riders – I like them best (I mean the horses)." - 8 April, 1855²⁰¹

BOB CHAPTER

PAGE 13

PANEL 44: Interior of the cargo hold aboard the *Shooting Star*. Bob is in the center of the panel facing the reader. He is flanked by a number of horses, including Fanny and Henry's other horses Job and Great Grey.²⁰² The horses stand shoulder to shoulder in unclean conditions. This panel has additional visual details to slow the reader's reading pace.

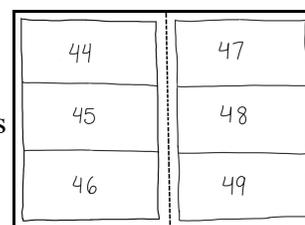


Illustration 9:
Page 13 and Page 14

CAPTION 1: Aboard the *Shooting Star*, 4 May, 1854.

CAPTION 2: Job. Bob. Great Grey.

PANEL 45: Exterior. Late evening. Similar framing to PANEL 44. Bob, Job, and Great Grey stand awkwardly in a row boat as it is lowered from the *Shooting Star* into the Black Sea off of Varna.²⁰³

¹⁹⁹ Simpson, W., *Quarantine Cemetery and Church, With French Battery No. 50*, unknown medium, February 27, 1856, https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/1/11/Crimean_War_%3B_quarantine_cemetery_and_church_with_a_French_ba_Wellcome_V0015446.jpg (accessed December 4, 2020).

²⁰⁰ From the September 18, 1855 letter Fanny wrote to her brother-in-law Francis Marx. This quote is in reference to their correspondence regarding Francis' career, and how they both have a mutual need for 'worthwhile' employment. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 178.

²⁰¹ Ibid., 127. Partial quote from the April 8, 1855 journal entry in reference to Fanny's anticipation of riding Colonel Poulett George Henry Somerset's horse named Goodboy.

²⁰² Ibid., 37. Bob, Great Grey, Job, and Whisker are the only horses owned by Henry and Fanny that Fanny mentions by name. In the May 4, 1854 journal entry, Fanny writes, "Our three horses bear it bravely, but they are immediately under a hatchway where they get air."

²⁰³ Ibid., 45. From the June 1, 1854 journal entry.

CAPTION 1: Varna, June 1, 1854.

PANEL 46: Similar framing to PANEL 44. Bob, Job, and Great Grey walk along “A most uninteresting country [. . .] flat and bare, destitute of trees or water, except one half-dried fountain, with a rotting carcass lying beside it.”²⁰⁴ “The heat [is] intolerable, the sun blinding.”²⁰⁵ Bob carries Fanny aside in his saddle, with Job and Great Grey carrying persons or luggage.

CAPTION 1: June 27, 1854.

BOB CHAPTER

PAGE 14

PANEL 47: Similar framing to PANEL 44. Bob, Job, and Great Grey stand shivering while tied to a post near a tent in the Cavalry camp in Balavlaka. With winter approaching and still no shelter, the three horses are cold from standing still during a day that is “intensely cold,” with a “bitter wind” that chills “every pulse.”²⁰⁶

PANEL 48: Similar framing to PANEL 44. Job²⁰⁷ and Great Grey²⁰⁸ are absent, and Bob now stands alone. He is now protected from the winter weather by a stable.^{209,210}

CAPTION: Alone. November 18, 1854.

PANEL 49: Similar framing to PANEL 44. Fanny sits aside Bob's saddle with three chickens slung down both sides. Bob screams in fear and runs at a gallop as the chickens scratch him with their claws.²¹¹

CAPTION: March 21, 1855.

BOB: *shrieks*

CHICKENS: BAWK BAWK BUBAWK!!

²⁰⁴ Ibid., 57. From the June 27, 1854 journal entry.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., 58. From the June 28, 1854 journal entry.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., 80. Partial quote from the October 10, 1854 journal entry.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 96. In the November 26, 1854 journal entry, Fanny writes that Job has died from starvation and that his tail has been “[. . .] gnawed to a stump by his hungry neighbours at piquet.”

²⁰⁸ Ibid., 97. In the November 27, 1854 journal entry, Fanny writes that the “[. . .] Big Grey Horse died last night of attenuation and want.”

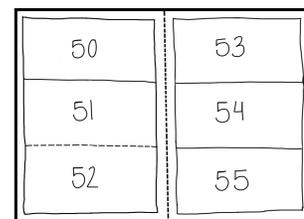
²⁰⁹ Ibid., 94. Concerned for the health of their horses, Henry successfully applies to have an office in Balaklava to secure a stable for Bob. From the November 18, 1854 journal entry.

²¹⁰ Visual reference for a stable: <https://albert.rct.uk/collections/photographs-collection/record-of-historical-events/huts-of-the-royal> (accessed September 19, 2020)

²¹¹ As described in the March 21, 1855 journal entry. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 124.

BOB CHAPTER**PAGE 15**

PANEL 50: Similar framing to PANEL 44. Night time. Fanny and Henry return from dinner with Major Peel to find the horse stable has collapsed, and the principal post of the structure leans painfully on Bob's back.²¹²



*Illustration 10: Page 15
and Page 16*

CAPTION: March 31, 1855.

PANEL 51: Similar framing to PANEL 44. Henry stands in front of Bob with his back turned towards the reader.²¹³ Fanny sits aside in Bob's saddle.²¹⁴ Roger Fenton stands to the right of the frame with his camera equipment pointed at the group.²¹⁵

PANEL 52: A vertical continuation of PANEL 51 that depicts the legs of those in frame as well as the landscape beneath their feet.²¹⁶

CAPTION: April 7, 1855.

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²¹² Ibid., 126. From the March 31, 1855 journal entry. Fanny specifies that the weight fell on all the horse's backs, but was chiefly on the back of her and Henry's horse Whisker. My choice to place the weight on Bob falls under creative license.

²¹³ Gernsheim, Helmut and Alison Gernsheim, Roger Fenton, *Photographer of the Crimean War: His Photographs and his Letters from The Crimea* (New York: Arno Press, 1973), Illustration 42.

²¹⁴ In the April 14, 1855 journal entry, Fanny goes into further detail about her experience being photographed by Roger Fenton. She writes, "I was obliged to be taken on [Bob's] back – to hide the mange spots about the saddle with my habit skirt. There have been an incredible number of copies struck off and sold, as I hear – at least every man I meet seems to have one – and Fenton would not charge us anything for it, I being the only Lady." Though a single sentence in a much larger narrative, this particular quote makes one wonder if Fanny would still be included or included in such a meaningful way if there was not a mange spot on Bob's saddle that needed to be concealed from the camera. However, because of Fanny's inclusion, she is forever one of a handful of women photographed by Fenton during his expedition to Crimea in 1855. The popularity of Fenton's photographs coupled with the scarcity of visual depictions of women inadvertently supports the narrative presented in Fanny's journal that she is a lone woman in a hostile environment. Additionally, it is possible that this early notoriety contributed to the success of Fanny's subsequently published journal. It is also worth noting that neither Fanny's April 8, 1855 journal entry (where she mentions being photographed by Roger Fenton the day before), nor her April 14, 1855 journal entry (where she elaborates on this encounter) are included in the published version of her journal. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs. Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 129.

²¹⁵ Fenton used Gustave Le Gray's waxed-paper process for his photo. The visual reference for the camera is Le Gray's self-portrait which includes the camera. <https://1.bp.blogspot.com/-V0tIk6PtQIg/We-jR8AAJ01I/AAAAAABFzY/zjhxgKe2Yh0qiDNvdA9xQ9jhu4HK3bs0wCLcBGAs/s1600/Amazing%2BPortrait%2BPhotography%2Bby%2BGustave%2BLe%2BGray%2BFrom%2Bthe%2BMid-19th%2BCentury%2B%252811%2529.jpg> (accessed Dec. 4, 2020).

²¹⁶ Gernsheim, Helmut and Alison Gernsheim, Roger Fenton, *Photographer of the Crimean War: His Photographs and his Letters from The Crimea* (New York: Arno Press, 1973), Illustration 42.

PANEL 53: Similar framing to PANEL 44. Fanny hugs Bob around his neck while he wears a crown of white May, dog roses, mignonette, and larkspur²¹⁷ on his head.²¹⁸

CAPTION: May 6, 1855.

PANEL 54: Similar framing to PANEL 44. A hurricane blows rain and wind at Bob while he walks with Fanny sitting aside in his saddle. Fanny struggles to cling to Bob and the hat on her head.²¹⁹

PANEL 55: Similar framing to PANEL 44. Night time. Bob carries Fanny aside in his saddle as they ride up to the Turkish heights of Sebastopol. Distant fires glow in the background.²²⁰

CAPTION 1: Sebastopol. September 12, 1855.

CAPTION 2: "I counted ten separate fires. It was a magnificent sight, and one which afforded me, in common I fancy with many more, greater satisfaction than pain. I could not think at such a moment of the destruction and desolation of war."

WOMEN CHAPTER (TITLE PAGE)

CAPTION: WOMEN: "Whenever I say my prayers I thank God I have no children – at any rate no daughters – for this world is no place for women – at least for ladies – it is only fit for men – and women who have no self respect." -January 25th, 1855²²¹

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WOMEN	56	57
	58	
	59	60

Illustration 11:
Page 17 and Page 18

²¹⁷ https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/5b/Illustration_Rosa_caninal.jpg (accessed December 4, 2020).

https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/9/98/Vick%27s_illustrated_catalogue_and_floral_guide%2C_1871_%281871%29_%2814768940771%29.jpg (accessed December 4, 2020).

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Delphinium_elatum_var._palmatifidum_as_Delphinium_intermedium_var._palmatifidum_by_S._A._Drake_Edwards%27s_Botanical_Register_vol._24,_t._38_\(1838\).tif](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Delphinium_elatum_var._palmatifidum_as_Delphinium_intermedium_var._palmatifidum_by_S._A._Drake_Edwards%27s_Botanical_Register_vol._24,_t._38_(1838).tif) (accessed December 4, 2020).

https://biocyclopedia.com/index/kingdom_plantae/classification_notes_files/family/images/brxxx10.jpg (accessed December 4, 2020).

²¹⁸ As described in the May 6, 1855 journal entry. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 133.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 168. As described in the September 8, 1855 journal entry.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, 172. As described in the September 12, 1855 journal entry. Fanny writes, "I counted ten separate fires. It was a magnificent sight, and one which afforded me, in common I fancy with many more, greater satisfaction than pain. I could not think at such a moment of the destruction and desolation of war." To provide more context to this quote, Fanny is describing the satisfaction she feels overlooking the city of Sebastopol now that it is under British control.

²²¹ *Ibid.*, 113. Partial quote from the January 25, 1855 journal entry.

WOMEN CHAPTER**PAGE 18**

PANEL 56: Close-up aerial view of Fanny's writing desk. The first page of a letter to Fanny's sister Selina is in the middle of the desk with a metal nib fountain pen on the right.²²²

LETTER: 24 May, 1854 Dearest Selina, "Today, for the first time since I left England, I induced Mrs Williams, the sergeantmajor's wife, who came out as my maid,²²³ to wash a few of the clothes which had accumulated during our voyage. I mention this, as being the first assistance she has ever thought fit to render me since I left England."²²⁴

PANEL 57: Fanny is seated in the foreground at her small writing desk in her cabin aboard the *Shooting Star*. Her hands are together on the desk, partially covering the letter shown in PANEL 56. Her head is turned toward an unaware Mrs Williams,²²⁵ who is busy folding clothes.²²⁶ A look of disdain is visible on Fanny's face.

PANEL 58: This panel is two panels wide and takes up a third of the page. The *Shooting Star* sails along the Bosphorus toward the right of the panel in the foreground. Visible in the background is the *Hôtel D'Angleterre*²²⁷ which sits on the coast of Therapia (modern Tarabya).²²⁸

CAPTION 1: 31 May, 1854.

²²² https://www.officemuseum.com/1855_Princes_Protean_Fountain_Pen_John_S_Purdy_NY_NY_pat_1855_adv_1865_OM.jpg (accessed September 20, 2020).

²²³ Female servants wore a uniform of print dresses, white caps and aprons for mornings, and black dresses for afternoons. This was the characteristic female servant attire well into the twentieth century.

Pamela Horn, *The Rise and Fall of the Victorian Servant* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan Ltd, 1975), 12.

²²⁴ Partial quote from the May 24, 1854 journal entry. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 41.

²²⁵ RCIN 2500384, Fenton, Roger, *Cooking house, 8th Hussars 1855*, albumen print, 1855 <https://www.rc-t.uk/collection/2500384/cooking-house-8th-hussars> (accessed September 9, 2020).

²²⁶ "Mrs. Emily Louisa Williams was the wife of Regimental Sergeant Major Samuel Williams. She seems to have left Fanny's employment once they arrived at Varna. Emily Williams may be the woman in Roger Fenton's photograph of the 'Cooking house of the 8th Hussars'." "[Soldiers' wives] earned their keep by washing and cooking for the regiment, or by taking jobs as maids to the officers' wives." Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 265.

²²⁷ Fig. 2, Fruchtermann, Max, *L'Ambassade d'Angleterre à Thérapia*. Constantinople, photographic print, 1889 (Constantinople) <http://www.levantineheritage.com/therap.htm> (accessed September 9, 2020).

²²⁸ "The Hôtel D'Angleterre is admirably managed, and the position of Therapia is so delightful that the rooms at the hotel are engaged months beforehand. Therapia is the summer residence of all the foreign ambassadors [in Constantinople], and it is situated at a curve of the Bosphorus, facing the entrance to the Black Sea. There is a wide esplanade extending some distance along the shore, and in the hottest weather it is generally cool here."

Ellen Chennells, *Recollections of an Egyptian Princess by Her English Governess* (London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1893), 189. https://books.google.ca/books?id=zL4MAAAIAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false (accessed September 9, 2020).

CAPTION 2: On deck we "[watch] the beauties of the coast as they disappeared behind us: Therapia - where is the Hôtel D'Angleterre, the resort of the wives of English naval and military officers, who have 'accompanied their husbands to the seat of war'[".]"²²⁹

PANEL 59: Fanny and Lady Erroll²³⁰ dine together aboard the *Shooting Star*.²³¹ Fanny looks down to her left, where a brace of loaded revolvers is visible in Lady Erroll's belt.²³² Henry, Captain Tomkinson, Mr. Philips, Dr. Mckay, and Lord Erroll are also present at the table, but are not included in the frame.

CAPTION 1: 3 June, 1854.

CAPTION 2: "Lady Erroll is here[".]"²³³ She and I the only ladies. She always goes about with a brace of loaded revolvers in her belt!! Very cocktail²³⁴ and no occasion for it ..."²³⁵

PANEL 60: Medium shot of Fanny. A thought bubble depicting Lady Erroll surrounded by servants comes from Fanny's head.

CAPTION 1: 6 June, 1854.

CAPTION 2: "Poor Lady Erroll is sick of campaigning – tho' she has a ladys-maid and a foreign servant to cook &c."²³⁶

WOMEN CHAPTER

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²²⁹ Quote from the May 31, 1854 journal entry. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 43.

²³⁰ Downey, Henry James, *Right Honourable the Dowager Countess of Erroll, V.A.*, photographic print, date unknown, (London) https://www.wikidata.org/wiki/Q3723364#/media/File:Eliza_Amelia_Dowager_Countess_of_Erroll_by_W._&_D._Downey.jpg (accessed September 9, 2020).

²³¹ Lost 935, "A Tour of HMS Victory From VHS tape 1993" Youtube, 4:01, https://youtu.be/8yWH_Cx1-MaQ?t=241 (accessed September 20, 2020).

²³² *Encyclopædia Britannica*, s.v. "Colt revolver," <https://www.britannica.com/technology/revolver#/media/1/500671/193533> (accessed September 20, 2020).

²³³ Lady Erroll was the eldest daughter of General the Hon. Charles Gore, the second son of the 2nd Earl of Arran, an Irish peer. Her husband was the 18th Earl of Erroll and the hereditary Lord High Constable of Scotland, the first subject in Scotland after the blood royal. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 267.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, 266. In this context the term 'cocktail' was applied to someone of doubtful background trying to pass as a member of high society. It originally referred to a racehorse which was not a thoroughbred because it had a working horse with a docked tail (cock-tailed horse) in its pedigree. Despite first impressions, once Fanny and Lady Erroll met Fanny became an admirer.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, 47. Quote from the unpublished section of the June 3, 1854 journal entry.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, 53. Quote from the unpublished section of the June 6, 1854 journal entry.

PANEL 61: This panel is two panels wide, two panels in height, and takes up two thirds of the page. Fanny and Mrs. Cresswell stand facing each other. Fanny's posture is stiff and uncomfortable. Mrs. Cresswell is relaxed in posture and appearance. Her hair is scruffy, her cotton gown is dingy, and her neck and arms are exposed.

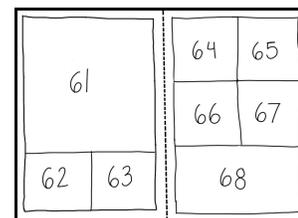


Illustration 12:
Page 19 and Page 20

CAPTION 1: 24 July, 1854.

CAPTION 2: "A new importation has arrived at the 11th Hus-sars in the shape of a Mrs Cresswell, wife of [Captain Cresswell.] . . . We expected something rather fashionable & brilliant – but after waiting some time a woman came from among the troop horses [. . .]"²³⁷

MRS. CRESSWELL 1: Mrs. Duberly, have you met the boys? Good old Bill and Jack!

CAPTION 3: "[. . .] with such uncombed scurfy hair – such black nails – such a dirty cotton gown, open at the neck without a sign of habit shirt or collar – or linen sleeve[.]"²³⁸

MRS. CRESSWELL 2: Have you noticed this about your saddle? I do enjoy my horses, but I have not ridden for nine years.

MRS. CRESSWELL 3: You are a fool to have a marquee, a bell tent is quite good enough for anyone.

MRS. CRESSWELL 4: Do you cook your Henry dinner? He would vote you a bore if you don't cook his dinner.

CAPTION 4: "[She] took my breath away so completely that I doubt if I shall not be broken-winded all my life. I do not exaggerate when I say that her neck and bare arms were earth-colour with dirt."²³⁹

MRS. CRESSWELL 5: It is foolish to wear collar & sleeves- they are unnecessary!

CAPTION 5: "Lady Errol is charming – she is an innate lady and is very kind to me – we are great friends."²⁴⁰

PANEL 62: Fanny sits at the desk in her cabin aboard the *Shooting Star*. She reads the *United Services Gazette*, which obscures the lower half of her face to the reader.²⁴¹

CAPTION: 10 September, 1854.

PANEL 63: Fanny slams the newspaper down on her desk in anger.

FANNY'S HANDS ON THE DESK: BANG!

²³⁷ Ibid., 56. Quote from the unpublished section of the July 24, 1854 journal entry.

²³⁸ Ibid., 56.

²³⁹ Ibid., 56.

²⁴⁰ Ibid., 56.

²⁴¹ Special Correspondent, "The British Expedition," *The Times*, August 10, 1854, under "The War," <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/archive/article/1854-08-10/9/5.html?region=global#start%3D1853-12-31%26end%3D1854-11-30%26terms%3DJubilee%26back%3D/tto/archive/find/Jubilee/w:1853-12-31%7E1854-11-30/1%26prev%3D/tto/archive/frame/goto/Jubilee/w:1853-12-31%7E1854-11-30/3%26next%3D/tto/archive/frame/goto/Jubilee/w:1853-12-31%7E1854-11-30/5> (accessed September 10, 2020).

CAPTION: "I am annoyed at seeing in the U[nited] Services Gazette that my name (Jubilee)²⁴² is put down [in the lying *Times*²⁴³] as being with the women & Lady Erroll as being with the troops. The infantry have not been half the distance or had half the hardships we have had[!]"²⁴⁴

WOMEN CHAPTER

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PANEL 64: Wide shot. On the shore of Eupatoria (modern Yevpatoria), Fanny is assisted from a row boat to the beach by Captain Brock.²⁴⁵

CAPTION 1: 27 September, 1854.

CAPTION 2: "We hear that our army have taken Balaklava, after a slight resistance. [. . .] This we suppose will be the base of operations."²⁴⁶

PANEL 65: Medium shot of Captain Brock and Fanny facing each other on the beach. Fanny's facial expression is one of shock.

CAPTAIN BROCK: "[It is] with great feelings of great sorrow [that I inform you that] Lord Erroll is wounded; and [poor] Mrs. Cresswell²⁴⁷ is a widow."²⁴⁸

FANNY: "God help and support her under a blow that would crush me to my grave!"²⁴⁹

²⁴²In a August 25, 1854 letter to his brother-in-law Francis Marx, Henry explains that in the August 5th edition of the *Times* there were a number of mistakes, including their name being spelt as 'Jubilee'. The only other contemporary example of Fanny being called 'Jubilee' is in a letter by Frank Currie of the 79th Highlanders to his sister. Christine Kelly speculates that this was the result of Currie mishearing her name, rather than a nickname. Fanny's nickname of 'Mrs. Jubilee' therefore seems to be a creation of the twentieth century. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs. Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 272, 304.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, 84. Partial quote from the unpublished section of the October 19, 1854 journal entry. This quote is chronologically out of order, but I wanted to include it to contrast Fanny's feelings expressed toward *Time* correspondent William Howard Russell in the men chapter.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 69. Quote from the unpublished section of the September 10, 1854 journal entry.

²⁴⁵ The allies had originally intended to land in Crimea at Eupatoria (modern Yevpatoria), but was instead taken by a body of marines under Captain Brock, who became governor of the town. Unable to find a visual reference for Captain Brock. Henry Tyrell, *The History of the War with Russia: Giving Full Details of the Operations of the Allied Armies*, (New York: London Print and Publishing Company, 1855), 337, <https://books.google.ca/books?id=AMhCAAAAcAAJ&pg=PA337&lpg=PA337&dq=captain+brock+governor+of+eupatoria&source=bl&ots=9yivZEugRW&sig=ACfU3U2EcOQdPX EaYsySicW CelEJ4aSUg&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwimy9fezuHrAhVwmHIEHXikBeYQ6AEwEnoECAYQAQ#v=onepage&q=captain%20brock%20governor%20of%20eupatoria&f=false> (accessed September 11, 2020).

²⁴⁶ Partial quote from the September 27, 1854 journal entry. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs. Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 74.

²⁴⁷ William Gilfrid Baker-Cresswell was Captain of the 11th Hussars and died September 19, 1854 in Crimea while marching with his regiment to Alma. He was 29 years old.

²⁴⁸ Quote from the September 27, 1854 journal entry. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs. Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 74.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 74.

CAPTION: "The last tidings heard of Mrs. Cresswell were that she had gone down to Varna[.] I conclude by this time she has gone home, as Captain Cresswell died of cholera on the Monday of the march."²⁵⁰

PANEL 66: Exterior. Medium shot of Fanny on the deck of the *Shooting Star*. She stands at the taffrail while a young sailor speaks to her closely. The reader does not know what the sailor says.

CAPTION: 29 September, 1854. "A friend of Captain Fraser's, who came on board, tells me that none have had the courage to acquaint Mrs. Cresswell with her loss; and she is actually coming up to Balaklava with troops."²⁵¹

FANNY: "Cruel kindness!"²⁵²

PANEL 67: Fanny and Henry each ride a horse at a slow trot through the British encampment at Balaclava. Fanny looks to Henry in disbelief.

CAPTION: 5 October, 1854.

FANNY: "I think I told you Mrs. Cresswell is a widow[?] He has been dead three weeks & no one has had the courage to tell her! & she is expected here daily."²⁵³

PANEL 68: This panel is two panels wide and takes up one third of the page. Fanny sits to the right in the foreground, with her back to the reader. Fanny's gaze from the side profile of her face guides the reader to Mrs. Cresswell who sits aside her horse in the middle ground of the frame. Mrs. Cresswell has a small smile on her face, but maintains eye contact with the road ahead of her. In the background between the field of bell tents, groups of men gawk at Mrs. Cresswell as she rides by.

CAPTION 1: 20 October, 1854.

CAPTION 2: "Mrs Cresswell arrived at Balaclava today, and rode up to the camp. I understand she intends remaining in Colonel Douglas' tent. [. . .] Fancy the sympathy, tears & prayers I've wasted, vexatious to think of!"²⁵⁴

²⁵⁰ Ibid., 74.

²⁵¹ Ibid., 75. Quote from the September 29, 1854 journal entry.

²⁵² Ibid., 75. Quote from the September 29, 1854 journal entry.

²⁵³ Ibid., 79. Quote from the October 5, 1854 journal entry

²⁵⁴ Quote from an unpublished section of the October 20, 1854 journal entry. Fanny specifies that she has not seen her since her arrival, so having her present when Mrs. Cresswell rides through camp is a creative liberty. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs. Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 85.

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PANEL 69: A medium shot of Florence Nightingale in her nursing uniform. A large question mark replaces her facial features.²⁵⁵

CAPTION: 13 November, 1854.

PANEL 70: This panel is a simple text block.

CAPTION: "I have heard of Florence Nightingale. The first thing her principal assistant did – was to elope with a doctor. She will have a nice job to keep the staff in order; but I dare say some of them, if steady & respectable, which no soldier's wife out here even dreams of being, may do good. And if she keeps them from drinking."²⁵⁶

PANEL 71: This panel is two panels wide and takes up a third of the page. A group of nurses stand near the wall and look over the overcrowded and unsanitary hospital in Sebastopol.²⁵⁷ A cloth banner is 'draped' from the top left corner to the top right corner. It reads "The New Matrimony-at-any-Price Association."²⁵⁸

CAPTION: "[About] the Lady nurses – I'm afraid they will find it different to what they expect – they have got the name of 'The New Matrimony-at-any-Price Association.'"²⁵⁹

PANEL 72: Wide shot. A young female nurse observes a male doctor perform a finger amputation²⁶⁰ in a hospital ward.²⁶¹

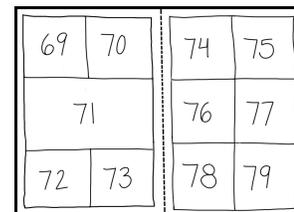


Illustration 13:
Page 21 and Page 22

²⁵⁵ *Encyclopædia Britannica*, s.v. "Nightingale, Florence," <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Florence-Nightingale#/media/1/415020/88537> (accessed September 14, 2020).

²⁵⁶ Quote from the unpublished section of the November 13, 1854 journal entry. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 92.

²⁵⁷ 21289i, Goodall, E. A., *Crimean War: appalling conditions as seen in the interior of the Russian Hospital in Sebastopol*, wood engraving, October 6, 1855, (Wellcome Collection) <https://wellcomecollection.org/works/agecpcb9> (accessed September 16, 2020).

²⁵⁸ Fanny's comment reflects the association between nursing and immoral behaviour that was common at the time. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 284.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 96. From the unpublished section of the November 22, 1854 journal entry.

²⁶⁰ Bernard, Claude, *Précis iconographique de médecine opératoire et d'anatomie chirurgicale*, Medium, 1848, (Wellcome Collection), <https://wellcomecollection.org/works/f54y4dk6> (accessed September 16, 2020).

²⁶¹ Anonymous, *In the Accident Ward*, Unknown Medium, 1891, (Wellcome Collection), <https://wellcomecollection.org/works/ktq3gjua> (accessed September 16, 2020).

PANEL 73: Medium shot. The same nurse depicted in PANEL 72 is now present at a leg amputation taking place in the Balaclava hospital.²⁶² Several male doctors and male medical assistants restrain a patient while one doctor amputates the soldier's leg.²⁶³

CAPTION OVERLAYING PANEL 72 and PANEL 73: "One lady was present in England at the amputation of a finger & is classed as 'experienced in amputation'. [. . .] Still the intention is good. But they should all be married women."²⁶⁴

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PANEL 74: A cold wind blows falling snow through the air. Fanny looks over the taffrail of the *Shooting Star* to the approaching row boat. Sitting inside the row boat is an unnamed female sex worker, among male sailors and soldiers.

CAPTION 1: 4 January, 1855.

CAPTION 2: "I have had rather a disagreeable business lately – the only women (there have been two) who have come up here are people who nobody knows anything about. One of these delectable Ladies came up [. . .] on Monday. She belongs to the 9th [regiment] but [. . .] the Lady actually endeavoured to come on board the ship with me!"²⁶⁵

PANEL 75: Wide shot at water level. This panel provides readers a closer look at the woman advancing toward the *Shooting Star*.²⁶⁶

CAPTION: "There has been a slight shindy as I announced my intention of leaving the ship if she came into it. So instead she is gone into my old cabin on board [. . .] close alongside us in the harbour."²⁶⁷

PANEL 76: Medium shot of Fanny on the deck of the *Shooting Star*. Her face is twisted in disgust. Sailors and soldiers now crowd around her. One sailor has his head turned to Fanny with his mouth open, mid sentence.

²⁶² Fig. 11, Bourguery, J. M., *Iconografia d'anatomia chirurgica e di medicina operatoria*, coloured plates, date unknown, (Wellcome Collection), <https://wellcomecollection.org/works/nryvtcxf> (accessed September 16, 2020).

²⁶³ Malgaigne, J.F., *Manuel de médecine opératoire*, illustration, 1874-1877, (Wellcome Collection) <https://wellcomecollection.org/works/x2uzz7v6> (accessed September 16, 2020).

²⁶⁴ From the unpublished section of the November 22, 1854 journal entry. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 96.

²⁶⁵ Ibid., 108. From the unpublished January 4, 1855 journal entry.

²⁶⁶ L0033923, Rowlandson, Thomas, *Touch for Touch, or a female Physician in full practice*, print, 1811, (Wellcome Collection) <https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/touch-for-touch-satirical-print-depicting-a-prostitute> visual reference of a female sex worker (accessed October 20, 2020).

²⁶⁷ From the unpublished January 4, 1855 journal entry. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 108.

CAPTION: "It is very disagreeable having these women – as, as soon as a gown is seen, all the harbour is alive – & I am perpetually being asked – '[. . .] Do I know her? &c &c.' – However I hope this amiable weakness will take herself off to Constantinople in a day or two."

SAILOR 1: "If there isn't another lady in the harbour? Do [you] know her?"²⁶⁸

PANEL 77: Day time. Interior of the Balaclava hospital. Fanny arrives with a basket of linen sent to her by her sister²⁶⁹ to be used on the injured men being treated in the hospital. Nurses clean and tend to men in the row of beds.²⁷⁰

CAPTION 1: 31 January, 1855.

CAPTION 2: "Eight nurses, under the direction of a 'Lady Eldress' and Miss Shaw Stewart, came up today from Scutari to the Balaklava hospital.²⁷¹ [But] it seems the ladies make the nurses do all the work while the ladies do all the swagger."²⁷²

PANEL 78: Nurses continue their work while Lady Eldress and Miss Stewart²⁷³ stand and talking to each other. Fanny furrows her eyebrows while she observes the busyness around her.

CAPTION: "The more I see of women the more entirely I hate them – No, I don't hate them but I have for them a feeling of infinite and half compassionate scorn."²⁷⁴

PANEL 79: Wide shot of the Balaclava encampment. Melting snow has turned the once frozen dirt into wet mud. In the foreground of the frame, Fanny is in the process of pushing the opening of a tent to the side.

CAPTION 1: 24 February, 1855.

CAPTION 2: "Lunched in camp with Colonel Doherty, and afterwards went to see one of the women of our regiment, who is suffering from fever."²⁷⁵

²⁶⁸ Ibid., 108. From the unpublished January 4, 1855 journal entry.

²⁶⁹ Ibid., 96. Fanny thanks her sister and Lady Rodney for sending linen in the unpublished section of the November 22, 1854 journal entry.

²⁷⁰ B029443, Anonymous, *Florence Nightingale*, lithograph, unknown date (The National Library of Medicine) <http://resource.nlm.nih.gov/101407883> (accessed September 15, 2020).

²⁷¹ Florence Nightingale was reluctant to send nurses from the Scutari to the Balaclava. The General Hospital at Balaclava had a reputation for being unsanitary and inefficient with undisciplined orderlies. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 288.

²⁷² Ibid., 115. Quote from the unpublished section of the January 31, 1855 journal entry.

²⁷³ *Encyclopædia Britannica*, s.v. "hospital ward; Scutari (Üsküdar); Crimean War," <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Florence-Nightingale#/media/1/415020/146164> (accessed October 20, 2020).

²⁷⁴ Quote from the unpublished section of the January 31, 1855 journal entry. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 115.

²⁷⁵ Ibid., 119. Quote from the February 24, 1855 journal entry.

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PANEL 80: Wide shot of the tent interior. Part of one of the walls of the tent droops, with water dripping through the canvas and gather on the ground.²⁷⁶ There are two cots in the tent, one of which bends downward under the weight of the unnamed woman occupying it. The woman looks up at Fanny with sad sleep deprived eyes.

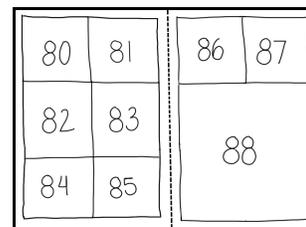


Illustration 14:
Page 23 and Page 24

CAPTION: "I found her lying on a bed on the wet ground; she had lain there, in cold and rain, wind and snow, for twelve days."²⁷⁷

PANEL 81: Close-up of the ration biscuit, salt pork, cheese, and tin pot of rum sitting in a mud beside the bed.²⁷⁸

CAPTION: "By her side, in the wet mud, was a piece of ration biscuit, a piece of salt pork, some cheese, and a tin pot with some rum! Nice fever diet!"²⁷⁹

PANEL 82: Medium shot of Fanny bending down to hold the unnamed woman's hand.

CAPTION: "She, having failed to make herself popular among the women during her health, was left by them when she was sick; and not a soul had offered to assist the poor helpless, half-delirious creature, except her husband, and a former mate of his when he was a sailor."²⁸⁰

PANEL 83: Interior. Fanny's cabin aboard the *Shooting Star*. Mrs. Finnegan sits on the bottom bunk embroidering a small square of cloth.²⁸¹ Fanny sits at her writing desk.

CAPTION 1: 7 March, 1855.

²⁷⁶ RCIN 2500242, Fenton, Roger, General John Lysaght Pennefather (1800-1872), albumen print, 1855, (Royal Collection Trust), <https://www.rct.uk/collection/search#/23/collection/2500242/general-john-lysaght-pennefather-1800-1872> (accessed September 14, 2020).

²⁷⁷ Quote from the February 24, 1855 journal entry. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 119.

²⁷⁸ RCIN 2500376, Fenton, Roger, *Major Hallewell at the end of a day's work*, salted paper print, 1855, (Royal Collection Trust), <https://www.rct.uk/collection/search#/40/collection/2500376/major-hallewell-at-the-end-of-a-days-work> (accessed September 15, 2020).

²⁷⁹ Quote from the February 24, 1855 journal entry. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 119.

²⁸⁰ Ibid., 119. Quote from the February 24, 1855 journal entry. Fanny does not specify if she assisted this woman or not.

²⁸¹ Ibid., 274. Mrs. Letitia Finnegan was the wife of Private Francis Finnegan of the 8th Hussars. He had enlisted in 1831 and embarked for Crimea in May 1854. He was killed during the Charge of the Light Brigade, with his name recorded as Andrew Finnegan on the casualty list. Fanny rarely mentions Mrs. Finnegan's presence, despite employing her as a maid before and after her voyage from Eupatoria to Balaclava.

CAPTION 2: "Mrs Finnegan (the soldier's widow) is all right and making lots of money by washing."²⁸²

PANEL 84: Similar framing to PANEL 84. Mrs. Finnegan hums happily to herself as Fanny subtly raises a eyebrow.

CAPTION: "She has got over Finnegan wondrously & talks of him now much as I should do about an old shoe, but is a very good woman nevertheless."²⁸³

PANEL 85: Exterior wide shot. Fanny and Bob walk up the road to the hut hospitals at Balaklava.²⁸⁴

CAPTION: 17 May, 1855.

WOMEN CHAPTER

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PANEL 86: Exterior wide shot. Dismounted from Bob, Fanny leads her horse along the rows of huts. Ahead of the pair is a officer in uniform stretching his arm toward them with the palm of his hand out as if to say 'stop.'²⁸⁵

CAPTION: "Florence Nightingale is here. I rode into that stink hole Balaclava [. . .] to call on her, but found she was ill with fever, or rather recovering from it and in one of the huts for the convalescents on the hill by the Genoese fort so I did not see her."²⁸⁶

PANEL 87: Medium shot of Fanny on her horse. She holds an embroidered handkerchief over her mouth and nose.²⁸⁷ The bridge of her nose and her eyebrows are wrinkled in disgust.

CAPTION: "It was the first time I had been into Balaclava for a month & despite the Sanitary Committee how it did stink!"²⁸⁸

²⁸² Ibid., 122. Quote from the unpublished section of the March 7, 1855 journal entry.

²⁸³ Ibid., 122. Quote from the unpublished section of the March 7, 1855 journal entry.

²⁸⁴ 21286i, Anonymous, *Crimean War: Florence Nightingale visiting the Hut Hospitals, Balaklava*, Wood Engraving, Date Unknown, (Wellcome Collection), <https://wellcomecollection.org/works/s6cyavwv> (accessed September 14, 2020).

²⁸⁵ 21281i, Anonymous, *Crimean War, Ukraine: patients convalescing on the beach at Castle Hospital, Balaklava*, 1854, (Wellcome Collection), <https://wellcomecollection.org/works/v76z5w4m> (accessed September 14, 2020).

²⁸⁶ Quote from the unpublished May 18, 1855 journal entry. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 134-135.

²⁸⁷ T.7-1962, Walton, Rachel, *Embroidered muslin with hair, 1830-1869* (Victoria and Albert Museum), <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O354413/handkerchief-unknown/> (accessed September 14, 2020).

²⁸⁸ Quote from the unpublished May 18, 1855 journal entry. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 135.

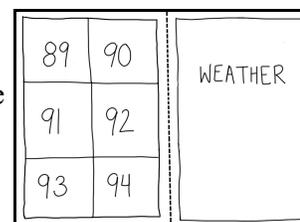
PANEL 88: This panel is two panels wide and two panels tall, and spans two thirds of the page. The background consists of Fanny's letter to her sister. Overlaying the letter in the foreground is the Crimean Medal with the Balaclava clasp.

LETTER: 4 June, 1855. Dear Selina, "There has been the devil's delight here – in consequence of an application made by our Col. for the Balaclava clasp for me. There is no doubt as to my being entitled to it, as I was driven from my tent by Cossacks and was under fire repeatedly during the day. There appears to be some difficulty about my getting it officially – I being a woman – but Colonel Poulett Somerset has written to Colonel Phipps – and to the Duchess of Gloucester – to beg them to lay it before the Queen. I was for so long the only woman out here (except for my maid) that there is no doubt about the medal – but now that so many woman are out here – it is thought that if I get the medal they will all be clamouring for one too ..."²⁸⁹ -"Ever yr very sleepy & affect. Sister F I Duberly."²⁹⁰

WOMEN CHAPTER

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PANEL 89: Medium shot of the interior of Fanny and Henry's hut. Fanny rummages through the drawers of her writing desk. Loose pieces of paper are sticking out of the drawer on top of the desk.



CAPTION: 22 July, 1855.

FANNY: Mrs. Finnegan? Mrs. Finnegan! Where is my sister's last letter?!

Illustration 15:
Page 25 and Page 26

PANEL 90: Wide shot. Fanny stands in the middle of her hut with stray hairs in her face and her hands on her hips. The drawers of her writing desk, books, and other objects are in disarray. Fanny's lips are pursed. The text in her speech bubble is small to indicate to the reader that Fanny is speaking quietly under her breath.

FANNY: More stupid than the head of a man can conceive... and deaf as a post!²⁹¹

PANEL 91: Sunny day. Not far from Fanny and Henry's hut in the Balaclava encampment, Mrs. Finnegan washes laundry outside. She bends over her work, her back to the reader.²⁹²

CAPTION: 30 August, 1855.

²⁸⁹ Ibid., 140. Quote from the unpublished June 4, 1855 journal entry.

²⁹⁰ Ibid., 172. Letter closing from the September 12, 1855 journal entry.

²⁹¹ Ibid., 154-155. From the July 22, 1855 journal entry.

²⁹² 21284i, Anonymous, *Crimean War: soldiers doing their laundry at Balaklava Hospital*, Wood Engraving, June 2, 1855, (Wellcome Collection), <https://wellcomecollection.org/works/q3zdzrvp> (accessed September 15, 2020).

PANEL 92: Similar framing to PANEL 91. Mrs. Finnegan stands with her side profile visible to the reader. The hint of a pregnant belly under her dress is revealed.

CAPTION: "I am informed [Mrs Finnegan] is in the family way, which is delightful for all concerned, especially me.... at all events she is going on in no way that I approve – & I am going to have it out with her presently."²⁹³

PANEL 93: Interior medium shot. Fanny looks out as rain hits the glass pane window in her hut.

CAPTION 1: 12 September, 1855.

CAPTION 2: "Mrs Finnegan goes home [. . .] soon[.]"²⁹⁴ "What fools women are to be sure – I don't think I could live among 'em again for the world...."²⁹⁵

PANEL 94: Day time. Wide shot of the *Golden Fleece* sailing away from the harbour; insinuating Mrs. Finnegan's departure.

WEATHER CHAPTER (TITLE PAGE)

PAGE 26

CAPTION: WEATHER "If anybody should ever wish to erect a 'Model Balaklava' in England I will tell him the ingredients necessary. Take a village of ruined houses and hovels in the extremest state of all imaginable dirt; allow the rain to pour into and outside them, until the whole place is a swamp of filth ankle-deep; catch about, on an average, 1,000 Turks with the plague, and cram them into the houses indiscriminately; kill about 100 a day, and bury them so as to be scarcely covered with earth, leaving them to rot at leisure– taking care to keep up the supply. Onto one part of the beach drive all the [. . .] dying bullocks, and worn-out camels, and leave them to die of starvation. They will generally do so in about three days, when they will soon begin to rot, and smell accordingly. Collect together from the water of the harbour all the offal of the animals slaughtered for [. . .] the occupants of above 100 ships, to say nothing of the inhabitants of the town, [. . .] floating [. . .] whole or in parts, and the driftwood of the wrecks [. . .], stew them all up together in a narrow harbour, and you will have a tolerable imitation of the real essence of Balaklava. "²⁹⁶ - 3 December, 1854

²⁹³ Quote from the unpublished August 30, 1855 journal entry. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 167.

²⁹⁴ Ibid., 172. Quote from the unpublished September 12, 1855 journal entry.

²⁹⁵ Ibid., 167. Quote from the unpublished August 30, 1855 journal entry.

²⁹⁶ Partial quote from the December 3, 1854 journal entry. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 100-102.

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PANEL 95: Day time. Exterior of the *Shooting Star* in wind and on the water.

CAPTION: On 25 April, 1854 we embarked on board the *Shooting Star* with a fair and gentle breeze, and every prospect of a prosperous voyage.²⁹⁷

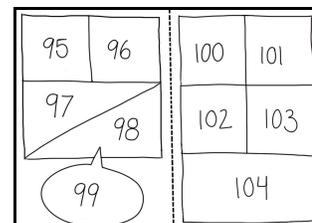


Illustration 16:
Page 27 and Page 28

PANEL 96: Sunset. Exterior of the *Shooting Star* on still water. The framing of this panel is the same as PANEL 96, but the sails are limp and water calm from a lack of wind.²⁹⁸

PANEL 97: Interior of the *Shooting Star*. Fanny is asleep in bed, with a lit candlestick²⁹⁹ and book³⁰⁰ resting on a nearby table. Gentle moonlight pours through the “stern cabin window.”

PANEL 98: Interior of the *Shooting Star*. Fanny is awake and half way to the floor, having fallen out of bed. The candlestick and book are now on the floor. The fall has blown the candle's flame out and the room is lit only by moonlight.

FANNY: Ack!

PANEL 99: Smaller rounded panel, known as an 'aside'.³⁰¹ The point/tail of the panel indicates a connection to PANEL 99. Night time. Exterior of the *Shooting Star*. Wind, rain, and waves indicate a hurricane. The *Shooting Star* has rolled in the water, so the ship is tilting at a severe angle.³⁰²

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²⁹⁷ Ibid., 36. Paraphrased quote from the April 25, 1854 journal entry.

²⁹⁸ Ibid., 38. From the May 8, 1854 journal entry.

²⁹⁹ 1854, 1130.73, 1854 (The British Museum)

https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?partid=1&assetid=179145001&objectid=35428 (accessed September 9, 2020).

³⁰⁰ The 1854 book, *Heartsease or the Brother's Wife* by Charlotte M. Yonge is referenced in the May 6, 1855 journal entry. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 172.

³⁰¹ Mike Chinn, *Writing and Illustrating the Graphic Novel: Everything You Need to Know to Create Great Graphic Works* (London: Barron's Educational Series, Inc., 2004), 27.

³⁰² From the May 12, 1854 journal entry. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 39.

PANEL 100: Day time. Exterior of a marquee tent in the foreground.³⁰³ An anchored *Shooting Star* is seen in the background. It sits in a lake surrounded by treeless plains that contain smaller bell tents in the background.³⁰⁴ At the opening of the tent. Fanny and Henry sit uncomfortably, but casually in chairs on opposite sides of a table containing a nearly empty bottle of milk and a plate of half-eaten ham.³⁰⁵

CAPTION: Encampment at Varna. 3 June, 1854.³⁰⁶

PANEL 101: Exterior of the marquee tent. Similar framing to PANEL 100. Dark clouds have moved into frame in the sky behind the tent.

PANEL 102: Exterior of the marquee tent. Similar framing to PANEL 100, but hurricane conditions of rain, wind, and dust now impact the tent. Fanny and Henry begin to get out of their chairs with looks of surprise as rain pours down.³⁰⁷

PANEL 103: Interior of the marquee tent.³⁰⁸ Fanny looks in at a large snake sitting on one cot, and a lizard on the other. Flies, fleas, and ants, swarm the air and ground.³⁰⁹

PANEL 104: Frame is two panels wide and takes up one third of the page. Day time. Sunny. On the deck of the *Shooting Star*, looking over Fanny's shoulder at the "lovely landscape."³¹⁰

CAPTION: 27 September, 1854 off the coast of Alma.

³⁰³ RCIN 2500375, Fenton, Roger, *Colonel Brownrigg and the two Russian boys, Alma and Inkermann*, albumen print, 1855 (Royal Collection Trust) <https://albert.rct.uk/collections/photographs-collection/record-of-historical-events/colonel-brownrigg> (Accessed September 19, 2020).

³⁰⁴ From the June 2 and June 3, 1854 journal entries. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 46-47.

³⁰⁵ Ibid., 46-47. Troops were regularly on half rations of hard biscuits and salt meat. The monthly vegetable ration was the often restricted to two potatoes and a single onion. The bottle milk and ham that Fanny and Henry eat is another example of their social privilege. From the June 2 and June 3, 1854 journal entry. National Army Museum, "An army marches on its stomach," National Army Museum, <https://www.nam.ac.uk/explore/army-marches-its-stomach#:~:text=Crimean%20disaster&text=Troops%20in%20the%20Crimea%20were,hard%20biscuits%20difficult%20to%20eat.> (accessed December 4, 2020).

³⁰⁶ June 2nd and 3rd, 1854, as well as the name of this chapter of the journal From the June 2 and June 3, 1854 journal entry. This phrase also refers to the title of the journal's second chapter, "Embarkation and Encampment at Varna." Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 44, 46-47.

³⁰⁷ Ibid., 46. From the June 2, 1854 journal entry.

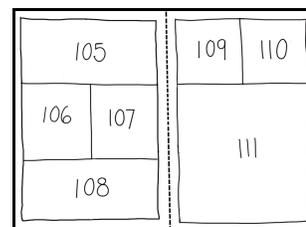
³⁰⁸ RCIN 2500242, Fenton, Roger, *General John Lysaght Pennefather (1800-1872)*, albumen print, 1855 (Royal Collection Trust), <https://www.rct.uk/collection/search#/23/collection/2500242/general-john-lysaght-pennefather-1800-1872> (accessed september 20, 2020).

³⁰⁹ From the June 3, 1854 journal entry. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 46-47.

³¹⁰ Ibid., 74. From the September 27, 1854 journal entry.

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PANEL 105: Two panels wide. A dark and cloudy sky, early morning. A wide angle view of the port shows the British naval fleet swaying in a turbulent Black Sea. A "terrific gale" churns the water and causes it to "spray, dashing over the cliffs many hundred feet"³¹¹ [and falling] like heavy rain into the harbour."³¹²



CAPTION 1: The Great Storm

CAPTION 2: The port of Balaklava, the morning of 14 November, 1854.

Illustration 17:
Page 29 and Page 30

PANEL 106: Midmorning. In the foreground of the panel Fanny clings to the taffrail as she struggles to keep her footing on the deck. Her back is to the reader, looking to the background where ships are "crushing and crowding together, all adrift, all breaking and grinding each other to pieces."³¹³ The sea and sky are dark, and rain falls at a horizontal angle.

PANEL 107: Midday and raining. Henry stands ashore in the foreground of the panel, watching the chaos unfolding in the harbour and unable to help. In the water the standing masts of the *Wild Wave* sink into the Black Sea. The sea around is covered "with splinters, masts, cargo, hay, bread, and ropes."³¹⁴

PANEL 108: Two panels wide. Night. The rain and wind continues. The foreground features a group of British soldiers huddling together near torn and collapsed tents. The harbour and surrounding British encampment is in the background.³¹⁵

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PANEL 109: Night. Interior. A close-up of Fanny in bed, nervously clutching her blanket. Sounds of scratching and cracking wood are scattered throughout the panel.

³¹¹ 2012.137.4.7, Robertson, James, *Fortification above Balaclava Harbor, 1855-1856*, albumen print, Unknown Date (National Gallery of Art) <https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.163423.html> (accessed September 9, 2020).

³¹² From the November 14, 1854 journal entry. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 92.

³¹³ *Ibid.*, 92. From the November 14, 1854 journal entry.

³¹⁴ From the November 14, 1854 journal entry. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 93.

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 94. As Fanny describes it, "In camp they have been 24 hours exposed to fearful rain, hail and awful hurricane which has split their bell tents to ribbons & carried them away & blown down horses & men." From the November 14, 1854 journal entry. It is not included in the published version.

FANNY (THINKING): "The *Medway*, *Marmion*, *Brenda*, and *Harbinger* are hard at work on the sides of our unlucky ship[.] The *Medway* [. . .] will be in before morning[!]"³¹⁶

PANEL 110: Fanny's thought bubble continues from PANEL 109. Night. The rain and wind continues. Exterior of the *Shooting Star*. "[Masts], spars, dead bodies, rum casks, dead cattle, hay, vegetables & every item of wreck [. . .]" float in the harbour water surrounding the ship Fanny is attempting to sleep in.

FANNY (THINKING): "31 ships are lost & disabled. . . [A] consequence of the loss of stores they could not feed either army or horses."³¹⁷ "What can become of us?"³¹⁸

PANEL 111: This panel is two panels wide and two panels tall, and spans two thirds of the page. It will consist of a centered quote, with a border made up of weather conditions described in the panel's caption as well as other journal entries. Images start in top left corner of the panel and continue clock-wise in chronological order.³¹⁹ Top left corner of border depicts rain and mud.³²⁰ The top center of the border depicts frost.³²¹ The top right corner of the border depicts snow.³²² The bottom right corner of the border depicts both men³²³ and horses freezing to death and sinking in mud.³²⁴

CAPTION: "The sea and sky, all God's part of the picture, looked so blue and calm; while all man's part of the picture was noise, smoke, and confusion." -11 April, 1855³²⁵

³¹⁶ Ibid., 93-94. From the November 14, 1854 journal entry. It is not included in the published version.

³¹⁷ Ibid., 95. From the November 20, 1854 journal entry. It is not included in the published version.

³¹⁸ Ibid., 94. From the November 14, 1854 journal entry. It is not included in the published version.

³¹⁹ The images in the border represent the weather conditions described in specified journal entries, as well as the passage of time through the changing seasons.

³²⁰ From journal entries December 3, December 10, December 16, December 17, December 22, and December 23rd, 1854. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 101-105.

³²¹ Ibid., 106. From the December 25, 1854 journal entry.

³²² Ibid., 107. From the January 4, 1855, journal entry. This is the first journal entry to mention snow.

³²³ The men are depicted in their summer uniforms as a consequence of the British supply fleet sinking in the Great Storm of 1854.

³²⁴ From the January 12, 1855 journal entry. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 109.

³²⁵ Ibid., 128. Partial quote taken from the April 11, 1855 journal entry.

WAR CHAPTER (TITLE PAGE)**PAGE 31**

CAPTION: WAR: “Why are we so helpless and so broken down? Oh, England! England! blot out the lion and the unicorn: let the supporters of your arms henceforth be, Imbecility and Death!”
-January 29th, 1855³²⁶

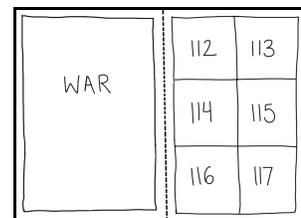


Illustration 18:
Page 31 and Page 32

WAR CHAPTER**PAGE 32**

PANEL 112: Interior. Fanny sits on her bed in her cabin aboard the Shooting Star in her nightgown. She stares blankly towards her stern cabin window.

CAPTION: October 25, 1854

PANEL 113: Fanny stands up, moves closer to her stern cabin window, and looks out.

PANEL 114: Close up of the cabin window. Looking out the cabin window we see the distant silhouette of a horse beside Fanny and Henry's unnamed soldier-servant standing on the beach.

PANEL 115: Interior. Fanny looks confused as someone knocks on the closed door.

FANNY: Oh! Yes, do come in!

PANEL 116: The door is open and a young man extends his right hand forward, holding a folded piece of paper.

YOUNG MAN: A letter for you Mrs. Duberly.

FANNY: Thank you.

PANEL 117: Close up of the unfolded note in Fanny's hand.

LETTER: Miss Pussy,³²⁷ The battle of Balaklava has begun, and promises to be a hot one. I send you the horse. Lose no time, but come up as quickly as you can: do not wait for breakfast.³²⁸ -Henry

WAR CHAPTER**PAGE 33**

³²⁶ Ibid., 113. Partial quote from the January 29, 1855 journal entry.

³²⁷ Ibid., 119. Fanny mentions Henry's nickname for her in the February 23, 1855 journal entry. In this context "pussy" is a term of endearment.

³²⁸ Ibid., 86. From the October 25, 1854 journal entry. The 'to' and 'from' of the letter are added to give the reader context.

PANEL 118: Close up of the cabin window. Looking out the cabin window we see Fanny now dressed and sitting in a manned life-boat.³²⁹ The life-boat is close to shore, where her horse Bob and her unnamed soldier-servant wait on the beach.

PANEL 119: Now on the beach, Fanny stands behind Bob with her hands on his saddle as she prepares to mount him.

PANEL 120: Fanny seated aside in her saddle³³⁰ directs Bob in a pace gait up the road towards the town of Sevastopol.

PANEL 121: With their backs turned from the reader, Fanny and Bob ride through a crowded side street of Sevastopol.

PANEL 122: Now farther down the street, this panel gives the reader a side view of Fanny and Bob riding through the crowded side street.

PANEL 123: The street ahead widens and joins the main road. A man (the commissariat) stands to the side, waving Fanny down.

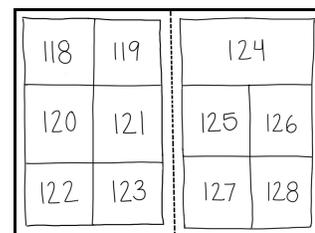


Illustration 19:
Page 33 and Page 34

WAR CHAPTER

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PANEL 124: This panel is two panels wide and takes up a third of the page. It depicts a section of Sevastopol's main road. Fanny and Bob (now in a gallop) ride past a commissariat and Captain Howard.³³¹ Both men gesture towards the right side of the panel where the road leads to a distance hill.

COMMISSARIAT: "For God's sake, ride fast, or you may not reach the camp alive."³³²
CAPTAIN HOWARD: "Lose no time!"³³³

PANEL 125: Fanny and Bob have their backs to the reader. The path ahead is concealed by a bend in the road. Dozens of Turkish soldiers run to, on, and past the road.³³⁴

³²⁹ AAE-1554, Artist Unknown, Painting of clipper ship "Shooting Star", photographic print, 1851-1867, (San Francisco Public Library), <http://sflib1.sfpl.org:82/record=b1035824> (accessed September 19, 2020).

³³⁰ Fanny specifies in the August 17, 1854 journal entry that when riding her own horse she uses a sidesaddle and sits aside. When she borrows others' horses they do not have sidesaddles and she must therefore sit astride. Therefore, we can presume in this sequence she sits aside in her own sidesaddle on her own horse. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 60.

³³¹ *Ibid.*, 86, 94. Fanny mentions "Captain Howard" in the October 25, 1854 journal entry as well as "Captain Howard, of the 44th" in the November 18, 1854 journal entry.

³³² *Ibid.*, 86. Partial quote from the October 25, 1854 journal entry.

³³³ *Ibid.*, 86. Partial quote from the October 25, 1854 journal entry.

TURKISH SOLDIER 1: "Ship Johnny!"³³⁵

TURKISH SOLDIER 2: "Ship Johnny!"

PANEL 126: Medium shot of Fanny and Bob's shocked facial expressions.

PANEL 127: Close-up of Turkish soldier's face.

TURKISH SOLDIER: "Ship Johnny!"

PANEL 128: Similar to PANEL 125, Fanny and Bob's backs are turned to the reader, but the pair are now closer to the left of the panel with the right side of the panel revealing more Turkish soldiers fleeing from something out of frame.

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PANEL 129: Fanny and Bob reach the end of the road at the top of the hill. Henry is standing and waiting with a pair of horses, each laden with saddlebags.

PANEL 130: Now within each other's reach, Fanny and Henry look at each.

129	130	135	
131	132	136	137
133	134	138	139

Illustration 20:

Page 35 and Page 36

PANEL 131: A noise catches Fanny and Henry's attention, and they turn from each other and look ahead.

PANEL 132: On the crest of the nearest hill, they see Turkish soldiers running from mounted Cossack forces.³³⁶

PANEL 133: Henry lifts Fanny by her waist³³⁷ and transfers her from a tired Bob to Whisker.³³⁸

PANEL 134: Henry then mounts the other horse and the two take off at a gallop.

HENRY: Yip yip!

³³⁴ RCIN 2500618, Szathmari, Carol, *Turkish infantry soldiers*, salted paper print, 1854 (Royal Collection Trust) <https://albert.rct.uk/collections/photographs-collection/record-of-historical-events/turkish-infantry-2> (accessed September 18, 2020).

³³⁵ Partial quote from the October 25, 1854 journal entry. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 87.

³³⁶ RCIN 2500621, Szathmari, Carol, *Cossack soldiers*, 1854 (Royal Collection Trust) <https://albert.rct.uk/collections/photographs-collection/record-of-historical-events/cossack-soldiers> (accessed September 18, 2020).

³³⁷ Fanny describes Henry lifting her onto her horse's back in the August 31, 1854 journal entry. It is therefore plausible that he would do the same on October 25, 1854. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 63.

³³⁸ Ibid., 87. From the October 25, 1854 journal entry.

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PANEL 135: This panel is two panels wide and takes up a third of the page. It depicts Fanny and Henry's escape. On horseback the pair are depicted mid jump above a ditch leading to a vineyard.³³⁹

PANEL 136: Now over the next hill, Fanny and Henry find a group of British officers looking down at the valley below.

PANEL 137: Fanny and Henry dismount to join the group.

PANEL 138: Fanny sits in a chair, with Henry standing by her side. An ornate reticule rests on her lap.³⁴⁰

PANEL 139: From her reticule, Fanny pulls out a pair of theatre binoculars and brings them to her face to watch the conflict unfolding in the valley below.

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PANEL 140: This panels is two panels wide and takes up a third of the page. It depicts a first-person point of view of what Fanny sees through her theatre binoculars. The Russian cavalry charges over a hill-side on the opposite side of the valley toward a significantly smaller line of infantry made up of the remaining 93rd Regiment of Foot (Sutherland Highlanders).³⁴¹

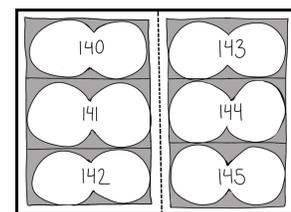


Illustration 21:
Page 37 and Page 38

CAPTION: The Russian cavalry came charging over the hill-side and across the valley against a small line of Sutherland Highlanders³⁴² standing with muskets at the ready.³⁴³

PANEL 141: Similar format to PANEL 140. The Russian cavalry advances forward with the Sutherland Highlanders standing their ground.

³³⁹ Ibid., 87. Partial quote from the October 25, 1854 journal entry.

³⁴⁰ T.449-1985, Unknown Artist, *Handbag*, velvet, papier-mâché, steel, 1820-1840 (Victoria and Albert Museum) <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O75427/handbag-unknown/> (accessed September 18, 2020).

³⁴¹ From the October 25, 1854 journal entry. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 87.

³⁴² NAM. 1956-02-721-1, Gibb, Robert, *'The Thin Red Line', 25 October 1854*, oil painting, 1881 (National Army Museum) <https://collection.nam.ac.uk/detail.php?acc=1956-02-721-1> (accessed Sept. 18, 2020).

³⁴³ "British regiments were gradually provided with the new [Minié rifle-muskets] but many did not receive them until after they arrived at Balaclava and those that did have them were often without sufficient supplies of suitable bullets. The French army was already fully equipped with Miniés. By the end of the war the Minié was being replaced by [the lighter, longer 'Pattern 1853 Enfield rifle-musket which were] made in a factory at Enfield[.]" Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 269.

CAPTION: "Charging and surging onward, what could that little wall of men do against such number and such speed? There they stood."³⁴⁴

FANNY: "Ah, what a moment!"³⁴⁵

PANEL 142: Similar format to PANEL 140. A cloud of smoke hides the point of contact between the British infantry and the Russian cavalry, but the cracks of firing muskets can still be heard.

CAPTION: "They waited until the horsemen were within range, and then poured a volley which for a moment hid everything in smoke."³⁴⁶

MUSKETS: CRACK! CRACK! CRACK!³⁴⁷

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PANEL 143: Similar format to PANEL 140. The Royal Scots Grey and 6th (Inniskilling) Dragoons leave the British cavalry ranks and charge from the left and right at Russian forces.

CAPTION: "The Scots Greys and Inniskillens then left the ranks of our Cavalry, and charged with all their weight and force upon them [.]"³⁴⁸

BRITISH BUGLER: Brr brr brr babrr brr brr!

PANEL 144: Similar format to PANEL 140. The Russian cavalry is within range of the British cavalry. Both sides raise their sabres, ready to slash if needed.

CAPTION: "Not a man stirred, they stood like rocks till the Russian horses came within about thirty yards[. . .] A few minutes -moments as it seemed to me- and all that occupied that lately crowded spot were men and horses lying strewn upon the ground."³⁴⁹

PANEL 145: Similar format to PANEL 140. The sun shines on the bodies of men and horses dead on the ground.

CAPTION: "Reinforcements of Infantry, and French Cavalry, Infantry, and Artillery came down from the front, and proceeded to form in the valley [. . .]. Ten more minutes

³⁴⁴ Ibid., 87. Partial quote from the October 25, 1854 journal entry.

³⁴⁵ Ibid., 87. Direct quote from the October 25, 1854 journal entry.

³⁴⁶ Ibid., 87. Direct quote from the October 25, 1854 journal entry.

³⁴⁷ britishmuzzleloaders, "The P53 Enfield Rifle-Musket: Platoon Exercise c. 1859" Youtube, 8:55, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eHCwesAeDm0&t=491s&app=desktop> (accessed October 20, 2020).

³⁴⁸ Partial quote from the October 25, 1854 journal entry. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 87.

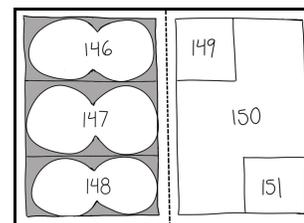
³⁴⁹ Ibid., 87. Partial quote from the October 25, 1854 journal entry.

and not a live Russian was seen on that side of the hill.³⁵⁰ [. . .] Such a goodly army as they were lying beneath us in the sunshine [. . .]."³⁵¹

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PANEL 146: Similar format to PANEL 140. Lead by Captain Louis Nolan and armed with sabres and lances, the Light Brigade leave their position and advance alone toward the Russian forces.



FANNY: "What can those skirmishers be doing? See, they form up together. Good God! it is the Light Brigade!"³⁵²

Illustration 22:
Page 39 and Page 40

PANEL 147: Similar format to PANEL 140. The Light Brigade advance further from Fanny's viewpoint. The cavalrymen begin to fall to the ground; the man or the horse being killed or injured by the Russian's muskets and artillery shells.³⁵³

CAPTION: In the face of the whole Russian force, the Light Brigade advanced "[. . .] under a fire that seemed pouring from all sides, as though every bush was a musket, every stone in the hillside a gun."³⁵⁴

MUSKET 1: CRACK!

MUSKET 2: CRACK!

PANEL 148: Similar format to PANEL 140. The distant hillside obscures Fanny's view. The sound of muskets crack through the valley. A significantly smaller number of horsemen return, many struggling or galloping back to the British lines.

CAPTION: It was "[. . .] the disaster of the day- our glorious and fatal charge. [. . .] It has become a matter of world history."³⁵⁵

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PANEL 149: A floating panel in the top left corner of the page.³⁵⁶

³⁵⁰ Ibid., 87. Partial quote from the October 25, 1854 journal entry.

³⁵¹ Ibid., 87. Partial quote from the October 25, 1854 journal entry. It was not included in the published version of the journal.

³⁵² Ibid., 88. Partial quote from the October 25, 1854 journal entry.

³⁵³ Ibid., 298. 'Musketry' – smooth-bored muskets, which had largely been replaced by the Minié [rifle-musket] in the French and British armies, were still used by most of the Russian forces."

³⁵⁴ Ibid., 88. Partial quote from the October 25, 1854 journal entry.

³⁵⁵ Ibid., 88.

³⁵⁶ Mike Chinn, *Writing and Illustrating the Graphic Novel: Everything You Need to Know to Create Great Graphic Works* (London: Barron's Educational Series, Inc., 2004), 23.

CAPTION: At five o'clock Henry and I rode to where these men had formed up in the rear and shook their hands. Poor fellows. Past the scene of the morning we rode slowly; around us were dead and dying horses, numberless.³⁵⁷

PANEL 150: A frameless panel that overlaps PANEL 149 and PANEL 151.³⁵⁸ Fanny and Henry ride their horses through the chaos described in PANEL 149 and PANEL 151: horses dead or dying, dead Russian and Turkish soldiers, a wounded British soldier crawling to the hills at the mouth of the valley, a French soldier whose face, neck, shoulders, and horse are crimson with his blood.³⁵⁹

PANEL 151: A floating panel in the bottom right corner of the page. The setting sun casts long shadows on Fanny and Henry's hut.

CAPTION: All had been struck with exception of Colonel Shewell. Poor Lord Fitzgibbon is dead, Captain Tomkinson's horse had been shot under him, no tidings had been heard of Captain Lockwood, Mr. Clutterbuck was wounded in the foot, Mr. Seager in the hand. Mr. Clowes was a prisoner, and poor Captain Goad is dead.³⁶⁰ Even the poor woman who waits on me has lost her husband.³⁶¹ With evening closing in, we rode slowly back to Balaklava.

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PANEL 152: This panel is two panels wide and takes up a third of the page. Extreme close up of Fanny's closed eyes.

PANEL 153: This panels is two panels wide and takes up a third of the page. The horrors of war Fanny has witnessed from previous panels of this chapter are copied into a collage. Some images are distorted or exaggerated to emphasis the surreal and disturbing nature of the images.

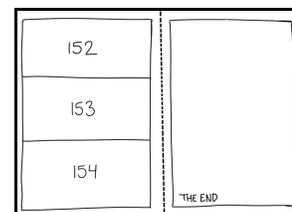


Illustration 23:
Page 41 and Page 42

CAPTION: "I felt no horror, no fear, no pain, until after I reached the [ship. . . .]. Overcome with bodily pain and fatigue, I [slept. But] even my closed eyelids were filled with the ruddy glare of blood."³⁶²

³⁵⁷ Paraphrased quote from the October 25, 1854 journal entry. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 88.

³⁵⁸ Mike Chinn, *Writing and Illustrating the Graphic Novel: Everything You Need to Know to Create Great Graphic Works* (London: Barron's Educational Series, Inc., 2004), 99.

³⁵⁹ From the October 25, 1854 journal entry. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 88.

³⁶⁰ Ibid., 88. Paraphrased from the October 25, 1854 journal entry.

³⁶¹ Ibid., 88. Paraphrased from an unpublished portion of the October 25, 1854 journal entry.

³⁶² Ibid., 89. Partial quote from the October 25, 1854 journal entry.

PANEL 154: This panel is two panels wide and takes up a third of the page. Extreme close up of Fanny's now open eyes. Tears fill her eyes and stream down the side of her face.

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CAPTION: The End

EPILOGUE

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CAPTION: Fanny published her journal in December 1855 with Britain and its allies winning their war with Russia in 1856. However, losing the war had little impact on Russia's influence, and of the officers and men sent to Crimea 2,755 were killed in action, 2,019 died from their injuries, and 16,323 had succumb to disease. In October 1857, Fanny would accompany Henry on campaign to India and publish a second journal in 1859 about her time there. The pair returned to Britain in 1864, with Henry retiring in 1881 with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. Henry passed away in 1891, with Fanny passing twelve years later in 1903.

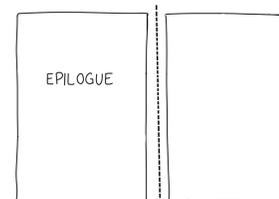


Illustration 24:
Epilogue and Inside Cover

INSIDE COVER

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BACK COVER

(see Illustration 2)

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

"Comics suggest motion, but they're incapable of actually showing motion. They indicate sound, and even spell it out, but they're silent. They imply the passage of time, but their temporal experience is controlled by the reader more than the artist. They convey continuous stories, but they're made up of a series of discrete moments. They're concerned with conveying an artist's perceptions, but one of their most crucial components is blank space."³⁶³

Drawing from literary techniques, historical analysis, and aesthetic principles, this chapter examines the historical and artistic choices made in *No Place for Women*, and identifies the primary and secondary sources which inform the project's structure, writing and illustrations.

Visual Style

Visual style is not a default expression, but a narrative choice fundamental to understanding graphic narratives. Style refers to the visual appearance of a work in relation to other works by the same artist or artists of the same period, location, art movement, or training. Stylization simplifies visual perception to a construct of line, form, colour, and depth. It is not an attempt at accurate representation, but a simplification, generalization, or expression of subjects, objects, or scenes. By these definitions, the 'look' of *No Place for Women* is less an exhibition of personal style and more a visual stylization of the source material.

In examining the descriptive attributes of art, one can often deduce which artist has influenced or been influenced by other artists. An artist may be inspired by a single work, an artist's whole body of work, or entire art movements or styles. While art historians can infer the aesthetic, cultural and historical aspects of a work, we cannot fully know

³⁶³ Douglas Wolk, *Reading Comics: How Graphic Novels Work and What They Mean* (Cambridge: Da Capo Press, 2007), 125.

what has inspired an artist unless they say so. Therefore, the following artists and art movements have influenced the visual stylization of *No Place for Women*.

The first artist is New York based Chilean illustrator Francisca Meneses. In addition to her autobiographical graphic narrative *Departures* (2015), she is perhaps most well known for her autobiographical series of webcomics which she has shared on her Instagram account "@frannerd" since 2014. By publishing the majority of her work in a serialized format, there is a discernible evolution of her visual style in which the narrative and her characters develop as Meneses herself matures. However, a number of defining stylistic elements have endured to maintain a harmonious and aesthetically pleasing body of work. Often depicting quiet introspective scenes of domesticity, Meneses exaggerates facial expressions, elongates limbs, or applies a minimal colour palette of cool tone pastels to convey emotional experiences or ideas. She also uses dark lines to emphasize form and texture while suggesting depth through the interposition of figures and objects within the panels of her illustrations.

The second visual influence of *No Place for Women* is Iranian-born French graphic novelist Marjane Satrapi. Her most well-known work is her autobiographical series *Persepolis 1: The Story of a Childhood* (2000), and *Persepolis 2: The Story of a Return* (2004). Part one is an account of her childhood in Iran during the Islamic Revolution and the Iran-Iraq war, and part two is about the hardships she experienced in Vienna before returning to her family in Tehran as a young adult. Satrapi's style is both expressionistic and minimalist. Its visual simplicity coupled with emotionally and politically complex subject matter suggests "[. . .] that the historically traumatic does not have to be vis-

ually traumatic.”³⁶⁴ The accessible stylization of *Persepolis* both points to the question of representation, and blurs the historical and the 'everyday' to suggest the normalcy of violence in Iran.

Her visual style references the symmetrical harmony and two-dimensional flatness of ancient Persian miniatures, murals, and friezes. However, in contrast to the vibrant colours in traditional Persian art, the colour palette of *Persepolis* is 'limited' to black and white. Satrapi chose this palette to “[. . .] present events with a pointed degree of abstraction in order to call attention to the horror of history, by re-representing endemic images, either imagined or reproduced, of violence.”³⁶⁵

The third influence is the Romantic art movement which dominated late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Britain. Also known as Romanticism, this movement was partly in reaction to the Industrial Revolution. The expansion of manufacturing and trade triggered a great migration of people from agrarian communities to urban areas, and with urbanization came greater emphasis of individualism and a glorification of nature and the past. Paired with a newly created upper and middle class of intellectuals, British illustrations became more embellished, and the decorative became a premium.³⁶⁶

A superficial comparison between the general embellishments of nineteenth-century illustrations and the gestural lines in *No Place for Women* would not place the two stylizations together. However, a deeper analysis suggests a number of commonalities.

The most prominent is the integration of text and image on a single page and the use of a

³⁶⁴ Hillary L. Chute, *Graphic Women: Life Narrative & Contemporary Comics* (New York: Columbia University Press), 135.

³⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 145.

³⁶⁶ John Buchanan-Brown, *Early Victorian Illustrated Books: Britain, France and Germany. 1820-1860* (London: The British Library, 2005), 136.

ruled border to distinguish the two. Translator and author John Buchanan-Brown writes, that whether "[. . .] as a plain single or double rule, as a 'stick' or more elaborate piece of decoration, the frame is the characteristic feature of Romantic page layout."³⁶⁷ Second is the choice of cost-effective black ink; followed by the use of visible outlines to indicate forms on the page. However, where *No Place for Women* stops at a linear outline, nineteenth-century illustrations use hatching and cross-hatching to embellish, add tone, and suggest depth. Therefore, *No Place for Women* is informed by the historical context in which Fanny's journal takes place, but is visually depicted in a iconicity different from what nineteenth-century illustrators used.

There are also several elements from Meneses and Satrapi's styles that are borrowed for *No Place for Women*. First, is how they translate the three-dimensional onto the two-dimensional plane of the page. Both use relative size (the relative size of two objects) and interposition (near surfaces overlapping far surfaces) to create the illusion of depth. Some may describe their work as lacking depth in comparison to the hatching and cross-hatching of Romanticism art, but artistic expression does not require common markers like shading and perspective to communicate depth to readers. Their work simply reflects different choices. In addition to my personal preference of creating gestural line art, it is easy to conceptually relate this perceived flatness to the historian's task of understanding and representing past events. The available sources and the cultural, temporal, and geographical distance between us and the past frequently allows for inherently subjective and 'shallow' interpretations.

³⁶⁷ Ibid., 255.

Second, is the parallel between Satrapi's intention with *Persepolis* and one of the intentions behind *No Place for Women*. Dr. Hillary L. Chute suggests that *Persepolis I: The Story of a Childhood* is "[. . .] about the ethical visual and verbal practice of 'not forgetting' and about the political confluence of the everyday and the historical: through its visual and verbal witnessing, it contests dominant images and narratives of history, debunking those that are incomplete and those that do the work of elision."³⁶⁸ Fanny's journal does a similar job of weaving the larger context of the Crimean War into her personal experiences, and in doing so decentralizes the collective representational history of the conflict.

Third, is Satrapi and Meneses' postminimalist³⁶⁹ aesthetic. Despite the historical context of Satrapi's work and the contemporary context of Meneses, both artists tackle complex subject matter. *Persepolis* contests dominant image and narratives of history through verbal and visual witnessing. Comparatively, Meneses' webcomics series lifts the veil of domesticity by confronting taboo topics like miscarriage, grief, or the political climate in her home country of Chile. Their "[. . .] choice of pared-down techniques of line and perspective – [. . .] is hardly a shortcoming of ability, as some critics have alleged."³⁷⁰ Rather, the minimal visual style balances the complexity of their subject matter.

This pared-down technique sits on a continuum that ranges from realistic representation to the non-realistic or abstract. This continuum identifies the iconicity of art in specific comics. Or, in simpler terms it describes "how much [. . .] a drawing [looks] like

³⁶⁸Hillary L. Chute, *Graphic Women: Life Narrative & Contemporary Comics* (New York: Columbia University Press), 136.

³⁶⁹ Postminimalist art uses minimalism as an aesthetic, and is more an artistic tendency than a particular art movement.

³⁷⁰ Hillary L. Chute, *Graphic Women: Life Narrative & Contemporary Comics* (New York: Columbia University Press), 146.

the thing it is meant to represent."³⁷¹ Deciding the level of iconicity for *No Place for Women* was particularly challenging due to the formal training I received during my time as an undergraduate. While the fine arts department propagated the need for observation and personal expression, the direction and feedback I received indicated a preference for careful observation.³⁷² Additionally, historians traditionally favour pictorial details over iconic details in an attempt to achieve the amorphous goal of 'accuracy'.

Then why use non-realistic line art for *No Place for Women*? First, unlike printed books, the hand-drawn constructedness of graphic narratives immediately cues readers to consider choices made about what is said and how it is said. Dr. Kate Polak believes these choices of representation call attention to the distance between the reader's own experiences and the source material. Some postulate that this distance makes graphic narrative an ineffective form to develop empathy for characters, but Polak argues that in this distance a deeper engagement with the material occurs.³⁷³

Second, the linear stylization of *No Place for Women* becomes an example of amplification through simplification. Comics scholar and author Scott McCloud explains that "[when] we abstract an image [. . .] we're not so much eliminating details as we are focusing on specific details. By stripping down an image to its essential 'meaning,' an artist can amplify that meaning in a way that realistic art can't."³⁷⁴ This concept is not unfamiliar to traditional historians. When presented with data or facts, the historian must

³⁷¹ Heike Elisabeth Jüngst, *Information Comics: Knowledge Transfer in a Popular Format* (New York: Peter Lang, 2010), 169.

³⁷² One undergraduate professor told the class that the world does not need more photocopiers, and that statement has haunted me every since.

³⁷³ Kate Polak, *Ethics in the Gutter: Empathy and Historical Fiction in Comics* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2017), 14.

³⁷⁴ Scott McCloud, *Understanding Comics: The Invisible Art* (New York: HarperCollins, 1993), 30. Emphasis removed from original source.

discern which details to include and exclude from their writing. In these choices, the original source is distilled to fit a narrative or identify a pattern.

World-building

The term 'world-building' is often associated with science fiction and fantasy writers who use elements such as social customs, architecture, invented language, ecology, geography, and history to develop their imaginary settings to varying degrees of completeness and consistency.³⁷⁵ While *No Place for Women* takes place in a historical setting, it is important to keep in mind the artist whose choice of materials and techniques can influence how the reader perceives a setting.³⁷⁶ The same consideration can be applied to historians, who despite their attempts at objectivity, carefully craft words to direct the reader to specific conclusions. Also to photographers whose choices are reflected in the composition, framing, and subject matter of their photographs. When science fiction and fantasy writers cannot or choose not to include every aspect of a setting, they often use the approach of 'inferred world-building'. This approach provides readers with enough details about a setting to allow them to come to their own conclusions when specific details are not provided. It therefore seems appropriate to borrow this concept to explain my approach to world-building.

A distinct feature of graphic narratives is the tension between word and image. Words present descriptions (a character's thoughts, feelings, conversations), and the image is a visual representation that stands in for an array of other descriptions. For histori-

³⁷⁵ Denis Mellier, "World Building and Metafiction in Contemporary Comic Books: Metalepsis and Figurative Process of Graphic Fiction." In *World Building*, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017), 307. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1zkjz0m.20> (accessed July 12, 2020).

³⁷⁶ Heike Elisabeth Jüngst, *Information Comics: Knowledge Transfer in a Popular Format* (New York: Peter Lang, 2010), 176.

cal theorist Dr. F. R. Ankersmit, this representation has the possibility of ordering reality, with descriptions referring to conditions, and representation making narrative sense of those conditions. Description and representation occur from a specific point of view embedded in a network of values, beliefs, and aspirations which shape the way we receive words and images.³⁷⁷ Professor of Philosophy Dr. Peter Goldie suggests that "[e]motions are experienced from a given position and are directed toward an object [. . .], which links how emotions are created, felt, and narrated with contemporary understandings of history as accounts that unfold from a particular point of view."³⁷⁸ Therefore, when the reader views visual representations of the scenery within the panel, they imaginatively enter a world bordered by Fanny's point of view.

As our central source, *Mrs Duberly's war journal and letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* describes the chronology of events, natural and manufactured environments, weather, objects, and people from Fanny's perspective. Written for her contemporaries, Fanny's account leaves out much of the minutiae a twenty-first century illustrator would need to render a plausible world for Fanny to inhabit. Furthermore, any meaning made or recovered by the contemporary illustrator/historian is conditioned by commodity culture and temporally displaced from the meanings evoked in the original readers of her journal. Further limited by the individual and collective cultural knowledge of the Victorian era in surviving and accessible sources, a certain level of anachronism in my interpretation cannot be avoided.³⁷⁹

³⁷⁷ Kate Polak, *Ethics in the Gutter: Empathy and Historical Fiction in Comics* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2017), 6.

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 6.

³⁷⁹ Elaine Freedgood, *The Ideas in Things: Fugitive Meaning in the Victorian Novel* (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 2006), 8.

In order to render a visual world that is reasonably accurate to the historical context it represents, a patchwork of primary and secondary sources are used. These sources are needed to compensate for the informational gaps in Fanny's journal, as well as ground her experiences in a context not entirely of her own creation. In expanding our context beyond Fanny's experience, the reader gains an awareness that the narrative in Fanny's journal is produced. Through this awareness the reader has the opportunity to engage in the production of history, and have an affective relationship with the content.

The bulk of the visual references used in *No Place for Women* come from Roger Fenton's photographs taken of the conflict during his time in Crimea between March 8, 1855 and June 22, 1855. Due to the long exposure of his camera, the majority of his photographs are staged portraits or wide shots of the landscape. Despite these technical constraints, Fenton's photos offer spatial awareness of the environment, and visual references of the architecture, clothing worn, and the faces of military leaders. Images on postcards, painted portraits, landscape paintings, and other art from the time period supplements the locations and individuals not photographed; along with references of smaller objects and artifacts from online collections. This mixture of the imagined and the documented are then concealed in a homogeneous visual style to render a plausible world for Fanny to inhabit.³⁸⁰ Therefore, the feather boa Fanny disguises herself with (PANEL 13), is not the feather boa Fanny wore, but a feather boa from the same time period that she could have worn.³⁸¹

³⁸⁰ Thierry Groensteen, *The System of Comics*, ed. Bart Beaty and Nick Nguyen (France: University Press of Mississippi, 2007), 42.

³⁸¹ However, as René Magritte reminds us: "*Ceci n'est pas une boa de plumes.*"

This world-building approach is perhaps most in line with Roland Barthes' 'reality effect', in which objects that contribute little meaning to a narrative are used to signify a generic realism to readers.³⁸² Barthes distinguishes the realistic objects from the allegorical, but unlike the novels he analyzes, the entire page composition of a graphic narrative is encoded in meaning. For this reason, in addition to Barthes' realistic and allegorical objects in a narrative, there is also a visual hierarchy of motifs between 'central' and 'secondary' objects.³⁸³ The meaning of central objects is "attributed to small, private, unnamed processes in the foreground, while, in the background, the larger historical processes that cannot be domesticated [. . .] are not allowed to mean too much; they will not be allowed to disturb us unduly."³⁸⁴ This is reflected in the visual rendering of Fanny's surroundings in *No Place for Women*. Based on their relationship to her immediate location, details not pertinent to a specific situation or the general narrative are either obscured or absent from the frame. Consequently, the central (and often allegorical) objects are rendered at a higher level of detail than the objects, figures, or landscapes positioned farther back in the panel.³⁸⁵

One example is the *Shooting Star*, an extreme clipper built by American shipwright James O. Curtis in Medford, Massachusetts in 1851. This class of ship gained popularity among merchants for its speed and cargo tonnage. However, due to the sharp-

³⁸² Elaine Freedgood, *The Ideas in Things: Fugitive Meaning in the Victorian Novel* (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 2006), 9.

³⁸³ Thierry Groensteen, *The System of Comics*, ed. Bart Beaty and Nick Nguyen (France: University Press of Mississippi, 2007), 116.

³⁸⁴ Elaine Freedgood, *The Ideas in Things: Fugitive Meaning in the Victorian Novel* (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 2006), 138.

³⁸⁵ The softening of details behind the foreground also mimics atmospheric perspective, which refers to how the atmosphere affects an object (reduced clarity, value, and colour saturation) when it recedes from the viewer.

ness and depth of their floors, extreme clippers lacked stability and often did not possess enough buoyancy to sustain their own weight.³⁸⁶ This flaw in the ship's design is likely why the ship tilted dramatically enough to throw Fanny from her bed (PANEL 96 and PANEL 97). This adds a level of realism to Fanny's world, but the *Shooting Star* is also a symbolic surrogate for the numerous other ships Fanny stays on or visits during her time living in Crimea. Creating an accurate chronology of where Fanny stayed based on her journal is difficult (if not impossible), as she often mentions ships in passing or long after the fact. The one other ship mentioned in *No Place for Women* is the *HMS Rodney*, a comparatively larger second rate ship of the line of the Royal Navy. On August 4, 1855 Fanny writes about staying in Captain Keppel's "luxurious" cabins on the *HMS Rodney* after falling ill with congestion of the liver (PANEL 36 and PANEL 37).³⁸⁷ On February 24, 1855, Fanny visits a woman from Henry's regiment who she hears has fought a fever for twelve days. Living in the cold, wet, and mud, Fanny describes her as a "poor helpless, half-delirious creature" (PANEL 79 to PANEL 82).³⁸⁸ Serving as an allegory for Fanny's privilege, the opulence of the *HMS Rodney* better accentuates the divide between each woman's experience with illness in Crimea.

World-building also requires the author to determine whether characters inhabit and interact with the objects and setting of a given panel. Similar to the concept of amplification through simplification discussed in the Visual Style section, comics artists often

³⁸⁶"Clipper Ships," Encyclopaedia Britannica (1884), in *Stoddard's Encyclopaedia Americana*, https://books.google.ca/books?id=fllMAAAAMAAJ&dq=%22extreme+clipper%22&lr=&as_drrb_is=q&as_minm_is=0&as_miny_is=&as_maxm_is=0&as_maxy_is=&num=100&as_br=4&pg=PA151&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=%22extreme%20clipper%22&f=false (accessed February 9, 2020).

³⁸⁷ From the August 4, 1855 journal entry. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 158.

³⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 158. From the August 4, 1855 journal entry.

use a shorthand when rendering figures. Known as 'physiognomy', this theory suggests that a person's outward appearance is indicative of their inner character and personality.³⁸⁹ Repeatable and recognizable visual cues evoke a reflexive response in readers that allows them to process visual information more easily. However, physiognomy in comics is dependent on readers' past experiences, so the author must be familiar with their target audience and recognize that some experiences are culture-specific.³⁹⁰ Verbal, visual, behavioural, and cultural stereotypes are therefore a natural outcome of the comics medium.³⁹¹

A common stereotype in comics is the 'handsome' protagonist and the 'ugly' antagonist. Like ourselves, people of the past are complex, contradictory, and flawed. A similar patchwork of primary and secondary sources as mentioned above determines how a 'character' is rendered. This includes biographical information, photographs, and the specific adjectives Fanny uses to describe specific individuals. Additionally, as an autobiographical account, her journal provides subjective insight into Fanny's self perception through descriptors and self-portraits. Dr. Lisa El Refaie argues that in self-portraits, artists "represent their physical identities in ways that reflect their own innermost sense of self, often by using a range of symbolic elements and rhetorical tropes to add further layers of meaning to their self-portraits."³⁹²

³⁸⁹ Paul Gravett, *Graphic Novels: Stories to Change Your Life* (London: Aurum Press Limited, 2005), 11.

³⁹⁰ Will Eisner, *Graphic Storytelling and Visual Narrative* (Paramus: Poorhouse Press, 1996), 17.

³⁹¹ "Nineteenth-century political cartoons and the earliest comic strips often featured stereotypical caricatures of African Americans, Asians, Native Americans, Latinos, Jews, and the Irish, among other groups." These depictions ultimately reinforced preexisting prejudices against racial and ethnic groups. Andrew J. Kunka, "Comics, Race, and Ethnicity," in *The Routledge Companion to Comics*, edited by Frank Bramlett, Roy T Cook, and Aaron Meskin (New York: Routledge, 2017), 279.

³⁹² Elisabeth El Refaie, *Autobiographical Comics Life Writing in Pictures* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2012), 51.

Similar to the science fiction and fantasy writers who develop their imaginary setting to varying degrees of completeness and consistency, the homogeneous visual style of *No Place for Women* conceals a variety of primary and secondary sources to offer a reasonably accurate visualization of past. Beyond a transfer of facts, visualization aims to further communicate enough insight and perspective about the historical context to allow the reader to make their own conclusions if a specific detail is not provided. Unable to close the geographic, temporal, and cultural distances between ourselves and the past, no other approach is as effective as 'inferred world-building'. Jüngst argues that "the evocation of a particular period is more or less restricted to costume and relies very much on the information given in the verbal text."³⁹³ This statement applies to *No Place for Women*, but the plot and relationships between characters are arguably more important than the rendering of objects.

Colour

For those who have not yet read the illustrated chapter of *No Place for Women* in Appendix A, the graphic narrative is digitally illustrated with black lines ('ink') on a white canvas ('page'). Some may consider black and white as 'noncolours'³⁹⁴ and therefore view the colour palette of *No Place for Women* as both limited and absent of colour. However, colour is not expressed simply through colouration, but through value, intensity, density, texture, contrast, and rhythm of an image; all of which can be communicate by black

³⁹³ Heike Elisabeth Jüngst, *Information Comics: Knowledge Transfer in a Popular Format* (New York: Peter Lang, 2010), 180.

³⁹⁴ Black is considered a colour because it is often made by mixing together the primary colours. Black and white are referred to as a shade and tint respectively when added to a base colour to alter its saturation and brightness.

lines on a white page.³⁹⁵ In combination with patterns of stipples and hatching, a black line can define the shape, form, positive and negative space, three dimensional depth, and movement of an image. Additionally, the decision to include a colour and the decision to exclude a colour require the same deliberate consideration. The decision to 'limit' the colour palette of *No Place for Women* to black and white is based on the following considerations.

First, the colours we see today on centuries old documents, images, works of art, and objects are not the colours in their original state but how time has made them. Whether from the direct or indirect actions of humans or a chemical reaction of the colourant material, the history of an object must include the object in its original state as well as in its current state. While laboratories now have the technology to 'restore' the colours of objects and images, these 'redeemed' colours were not originally lit, viewed, or studied with modern lighting; which arguably diminishes any attempts to reduce anachronism through the restoration of colour.³⁹⁶ Medievalist Dr. Michel Pastoureau argues that “[the] danger of anachronism awaits the historian at every documentary turn. But when it is a matter of color and of its definitions and classifications that danger seems even greater.”³⁹⁷

Second, a limited colour palette of black and white acknowledges the historical context in which the events represented in *No Place for Women* take place. In the nineteenth century the printing press was mechanized and automated, making the printing process substantially faster. Literacy rates increased among the working and middle

³⁹⁵ Michel Pastoureau, *Black: The History of a Colour* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 120.

³⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 13.

³⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 15.

classes, which created a new mass market for printed material. Additionally the electric telegraph decreased the time it took war correspondence from reporters like William Howard Russell of *The Times* to reach readers back in Britain.³⁹⁸ This time period also brought advancements in photography. French painter Gustave Le Gray was among the first to experiment with the aesthetic potential of the 'calotype' photographic technique.³⁹⁹ Through these experiments he developed the waxed-paper process which replaces the glass plates used to develop the negative of an image with dry wax-paper. This change allowed the negative to be prepared days in advance and then be developed days after the photo was taken.⁴⁰⁰ Ideal for traveling photographers like Roger Fenton, this method allowed clear and aesthetically pleasing photographs to be taken outside a studio, and produce multiple positive images from a single negative. These technological advancements brought the realities of war to the people of Britain. The majority of printed material and photographs from the Crimean War which survive today were produced in black and white.⁴⁰¹ Therefore my interpretation of the past (and how this interpretation is presented to the reader) is limited to a world of black, white, and grey. My interpretation is further removed from the nineteenth century context by my reliance on online primary sources,

³⁹⁸ Matthew Taunton, "Print culture," *British Library*, May 15, 2014. <https://www.bl.uk/romantics-and-victorians/articles/print-culture> (accessed May 18, 2020).

³⁹⁹ Developed by William Henry Fox Talbot in the 1830s and patented in 1841, the calotype technique involves coating a sheet of paper with silver chloride and exposing it to light in a camera obscura to create a negative image which is developed on paper with gallic acid. This developing process cut exposure time down from one hour to one minute, and allowed for multiple positive images to be produced from a single negative. *Encyclopædia Britannica*, s.v. "Calotype" <https://www.britannica.com/technology/calotype> (accessed May 18, 2020).

⁴⁰⁰ *Encyclopædia Britannica*, s.v. "Gustave Le Gray" <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Gustave-Le-Gray> (accessed May 18, 2020).

⁴⁰¹ The December 22, 1855 edition of the *Illustrated London News* contains the first colour pictures printed in a British newspaper, but coloured ink would not appear regularly in daily newspapers until the 1970s. Similarly colour photography would not become the dominant form of photography until the 1970s.

and physical copies of secondary sources which often reproduce, resize or distort original images and documents.

Third, is the consideration of cost. Historically, the technological means of creating print media were only available to wealthy individuals or industrial users.⁴⁰² However, the typesetting, printing plates, printing presses, paper, and ink once required to publish traditional print media are today no longer the exclusive domain of publishing companies.⁴⁰³ With the computing power of laptops, desktops, tablets, and smartphones individuals have the ability to publish their creations with comparable proficiency to that of traditional print media. Additionally, the Internet offers the digital publication and distribution of content without complicated shipping logistics, a network of retailers, or the need for tangible retail locations. Without the financial or creative restrictions of the traditional publishing industry, once oppressed creative voices can now speak and be heard by larger audiences in increasingly diverse mediums. Despite the economic advantages to digital publication, readers are encouraged to read *No Place for Women* in its printed format. The reasoning behind this recommendation will be discussed in subsequent sections of this chapter. Therefore, a black and white colour palette is cost effective for both the graphic narrative and written chapters of this project. Whether a more expansive colour palette would have been more effective for this project will be explored in the following chapter.

Sound

In his seminal work *Understanding Comics: The Invisible Art* (1993), an illustrated version of author Scott McCloud turns his gaze towards the reader and asks "Do

⁴⁰² As previously mentioned, Fanny's brother-in-law Francis Marx was her editor.

⁴⁰³ Randy Duncan, Matthew J. Smith, and Paul Levitz, *The Power of Comics: History, Form, and Culture* (New York: Bloombury Academic, 2015), 83.

you hear what I'm saying?" "If you do, have your ears checked, because no one said a word."⁴⁰⁴ While it is second nature for readers to interpret the depiction of sound in comics, the sound is not perceived but imagined. It is therefore not sound, but an understanding of sound that helps readers to interpret an otherwise silent medium.⁴⁰⁵ The dialogue, sound effects, and music in comics often lack the realism found in auditory mediums like radio or film. Any sound introduced into a graphic narrative is visualized and is therefore part of the page composition.

One way to move closer to visually representing qualities of spoken word is through typography. The dialogue and narration of *No Place for Women* is written in plain and uniform lettering. This is both easier to read, and acts as a baseline for when more expressive and varied lettering is needed to convey the nonlexical components of speech.⁴⁰⁶ One such component is volume. Writing a sound effect in smaller lettering suggests a quieter volume. The sound effect placed beside the doorknob of Fanny's cabin aboard the *Shooting Star* (PANEL 17) is one example. The lock and key are concealed from the reader by Fanny's hands, so writing *click* in small font beside her hands, prompts the reader to conclude she is locking the door and is locking it quietly. Consequently, larger lettering communicates a louder volume. Writing "BAWK" (PANEL 49) or "CRACK" (PANEL 147) in capital letters and large lettering helps to convey the loud shrieks Bob has to endure from the chickens tied to his saddle, or the thunderous firing of muskets Fanny hears during the Charge of the Light Brigade.

⁴⁰⁴ Scott McCloud, *Understanding Comics: The Invisible Art* (New York: HarperCollins, 1993), 25.

⁴⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 25.

⁴⁰⁶ Randy Duncan, Matthew J. Smith, and Paul Levitz, *The Power of Comics: History, Form, and Culture* (New York: Bloombury Academic, 2015), 56-57.

Another component is the direction of sound. The point/tail of speech bubbles is a way to indicate the source of dialogue depicted in a panel. When Fanny overhears a conversation between Captain Heath and Captain Powell (PANEL 19), their speech bubbles creep from the edges of the closed door into her cabin. The two captains are concealed from the reader by the door, but their words are visible in the room. With the tails of their speech bubbles pointed at the door, the reader understands that Fanny is overhearing a conversation. Another example is when Fanny and Henry go back to their hut to nap on June 7, 1855 (PANEL 31). A trail of ascending Z's starts close to the sleeping couple and becomes larger the further the Z's float away. Acting almost as a megaphone, the cone-like shape of the Z's indicates to readers that this onomatopoeic representation of snoring is coming from a sleeping Fanny and Henry.

Variation in typography also has the power to communicate information beyond the sound effects and the paralingual qualities of dialogue. On February 23, 1855 Fanny reads in the *Devizes Gazette* newspaper that the ship she's staying on is the scene of "nocturnal orgies."⁴⁰⁷ She scoffs at the suggestions and jokes with herself that they never had the luck of having orgies (PANEL 21). Her thoughts while reading are visualized as a cloud with scalloped edges and a stream of bubbles drifting from her head. In this particular thought bubble, italicized lettering distinguishes the quote she reads in the newspaper from the plain lettering of her own thoughts. Moreover, wherever a correspondence letter is visible on the page, the lettering is depicted in cursive writing (PANEL 19, PANEL 56

⁴⁰⁷ "London, Tuesday, January 30, 1855," *The Times*, January 30, 1855, 8. <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/archive/article/1855-01-30/8/2.html?region=global#start%3D1785-01-01%26end%3D1985-12-31%26terms%3D%22star%20of%20the%20south%22%20orgies%26back%3D/tto/archive/find/%252522star+of+the+south%252522+orgies/w:1785-01-01%7E1985-12-31/1%26next%3D/tto/archive/frame/goto/%252522star+of+the+south%252522+orgies/w:1785-01-01%7E1985-12-31/2> (accessed August 31, 2020).

and PANEL 88). Additionally, the letter Henry writes to Fanny is written in thicker cursive lettering to communicate the change of author to the reader (PANEL 117). "It is the proper emphasis and interaction of pictorial and linguistic that is the basis of effective comic book communication."⁴⁰⁸

Similar to the challenges discussed in the world-building section, sound and conversations are details rarely included in Fanny's writing. As a first-person account of her time in Crimea, Fanny's journal tends to only include what others have said when she has an emotional response to their words. There is little back and forth between characters, and the dialogue in *No Place for Women* reflects this. Fanny's precarious social standing is built on the kindness of others in the British military, so what would be an appropriate topic of conversation for Fanny to have with her husband would not be appropriate with Lord Raglan. This social dynamic is why Fanny is the most candid when providing narration to the reader, speaking privately to her husband, or writing to her sister. Additionally, most of the conversation and information she writes about has been told to her as second-hand unverified gossip. The Women's chapter was particularly difficult to write because there is often a delay between when gossip is heard and when it is repeated.

Another consideration is whether to "translate" Fanny's nineteenth-century dialect to twenty-first century vernacular. The difference in Fanny's word choice and sentence structure is not severe enough to hinder a modern reader's comprehension of the narrative. With few exceptions, the resulting dialogue in *No Place for Women* is quoted from Fanny's writing and serves as a signifier unique to Fanny. For example, on September 1,

⁴⁰⁸ Randy Duncan, Matthew J. Smith, and Paul Levitz, *The Power of Comics: History, Form, and Culture* (New York: Bloombury Academic, 2015), 128.

1854 Fanny, disguises herself as a sex worker and sneaks aboard the *Shooting Star* (PANEL 15). In an unpublished section of her journal entry from that day, Fanny records the compliments she receives from sailors. She writes: "'Your cheeks seems to stand the sun right well' – 'You're aware there's a widow's pension all regulated I s'pose young 'ooman' &c &c."⁴⁰⁹ The language and idioms used by the sailors contrast the dialect of Fanny's writing, which is a reflection of her social class. Maintaining Fanny's word choice and sentence structure in *No Place for Women* therefore provides a deeper understanding of the cultural context she lived in.

Focalization and Point of View

Graphic narratives generally do not have traditional narrators, and are instead focalized through one or more characters. Narration refers to "the voice that speaks [and] focalization refers to the perspective from which the narrative is recounted. As readers, we share the knowledge of the focalizer and partake in their experience."⁴¹⁰ Literary theorist Gérard Genette distinguishes the level of access a reader has to information into three categories: zero focalization, internal focalization, and external focalization. With zero focalization the narrator has unrestricted access to information and the reader perceives the graphic narrative as a third-person omniscient. With internal focalization the narrator's access is restricted to information provided by one or more central characters, and the narrative develops through the character(s) whose perceptions frame the action. With external focalization the access to information is restricted to what would be available to

⁴⁰⁹ Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 56-57.

⁴¹⁰Karin Kukkonen, *Studying Comics and Graphic Novels* (West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd 2013), 45.

an uninvolved observer, and mimics the access readers have when watching a televised news report (viewing narrative elements at varying proximity to themselves).⁴¹¹

The subject of internal focalization in *No Place for Women* is Fanny Duberly. As the focalizer, the readers' knowledge of her time in Crimea and how the narrative develops are filtered through Fanny's perception of events. We see this focalization in PANEL 69 with a large question mark replacing Florence Nightingale's facial features. Known as the founder of modern nursing, Nightingale's organized care for wounded soldiers is well-known and mythologized in art, literature, and film. Concealing her identity is not for a lack of visual references, but a reflection of Fanny's personal knowledge of Nightingale. PANEL 69 depicts November 13, 1854 and at this point in the narrative Fanny has heard of the nurse, but has not seen her in person. PANEL 85 to PANEL 87 depicts Fanny's efforts to meet Florence Nightingale on May 17, 1855. When she reaches the hospital at Balaklava, Fanny is turned away after learning Nightingale is sick. Fanny does not meet Nightingale, so like Fanny the reader does not know what she looks like.

Point of view in graphic narratives refers to what is presented in an image or sequence of images with regard to construction and composition. Therefore the 'point' of point of view is not about who perceives, but what is shown.⁴¹² As Will Eisner explains, in "[functioning] as a stage, the panel controls the viewpoint of the reader; the panel's outline becomes the perimeter of the reader's vision and establishes the perspective from

⁴¹¹ Kate Polak, *Ethics in the Gutter: Empathy and Historical Fiction in Comics* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2017), 27.

⁴¹² Achim Hescher, *Reading Graphic Novels: Genre and Narration* (Germany: De Gruyter, 2016), 121.

which the site of action is viewed. This manipulation enables the artist to clarify activity, orient the reader and stimulate emotion."⁴¹³

We see this manipulation in the second chapter of *No Place for Women*, which focuses on Bob the horse. The depiction of Bob's facial expressions, companions, and location change, but his position remains the same. At centre 'stage' and facing the reader, Bob's unchanged composition is designed for maximum identification with the reader. While one might assume Bob is the focalizer in this chapter, he is actually an extension of Fanny's personal experience. In her journal, Fanny often attributes her own emotional response to Bob; her fear is his fear, her grief is his grief. In the same way Fanny anthropomorphizes Bob, the reader relates to the human emotions attributed to a stylized depiction of a horse. PANEL 51 and PANEL 52 provide further evidence that chapter two is not a change in focalization, but a change in point of view. Both panels depict when Henry, Fanny, and Bob are photographed by Roger Fenton on April 7, 1855. Bob did not leave behind a written account of his experience in front of Fenton's camera, so it would be erroneous to presume April 7, 1855 was or was not a significant day in his life. In contrast, there are several unpublished journal entries in which Fanny expresses her delight in the experience and the commercial success of the subsequent prints Fenton produces and sells of the photograph. By allocating a larger spatial distribution on the page, the significance of this event to Fanny is conveyed to the reader and enforces the continuation of Fanny as focalizer despite her peripheral position in the panels of this chapter.

⁴¹³ Kate Polak, *Ethics in the Gutter: Empathy and Historical Fiction in Comics* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2017), 11. Emphasis from original quote removed.

An additional consideration in graphic narratives is ocularization. Dr. François Jost defines ocularization as "the relation between what the [image] shows and what the characters are presumed to be seeing."⁴¹⁴ What a character sees is often different from what an image shows because meaning is usually produced from a recipient (reader) oriented view. Therefore, the 'point of view image' is an image in which the positions of the reader and the implied observer fully overlap. PANEL 140 to PANEL 148 are the only examples of 'point of view images' in *No Place for Women*. These panels depict Fanny's view of the Charge of the Light Brigade on October 25, 1854. Through a pair of theatre binoculars, Fanny watches the battle unfold from afar. The framing of these panels mimics binocular vision, with a separate field of vision for each eye (through circular lenses) overlapping to depict a single image. No longer a third person omniscient, the smoke obscuring Fanny's vision in PANEL 142 also obscures the reader, the Light Brigade cavalrymen in PANEL 147 become indiscernible specks the farther they advance from Fanny's position, and the obscured final charge of the Light Brigade depicted in PANEL 148 leaves both Fanny and the reader to speculate about the distant echo of muskets firing. By depicting the limitations of Fanny's perception on the page, the reader becomes aware of the textual mediation between themselves and the historical events.

Narrative Structure

Narrative structures do not simply transmit content, but offer interpretation, identify patterns, and give meaning to the events depicted. "The art of writing a narrative with informative parts consists of making these informative parts a part of the narrative which cannot be overlooked. [. . .] Without the narrative, the reader might not want to read the

⁴¹⁴ Achim Hesch, *Reading Graphic Novels: Genre and Narration* (Germany: De Gruyter, 2016), 126.

text at all.”⁴¹⁵ In the case of *No Place for Women*, the informative parts are not isolated within the narrative structure, but develop throughout the graphic narrative. Therefore, the narrative *is* the information.

The narrative structure of *No Place for Women* is organized both thematically and chronologically. The chapters are organized thematically, but events depicted within those chapters are organized chronologically. The themes are Men, Bob, Women, Weather, and War. These themes reflect the most prominent and reoccurring topics or events Fanny describes about her time in Crimea, but because the information comes from different journal entries each chapter is episodic in nature.⁴¹⁶ Once these themes are identified, full journal entries of corresponding information were sorted into chronologically organized lists.⁴¹⁷ Considering the varying amount of information Fanny often provided in daily journal entries, with sometimes multiple entries in one day, there was considerable overlap of journal entries within each theme. PANEL 79 to PANEL 82, depict events described in Fanny's February 24, 1855 journal entry. On that day Fanny describes the weather of the past twelve days, the consequences of not making the 'correct' social connections, the food available to soldiers, the lack of medical care, and mentions having lunch with Colonel Charles Edmund Doherty (an example of her privilege).⁴¹⁸ The resulting themes/chapters are therefore a way to present information not otherwise grasped un-

⁴¹⁵ Heike Elisabeth Jüngst, *Information Comics: Knowledge Transfer in a Popular Format* (New York: Peter Lang, 2010), 305.

⁴¹⁶ “Traumatic memory tends to be more fragmentary and condensed than regular memory – a good description of the basic form of comics.” Hillary L. Chute, *Graphic Women: Life Narrative & Contemporary Comics* (New York: Columbia University Press), 114.

⁴¹⁷ The entire journal entry was included to provide myself context to the sentences or paragraphs that corresponded with each theme.

⁴¹⁸ Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 148.

less the reader read Christine Kelly's *Mrs Duberly's war journal and letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* multiple times.

The first chapter, titled 'Men' focuses largely on the beginning of Fanny's journey from Britain to Crimea. The objective of this chapter is to introduce key characters, establish the time and setting of the story, and lay the foundation for the reader to understand that Fanny is perhaps an unreliable narrator. She presents herself as the lone woman in a hostile male environment, which is shown through the absence of other women within the panels of the first two chapters. This is also reflected in Fanny's journal, in which Fanny does not reveal the existence of her travel companion and maid Mrs. Williams until a month into their journey on May 24th, 1854.⁴¹⁹ While this detail is easily missed by the reader, the main intention for the first chapter (in addition to establishing the story) is to demonstrate the class system in place at the time, and how through her interactions with men of specific social standing, Fanny actively exploits this system to improve her and her husband Henry's circumstances.

The second chapter focuses on Bob, one of the four horses owned by Fanny and Henry who are identified by name in her journal. "You see I write more of the horses than of the riders – I like them best (I mean the horses)."⁴²⁰ This statement, although written in jest, is supported by the frequency and amount of writing Fanny dedicates to horses and the deaths of horses in comparison to her human relations. Despite the technological advances of the time, like steamships and steam locomotives, horses as the intermodal link

⁴¹⁹ Ibid., 40.

⁴²⁰ Ibid., 127. Partial quote from the April 8, 1855 journal entry in reference to Fanny's anticipation of riding Colonel Poulett George Henry Somerset's horse named Goodboy.

for freight and passengers remained central to the British military supply chain.⁴²¹ Based on Fanny's writings which describe Bob's lack of military involvement, we can interpret him less as a war horse, and more as Fanny's companion and personal transportation. Given their roles, war remains in the periphery of both Fanny and Bob's experiences in Crimea. Fanny bears witness to the conflict, and Bob is not trained for combat or for labour. We see this in the last panel (PANEL 55) of the chapter, which depicts the events described in Fanny's September 12, 1855 journal entry. Fanny overlooks the ruins of Sevastopol, now under British control. Overlooking the destruction of the city from a distance away, to Fanny and presumably to Bob, the city is an abstract glow of fire against the black of night.

Fanny often attributes her own emotional responses to Bob. For example, on the night of November 28, 1854, she describes finding dead and dying horses and bullocks laying across the road. The sight fills her with horror, and whether in reaction to Fanny or the suffering of his equine comrades, the horse spasms in fear.⁴²² This fear becomes a shared experience. The experiences and relationship Fanny and Bob share is a testament to philosopher Gilles Deleuze and psychoanalyst Felix Guattari's concept of '*agencement*.' Philosopher Vinciane Despret describes *agencement* as: "Each living being renders other creatures capable (of affecting and of being affected) and they are entangled in a myriad of rappings of forces, all of which are '*agencements*.'"⁴²³ In other words, all ani-

⁴²¹ Sherry Olson, "The Urban Horse and the Shaping of Montreal, 1840-1914," in *Animal Metropolis: Histories of Human-Animal Relations in Urban Canada*, edited by Joanna Dean, Darcy Ingram, and Christabelle Sethna (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2017), 64.

⁴²² Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 111.

⁴²³ Joanna Dean, "Species at Rick: C. *Tetani*, the Horse, and the Human," in *Animal Metropolis: Histories of Human-Animal Relations in Urban Canada*, edited by Joanna Dean, Darcy Ingram, and Christabelle Sethna (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2017), 156.

mals- human or nonhuman- are one part of an interactive whole.⁴²⁴ It therefore seems appropriate to anthropomorphize Bob and to shift the 'point of view' in this chapter away from Fanny.⁴²⁵

This shift in "point of view" also dictates which journal entries would be referenced and depicted in this chapter. Bob's position is unchanged in each panel, and arranged in one by three panels per page. His condition, companions, and location change around him as the reader moves from one panel to the next, but the framing remains the same. Each panel represents a single moment from a single journal entry. The circumstances that change within the panel are the only indication to the reader that time is passing. With minimal dialogue and a lack of visual movement, each panel in the Bob chapter is more a vignette, or impression of a moment rather than sequential art.

The third chapter reveals to the reader that Fanny is not the only woman in Crimea, despite her attempts to appear so. The absence of women in the first two chapters of the graphic narrative mimics the absence of women in the published portions of Fanny's journal. The delayed acknowledgment of this deception in *No Place for Women* is meant to simulate in the reader the surprise I felt when discovering the existence of Fanny's maid Mrs. Williams a month into their journey.⁴²⁶ Similar to the first chapter on men, the intention of this chapter is to explore how Fanny's position in the Victorian gender and class hierarchy impacts her relationship with other women. She both cherishes her fe-

⁴²⁴ Ibid., 156.

⁴²⁵ The focalization changes in this chapter, but the accompanying captions in each panel show the passage of time and ensure the chapter is still a reflection of Fanny's experiences.

⁴²⁶ Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs. Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 40.

male friendships, and attempts to minimize or erase other women to legitimize the narrative constructed in her journal.

It is difficult to determine motives, but often Fanny's opinion of women seems to change to serve the narrative of her own exceptionalism. For example, in PANEL 58 Fanny scoffs at the idea that the British naval and military wives staying at the Hôtel D'Angleterre in Therapia had "'accompanied their husbands to the seat of war'."⁴²⁷ Later in PANEL 88 Fanny learns she is not receiving the Crimea Medal or Balaclava clasp she feels she is entitled to. On June 4, 1855 she writes, "There is no doubt as to my being entitled to it, as I was driven from my tent by Cossacks and was under fire repeatedly during the day. There appears to be some difficulty about my getting it officially – I being a woman[.]"⁴²⁸ While Fanny acknowledges her gender as a reason for not receiving recognition, she fails to recognize her role as a bystander and suggests the presence of other women is to blame. "I was for so long the only woman out here (except for my maid) that there is no doubt about the medal – but now that so many woman are out here – it is thought that if I get the medal they will all be clamouring for one too."⁴²⁹

Another example of Fanny's self-serving exceptionalism occurs in Varna on September 1, 1854. Lord Lucan sends orders that no officers are to embark more than one horse, which would consequently force Fanny to travel separate from Henry by land. Dressing in a shawl and feather boa, Fanny sneaks onto a rowboat and boards the ship under the guise of a female sex worker. The caption for PANEL 14 reads, "Lord Lucan, who was there, scanned [everyone], to find traces of a lady; but he searched in vain, and

⁴²⁷ Ibid., 42.

⁴²⁸ Ibid., 184.

⁴²⁹ Ibid., 184. Quote from unpublished section of the June 4, 1855 journal entry.

I, choking with laughter, hurried past his horse into the boat."⁴³⁰ Months later on January 4, 1855 Fanny describes the "disagreeable business" of a female sex worker attempting to stay on the same ship as her. The caption for PANEL 75 reads, "There has been a slight shindy as I announced my intention of leaving the ship if she came into it. So instead she is gone into my old cabin on board [. . .] close alongside us in the harbour."⁴³¹ Knowing women were few and far between, female sex workers following the encampments of soldiers often enjoyed a certain amount of security, but were still dependent on their nightly clientele to provide food and accommodations. The performative social mobility afforded to Fanny reflects her privilege and perhaps demonstrates an ignorance of the structural inequalities that often lead women to sex work.

When Fanny first meets Mrs. Cresswell, she writes "Oh you never had a kitchen maid so dreadful."⁴³² Cresswell's informal manner, uncombed hair, blackened finger nails, and dirty gown with an open neck and no sleeves are all indications to Fanny that the new arrival is not a lady as her title suggests, but a woman (PANEL 61). Four months later on December 7, 1854 Fanny writes about how she has "long ago given up all petticoats except a tail gown & wear a pair of man's trousers and thick boots."⁴³³ The sight of Fanny's trousers, worn under her riding habit embarrassed a number of men and gave them the impression that she was dressing up like a "drummer boy."⁴³⁴ By wearing men's trousers, Fanny transgresses a similar boundary of acceptable female fashion she criticizes Mrs. Cresswell for. Through these negative and positive interactions with other women, we

⁴³⁰ Ibid., 66. Quote from the September 1, 1854 journal entry.

⁴³¹ Ibid., 108. From the unpublished January 4, 1855 journal entry.

⁴³² Ibid., 38.

⁴³³ Ibid., 121.

⁴³⁴ Ibid., xxii. Wearing trousers under her habit skirt was the most practical and modest solution for the cold and mud.

gain a deeper understanding of what constitutes acceptable female behaviour, as well as how Fanny's perception of social boundaries evolves during her time in Crimea.

In the penultimate chapter, weather takes centre frame. Perhaps the only subject Fanny writes about on a near-daily basis during her time traveling to and staying in Crimea, weather could be considered an omnipresent character in *No Place for Women*. While this chapter specifically draws the reader's attention to the weather, weather is present in every other chapter. It is a constant reminder to the British that they are in a foreign place with an unfamiliar climate, that often works against their cause. Both men and horses died of thirst in its heat, froze to death in its cold, drowned in its hurricanes, or rotted in its mud.

The majority of the chapter depicts the Great Storm of 1854, which blew through the Black Sea on November 14, 1854. At the time of the storm, the British fleet carrying supplies for winter campaigns were traveling in the Black Sea. Strong gales and tall waves battered the fleet and an estimated thirty-seven ships were damaged or lost. Anchored in the Balaclava Harbour, Fanny witnessed those on shore to, "[. . .] have been 24 hours exposed to fearful rain, hail and awful hurricane which has split their bell tents to ribbons & carried them away & blown down horses & men."⁴³⁵

By focusing on environmental history, this chapter exemplifies the ways in which the biophysical world can influence the course of human history.⁴³⁶ Without a reliable supply chain and difficulties acclimating to the variable temperatures, the majority of

⁴³⁵ Ibid., 94.

⁴³⁶ Donald Worster, *The Wealth of Nature: Environmental History and the Ecological Imagination* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, by Donald Worster, 1993), 20.

men lost in the British Army died not from combat, but from disease brought on by exposure, poor diet, insufficient clothes, and insufficient shelter.⁴³⁷

The Crimean War, in the context of the graphic narrative is the catalyst of the story. It is the event that causes our protagonist to begin her journey, and provides her with the niche content that merits the publication of her journal.⁴³⁸ Catalysts are often revealed in the first 15 pages of a story or 15 minutes of a film to help readers or viewers to identify the first major turning point for the protagonist.⁴³⁹ Why then wait until the last chapter of *No Place for Women* to discuss the Crimean War? The chapter order was chosen to communicate to the reader that British participation in the military conflict is perhaps the most underrepresented part of Fanny's experience. Partly due to her husband's noncombatant administrative position as Paymaster for the 8th King's Royal Irish Hussars, the Duberly's lived more comfortably removed from the conflict than front line soldiers. Fanny's own position as a female civilian means she is better described as a witness or spectator to the Crimean War than an active participant. She viewed battles at a distance with her naked eye or through theatre binoculars, and the events of the day were often relayed to Fanny second-hand from her husband, acquaintances present at the battle, or days later through newspapers, or written correspondence from her family in Britain. War is in the periphery of Fanny's journal and camp life is at the centre.

⁴³⁷ Ian F. Beckett, *The Victorians at War* (New York: Hambledon and London, 2003), 177.

⁴³⁸ There continues to be a gendered suspicion of memoirs; specifically the memoirs of women who are considered "too divulgent." Hillary L. Chute, *Graphic Women: Life Narrative & Contemporary Comics* (New York: Columbia University Press), 5.

⁴³⁹ Jade Fisher, "Story catalyst: the most exciting scene in the movie?," *The Story Department*, <https://thestorydepartment.com/story-catalyst-the-most-exciting-scene-in-the-movie/> (accessed April 26, 2020).

The initial intention of this project was to decentre the collective representational history of the Crimean War from the Charge of the Light Brigade, Florence Nightingale, Roger Fenton, and William Howard Russell. However, like many historians before me, I had to let go of my own preconceptions of the conflict to allow the sources to speak for themselves. Fanny's October 25, 1854 journal entry is entirely dedicated to the Charge of the Light Brigade, with greater detail and depth than the majority of her writing. It is also perhaps the battle she has the most active role, having to ride through the streets of Balaklava, weave through retreating Turks, and eluding the Russian cavalry to meet Henry to watch the events unfold.⁴⁴⁰ In the context of Fanny's personal history, the Charge of the Light Brigade is one of many events that cause Fanny to reevaluate both herself and her worldview. In the context of the graphic narrative, the Charge of the Light Brigade is the denouement of the narrative which reflects Fanny's introspection and aims to facilitate a realization within the reader of the consequences of war. "I felt no horror, no fear, no pain, until after I reached the [ship. . . .]. Overcome with bodily pain and fatigue, I [slept. But] even my closed eyelids were filled with the ruddy glare of blood."⁴⁴¹ A natural endpoint to the narrative, these are the final words of Fanny's October 25, 1854 journal entry and the final written text in the graphic narrative before the epilogue.

The title of each chapter is purposefully vague to be inclusive to the variety of situations that occur in each chapter. Due to the nonlinear progression of the narrative structure from one chapter to the next, the use of chapter title pages notifies the reader that a new theme is being discussed and the narrative will begin a different chronology

⁴⁴⁰ Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 87.

⁴⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 89. Partial quote from the October 25, 1854 journal entry.

(whether further forward or further back in time) than in the previous chapter. Each title page also includes a text block of a direct quote from Fanny's journal that encapsulates Fanny's feeling towards the specific themes and/or provide emotional impact in the reader. If one were to look at these quotes on their own, one could conclude that Fanny loves her husband and prefers the company of men (PAGE THREE), Fanny identifies more with horses than men (PAGE TWELVE), Fanny differentiates herself from other women (PAGE SEVENTEEN), the landscape of Crimea is beautiful but war makes it ugly (PAGE TWENTY-SIX), and Fanny struggles to balance her internalized jingoism with the macabre realities of modern warfare (PAGE THIRTY-ONE). Again, these thematic chapters are a means to present information not otherwise grasped unless the reader was to read Christine Kelly's *Mrs Duberly's war journal and letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* multiple times.

Dimensions of the Page

Does size really matter? For graphic narratives, yes. The size of an image is fundamental to its meaning and its function, so the format of graphic narratives is generally less constrained in comparison to other contemporary literature, and can vary greatly in publication size. Other text formats do not normally carry any special meaning in their page layout other than to provide maximum legibility.⁴⁴² Therefore, any reproduction (or "quote") of a graphic narrative must acknowledge the composition or product size.⁴⁴³

⁴⁴² Heike Elisabeth Jüngst, *Information Comics: Knowledge Transfer in a Popular Format* (New York: Peter Lang, 2010), 114.

⁴⁴³ Hillary L. Chute, *Graphic Women: Life Narrative & Contemporary Comics* (New York: Columbia University Press), XI.

The initial idea behind choosing the dimensions was to imitate the original page size of Fanny's letter correspondence, or the original dimensions of the published version of her journal.⁴⁴⁴ Unfortunately the original 1855 manuscript of *A Journal kept during the Russian War- From the Departure of the Army from England in April 1854, to the Fall of Sebastopol* is lost, and the British Library's online *Frances Duberly Letters* Collection does not specify the dimensions of these specific documents in their digital archive. Hitting this creative roadblock, the focus then switched to cost efficiency. In using a standard 8.5 inch by 11 inch page, printing is easier and cheaper than the custom page size that would hypothetically be needed to imitate Fanny's letters or published journal. In turning the page to landscape, folding the page in half and assigning each half of the paper a full page of *No Place for Women*, the graphic narrative takes the familiar size and appearance of a bound book.

However, this becomes an issue once Carleton University's formatting guidelines are considered. For illustrative material on a standard 8.5 inch x 11 inch page, the page layout must have a 1.5 inch top margin and a 1 inch margin for the remaining sides to allow space for binding. Additionally, the guidelines restrict printing to one side of the page.⁴⁴⁵ A digital copy would allow readers to zoom in to see details on the page, but neither available format would resolve the erroneous page juxtaposition imposed on the chapter of *No Place for Women* included in Appendix A.⁴⁴⁶ The layout of the page and the details of individual panels are all part of a larger whole, and how each panel and page re-

⁴⁴⁴ This page format would provide additional meaning for the reader, although it is easy to overlook.

⁴⁴⁵ Thesis Requirements, "Formatting Guidelines," Carleton University, <https://gradstudents.carleton.ca/thesis-requirements/formatting-guidelines/> (accessed December 4, 2020).

⁴⁴⁶ The importance of page juxtaposition is discussed in greater depth in this chapter's section on engagement.

lates and is arranged contributes to a larger system of meaning.⁴⁴⁷ Printing on only one side of the page or reading a digital copy alters the structural meaning of *No Place for Women*, and disrupts the tactile engagement readers gain from physically turning the page. The project should therefore be understood as a physical, aesthetic object in its entirety.

Lengthiness

Many academics consider graphic narratives as a format rather than a sub-genre or genre of comics. Instead of applying specific criteria to graphic narratives, English Studies professor Dr. Achim Hescher argues that academics often use buzz words “[. . .] such as lengthiness, thematic unity, seriousness or authenticity of the subject matter, autobiography, cartoonicity, adult orientation, and complexity.”⁴⁴⁸ As a multimodal medium, graphic narratives resist concrete categorization and therefore offer authors and artists autonomy from such binary thinking. Ironically, *No Place for Women* unintentionally meets the traditional format for American and Franco-Belgian comics in terms of page layout and length. Nonetheless due to the vague criteria of graphic narratives, *No Place for Women* can have the traditional length of a comic book without losing its designation as a graphic narrative.

As a newcomer to this medium, I had little personal reference for the amount of time needed to create a graphic narrative from inception to completion.⁴⁴⁹ At a length of

⁴⁴⁷ Karin Kukkonen, *Studying Comics and Graphic Novels* (West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd 2013), 18.

⁴⁴⁸ Achim Hescher, *Reading Graphic Novels: Genre and Narration* (Germany: De Gruyter, 2016), 32.

⁴⁴⁹ While this project will not have the same literary or historical impact as the following works, it is worth noting how long a well-crafted graphic narrative can take. It took Dominique Goblet 12 years to complete *Pretending is Lying* (2007), Art Spiegelman 11 years to publish the single volume edition of *Maus* (1991), Alison Bechdel four years to finish *Are You My Mother?: A Comic Drama* (2012), and Carol Shields and Patrick Crowe 18 years for their screenplay to become *Susanna Moodie: Roughing It In*

46 pages, *No Place for Women* is the result of arbitrarily choosing a page count that could hypothetically be accomplished within a single academic year and follow the formatting guidelines outlined by Carleton University. As discussed in the previous section on narrative, *No Place for Women* consists of five chapters which are organized thematically, with the events depicted within each chapter organized chronologically. Once a basic five page and ten page chapter outline was established, it became easier to judge what could and could not be included to complete this project within the predetermined time and page limit. The first (Men) and third (Women) chapters are nine pages long, the second (Bob) and fourth (Weather) chapters are five pages long, and the fifth (War) chapter is 12 pages. The two shortest chapters on Bob and Weather do less to further the narrative than the chapters with longer page counts. However, both themes are essential to understanding Fanny's personal experience in Crimea, and aim to expand beyond the anthropocentric context presented in the remaining chapters. The last chapter is longer in length due to a compromise between an artistic preference to end the chapter and graphic narrative with an evocative quote, and providing further historical context of the Crimean War in an epilogue. The chapter was originally 11 pages in length, but the impact of Fanny's final quote after witnessing the Charge of the Light Brigade is reduced if the reader reads "The End" and then their eyes move to the adjacent page to read a textually dense epilogue. By adding a twelfth page to the War chapter the reader must turn the page to read the epilogue. This is to communicate to the reader that the narrative is finished, but the Crimean War, Fanny's life, and history in general continue.

Panels and the Gutter

A panel is a single drawing on a page, which in the case of *No Place for Women* is enclosed by a thin black outline and threaded through the white space of the gutter. Panels are used to break up and encapsulate events in the narrative and in doing so represent “time as space.”⁴⁵⁰ The panels in *No Place for Women* follow the simple grid pattern often associated with American and Franco-Belgian comics, with each page featuring six rectangular panels in two symmetrically laid columns in rows of three. Time is reshaped spatially on a page through panel size, shape, placement, and sequence. Therefore by moving away from the conventional grid pattern additional information can be conveyed. “This is a feature which is almost unique in the comics format as page layouts of informative texts in other formats do not normally carry a special meaning but simply try to provide maximum legibility.”⁴⁵¹ The following examples demonstrate how variations in the page layout can provide layered information to historically significant events and concepts in the graphic narrative format.

The first example is PANEL 52 in the Bob chapter. In this chapter Bob replaces Fanny as the central figure in the panels while maintaining Fanny's focalization. To emphasize this change, the grid pattern is reduced to a single column of three rectangular panels, with each individual frame the width of two columns. This layout is consistent throughout the second chapter except for PANEL 52 which is a vertical continuation of PANEL 51. By allocating a larger spatial distribution on the page, the significance Fanny

⁴⁵⁰Hillary L. Chute, *Graphic Women: Life Narrative & Contemporary Comics* (New York: Columbia University Press), 7.

⁴⁵¹ Heike Elisabeth Jüngst, *Information Comics: Knowledge Transfer in a Popular Format* (New York: Peter Lang, 2010), 114.

places on this event is conveyed to the reader and enforces the continuation of Fanny as focalizer despite her peripheral position in the panels of this chapter.

A second example is on page 27 in the Weather chapter. PANEL 97 and PANEL 98 are triangular and point towards each other to create a rectangular shape that mimics diagonally cut toast (see Illustration 16). These panels depict the events from Fanny's May 12, 1854 journal entry when the *Shooting Star* on route to the British encampment in Varna, sails into a hurricane. “[. . .] I was lying towards night almost unconscious, when I was roused by most a tremendous roll. The ship had heeled over till her deck was under water.”⁴⁵² PANEL 97 depicts Fanny awake, thrown from bed, and half way to meeting the floor. PANEL 98 depicts an exterior view of the *Shooting Star* tilting at a severe angle amid the wind, rain, and waves. The use of angled triangular panels is meant to mimic a canted angle, which is commonly used in cinematography. This involves tilting the camera at such an angle that the horizon line of the shot is not parallel with the bottom of the camera frame.⁴⁵³ Therefore the 'tilting' of these panels is meant to accentuate the *Shooting Star's* instability, the chaos of the hurricane, and induce a feeling of uneasiness in the reader.

A third example is PANEL 140 to PANEL 148 in the War chapter. As discussed in the Focalization and Point of View section, these panels depict Fanny's ocular view of the Charge of the Light Brigade on October 25, 1854 through a pair of theatre binoculars (Illustration 21 and 22). The frame of each panel is in a shape similar to a Venn diagram, with two circles joining in the middle. This framing is meant to mimic binocular vision

⁴⁵² Partial quote from the May 12, 1854 journal entry. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 39.

⁴⁵³ The Columbia Film Language Glossary, "Canted Angle (Dutch Angle)," Columbia University, <https://filmglossary.ccnmtl.columbia.edu/term/canted-angle-dutch-angle/> (accessed June 12, 2020).

where the view through each adjacent eyepiece overlap to depict a single image. As the only point of view images in *No Place for Women*, the framing of PANEL 140 to PANEL 148 cues the reader to a change in their own engagement with the material. No longer a third-person omniscient, the reader momentarily shares Fanny's inferred view of the infamous Charge of the Light Brigade.

The gutter is the blank space between two static images (panels).⁴⁵⁴ The gutter cannot be defined as simply representing negative space, but as the space in which the reader constructs meaning. Comics theorist Scott McCloud suggests that when two panels are connected by a gutter, the gutter represents a space of 'imaginative possibility' and acts as the material manifestation of a pathway for which the trajectory of the narrative follows.⁴⁵⁵ While readers often scan an entire page as they turn to it, changing the size and shape of panels with the gutter influences how the reader moves through the space; and is therefore a space of collaboration. McCloud goes so far as to say that, “[every] act committed to paper by the comics artist is aided and abetted by a silent accomplice.”⁴⁵⁶ Comics theorist Thierry Groensteen agrees that the gutter is needed to decipher the panels it separates and unites, but asserts the primacy of the image. Cognitive scientist Neil Cohn insists that “the gutter does not provide any meaning – the content of the panels and their union does.”⁴⁵⁷ He agrees that readers make inferences for information not depicted, but stresses that these inferences do not occur *in* the gutter. While I agree that the

⁴⁵⁴ Not all comics or graphic narratives feature clearly defined space between panels, and not all gutters are blank.

⁴⁵⁵ Kate Polak, *Ethics in the Gutter: Empathy and Historical Fiction in Comics* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2017), 16.

⁴⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁴⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 12.

collaborative reading process does not happen in the gutter, it does provide essential space where creative investment from the reader is prompted.

In the case of *No Place for Women* the gutter is both the literal blank space between panels, and material evidence of the choices and various perspectives that prompt what is not said or shown.⁴⁵⁸ In contrast to textual historical writing, the reading process of comics causes the reader to reflect on the representation, their engagement with the representation, and their personal relationship to the content. “The added layer of distance between author and experience serves several functions in these works, including as a metacommentary on the author's distance from the situation, the reader's distance from the [subject]'s experience, and the distance between the experience and the representation.”⁴⁵⁹ When applying these metacognitive aspects to *No Place for Women*, I as the author am culturally, temporally, and geographically removed from the Crimean War. The reader is similarly removed from Fanny's experience, and the graphic narrative remains an ill-defined format for historical representation. We can never experience what Fanny experienced during her time in Crimea, and the 'createdness' of the page and interaction between image and text draws our attention to that distance. By making the reader aware of how far removed Fanny is from their own experience, they become free to discuss the choices made about representation and thus engage more deeply with the format.

Audience

"Scholars and survivors frequently speak of the unimaginable, unrepresentable nature of [. . .] reality, but in practice what can be represented [. . .] is often determined

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid., 15.

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid., 20.

through a practical consideration of what is most suitable for the target audience."⁴⁶⁰ The intended audience of *No Place for Women* has undergone numerous iterations, many of which are in reaction to other factors in the project. Initially the intended audience was for primary or secondary school students to read *No Place for Women* when their class discussed the Crimean War. Conventionally published and explicitly educational comics have been used as instructional tools in classroom settings since at least the 1920s.⁴⁶¹ Given the subject matter of *No Place for Women*, the focus was then narrowed to students at the secondary level. Canada does not have a national curriculum, so the current Ontario Curriculum of Secondary Canadian and World Studies was used to gauge whether or not this project would be appropriate for students within that demographic.⁴⁶² However, of all the current courses outlined in the Ontario Curriculum of Secondary Canadian and World Studies, only two have the geographical and temporal parameters to allow the inclusion of the Crimean War. While both courses focus on tracing major developments and events in world history since 1450, the Crimean War is mentioned only by name as one of many examples for assessing the impact of war in various countries and regions during this time period. Hidden in the parentheses, the Crimean War is clearly an event taught at the discretion of individual educators, and not a mandatory part of Ontario students' education.⁴⁶³

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid., 8.

⁴⁶¹ Carol L. Tilley and Robert G. Weiner, "Teaching and Learning with Comics," in *The Routledge Companion to Comics*, edited by Frank Bramlett, Roy T Cook, and Aaron Meskin (New York: Routledge, 2017), 358.

⁴⁶² To read the entire grade nine and grade ten Ontario Curriculum of Secondary Canadian and World Studies (2018), visit: <http://www.edu.gov.on.ca/eng/curriculum/secondary/canworld910curr2018.pdf>

⁴⁶³ Other potential applications of a finished version of *No Place for Women* in a classroom setting include analysis (comics readership), production (writing, illustration, publishing), and research (effectiveness of comics to communicate ideas).

Upon further reflection the idea to have *No Place for Women* assigned in classrooms is perhaps influenced by the continually pervasive belief that comics are written for and consumed by children. Additionally, presenting the byproduct of my thesis as a potential teaching tool seems to make the project more palatable for those both inside and outside of academia. However, the more time and work put into the project, the further the project develops into something different from a ready-to-publish graphic narrative. The target audience then became members of the graduate defense board.

The first rationale for this change comes from the fact that there is not a complete graphic narrative to read and evaluate. The incomplete graphic narrative should therefore not be considered a teaching tool, but an academic exercise that must be examined in tandem with the supporting written chapters.

Second, the current version of the graphic narrative represents choices made while treading through an unfamiliar topic and medium. Now in the third year of this project, some of the decisions made at the beginning of this process are perhaps not as compelling as others.⁴⁶⁴ However, this does not devalue the pedagogical merit of this project; rather these decisions have the potential to assist future historians who attempt to utilize the comics medium to present history.

Lastly, every decision in *No Place for Women* is inherently made to meet the requirements of this degree. Despite an interdisciplinary format and approach to historical narratives, historical methodology remains the primary consideration. This is demonstrated in the visual style, which prioritizes comprehension and readability over artistic

⁴⁶⁴ If the project were to meet my personal standards, it would exceed the time and page count outlined in the format guidelines of Carleton University mentioned in previous sections.

expression.⁴⁶⁵ Additionally, the inclusion of captions, dates, and the prologue and epilogue are meant to provide historical context to the reader of *No Place for Women*. Moreover, the visual references and theoretical rationale behind the depictions described in the script chapter assume the familiar format of numbered footnotes. Therefore, the graduate defense board is and always has been the target audience.

⁴⁶⁵ Art historians have long debated whether specific cultural forms or pieces of work should be classified as art. For example, Marcel Duchamp's 1917 *Fountain* consists of a porcelain urinal signed "R. Mutt." A more recent example is Maurizio Cattelan's 2019 *Comedian* which consists of a fresh banana duct taped to a wall. Though both works fail to meet conventional artistic standards, both are examples of art. Therefore the visual style of *No Place for Women* conforms to conventional standards to increase readability.

CHAPTER FOUR: REFLECTIONS

Despite History often being considered synonymous with 'truth,' historians are "responsible for translating what might be claimed as 'factual' data into fiction; for it is they who transform the data (their evidence) by selecting certain elements (and necessarily ignoring others), and then emplotting them within their own choice of narrative form[.]"⁴⁶⁶ This section reflects on the literary techniques, artistic choices, and historical analysis in *No Place for Women* to determine whether a multimodal medium can order historical data into an effective historical narrative.

Colour

Whether or not to use colour in comics is a question without a clear answer. Taking into account medievalist Michel Pastoureau's warnings about the anachronistic dangers in defining, classifying, and applying colour, my original intention in rendering *No Place for Women* in black and white was to stay within the body of facts available in Fanny's journal. Therefore, the colour palette in *No Place for Women* corresponds with the historical context in which the events take place and represents the archive.⁴⁶⁷

Additionally, comics theorist Scott McCloud argues that "[in] black and white, the ideas behind the art are communicated more directly."⁴⁶⁸ Panels are used to break up and encapsulate events in the narrative and in doing so represent "time as space."⁴⁶⁹ The care-

⁴⁶⁶ Achim Hesch, *Reading Graphic Novels: Genre and Narration* (Germany: De Gruyter, 2016), 32.

⁴⁶⁷ Acclaimed historical and autobiographical graphic narratives that use a 'limited' colour palette include: Art Spiegelman's *Maus* (1992), Marjane Satrapi's *Persepolis* series (2003, 2004), Jeff Lemire's *Essex County* (2009), Minnie Goetze's *The Diary of a Teenage Girl: An Account in Words and Pictures* (2002), and Alison Bechdel's *Fun Home* (2006) and *Are You My Mother?* (2012).

⁴⁶⁸ Scott McCloud, *Understanding Comics: The Invisible Art* (New York: HarperCollins, 1993), 192. Emphasis removed from original source.

⁴⁶⁹ Hillary L. Chute, *Graphic Women: Life Narrative & Contemporary Comics* (New York: Columbia University Press), 7.

ful juxtaposition of these encapsulated events and monochromatic colour palette in *No Place for Women* allows for a smoother movement from one panel to the next, and unconsciously forwards the narrative. In this sense, it is easier for the reader to follow the storyline when rendered in black and white.

In contrast, colour slows down the flow of sequential art by emphasizing the subject matter of an image rather than the transitions between the panels on the page. Comics artists often utilize colour to distinguish forms from shapes to simplify complex depictions. Additionally, colour can highlight the simple message of the image for the reader. A black and white palette communicates meaning more directly, but a colourful palette slows down the pace of the reader, points to the meaning, and asks them to contemplate that meaning. In other words, a question of clarity versus comprehension.

Ultimately, the decision to use colour is dependent on the project, and the message the artists intends to communicate to their audience. "The differences between black-and-white and color comics are vast and profound, affecting every level of the reading experience."⁴⁷⁰ Considering the aims of *No Place for Women*, black lines on white canvas is an appropriate, but emotionally ineffective choice. Postmodern theorist Dr. Frank Ankersmit argues that "How we *feel* about the past is no less important than what we *know* about it - and probably even more so."⁴⁷¹ For example, the visual and emotional impact of men and horses freezing to death and drowning in mud in PANEL 111 is lost without the red "[. . .]

⁴⁷⁰ Scott McCloud, *Understanding Comics: The Invisible Art* (New York: HarperCollins, 1993), 192.

⁴⁷¹ Beverley Southgate, *History meets Fiction* (Toronto: Pearson Education Limited, 2009), 39. Emphasis original to the source.

ruddy glare of blood.”⁴⁷² Thus, if I had to repeat the production process of *No Place for Women*, I would render it using the expressive power of colour.

Narrative Structure

The War Chapter ends with Fanny's final words after witnessing the Charge of the Light Brigade on October 25, 1854. She writes, “I felt no horror, no fear, no pain, until after I reached the [ship. . . .]. Overcome with bodily pain and fatigue, I [slept. But] even my closed eyelids were filled with the ruddy glare of blood.”⁴⁷³ Despite an interdisciplinary approach, historical methodology remains the primary consideration of this project. Therefore, instead of finishing with “The End,” *No Place for Women* ends with a textually dense epilogue on the following page. The epilogue provides further historical context of the Crimean War, but at the expense of ending with an evocative quote. Dr. Kate Polak cautions that “[emphasizing] facticity at the expense of emotional or ethical concerns within what is represented can potentially impoverish our experience of history, and facts alone do not sufficiently engage with the persistent ethical questions surrounding histories of violence.”⁴⁷⁴ If the defense board was not the target audience, the epilogue would be omitted from *No Place for Women* to strengthen the emotional impact of Fanny's quote.

⁴⁷² Partial quote from the October 25, 1854 journal entry. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 89.

⁴⁷³ *Ibid.*, 89. Partial quote from the October 25, 1854 journal entry.

⁴⁷⁴ Kate Polak, *Ethics in the Gutter: Empathy and Historical Fiction in Comics* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2017), 8.

Narrow Focus

A microhistorical approach "explicitly [describes] the limitations of documentary evidence, the formulation of hypotheses and the lines of thought followed [.]"⁴⁷⁵ In this approach the researcher's point of view becomes an intrinsic part of the account, which in addition to the constructedness of the graphic narrative medium prompts readers to consider the textual mediation between themselves and the events depicted. No longer hidden from the uninitiated, the negotiations and constructedness of historical narrative presented in *No Place for Women* encourages those outside the field of history to not only care about history, but contemplate it.

As discussed in Chapter One, the academic historiography of the Crimean War reflects a macro-oriented approach to studying the Crimean War, thus interpreting the women in Crimea as insignificant and inconsequential to the conflict. A close analysis of *A Journal kept during the Russian War – From the Departure of the Army from England in April 1854, to the Fall of Sebastopol*, reveals contradictions in this interpretation. By narrowing our focus to Fanny Duberly's experience in the Crimean War, we are able to perceive changes in social norms at a personal level. This includes how the stresses of war change gender and class dynamics for Fanny and the women around her. In isolating these otherwise unknown social dynamics, our knowledge and understanding of the conflict is expanded beyond the distorted generalization of quantitative approaches.

A comparison of Fanny's published and private letters reveals a "constant negotiation, manipulation, choices, and decisions in the face of a normative reality which, though pervasive nevertheless offers many possibilities for personal interpretations and

⁴⁷⁵ Giovanni Levi, "On Microhistory," in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, edited by Peter Burke (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 110.

freedoms."⁴⁷⁶ In her published letters, Fanny intentionally minimizes the existence of other women to construct a historical narrative centred around her own exceptionalism. Whereas the interactions with women of diverse and intersecting social identities described in Fanny's private letters undermines the perfunctory narrative of a universal female experience. The juxtaposition of her public and private writing reveals Fanny to be a Victorian woman of complexity and agential power.

Fanny and *The Times* war correspondent William Howard Russell both conclude their published accounts of events in the Crimea with the Fall of Sevastopol in September 1855. "[The] three hard-fought battles of Alma, Balaclava and Inkerman [. . .], a long siege through a harsh winter and the surrender of Sebastopol after the disastrous British losses in the Redan" makes for a well-rounded narrative, but excludes the remaining seven months of the conflict.⁴⁷⁷ This narrative is then reinforced by historian A. W. Kinglake's eight-volume work *The Invasion of the Crimea* which only covered conflict in the Crimea.⁴⁷⁸ Consequentially, the localized historical narrative in Fanny's journal shaped, and continues to shape the British public view of the Crimean War.

"Outside the Purview of this Project"

As a social historian, it is difficult to depict seventeen months of Fanny's "noteworthy" feelings and experiences during the Crimean War in a forty-four page graphic narrative. I take great enjoyment in isolating ideas and behaviours from individual interactions, and there are so many details I wish were included in *No Place for Women*.

⁴⁷⁶ Giovanni Levi, "On Microhistory," in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, edited by Peter Burke (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 98-99.

⁴⁷⁷ Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), xxix.

⁴⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, xxix.

The original concept included a sixth chapter that focused on Fanny and the intricacies of her personality. For instance, her enduring love of her husband, Henry. Logistical issues forced the pair to separate while traveling to Crimea in September 1854. Henry traveled on horseback with his regiment, and Fanny aboard the *Shooting Star* traveled by sea. The day they separated, she wrote: "How I hate it! How much rather I would endure any hardship than be separated from him at this time!"⁴⁷⁹

Another constant not included in *No Place for Women* is Fanny's Anglican faith. She often speaks to "the Almighty" directly in her journal and frequently writes about the church services she attends. In her September 29, 1854 journal entry Fanny wrote: "To-day I am all unnerved; an indefinable dread is on me. Captain Fraser caught a magnificent Death's Head moth, and gave it to me. I shivered as I accepted it."⁴⁸⁰ In addition to the human-skull shaped markings on the Death's-head Hawkmoth's thorax, the nineteenth and twentieth verses of the sixth chapter of the Gospel of Matthew in the New Testament associate moths with corruption and an earthly death.⁴⁸¹ Exploring how religion shapes Fanny's interpretation of the Crimean War could perhaps offer a deeper understanding of Fanny as a person, and the role that religion (particularly Christianity) informed Victorian attitudes about war.

Fanny's choice of words in her journal also reveal an openly accepted and hypocritical practice of looting by the British. On August 11, 1854 Fanny writes about the

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid., 64.

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid., 71.

⁴⁸¹ Michael Marshall, "The sinister moth from *Silence of the Lambs* can squeak," BBC, November, 22, 2020, under "Earth," <http://www.bbc.com/earth/story/20150805-terrifying-squeak-of-death-moth#:~:text=Meet%20Acherontia%20atropos%2C%20otherwise%20known,be%20an%20omen%20of%20death.&text=It%20was%20famously%20featured%20in,and%20appears%20on%20the%20poster>. (accessed November 22, 2020).

"enormous" amount of plunder by the Russians and Greeks during a fire that ravaged the town of Varna.⁴⁸² On September 24, 1854 Fanny awoke to the sound of British guns firing at the Cossacks who had secured plunder from Eupatoria,⁴⁸³ and on November 25, 1854 she witnessed Turks flee with "plunder of every description[.]"⁴⁸⁴ Conversely, Fanny comes across the remains of a "French or Austrian brig" that was close enough to shore for her to "climb about among her rotting timbers."⁴⁸⁵ She writes: "I brought away a bone or two, more than usually polished, and a few parts of the fittings of the ship; and then, feeling that the sea was shaking the driftwood on which I stood, I carefully collected my relics, and scrambled to the shore."⁴⁸⁶ Similarly after the Fall of Sevastopol, Fanny and Henry toured the newly emptied city. "We are not allowed to carry any outward and visible signs of plunder, but I filled my habit pockets and saddle pockets with various small items, as reliques of these famous batteries and the famous town[.]"⁴⁸⁷ Fanny does not acknowledge this distinction between 'plunder' and 'relic,' but all three instances of Fanny collecting 'relics' are included in the published version of her journal. Is this an example of British exceptionalism? Fanny Duberly's self-perceived exceptionalism? Does it reveal Fanny's prejudice towards the Russian, Greek, and Turkish peoples?

Our final example, is the discrepancies between Fanny's published and unpublished letters. In letters excluded from her journal, Fanny is more forthcoming of her honest opinion and her sharp wit. She refers to *The Times* as "The *lying Times*,"⁴⁸⁸ and though

⁴⁸² Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 45.

⁴⁸³ *Ibid.*, 68.

⁴⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 92.

⁴⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 227.

⁴⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 227.

⁴⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 246.

⁴⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 88.

she knew her friendship with Lord Cardigan was essential to her survival, Fanny frequently refers to him as "old Chargeagain" in letters to her sister Selina.⁴⁸⁹ She maintains a balanced opinion of the British command in her journal, but her private letters reveal an incompetency that remains integral to Britain's failures throughout the Crimean conflict.

In a letter to Selina dated June 25, 1854 she writes:

"At last we had the satisfaction of seeing the poor old creature (pitiabile old Cardigan) ride away at the head of a squadron of 8th & a squadron of 13th without having, as I believe, the smallest idea of where he was going or what he was going for. Cardigan, who commands us, Lord Lucan, who commands the whole cavalry, & Sir Geo(rge) Brown, who commands the Lt. Division are three of the greatest fidgets and most pitiabile old women you ever heard of. The very privates scoff at them and they drive the officers wild."⁴⁹⁰

Throughout the editorial process Fanny deferred to the opinions of her editor and brother-in-law Francis Marx. Without the original manuscript for reference, it is impossible to know the extent of his revisions. However, when Fanny's published journal is juxtaposed against her private letters, a conscientious effort to construct a more palatable narrative for the general public is evident. Whether the discrepancies between Fanny's published and private writing conform to broader sentiments towards the war or reflect the boundaries of Victorian female transgression is beyond the purview of this project.

If we were to expand *No Place for Women* to accommodate the amount of information listed above, a longer format would be required. If free of Carleton University's formatting guidelines, *No Place for Women* could be written as a limited series with each installment emulating Fanny's own established, chronological chapters. But would anyone be interested in something like that? In its current format *No Place for Women* distills

⁴⁸⁹ Ibid., 311.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid., 27.

Fanny's journal by identifying the five most prominent and reoccurring themes. Structured in the thematic chapters, *No Place for Women* presents information not otherwise grasped unless the reader read *A Journal kept during the Russian War – From the Departure of the Army from England in April 1854, to the Fall of Sebastopol* multiple times. The information is therefore amplified through simplification.

Infantilization

In 1977 comics creator Stan Lee was asked how he felt about students writing academic studies of comic books. He admitted he was initially skeptical of students' interest in comics, but in recent years had come to question why interest in comics is any less "than in movies or novels or the ballet or opera or anything else? It's an art form."⁴⁹¹ Lee's skepticism reflects the general sentiments of academia and the general public at the time. Although my experience is anecdotal, I argue that a degree of skepticism persists in the present.

In 2019 I had the privilege of sharing my research at the Comics Arts Conference, an academic conference held in conjunction with WonderCon in Anaheim, California. In a room with enough chairs to seat two to three hundred people, my fellow panelist and I spoke in front of a group of thirty scattered among the sea of empty chairs. During the question and answer portion, I was asked whether I experienced any push back from the department with regards to my project. The short answer is no, and the long answer is yes. No one directly opposed the project, but the department is systemically rigid about which mediums it accepts and how those mediums are evaluated. This includes a procliv-

⁴⁹¹Bart Beaty, *Comics versus Art* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 17.

ity for historical narratives that apply analytical techniques and practices associated with linguistically based semiotics.

On a smaller scale, my coworkers often ask about my studies and my explanations are always met with encouragement; although some comments are disheartening to hear. One coworker expressed disbelief about my project, stating: "I don't know many universities that would accept a graphic novel as a thesis..." Another assured me that if he had children, he would buy a finished copy of *No Place for Women* to read to them. On a separate occasion my uncle recommended a television interview of Nora Krug, author of *Belonging: A German Reckons with History and Home*. While watching the interview I quickly realized that the 'children's book' my uncle had described was a graphic memoir about Krug's trip to Germany where she comes to terms with her German heritage, and her family's place in twentieth century history and the Holocaust. Similarly, comics advocate and author of *Maus* Art Spiegelman has said, "[. . .] when parents give *Maus*, my book about Auschwitz, to their little kids, I think it's child abuse."⁴⁹² In other words, form is not always synonymous with content.

This association with the juvenile can be traced to psychiatrist Frederic Wertham. In his 1954 book *Seduction of the Innocent*, Wertham identified the sex, violence, blood, and disrespect for authority shown in comic books as a motivating factor in youth "disturbance" and "aggression." In response, the United States Senate held hearings on comic books and youth.⁴⁹³ Fearing the collapse of their industry, comic book publishers formed a trade organization called the Comic Magazine Association of America to deal with the

⁴⁹² Joseph Witek, *Art Spiegelman: Conversations*, (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2007), 161. (accessed November 24, 2020).

⁴⁹³ McCarthyism heightened the moral panic of Dr. Wertham's charges against comic books.

crisis. The group's solution was a series of regulations known as the Comics Code. Under these (voluntary) guidelines female characters dressed modestly, violence was toned down, and authority figures were respected. The crime, horror, and superhero escapist stories that attracted teenagers and older readers were replaced with wholesome child-friendly stories.⁴⁹⁴

This infantilization is reinforced by cultural assumptions and biases that have historically rendered comics as a non-art. Dr. Hillary L. Chute points to gendered theories of mass culture to explain comics' place within the hierarchy of art. As a hybrid mode of expression, comics are both handmade and mass produced, both textual and visual. Blurred genres and the "commercial" are equated with the feminine, and distinct genres and "high culture" are equated with the masculine. By challenging established binary classifications, comics are associated with the feminine and are therefore considered to have less cultural and aesthetic value.⁴⁹⁵

Ironically, few women worked in the "feminine" comics industry, and those who did worked on conservative romance or teen comics that emphasized normative gender roles. In the 1960s and 1970s, second-wave feminism and the growing underground comix movement attracted the attention of aspiring female cartoonists away from mainstream, Comics Code regulated publications.⁴⁹⁶ "It is only in the comics underground that the U.S. first saw any substantial work by women allowed to explore their own artistic impulses, and further, women organizing collectives that undertook to articulate the chal-

⁴⁹⁴ Stephen Weiner, *Faster Than a Speeding Bullet: The Rise of the Graphic Novel* (New York: Nantier, Beal, Minoustchines Publishing Inc., 2003), 8.

⁴⁹⁵ Hillary L. Chute, *Graphic Women: Life Narrative & Contemporary Comics* (New York: Columbia University Press), 10.

⁴⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 20.

lenges and goals of specifically female cartoonists."⁴⁹⁷ The underground has received little academic attention, and today's readers (like myself at the start of this project) may not be aware of "how hard-won the opportunity [is] to visualize non-normative lives of women in an aesthetically engaged format[.]"⁴⁹⁸ The aesthetic and political issues raised by the underground about the impact of visual-verbal narratives continue today. The underground collapsed in the 1980s, but the need for work by women has not gone away.

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid., 20.

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid., 26.

CONCLUSION

In an ongoing attempt to stabilize the relationship between history and fiction, a metaphorical fence has been built between the two. Viewed as binary opposites the rigid distinction between history and fiction is often maintained by traditional historians.⁴⁹⁹ This distinction was initiated in antiquity, but firmly established in the nineteenth century to legitimize historical writing. An increase in the popularity of scientific procedures in the form of public demonstrations and experiments prompted historians at the time to align themselves with cultural trends.⁵⁰⁰ Historians derived their empirical evidence from archival sources, applied peer review to confirm a coherence with the existing body of research, and like scientists in other fields, had the tools and training needed to preside over historical knowledge.⁵⁰¹

Hayden White explains, "how the events are then 'encoded' or 'emplotted' will obviously depend, not only on the personal approaches of historians - reflecting or defining their own attitudes and interpretations - but also on the intellectual and literary forms that are currently available within their culture."⁵⁰² Perhaps the close relationship between history and fiction is because both are concerned with the construction of meaning through narratives derived from their imaginative ordering of data. Historical writing is assumed to have a straightforward narrative, which tells the reader in an impersonal and objective manner "how it was." In actuality, historical writing conceals events, people, attitudes, and experiences that fail to cohere with the dominant narrative, or fail to fit in existing narrative structures.

⁴⁹⁹ Beverley Southgate, *History meets Fiction* (Toronto: Pearson Education Limited, 2009), 9.

⁵⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 24.

⁵⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 25.

⁵⁰² *Ibid.*, 15.

As previously discussed, as a female civilian Fanny is better described as a witness to the Crimean War than an active participant. She viewed battles at a distance with her naked eye or through theatre binoculars, and the events of the day were often relayed to Fanny second-hand. There was often a delay between when news was heard and when it was repeated, with Fanny tending to only include conversations in her journal when she had an emotional response to them. Fanny's precarious social standing was dependent on the kindness of others in the British military, so she spoke most candidly when writing to her sister. A comparison of Fanny's published and private letters reveals an attempt by Fanny (or perhaps her publisher) to minimize or remove the other women she encounters in Crimea to accentuate her own exceptionalism.

Fanny deferred to her editor and brother-in-law Francis Marx during the editorial process, and without the original manuscript for reference it is impossible to know the extent of his revisions. However, when comparing the journal to her private letters, a conscientious effort to construct a more palatable narrative for the general public is evident. In her 2007 edition of *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* Christine Kelly juxtaposes the original 1855 journal with extracts of private correspondence between Fanny and her sister and brother-in-law. The narrative of *No Place for Women* is informed by Kelly's curation of correspondence from the British Library's Duberly manuscript collection, as well as contextualized by the interpretations of other historians. These layers of representation attest to the inherent instability and difficulty of re-presenting historical subjects.⁵⁰³ "[. . . Contrary] to their frequent claims, [. . .] historians are themselves responsible for translating what might be claimed as 'factual'

⁵⁰³ Ibid., 133.

data into fiction; for it is they who transform the data (their evidence) by selecting certain elements (and necessarily ignoring others), and then emplotting them within their own choice of narrative form[.]”⁵⁰⁴

Alternative modes of historical representation have the potential to express experiences or memories traditional historical representation cannot. For example, the reader's awareness that a graphic narrative is something produced is embedded in the form.⁵⁰⁵ The interplay between text and image calls attention to the distance between the source material and the reader's own experiences. Additionally, the createdness of the page cues the reader to consider the personal choices of the author and artist. In addition to physical levels (turning the page), physical-mental levels (embodied simulation and attention to point of view), and imaginative levels of connection, *No Place for Women* engages the reader in the production of history.⁵⁰⁶

Acceptance of a single hegemonic narrative is a political act. It determines and defines the acceptability, admissibility, and perceptibility of historical evidence.⁵⁰⁷ Conceived as an academic exercise in expressing the past through an alternative narrative structure, this project also integrates the actions and experiences of women into the representational narrative of the Crimean War. This integration, Dr. Joan W. Scott argues, assumes women can fit into established histories, and that their presence is required to correct the narrative.⁵⁰⁸ However, Scott cautions that "women can't just be added on

⁵⁰⁴ Ibid., 32.

⁵⁰⁵ Kate Polak, *Ethics in the Gutter: Empathy and Historical Fiction in Comics* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2017), 11.

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid., 7.

⁵⁰⁷ Beverley Southgate, *History meets Fiction* (Toronto: Pearson Education Limited, 2009), 159.

⁵⁰⁸ Joan W. Scott, "Women's History," in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, edited by Peter Burke (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 56.

without a fundamental recasting of terms, standards and assumptions of what has passed for objective, neutral and universal history in the past because that view of history included in its very definition of itself the exclusion of women."⁵⁰⁹ The works of women's historians are often dismissed by those who view it as being so different that it does not qualify as history.⁵¹⁰

This dismissal is parallel to that of historical graphic narratives. The visual is often treated as secondary, supplementary, or illustrative in "conventional" textual narratives. Whereas *No Place for Women* uses visual material to create a visual object, and treats written text as supplementary to the image. Historians traditionally favour pictorial details over iconic details, despite photographers determining the composition, framing, and subject matter of a photograph.⁵¹¹ Similar to the integration of women into established histories, the qualitative hierarchy of historical narrative should be amended to accommodate the meanings differentially produced in visual and multimodal mediums like graphic narratives.

Historian Hayden White argues that "The explanatory effect of historical narratives is achieved not by reproducing events, themselves already encoded in tropes, but through the development of metaphorically articulated correspondence between events and conventional story types."⁵¹² In other words, the job of the historian is not to be an impartial mouthpiece for the past, it is to translate data into a tellable narrative.

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid., 58.

⁵¹⁰ Ibid., 61.

⁵¹¹ Roger Fenton, for example, preferred to take photographs early in the morning to prevent the glare of the sun from causing his subjects to squint. And when the winter uniforms arrive in the summer of 1855, he had difficulty persuading men to wear them. Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs Duberly's War: Journal and Letters from the Crimea, 1854-6* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 115, 313.

⁵¹² Ibid., 19.

Regardless of whether data is translated to a text-based narrative or image-based narrative, historical writing is a creative endeavour.

Through the development of a historical graphic narrative based on Fanny Duberly's written account of the Crimean War this project demonstrates the validity of the graphic medium to communicate historical narratives. *No Place for Women* is derived from archival sources, peer reviewed, and contextualized to confirm its coherence to the existing body of research on the Crimean War. The interplay between text and image, and the createdness of the page engages readers in the production of history. It therefore meets and surpasses the predetermined standards for text-based historical writing. In conclusion, this project challenges hierarchies of narrative structure, historical material, gender, and art to emphasize the need to redefine concepts and evaluate existing tools and methodology.

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APPENDIX A

No Place for Women, Chapter Four: Weather

WEATHER

"IF ANYBODY SHOULD EVER WISH TO ERECT A 'MODEL BALAKLAVA' IN ENGLAND I WILL TELL THEM THE INGREDIENTS NECESSARY. TAKE A VILLAGE OF RUINED HOUSES AND HOVELS IN THE EXTREMEST STATE OF ALL IMAGINABLE DIRT; ALLOW THE RAIN TO POUR INTO AND OUTSIDE THEM, UNTIL THE WHOLE PLACE IS A SWAMP OF FILTH ANKLE-DEEP; CATCH ABOUT, ON AVERAGE, 1,000 TURKS WITH THE PLAGUE, AND CRAM THEM INTO THE HOUSES INDISCRIMINATELY; KILL ABOUT 100 A DAY, AND BURY THEM SO AS TO BE SCARCELY COVERED WITH EARTH, LEAVING THEM TO ROT AT LEISURE-TAKING CARE TO KEEP UP THE SUPPLY. ON TO ONE PART OF THE BEACH DRIVE ALL THE DYING BULLOCKS, AND WORN-OUT CAMELS, AND LEAVE THEM TO DIE OF STARVATION. THEY WILL GENERALLY DO SO IN ABOUT THREE DAYS. WHEN THEY WILL SOON BEGIN TO ROT, AND SMELL ACCORDINGLY. COLLECT TOGETHER FROM THE WATER OF THE HARBOUR ALL THE OFFAL OF THE ANIMALS SLAUGHTERED FOR THE OCCUPANTS OF ABOVE 100 SHIPS, TO SAY NOTHING OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWN, FLOATING WHOLE OR IN PARTS, AND THE DRIFTWOOD OF THE WRECKS, STEW THEM ALL TOGETHER IN A NARROW HARBOUR, AND YOU WILL HAVE A TOLERABLE IMITATION OF THE REAL ESSENCE OF BALAKLAVA."

-3 DECEMBER, 1854









THE MEDWAY, HARMON, BRENDA, AND HARBINGER ARE HARD AT WORK ON THE SIDES OF OUR UNLUCKY SHIP. THE MEDWAY WILL BE IN BEFORE MORNING!



31 SHIPS ARE LOST & DISABLED... A CONSEQUENCE OF THE LOSS OF STORES THEY COULD NOT FEED EITHER ARMY OR HORSES. WHAT CAN BECOME OF US?



"THE SEA AND SKY. ALL GOD'S PART OF THE PICTURE, LOOKED SO BLUE AND CALM; WHILE ALL MAN'S PART OF THE PICTURE WAS NOISE, SMOKE, AND CONFUSION."

-11 APRIL, 1855