**Florence Nightingale as seen in her portraits : with a sketch of her life, and an account of her relation to the origin of the Red Cross Society.**

*All Profits for the Benefit of the Canadian Red Cross Society*

# Florence Nightingale

## As Seen in Her Portraits

*Price $1.25*

BY

MAUDE E. SEYMOUR ABBOTT, B.A., M.D.

McGILL UNIVERSITY

MONTREAL

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***Fifteen Illustrations***

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*Plate VII. Florence Nightingale at Scutari.*

PLATE VII. FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE AT SCUTARI.

From an Albion print of a drawing by Wandesforde, engraved by W. Wellstood.

(See page 29.)

*TO THOSE NOBLE WOMEN who have followed in the footsteps of Miss Nightingale, and have thereby raised the profession of Nursing to the high place it now occupies, and who maintain it therein above the dust of commercialism,—Agnes Jones of the Workhouse Infirmary of Liverpool, Mrs. Bedford Fenwick of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London, Edith Cavell of Belgium, Isabel Hampton Robb and Adelaide Nutting of the Johns Hopkins Hospital, Baltimore, Nora G. E. Livingstone of the Montreal General Hospital, Mabel F. Hersey of the Royal Victoria Hospital, Montreal, and many others,—this little manuscript is affectionately and reverently dedicated.*

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# FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE*

## AS SEEN IN HER PORTRAITS

By Maude E. Seymour Abbott, B.A., M.D.
*McGill University, Montreal.*

### INTRODUCTORY.

It is nearly three quarters of a century since the name of *Florence Nightingale* first thrilled through Europe, plunged in the horrors of the terrible Crimean War. The details of her great and beneficent achievement have been forgotten by many, and in their full extent, indeed, have only been known by very few. Yet her name remains as a household word among us, breathing always the charm diffused by a life consecrated to high ideals, and symbolizing to us the power to move mountains of the passionate womanly sympathy, discerning judgment, and magnificent organizing genius, which together made her at once the Crimean heroine and the great reformer of military hygiene of the Victorian Age. Today we are again plunged into a war which has become even more terrible than any in the past, in consequence of the refinements of so-called civilization as applied to methods of modern warfare. But we have to thank the stream of military reform that set in after the Crimean crisis, so largely initiated and directed by the influence of Miss Nightingale, that the care of the soldiers—wounded, sick, or well—has been placed at the present day on a very high plane of efficiency.

In view of the immensity of detail in such a life as that of Florence Nightingale, a complete account is impossible here. The most that can be attempted is a brief outline of those events

* Adapted from an Address on "The Work of Florence Nightingale and Medical Units in Active Service Today," delivered before the Harvard Historical Club, December 7, 1915.

that led up to, and followed the great Crimean climax, which revealed her to the admiration and affection of a grateful humanity. For further detail, those who are interested should consult the splendid Life of Florence Nightingale, by Sir Edward Cook, issued in two volumes, in 1913, by MacMillan and Company, London. The appearance of this book, from which the materials for this little sketch are drawn, has been an event in biographical literature. Based upon a thorough study of a mass of written records, including Miss Nightingale's own diaries and voluminous correspondence and many other papers, official and otherwise, not previously laid open to the public, it for the first time presents her story fully and fairly to the world, without sentimental exaggeration, but with the force of actual recorded facts. The story of the "Crimean Muddle," as the situation she was called upon to cope with in the East was picturesquely called, is told with fairness and discrimination, and the history of her activities, both then and in her subsequent life, is accurately detailed. As a result, we find the Florence Nightingale of our traditional knowledge replaced by a somewhat different, but a more human, and, we venture to think, a much greater character,—one in whom the self-devotion and passionate tenderness of heart towards the distressed, for which she has always been immortalized, were combined with an unswerving singleness of aim, a wide clarity of judgment, and immense powers of organization and execution that initiated and carried out far-reaching reforms. Her story, as here learned, is not alone that hackneyed theme, familiar to us all, of a gifted and gentle lady, who, moved with patriotic pity, braved the dangers of the seat of war for the sake of helping the distressed soldiers of a beloved Queen, and who became thereafter the popular heroine of the Victorian Age. The secret of her immense popularity and of

the lasting greatness of her name has had a more logical foundation and a deeper root than could have been possible from the fruits of any single action. For in this case, as so often, *vox populi vox Dei est.*

From this new biography we learn that her life before that Crimean climax was one long struggling preparation and battling through of the many barriers raised alike by social prejudice and domestic affections towards the vocation that she felt was hers, though she knew not how or when it might come to her, but which, when it came, found her ready, with prejudices defeated, expert training secured, spiritually and mentally waiting for one of the great medical and military crises of the nineteenth century, that was to be hers to control and to subdue. Nor, after the crisis in the East was over, did she subside into the gentle inaction of an invalid chamber, as has been popularly thought, but from that chamber, battling with the physical illness that remained after her exertions in the Crimea, and that threatened her life many times, she proceeded unrestingly to the solution of those many pressing problems by which medical science was revolutionized by her in various directions.

Had it not been for the absolutely Herculean labors of Florence Nightingale, invalided in body, but of indomitable will, after her return from the Crimea, the terrible lessons of the war would have remained unlearned by the British nation, and the great reforms in the hygiene of the British army, sanitary science both in the East and West, hospital construction, and last but not least, in the profession of the gentle art of nursing,—reforms which she instituted, organized, and actually dictated to Court and Ministers alike,—would not have been carried out, and the many wrongs she righted would have remained for the sufferings of a later generation to retrieve. In the face of her pro-

longed illness, the heroism that struggled and won success for those reforms was on a higher plane than that by which she won the nation's praise at Scutari and Balaklava.

It is this new and immensely heroic presentment of her genius, so evident now that the true story of her life is unveiled to us, that I would endeavor to reflect here. In the words of a recent essayist, the Crimean episode, truly seen, is only an incident in her career. Her title to rank among the great figures of history would have been as unchallengeable without that tremendous chapter. For her work was not passing, but permanent; not incidental, but fundamental.

### THE PORTRAITS.

The series of portraits, which form an illustrative basis for this article, have been drawn from various sources, which are acknowledged below each. The writer's thanks are also due to the late Mr. J. B. Learmont, who made a collection of Nightingale memorabilia, and presented several of the fine engravings reproduced here, to various institutions in Montreal; to Miss Helen Desbrisay of the Canadian Nurses' Association for much valuable information; and especially to Dr. Harvey Cushing, to whose interest and through whose kind coöperation the publication of this article in its present form is due.

In the following paragraphs an attempt is made to group, under the periods in which these various portraits fall, a short biographical outline of the main facts, or rather factors, in the development of Miss Nightingale's character and work, and of their far-reaching results.

# I

# THE CHILDHOOD OF FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

1820-1835

Plates I and II

## The Childhood of Florence Nightingale

Florence Nightingale was born in Florence, Italy, in the year 1820, during a winter's sojourn of her parents there. One of two only daughters of wealthy parents, she was brought up in all the luxurious refinement of the best type of English home, in the midst of a large and affectionate family connection, in an environment enriched by all the intellectual advantages and the happiness that such circumstances could bring. Born, as it may be said, a democrat, she quickly learned to discount the importance of these things in themselves, and yet her life was colored throughout by these early relations, which gave her, in the wide experience of suffering and distress that came to her in later years, a sense of proportionate values, and a capacity of taking herself and others for granted, that was one of the elements in her power, and that could probably have come to her in no other way. The rich English scenery, too, in which she lived throughout her childhood and girlhood days, and in which she revelled consciously, even as a little child, must have sunk deep into her observant and sensitive nature, and been to the great spiritual powers lying dormant there, as springs of water in a thirsty land. For there are few more beautiful homes and surroundings in England than the estates of Lea Hurst in Derbyshire, and Embley in Surrey, on which, with his family, Mr. Nightingale passed alternately the winter and summer months of every year.

The two sisters were the objects of much tender personal care from their parents. Mrs. Nightingale was a woman who accepted and adhered strictly to the religious and social conventions of her day, but, within their limits,

PLATE I. MRS. NIGHTINGALE AND HER DAUGHTERS, 1828.

From a portrait in the possession of Mrs. Cunliffe, and reproduced in Sir Edward Cook's Life of Florence Nightingale.

she was prompt and generous in the exercise of a philanthropy that devolved as a duty upon an Englishwoman of her means and position. Both her daughters were early permitted to share in their mother's solicitude for the poor of their father's estate, and to accompany her on errands of help among them. Such activities appealed especially to Florence, who quickly revealed her innate sympathy for the sick, philanthropic bent, and deeply religious nature. The contrast between the lot of rich and poor struck her then, as it continued to do with increasing force throughout life, as an incongruity, and her childish diaries and letters contain naïve comparisons and comments. She was a healthy child, fond of a frolic, and not free from unregenerate impulses towards unsympathetic governesses, yet, on the whole, serious-minded, and a little self-absorbed, with a tendency to introspection that sometimes verged upon the morbid, and an inclination to belittle herself and her powers, that arose partly out of a conscientious knowledge of her own shortcomings, and partly from a natural shyness, amounting almost to self-consciousness.

Her love for animals was very strong, and she had a succession of pets, which she cherished, sick or well. The story of the injured collie dog, which had been regretfully condemned to be hanged by his master, because of a hopelessly broken paw, and which she tended under the guidance of the vicar, all one long summer day, until the prospect of healing was assured and the delighted shepherd acknowledged his right to live, is almost too hackneyed to repeat. But it is a true story, and is of interest, because it is intensely characteristic of a little girl who, many years later, refused to give up the lives of the five Crimean soldiers who were pronounced "too far gone to be operated on." "Will you give me these men to do as I like with?" she asked of the surgeons as they

PLATE II. FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE AND THE INJURED COLLIE DOG.

From an engraving in the possession of Miss White, Assistant Superintendent of the Royal Victoria Hospital, Montreal.

turned away. And, the necessary consent obtained, she sat all night through beside them, tending their wounds and supporting them with food and stimulant, with such success, that when morning came, the surgeons, with surprised relief, were able to carry out what would earlier have been a useless task. One wonders if the adoring affection in the eyes of the gentle collie equalled the gratitude in the hearts of those poor wounded men!

Like many of his circle, for he belonged to that interesting Unitarian group among whom the Martineaus were so prominent, Mr. Nightingale held views on the higher education of women that were far in advance of his time. He personally supervised the education of his daughters, himself teaching them, as they grew older, modern languages and classics, European and Constitutional History, and even higher mathematics. They wrote essays and analyzed philosophical treatises, pursuing much the same course of study, under his tutorship, as would be followed now for a university degree. Florence was an ardent and laborious student, arising often at four in the morning to carry out her preparations, and, as Sir Edward Cook remarks, to her father's guidance in these ways she was undoubtedly indebted for the mental grasp and power of intellectual concentration that distinguished her work in later life.

Conscientious to a degree, imbued with a feeling of responsibility and a religious sense of self-dedication that developed in her very early years, absorbed in a round of studies, duties, and pleasures provided by her wise yet indulgent parents, Florence Nightingale grew from an engaging child into the "girl of sixteen of great promise" that a contemporary letter describes.

# II

# GIRLHOOD AND EARLY WOMANHOOD

1835-1853

Plates III, IV, V, VI

## Girlhood and Early Womanhood

In 1837, when his younger daughter was seventeen, Mr. Nightingale took his family to the Continent, and eighteen delightful months were spent in leisurely travel through France, Italy and Switzerland. Everywhere the best social, artistic, musical, literary and political circles were open to them, and they entered heartily into the complex foreign life about them. The tour ended with a winter in Paris, where, in the brilliant salons of their friends, the two charming girls discovered themselves both attractive and attracted. Freed from the shyness that had troubled her, Florence found she had social gifts of a high order, and confesses in her diary that the last temptation she had to overcome, before she was free to interpret that insistent inner call, was a "desire to shine in society."

All this was pleasant enough, and there was no reason to suppose at this time that Florence Nightingale would do otherwise than fulfil the expectations of her parents, and be content to live out the life of a happy English girl, and later, perhaps, become the wife of some good and worthy man. It was only after their return to England, and a short London season, when they were settled again in the midst of the busy hospitality of their country home, that a sense of the inadequacy of the social pleasures and domestic joys that surrounded her came upon her. It was to increase with the years, until, long before she attained her freedom, she struggled against the restrictions that bound her, with all the restlessness of a caged bird. The very happiness of the home that sheltered her, and the warmth of its affections, were gilded

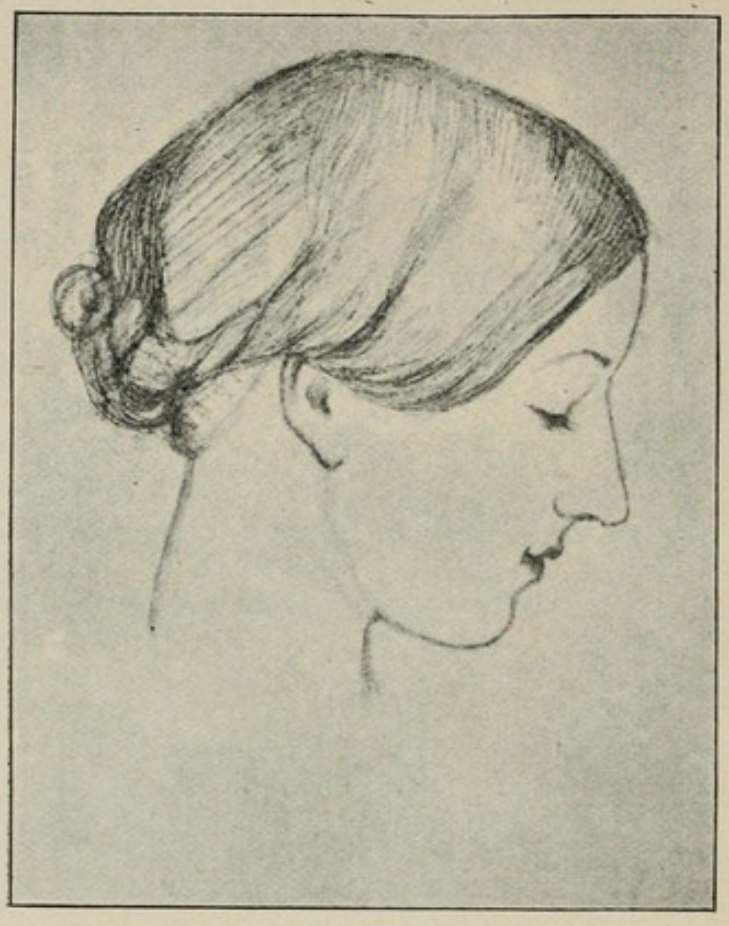

PLATE III. FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE AS A GIRL.

From a drawing by Sir Hilary Bonham Carter, and reproduced in Sir Edward Cook's Life of Florence Nightingale.

bars against which she almost broke her heart. To understand the nature and the greatness of this part of Miss Nightingale's achievement, that consisted in surmounting the obstacles that lay in the way of her preparation, one must project oneself in imagination into the age in which she lived, seventy years ago, when it was an unheard-of thing for a beautiful and accomplished girl to do anything outside of the precincts of her home. Her mother and sister, affectionate as they were, did not even understand her impulse, and when at last it formulated itself into a distinct sense of a vocation

to care for the sick, as it did when she was twenty-five, they felt towards it a real disfavor. Nor can one blame them, remembering the low standards of hospital life of those days and the degraded type of nurse. She was an affectionate and dutiful daughter, and yielded to her parents' wishes for many years, doing her best to be happy and to make others happy, in what was to her a ceaseless round of trivialities, and often suffering intensely from the sense of frustration of her higher self. For, in addition to the fact that there were great powers of organization and execution fermenting in her mind, which at that time had no outlet, and that she was swayed by a really passionate altruism, Florence Nightingale was distinctly conscious, as much so as any other saint in history, of a "call to be a saviour," as she expresses it more than once in her diaries. In an autobiographical fragment, written in 1867, she mentions February 7th, 1837, at Embley, as the day when "God called me to His service," and several times this period is referred to as one of the chief crises of her inner life. It was the sense of defection to this inner call during these years of abeyance, under which she suffered most. Her father was a Unitarian, but she and her mother and sister followed the usages of the Church of England. Later in life her theological opinions became very broad, and she may be said to have conformed to no dogma except the existence of a personal God, but she maintained throughout her life this deeply religious attitude of mind, and this fact must be recognized in any true estimate of her life and work. In no other way is to be explained her humility of spirit, which may be likened to that of St. Francis of Assisi, and her dislike of public acknowledgment, which sprang not only from natural modesty, but from an inner principle.

PLATE IV. MISS NIGHTINGALE (ABOUT 1845).

From an engraving in the possession of Miss Livingstone, Lady Superintendent of the Montreal General Hospital, Montreal, from a drawing by H. M. B. C., published Nov. 28th, 1854, by P. and D. Colnaghi, London.

It was with an affectionate hope of distracting her from her tiresome purpose, and with an entire lack of sympathy in her feeling, that her mother and sister planned and arranged several continental trips for her with congenial friends. The winter of 1847 was spent in Rome, with her friends the Bracebridges, who afterwards

served with her in the Crimea. It was an eventful year for the future of her desire in more than one respect. In Rome she met the Sydney Herberts, and began that friendship with Lord Herbert, that was so fruitful in great results in the Crimea and after. And she became intimate with and studied the methods of an Italian nursing sisterhood. Moreover, it was a time of great happiness in other ways, for her appreciation of the beautiful was intense. The Sistine Chapel came to her as a revelation, and remained as one until the end of her life. Her description of it is exquisite.

The winter of 1849-1850 she again spent travelling, this time in Egypt and Greece. It was at Athens that she picked up a baby owl that had fallen among the ruins of the Parthenon. She carried it in her pocket, and brought it home to Embley, where it lived for years. A small tragedy of her departure for the Crimea, was that the family, in leaving town to see her off, forgot to feed the owl, which was dead on their return. The portrait by Lady Verney (Plate V) shows the owl on the pedestal beside her, and it is carved, too, on the foot of the Derby memorial statue.

It was on her way back to England from Greece, on July 31, 1850, that she first visited the Deaconesses Institute at Kaiserwerth on the Rhine. This had been the goal of her desires for the last six years, and repeatedly her hopes to see it had met with disappointment. It was a Protestant Sisterhood, organized by Pastor Fliedner and his wife, for the care of the sick poor, and discharged prisoners, and for the education of orphans, along lines which appealed intensely to her. The deaconesses took no vows, but came voluntarily, because they felt a vocation. She spent a fortnight in the institution then, and returned the following summer (1851), the free consent of her parents having

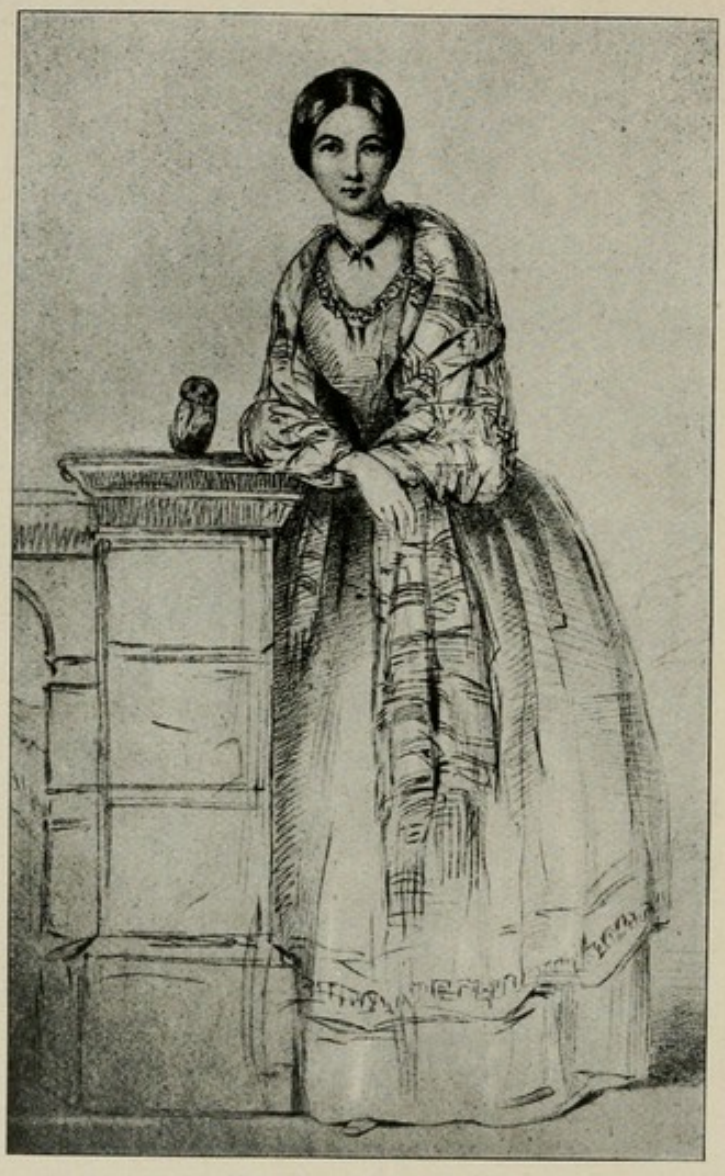

PLATE V. MISS NIGHTINGALE (ABOUT 1849).

From an engraving in the possession of the Victorian Order of Nurses, Montreal, from a drawing by her sister, Lady Verney, published June, 1855, by Colnaghi.

at last been obtained, for three months' training. In the hard work, long hours, and ascetic simplicity of the life, as well as in the high-minded admonitions of the pastor, she took the deepest delight, and pronounced herself at last

"intensely happy." It was a turning-point in her career, for she came to feel there that her life was at last her own, and the time for indecision and yielding was past. There were still difficulties and doubts at home, but she was no longer restless, but assured. February of 1853 saw her established at the *Soeurs de la Providence* in Paris for another short period of study, and in July of that year she took her first post, as superintendent of the "Sick Governesses' Home" on Harley Street. Here she remained, winning the confidence of a difficult committee, and a still more difficult class of patients, until a short time after the outbreak of the Crimean War.

In this little sketch of Florence Nightingale, during her time of aspiration and probation, there are many aspects that have not been touched upon at all. Her character was indeed fair and pure, as these early portraits well show, but there were shadows as well as lights within it. The acquirement, for instance, of the remarkable habits of precision, regularity and method that characterized her later years was attained only through difficult stumbling. "Let those," says Sir Edward Cook, "who reproach themselves for a desultoriness, seemingly incurable, take heart again from the example of Florence Nightingale! No self-reproach recurs more often in her private outpourings at this time, than that of irregularity and even sloth. She found it difficult to rise early in the morning; she prayed and wrestled to be delivered from desultory thoughts, from idle dreaming, from scrappiness in unselfish work. She wrestled, and she won." To her again the palm of victory!

Again, the unfulfilled longing that so long possessed her for practical expression of her powers and mission, and her habits of self-examination and of religous thought, did not prevent her from sharing in a very full way the

PLATE VI. FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.
From a painting in the National Portrait Gallery, by Augustus Egg, R. A., and reproduced in the Life of Florence Nightingale by Annie Matheson.

life that went on about her. Florence Nightingale was no sad-eyed ascetic. We hear of her managing private theatricals, mothering young cousins, nursing maiden aunts, absorbed in housekeeping responsibilities, sympathizing with the love affairs of friends, and a host of other things. No happiness could exceed that of that winter in Rome.

Nor did she escape that experience that comes to almost every man and woman in life. She was sought in marriage, long and persistently, by one with whom her own heart was engaged. With a clear-sightedness, born of her consecration to an ideal stronger and higher than herself, she put this form of earthly happiness behind her, feeling that she could not do her duty to him and to her work. Not from any belittlement of the married state, nor from any lack of knowledge of what the higher kind of marriage might mean to them both did she act, but in the same spirit that prompted Saint Theresa or Santa Filomena. One of the most touching of her good-bye letters before she left for the Crimea was from this friend. "You undertake this," he wrote, "when you cannot undertake me!"

III

# THE PERIOD OF THE CRIMEAN WAR

October, 1854, to August, 1856

Plate VII

## The Period of the Crimean War

This portrait,* one of the best known of the earlier pictures of Miss Nightingale, shows her, in garb and visage of the pre-Crimean days, seated on what is evidently a portico at Scutari, overlooking the Straits towards Constantinople. "I have not been out of the Hospital yet," she wrote, ten days after her arrival, "but the most beautiful view in all the world lies, I believe, outside my door."

As will be remembered, the Crimean War was waged between Russia and Turkey, with Great Britain and France ranged as allies on the latter side. The battlefield was the Crimean peninsula on the northeastern border of the Black Sea, and the bloodshed was so great as to almost parallel the horrors of today. The British public accepted with resignation the news of the sacrifices in the field. But it met in a different spirit the alarming reports that followed immediately upon the news of the Battle of Alma, fought on September 20, 1854, of the ravages which neglect and disease were making among the multitude of the wounded, under the complete lack of sanitation that prevailed among the British troops. Not only were the hospital supplies, that had been freely sent out, unavailable for use through misunderstandings with the Turkish customs and other stupidities, so that the men were unclothed and unfed, and all sanitary measures neglected, but there was an entire lack of proper attendance for the sick, the skilled female nurses employed by their French allies providing an invidious comparison. A letter to the *Times* from its correspondent, William Howard Russell, exposing

* See frontispiece.

these defects in no measured terms, and calling upon England for redress, evoked a storm of indignation that swept the country. Miss Nightingale's training and personality were well known to a large circle of influential friends, and, moreover, her excellent administration of the "Governesses' Home" had brought her into touch with another side of the philanthropic public. The letter to the *Times* appeared on October 12. On October 14, under the action of a small committee, headed by Lady Maria Forester, she wrote to her friend Lord Sydney Herbert, who was then Minister at War, asking for authority to go out at her own expense at the head of a small band of five nurses. It is one of the coincidences of history that her letter to Lord Herbert crossed one from him to her, asking her, in the name of the British War Office, to undertake this task, and urging her acceptance of it on the ground that she was the only person in England who could make it a success, and promising her undivided authority over the "Female military nursing establishments in the East" and unlimited supplies. On October 21, five days after the matter was formally settled, she sailed for the East at the head of thirty-eight nurses, of whom twenty-four belonged to the Roman Catholic and Anglican sisterhoods and the remainder were untrained. During these five days of selection of candidates and all the mass of detail involved in the organization of such an expedition, as also in all the exigencies of the uncomfortable voyage out, the most noteworthy thing about Miss Nightingale was her absolute calm, and her quiet control of the situation.

The groups of military hospitals in the East bore to each other something of the relationship that the field and base hospitals of our forces do now. On the Crimean peninsula, in the immediate neighborhood of the conflict and amongst the adjacent hills, there were, in addition to the

regimental dressing-stations, four large general hospitals, some established in huts, others in buildings. On the opposite, that is, the south-western, side of the Black Sea, across the Bosphorus from Constantinople and overlooking the Sea of Marmora, were the three great British military hospitals of Scutari, two of which, the General and Barrack Hospitals, were under the jurisdiction of Miss Nightingale, as also were all the hospitals in the Crimea, and for a time those at Koulali, four miles distant from Scutari. It was to the great Barrack Hospital of Scutari that she came on arrival, and there she had her headquarters. The abuses complained of in the *Times* were especially evident here because of the great overcrowding, the more unhealthy situation, the prevalence of cholera and other infections, and the fact that the means of transport across the Black Sea was very poor, so that the wounded arrived at Scutari in the last stages of exhaustion, in a condition when the lack of suitable food and the general inefficiency worked greater havoc.

The party arrived at Scutari on November 4, 1854. The Battle of Balaklava had been fought on October 25, and that of Inkerman on the day before their arrival, and the wounded were pouring in. The hospital was a huge place, capable of accommodating over 2000 patients (the maximum at one time was 2434, on December 23, 1855), and containing, in its overcrowded state, over four miles of beds, eighteen inches apart. In a letter written on November 14, Miss Nightingale writes that there were 1715 sick and wounded (among whom were 120 cholera patients), in this hospital, and 650 in the other building, called the General Hospital, of which they also had charge, "when a message came to prepare for 510 wounded arriving in half an hour from the dreadful affair at Balaklava. Between one and nine o'clock we had the mattresses stuffed, sewn up, laid upon the floor,

the men washed and put to bed, and their wounds dressed.'' It was with such numbers and with similar emergencies, under circumstances of extreme complexity, that Miss Nightingale had to cope, during that first six months.

The fact that there was gross maladministration in every department of these hospitals at the time of her arrival, has been clearly established by the Royal Commission appointed at the time. The trouble was partly due to an organization without central authority, partly to gross ignorance of ordinary hygiene, partly to the want of the woman's touch, and in part doubtless to the real lack of capacity of certain officials to deal with a novel situation. Miss Nightingale brought all her powers of tact, courage, judgment and resolution to meet the exigencies of the case. The large public funds that had been placed at her disposal by the *Times* and other sources, as well as her own private income, enabled her to tide over a situation otherwise hopeless; but the problem remained to meet these urgent necessities within the limitations set by military rigidity and professional jealousy, for she realized from the outset that strict discipline must be observed by herself, and a proper subordination to the medical officers in charge. Much has been said of her ''irregular'' methods of cutting the Gordian knots of her dilemmas by supplies from her own reserves or by deliberate and unauthorized invasion of the purveyor's stores. But she never neglected to support such action by a medical requisition, and investigation shows that she never set authority causelessly aside. Rather she had the insight of that perfect discipline, which recognizes the point at which the breaking of the *letter* is the fulfilment of the *spirit* of the law!

Many of the difficulties are detailed in her letters to Lord Herbert, with suggestions for their redress. Thus, on her arrival there was no

provision for the cleaning of the hospital, "not a basin, or towel, or piece of soap, or a broom," and her first requisition was for 300 scrubbing brushes! The patients' linen was not washed, and the bedding was only rinsed through in cold water, for the contract made by the purveyor with this object broke down before the convoys from Inkerman came in. Her first step was the renting and equipping of a Turkish house as a laundry, and the placing of the soldiers' wives at the washtubs. There was no clothing in the purveyor's stores, while, by a curious command, the soldiers had been required to leave their knapsacks before the Alma, in order to "march light" towards Sebastopol. In consequence the wounded arrived half naked and destitute of kit wherewith to leave the hospital. "I am clothing the British Army," she wrote. Again, on her arrival she found the entire cooking done in thirteen huge boilers, with no provision whatever for extra diets or special delicacies between times, and, by an extremity of red-tapeism, the rations were served *raw* in small quantities for each patient. "This practice," writes Miss Nightingale to Lord Herbert, "seems invented on purpose to waste the time of as many orderlies as possible, and it makes the patients' meals late, because it is impossible to get the diets thus drawn, cooked before three or four o'clock. The scene of confusion, delay, and disappointment, where all these raw diets are being weighed out by twos, and threes, and fours, is impossible to conceive, unless one has seen it, as I have, day by day. Why should not the Commissariat send at once the amount of meat, etc., required, to the kitchens,without passing through this intermediate stage of drawing by orderlies?" One of the most important measures introduced by her at the Barrack Hospital, was the opening, within 10 days of her arrival, of two extra diet-kitchens, and the placing of three supplemen-

tary boilers for arrowroot on various staircases. A few months later the great Soyer joined her as a volunteer, and took over the management of this invaluable part of the work.

And so with a thousand other details of management and equipment. She organized relief measures for the women camp followers, provided reading rooms for convalescent soldiers, engaged and superintended 200 builders in the emergency repair of a large part of the hospital, trained orderlies in sanitary measures, and herself did the work many times of a sanitary engineer, everywhere applying the expert's touch. But all this would have been ineffectual had she not had behind her own action the intelligent and informed power of those in authority at home. Her long days were followed by nights of letter-writing, when she indicated clearly to high sources what the necessary reforms were, and just how they should be carried out. Not only had she the loyal support of Lord Herbert and his colleagues, but the Queen herself was behind the prompt execution of her suggestions, and this was one of the most important sources of what was called by her enemies "The Nightingale Power." Among other measures enacted at her suggestion, it was due to the Executive Sanitary Commission, appointed in the winter of 1855, to act with plenary powers on the spot, that the horrible sanitary conditions of the hospital, which may be said to have overlain a great cesspool, were removed. The death rate fell, as the result of the action of this Commission, with remarkable rapidity.

But there was still another side of her activity—and that the ceaseless keynote of the whole, to which all her functions of administrator and reformer were, in a sense, secondary. "A Ministering Angel Thou!" Her devoted care of the patient, personal sympathy for the sufferer, skillful tending of the exhausted, and

faithfulness to the dying,—all those qualities that went to make the Lady-in-Chief at once the Queen of Nurses and the adored of the wounded soldiery, shone day and night through those crowded wards at Scutari like the beam of her own lamp!

In the spring of 1855 Miss Nightingale crossed the Black Sea to the Hospitals of the Crimea and remained there for some time. The physical strain upon her here was great, for the several hospital buildings were distant from each other, and she was obliged to go from one to another, often in the depth of night, over rough country. With her strength undermined by the strain of the work at Scutari, she fell ill of Crimean fever, and nearly died. It was when the news of her recovery reached an anxious England, that the popular feeling for her, which had been growing stronger ever since the day it was discovered that the "Mrs. Nightingale" of the Nursing Expedition was a young and beautiful woman, and which was being constantly enhanced through countless grateful letters home from wounded and dying soldiers, burst all bounds, and a wave of tenderest enthusiasm swept England from shore to shore. A public meeting was called in London "to give expression to the general feeling that the services of Miss Nightingale in the East demand the grateful recognition of the British people." The room was crowded to suffocation with the flower of England's men and women, her own parents among them. The speeches were beautiful, and were touching to a degree in their perfect recognition of the single-minded spirit in which her wonderful work was done. Dearest of all to her heart—perhaps the only part of it all for which she really cared at all—was the joy that this public recognition of her work brought to her parents and to her sister, Lady Verney, long since reconciled to her purpose, and now understanding her at last.

It was at this meeting that the Nightingale Fund was inaugurated, "to enable her to establish and control an Institution for the training, sustenance, and protection of nurses, paid and unpaid." This fund was later applied by her to establish a training school for nurses at St. Thomas's Hospital. The flood of popular enthusiasm rolled on through the British Dominions, and public meetings in support of her fund were everywhere held. And the Queen honored her with a beautiful jewel, especially designed for her by the Prince Consort.

After recovery from her illness, Miss Nightingale was urged to return to England, but she insisted on remaining at her post, part of the time at Scutari and part at the Crimea, until after the termination of the war. It was on August 4, 1856, four months after the treaty of peace was signed, that she reached again her native land.

Public excitement was intense at the thought of her expected return, but, as Lord Ellesmere had said, speaking on May 5 in the House of Commons, "she is probably planning now how to escape as best she may, on her return, the demonstration of a nation's appreciation of the deeds and motives of Florence Nightingale." She arrived at Lea Hurst from Paris unrecognized, under the name of Miss Smith, and walked unaccompanied from the little station to the protection of her home.

Disappointed of a public demonstration, the Press overflowed with admiring tributes in poetry and prose. With his usual timeliness, Mr. Punch published several excellent poems. One of these, which appeared on August 23, 1856, mirrors so well the sympathetic understanding and the real affection that swayed the British public of her day, that it is in the truest sense historic, and for that reason may be quoted here.

## "The Nightingale's Return.

"Most blessed things come silently, and silently depart,
Noiseless steals springtime to the year, and comfort to the heart,
And still and light, and gentle, like a dew, the rain must be
To quicken seed in furrow and blossom upon tree.

"Nile has his foaming rapids, freshets from mountain snows,
Yet, where his stream breeds fruitfulness, serene and calm he flows,
And, where he overbrims, to cheer his banks on either side,
You scarce can mark, so gradual, the swelling of his tide.

"The wings of angels make no stir as they ply their work of love,
Yet by the balm they shed around, we know them that they move.
God spake not in the thunder, nor the mighty rushing blast,
His utterance was in the still small voice that came at last.

"So she, our sweet Saint Florence, modest, and still, and calm,
With no parade of martyr's cross, no pomp of martyr's crown,
To the place of plague and famine, foulness and wounds and pain,
Went out upon her gracious toil, and now returns again.

"No shouting crowds about her path, no multitude's hot breath,
To fan, with winds of vanity, the doubtful fires of faith.
Her path by hands official all unsmoothed, her aims decried,
By the Levites, who, when need was, passed on the other side.

"When titles, pensions, orders by random hand are showered,
'Tis meet that, save with blessing, she still should walk undowered.
What title like her own sweet name with the music all its own?
What order like the halo by her good deeds round her thrown?

"Like her own bird, all voiceless when the daylight
songsters thrill,
Sweet singer in the darkness, when all songs else are
still,
She, in that night of darkness that turned other
hearts to stone,
Came, with soft step and gentle voice, yet wise and
firm of tone.

"Think of the prayers for her, that to praying hearts
came back
In rain of blessings, seeming still to spring upon her
track.
The comforts of her graciousness to those whose
road to death
Was dark and doubtful till she showed the light of
love and faith.

"Then leave her to the quiet she has chosen. She de-
mands
No greeting from our brazen throat, and vulgar clap-
ping hands.
Leave her to the still comfort the saints know that
have striven.
What are our earthly honours? Her honours are in
Heaven."

*Punch*, Aug. 23, 1856.

# IV

# THE PERIOD IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING THE CRIMEAN WAR

1856-1861

Plates VIII, IX, X, XI

## The Period Immediately Following the Crimean War

The dissimilarity between the early and the late portraits of Miss Nightingale has often been remarked. This is not entirely due to the fact that the earlier ones are mostly light crayon drawings, the later, photographs "taken by commandment of the Queen" on her return from the East; nor is it to be explained by the natural changes occurring in the transition from young maidenhood to early middle age. There is in the best of these later portraits to be clearly traced the birth of a great experience. She has seen and partaken of the travail of the world's tragedy, and it has left its indelible mark upon her face. The qualities, too, that she has gained in the great conflict are visible. This is especially true of the charming little head shown in Plate VIII. Endurance, unflinching decision, tempered with the kindly tolerance born of a great sympathy, even a humorous appreciation of the frailties of officialdom, are all expressed in the fine curves of the mouth, while in the eyes is the deep contentment of one who has seen the Vision, and knows of the foundations of her faith.

During the five years following the Crimean War, and especially during the immediately succeeding time, Florence Nightingale needed every spark of spiritual force which had come to her from the fires through which she had passed. She and her friend Sydney Herbert, with other loyal coadjutors, were together to shoulder a burden of reform, under which immediate action was so imperative, that only by unrelaxing effort could results be achieved. The

PLATE VIII. MISS NIGHTINGALE ON HER RETURN FROM THE CRIMEA.

From a photograph in the collection of the late Mr. J. B. Learmont, Montreal, reproduced also by the London Stereoscopic Company.

strain was of a different kind from that in the Crimean hospitals, but the task to be accomplished was even more gigantic. On the other hand, the unremitting energy demanded of her told upon her weakened frame, and she became permanently invalided, and saw all her dreams of an active life among the hospital training schools she was about to inaugurate, permanently denied her. Moreover, during these years she was to see Lord Herbert himself sink

under the work. He died in 1861, before he had accomplished what she called the "mainspring" of the whole,—the reform of the internal organization of the British War Office. His death was a blow from which she never quite recovered. During these five years they were in constant communication and consultation, and were allies in the truest sense, giving to each other a comradeship and a loyal support and understanding that was essential to the great results that they attained. Their work was in a sense complementary, for she had the administrative, he the political and executive mind (Sir Edward Cook). Their relationship is to be recognized as one of the great friendships of all time, and in a sense it is unique in history. Sydney Herbert was a man of immense charm, with a devoted wife who shared his every thought, and between whom and Miss Nightingale there existed a close intimacy and a strong spiritual tie. Not the least part of the great inheritance that Florence Nightingale has left to her sex, is the fact that such true friendship between man and woman can and does exist.

Only the first few days of Miss Nightingale's return to England were given up to personal matters. The consciousness pressed home that her experience in the Crimea must not be allowed to sink, even temporarily, into oblivion, but that the iron of public opinion must be struck while still hot, if the evils under which the soldiers had suffered were not to be repeated and perpetuated. The remarkable change wrought in the mortality of the hospital at Scutari by Miss Nightingale and her supporters during the first six months of the war was to be looked upon as a sanitary experiment of the most brilliantly successful kind. It was of vital importance to the future welfare of the army that the evils fought against and corrected in the Crimea, should be exposed in a Royal Com-

PLATE IX. MISS NIGHTINGALE (ABOUT 1856).
(Taken by order of the Queen shortly after her return from the Crimea.)

From a picture in the possession of the Canadian Nurses' Association, Montreal.

mission of enquiry, and that action should be taken against their repetition while indignation still burned hot in public sentiment. Miss Nightingale was keenly alive to the horror that had surrounded her in the Crimea, and never

forgot that mortality rate of 60% in the Scutari Hospital during the first weeks of her stay there, that blackened the good fame of the British Army regulations. Among her private notes of 1856 is written, "I stand at the altar of the murdered men, and while I live I fight their cause."

The required reforms were already the subject of serious discussion between herself and Lord Herbert. It was at this juncture on August 23, 1856, a fortnight after her return, that she was given the opportunity by an invitation to Balmoral Castle, of personally setting forth to Her Majesty the sufferings of the Queen's Army in the East, and their possible means of redress. Her preparation for the interview was thorough. In consultation with those who had the cause of medical reforms at heart, by the study of statistics, by enquiries, and by the collection of her own notes and memoranda, she armed herself to make the utmost use of her great opportunity. Nor was she disappointed. The Queen and the Prince Consort together gave her their fullest attention. "She put before us," wrote the Prince in his diary, "all the defects of our present hospital system, and the reforms that are necessary. We are much pleased with her; she is extremely modest." Nothing could be done, however, without the action of Ministers, and although she returned to London apparently successful, many months of delay and strenuous insistence were to elapse before a Royal Commission, with Lord Herbert as chairman, could be appointed. This took place by Royal Warrant on April 26, 1857, shortly after the publication and circulation of Miss Nightingale's comprehensive private report, entitled, "Notes Affecting the Health, Efficiency, and Hospital Administration of the British Army." This book created a profound impression. Sir John McNeill writes repeatedly in appreciation of its clear-

ness and vigor, and ends, "I think it contains a body of information and instruction such as no one else, so far as I know, has ever brought to bear upon a similar subject. I regard it as a gift to the Army, and to the country altogether priceless."

The Commission appointed, its duty was to submit a report of the abuses and projected reforms, to the House of Commons. Miss Nightingale's own evidence took the form of thirty-three pages of written answers to questions in the "Blue Book" report. "It was distinguished," in the words of an Army doctor of the time, "by a clearness, a logical coherence, a pungency and abruptness, a ring as of true metal, that is altogether admirable."

The Report itself was written by Mr. Herbert, with much assistance from Miss Nightingale. It recommended the appointment of four sub-commissions, whose functions should be: to put the barracks in sanitary order; to organize a statistical department; to institute a medical school; to reconstruct the Army Medical Department, and to revise its hospital regulations. To it was appended a statistical study made by Miss Nightingale, of the civil and military mortality statistics in certain London parishes, from which the startling fact revealed itself that the rate of mortality among the soldiers living in barracks was five times as great as that of civilians living at home. To force this existing fact, namely, that the Army in time of peace was being exposed to the effects of bad sanitation with disastrous results, upon the attention of the House, meant a hearing, which perhaps the evils of the Crimean War, already becoming a thing of the past, might possibly not obtain, even so soon after the terrible events. After much activity on the part of all interested, the Report was formally acted upon, and the four sub-commissions authorized. They immediately set to work, with Miss

PLATE X. MISS NIGHTINGALE ON HER RETURN FROM THE CRIMEA.

From a photograph in the possession of Miss Hall, Lady Superintendent of the Peter Bent Brigham Hospital, Boston.

Nightingale the heart of each, herself now ill and weak from the prolonged exertion of these strenuous months, after the strain in the Crimea. It was quite possibly the effects of these months of unremitting exertion, at a time when her body demanded rest, that left her a permanent invalid. A diagnosis of Miss Nightingale's malady has not, so far as we know, been framed, but her own statement about herself in her letters to her medical friends, suggest that she suffered from some form of cardiac insufficiency associated with cardiac dilatation and a paroxysmal tachycardia. Even at her lowest ebb, she never put aside her harness, but met emergencies as they arose until, in February, 1858, the various investigations had been made and the resulting recommendations were embodied in a second Report from the Commission.

The results were worthy of the heavy price she paid in the permanent sacrifice of her health. Each commission carried its work through to a successful issue, with beneficial results that are felt in our own day in a hundred directions. The Crimean episode will always take a leading place in the story of Florence Nightingale's life. But, as has been said, its greatest importance lay in the insight, experience, and political influence which she gained in it, and which made it possible for her to inspire these far-reaching reforms.

The results of the work of the four sub-commissions may be briefly summarized as: the better barrack accommodation and military hospital construction, which have resulted in the improved health of the British soldier at home today; the revision of army medical statistics and the establishment of British army statistics on a higher plane than that of any other country in the world at that time, a task in which the statistical skill, energy, and persistence of Miss Nightingale was united with the experience of the celebrated Dr. William Farr; the foundation of the Army Medical School, and the splendidly equipped Royal Medical College; and the formulation of a code for regulating the relative duties of regimental medical officers, and organizing the detail of the internal administration of military and other hospitals.

The third sub-commission, to establish an Army Medical School, had the longest and weariest struggle against the obstruction of subordinates of them all, but it accomplished most important results. The Army Medical School, afterwards removed to Netley, was peculiarly Miss Nightingale's child, and she watched over its early progress with earnest solicitude. In every part of the administration the professors sought her assistance, and she made a successful fight, against much opposition, to have pathology recognized in the professoriate. Her serv-

PLATE XI. MISS NIGHTINGALE
(IN 1858)

From a photograph by Goodman in the possession of Dr. Collins Warren, Boston.

ices as the true founder of the School were acknowledged at the time. Dr. Longmore, the professor of military surgery, told the students that it was she "whose opinion, derived from large experience and remarkable sagacity in observation, exerted an especial influence in originating and establishing this school." "For originating this school," wrote Sir James Clark, "we have to thank Miss Nightingale, who, had her long and persevering efforts effected no other improvement in the army, would have conferred by this alone an inestimable boon upon the British soldier."

Apart from the work of the commissions, many other army reforms were instituted by Mr. Herbert and inspired by Miss Nightingale. Such were the committee to reorganize the

Army Hospital Corps and the Soldiers' Recreation Clubs. The latter were organized by them with much success, not only in England, but at Gibraltar, Chatham and Montreal, which was then a military post. The regimental institute attached to every modern barrack is the direct outcome of this branch of their pioneer work.

Such is a brief outline of the epoch-making work carried on by Sydney Herbert and Florence Nightingale during these five years immediately following her return from the East. Great as it was, however, these reforms in army sanitation were not by any means the only side of her activities during this period. Of equal importance was: (1) her work in the reform of modern hospital construction as a whole, (2) in the introduction of statistical forms for hospital use, and (3) especially in the foundation of modern nursing.

Miss Nightingale's prestige in matters of *hospital construction* was recognized before her book, "Notes on Hospitals," appeared, in 1858. This book was written in connection with her work on the first sub-commission, and is a technical study of the subject supplemented with numerous maps and diagrams, and recommending the elementary principles of sanitation, which were not then generally recognized, and the pavilion system. "It appears to me," wrote Sir James Paget, "to be the most valuable contribution in application to medical institutions I have ever read." After its appearance she was widely consulted on hospital construction at home and abroad, and revised the plans of many hospitals erected in Great Britain, Germany, Belgium, Spain, France, India and America.

Her work as a *statistician* has already been referred to and her alliance with Dr. William Farr. Her statistical forms for the use of hospitals were presented at the International Congress in London in 1860, and were introduced

in the leading London hospitals. On June 21, 1861, a meeting was held at Guy's Hospital and it was unanimously agreed—by delegates from Guy's, St. Bartholomew's, St. Thomas's, the London, St. George's, King's College, the Middlesex, and St. Mary's—"that the metropolitan hospitals should adopt one uniform system of registration of patients; that each hospital should publish its statistics annually, and that Miss Nightingale's Model Forms should, as far as possible, be adopted."

Her work in the *foundation of modern nursing* has been described as one of the three great contributions of the nineteenth century to the relief of human suffering in disease. In the alleviation which it has supplied it takes rank with the discovery of anesthesia by Sir James Simpson, and asepsis by Sir Joseph Lister.

The Nightingale Training School for Nurses was opened at St. Thomas's Hospital on June 24, 1860, under the administration of the Nightingale Fund, which amounted to £44,000, raised throughout the British Empire, as a tribute to the Crimean heroine in 1855. Miss Nightingale planned every detail in its organization, and assisted the first matron, Mrs. Wardroper, in the discharge of her activities. She herself interviewed and accepted candidates and others, and afterwards preserved the closest touch with the pupil nurses and graduates. The influence of the school spread rapidly, and the Nightingale nurses, both in Great Britain, the Colonies, and the United States, made their way as superintendents. The Blockley Hospital in Philadelphia, and the Montreal General Hospital here, were two of those that owned a Nightingale superintendent. In Germany, Sweden, France, and Austria, too, the lead was followed, and nurses were trained along the same lines. Thus the seed that was carried by Pastor Fliedner from Elizabeth Fry in London to Kaiserwerth in Germany, was transplanted by Florence

Nightingale again on English soil, and grew into a mighty tree.

It has been well said that Miss Nightingale did not originate the idea of trained nursing of the sick, for there were sisterhoods and great nurses before her time. What she did do was to place the art of nursing on the plane of a profession, and to transfer it, as the books of the British census show, from the category "Domestic," in which it stood before her time, to that of "Medicine." Both by precept and example she taught and tried to instill into her nurses the principles and the code of honor that raise an occupation into a profession. She raised a great enthusiasm among the women of her time, many of whom grasped her meaning, and worked with her to attain this end. She took it out, too, of the place in which it had been put before her time by the religious orders, who regarded their nursing chiefly as a means of self-abnegation and humiliation. She believed, no one more strongly, that the true nurse must have a sense of vocation, and that without it she should not enter the profession, and with her "nursing was a sacred calling, only to be followed to good purpose, by those who pursued it as the service of God, through the highest kind of service to man." But she recognized also, that the skilled services of the trained nurse should form an honorable means of livelihood, and insisted on the public recognition of this fact. Miss Nightingale never thought or cared about what has been called women's rights, but she was essentially a pioneer in the interests of her sex. By the high estimate and value she placed upon the skilled services of women in a capacity in which only they can serve, she raised the public sense of the value of those services all along the line, and there is probably no other woman to whom modern women owe so much. Her words on the subject of the modern feminist movement,

which was just beginning in her day, and which close her little volume "Notes on Nursing," are an epitome of wisdom, and strike directly home.

*"I would earnestly ask my sisters to keep clear of both the jargons now current everywhere (for they are equally jargons); of the jargon, namely, about the 'rights' of women, which urges women to do all that men do, merely because men do it, and without regard to whether this is the best that women can do; and of the jargon which urges women to do nothing that men do, merely because they are women. Surely woman should bring the best she has, whatever that is, to the work of God's world, without attending to either of these cries. It does not make a good thing, that it is remarkable that a woman should have been able to do it. Neither does it make a thing bad, which would have been good had a man done it, that it has been done by a woman.*

*"Oh, leave these jargons and go your way straight to God's work, in simplicity and singleness of heart."*

The "Notes on Nursing" was published in 1860. It is the best known of her writings, and in the purity of its English, the vigor and simplicity of its style, and the fundamental soundness of its teaching, is in the highest sense a classic. It is a book which anyone may read with delight and information today, and should be republished in popular form. Florence Nightingale possessed the literary faculty in a very high degree, and was a voluminous writer, but she held this, as she did her social accomplishments, very lightly, to be used only as a means to an end, and to be considered, rather as a "temptation" to be avoided, that might lead her away from the purpose to which she had consecrated herself, and never as an end in itself. This is the reason, that although her contributions to the literature of her time are

as important and probably as numerous as those of her illustrious contemporaries, Mrs. Gaskell, George Eliot, and Harriet Martineau, they are not recognized as such, for they are largely on technical subjects and many of them are hidden in the Blue Books of the day. It is only when she is dealing, almost as it were by accident, with subjects of wider intellectual scope, that her power of literary expression and her clearness of vision in the realm of abstract thought are fully revealed to us. The best illustrations are to be found in her lengthy correspondence with such men as William Jowett and John Stuart Mill, and in her great religio-sociological treatise, entitled "Suggestions for Thought to Searchers for Truth among the Artizans of England and to Searchers after Religious Truth," published in three volumes, containing 729 pages in all, by Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, in 1860. Her yearly "Addresses to the Probationer Nurses in the 'Nightingale Fund' at St. Thomas' Hospital," printed for a limited private circulation during the years 1873 to 1888, stand out also as models of clear diction embodying principles of deep ethical and spiritual force. The nineteenth century has been called pre-eminently the century of great women. It is from the literary and philosophic, as well as the philanthropic side, that Florence Nightingale possesses an eminent place within the circle.

# V

# FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE IN LATER LIFE

1861-1910

Plates XII, XIII, XIV, XV

## Florence Nightingale in Later Life.

Sydney Herbert died in 1861 when Florence Nightingale was forty-one years of age. She lived nearly fifty years longer, and for thirty-five of these retained the full use of all her faculties and the same phenomenal capacity for accomplishing heavy tasks in numerous fields simultaneously, each of which was, in itself, sufficient for the full powers of a single individual. His death threw her into a state of extreme despondency, for she had lost not only a dear personal friend, but the ally on whom her sanitary reforms depended. From the seclusion of a deep retirement she published a short "Life of Lord Herbert," in which she ascribes every part of their reforms to his work. Had he been writing the book he would have made the same statement in relation to herself, and in a sense both statements would have been true, so completely interdependent was their action. In ascribing the credit for all the achievements of the Crimean climax and those resulting from it, the names of Sydney Herbert and Florence Nightingale must always hold an equal place. The British public recognized this fact in the erection, in the winter of 1914, of the dual statues to them which stand on either side of the Crimean monument in London today.

Space does not permit of even the complete enumeration of all the numerous reforms enacted in this later period of her life. Probably the most comprehensive, and certainly that in which an immense portion of her time and energy was expended to the very end of her active life, was the improved sanitation of India,—a problem arising out of the work of the Crimean

commissions, and in which she was intimately associated with Sir John Lawrence, Sir Bartle Frere, Lord Roberts, and other leading East Indians. She stood for advanced methods, brought to the evidence irrefutable masses of statistical facts, and fought desperately, among other things, for universal irrigation. She was known at the time in high quarters as the *Providence of India.* "The Indian Sanitary Commission's Report," a huge volume consisting of 2028 pages of small print, contains evidence of her work on almost every page.

In the work of the War Office again, she maintained, after Lord Herbert's death, a very intimate relationship, which in time came to assume the relation of an advisory counsel. This was because in many questions she had come to be considered the first expert of her time, and also because, in Sir Edward Cook's phrase, she was rightly regarded as the official legatee of Lord Sydney Herbert, and one who knew, as no one else could, the spirit of the uncompleted reforms he had projected, and the traditions which had inspired one who had held a very high place in the public trust. She was concerned in this way, not only in questions of army sanitation in time of peace, but in all the problems that arose in the care of the sick and wounded in the various wars that broke out during this long period, and her connection with the organization of the Red Cross Society, and the various associations formed for the care of the sick and wounded, runs like a silver thread through the story of this latter part of her life. Thus we find her, during the course of the American Civil War, writing on October 8, 1861, to Dr. Farr, that she had sent to the Secretary of War at Washington, on application, all the War Office's forms and reports, statistical and otherwise. At this time also a Sanitary Commission was appointed at Washington, which reproduced much

PLATE XII. MISS NIGHTINGALE IN 1887.
From a picture by Sir William Richmond at Claydon, and reproduced in Sir Edward Cook's Life of Florence Nightingale.

of Miss Nightingale's Crimean work. Again, on December 18, 1861, we find her revising the draft of the commissariat and army medical stores for the projected expedition from England to Canada in connection with the Trent affair.

The inception of the Red Cross Society on an international basis owes its origin to the suggestion of a Swiss physician, Henri Dunant.

In the year 1859, when the full flood of Miss Nightingale's Crimean achievements were still fresh in the public mind, the bloody battle of Solferino was fought, and the wounded lay three days upon the battlefield untended, except for the irregular ministrations of neighboring peasants. Shocked at the sight of the tragedy, and proclaiming the possibility of organized aid that the Crimean campaign had shown, M. Dunant carried the proposal to the leading European powers, "that an organization with international privileges be established for the care of the sick and wounded in war." As a result, in August, 1864, an International Congress was held at Geneva, which framed the famous Geneva Convention, on which the constitution of the present Red Cross Society is based, and which declares medical aid on the field to be under the protection of a recognized neutrality. The British delegates to the Congress were Miss Nightingale's friends, Dr. Longmore and Dr. Rutherford, and she drafted their instructions. In 1872, M. Dunant in a paper read in London, said: "Though I am known as the founder of the Red Cross and the originator of the Convention of Geneva, it is to an Englishwoman that all the honor of that Convention is due. What inspired me to go to Italy during the war of 1859 was the work of Miss Florence Nightingale in the Crimea."

In the War of 1866 between Prussia, Austria and Italy, all three of the combatants sought and obtained the assistance of Miss Nightingale and she herself joined and took part in the London Relief Association for the care of the wounded. In 1867 a gold medal was awarded to her by the Conference of Red Cross Societies in Paris, and in 1870, the Austrian Patriotic Society for the Relief of Wounded Soldiers elected her a member. During the whole duration of the War of 1870-71, she was again plunged into ceaseless activity, for both Germany and France del-

uged her with correspondence. She met all demands, and rendered assistance impartially to the sick and wounded of both sides, so that in July, 1871, the French *Société des Secours aux Blessés* conferred its bronze cross upon her, and in September of that year she was decorated by the German Emperor with the Prussian Cross of Merit. In spite of the strict neutrality she maintained in giving aid to the wounded of both sides, it is interesting to us, in this year of war, 1916, to know that her personal sympathies were rather with the French. "I think," she wrote on December 20, 1870, "that if the conduct of the French for the last three months had been shown by any other nation it would have been called, *as it is*, sublime. The uncomplaining endurance, the sad and severe self-restraint of Paris under a siege now of three months would have rendered immortal a city of ancient Rome." And in writing to the Crown Princess of Prussia on hospital matters, she pleaded for clemency. "Prussia would remember," she was sure, "the future wars and misery always brought about by trampling too violently on a fallen foe." We know, alas, only too well, how sadly her assurance was disappointed. During Lord Wolseley's Egyptian campaign of 1882 she was active in organizing the female nurses who were requested, and emerged from her seclusion to attend several military reviews in London, and then and thereafter assisted in the reorganization of the Army Hospital Service, which time was again bringing into disrepute, and the interests of which she was able to forward materially during the course of a visit to Balmoral in 1883, to receive the decoration of the Royal Red Cross from the Queen's hand.

It is thus seen that among the many honors and tributes that were showered upon her in the closing years of her life none were more in keeping with the spirit of it than that expressed at

PLATE XIII. MISS NIGHTINGALE IN LATER LIFE.

Portrait taken by Messrs. S. G. Payne and Sons of Aylesbury, England, and published in the *Sphere*. From a copy in possession of Miss H. A. Des Brisay, Montreal.

the Eighth International Conference of Red Cross Societies in London in June, 1907, to which Queen Alexandra sent a message referring to "the pioneer of the First Red Cross movement, Miss Florence Nightingale, whose heroic efforts on behalf of suffering humanity will be recognized and admired by all ages as long as the world shall last." The resolution read: "The great and incomparable name of Miss Florence Nightingale, whose merits in the field of humanity are never to be forgotten, and who raised the care of the sick to the position of a charitable art, imposes on the Eighth International Conference of Red Cross Societies the noble duty of rendering homage to her merits by expressing warmly its high veneration."

Another large sphere of activity which arose since the time and outside of the department of Sydney Herbert, was that of Work-House Reform, a movement which grew directly out of the work of the Nightingale Training School. In the year 1864, no legislation provided for the care of the sick poor in England, and an absolute lack of attendance combined with a degraded class of patients to make the conditions the worst possible. From a noted philanthropist came the suggestion, that at the Liverpool Work-House Infirmary, one of the most difficult institutions of all, the experiment should be tried of placing twelve Nightingale nurses in control, with a superintendent chosen from among them. The story of Miss Alice Jones, a gentle girl of high religious views, a graduate of Kaiserwerth, and later of the St. Thomas's School, who struggled and won victory among vicious patients and a difficult management, and who gave up her life in doing so, is one of the romances of the history of nursing. It is told by Miss Nightingale, under the title "Una and the Lion," in good words. The success won here led the way for the Metropolitan

PLATE XIV. FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE IN HER ROOM IN SOUTH STREET AT THE AGE OF EIGHTY-SIX.

From a photograph by Miss Bosanquet, 1906, and reproduced in Sir Edward Cook's Life of Florence Nightingale.

Poor Act of 1867, which was a starting-point of medical relief to the poor in England, and is to be traced to the efforts of many earnest men and women, and chief among them to Miss Nightingale.

The failure of one of her attempts, that is, of the Training School at the Lying-in Department of the King's College Hospital, is to be recorded. It is of importance chiefly today, because it led to the publication of her "Notes on Lying-in Institutions," which is to be compared to the "Notes on Nursing" in its clearness and originality and the soundness of its practical applications.

The Nightingale Training School was always under Miss Nightingale's supervision, but after the year 1872, when she retired, more or less, from more active association with other forms of work, and when it was removed to the present new St. Thomas's building, she identified herself still more closely with it, and it sheds other light upon her extraordinarily many-sided character. Here again, as in her youth, we see her from the domestic side. She is in close contact with her nurses, knowing each one personally, criticising and loving, chiding and helping, always on the highest plane of principle, and with a depth of personal feeling and sympathy that brought her into the closest range of influence with those whom she was trying to inspire. Every year she formulated her teaching in a hospital sermon, which took the form of a letter, publicly read to the nurses. In these days her home at South Street was always open to her pupils, whom she met here in a sense on equal terms, and all loved her dearly. Just as in her beautiful girlhood she had sat at the feet of Elizabeth Fry, and had drunk to her soul's fulfilment of the springs of that ripened humanitarianism, so in her own latter days, these daughters of her heart's best wisdom gathered about her to learn from her

PLATE XV. FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE IN 1907.
From a watercolor drawing by Miss F. Alicia De Biden Footner, and reproduced in Sir Edward Cook's Life of Florence Nightingale.

own lips what it was she would have them to do. As the years closed in about her, her nurses stood to her in the relation of "affectionate children" or "dear sisters," who had gone out into the world to carry her gospel of what the art of nursing meant to many distant lands.

In the fulness of time, after a life so crowded with productive labor, philosophic thought, and literary activity, so rich in sympathies and affection, and so transfigured by a deep religious faith that one could scarcely imagine its equal, death came to her, three years after the Freedom of the City of London and the King's Order of Merit had been conferred upon her. To the end she counted herself an unprofitable servant, and realized only the high values of those things which she had struggled to attain.

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Miss Nightingale's Writings

Writings about Miss Nightingale

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

THE following selections from Miss Nightingale's more important published writings, which are taken from the excellent bibliography given in Sir Edward Cook's Life will be of interest to the readers of this address. To it are added the titles of a few of the more important writings about her gleaned from the same source. For further details those interested are referred to the appendices of Vol. II of the above book, which contain a mine of authentic information.

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