

CLARA BARTON'S 1898 BATTLES IN CUBA: A REEXAMINATION OF HER NURSING CONTRIBUTIONS

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This study reexamines Clara Barton's mission in Cuba to bring aid to those suffering from hunger, disease and war wounds while battling with bureaucracy and gender constraints. Clara Barton was a quintessential frontline nurse. In the last quarter of the 19th Century, she defined her work through the American Red Cross, an organization that she saw as a reform movement. From 1882 when she founded the American Red Cross, it became "her" esteemed neutral vehicle providing a means for her direct participation in frontline nursing care during hurricanes, floods or epidemics. In 1898, when she left Washington for Cuba she was 77-years-old at the zenith of her career. Barton's work in Cuba exemplified her unbroken link with nursing, a common creed, a collective identity, that transcended transnational boundaries. The link, however, did not include the common training. After the Spanish American War, the face of nursing and especially army nursing changed. The soldiers' deaths from disease ushered in major health reforms including the 1901 establishment of the Army Nurse Corp. The 77-year-old Barton was not a part of this new thrust and her nursing contributions dimmed in nursing history as did her presence within the Red Cross organization. Criticism of her work, her patriotism and even her person undercut her place in nursing history. The reevaluation of Barton's work, seeks to complement Cuban historiography at the end of the 19th century and to reevaluate her nursing roots.

On February 15, 1898, Clara Barton (1821-1912) worked at her desk overlooking Havana Harbor.¹ The 77-year old president and founder of the American Red Cross (ARC) pondered over her relief effort to bring aid to displaced Cubans—the *reconcentrados*. From her window, she witnessed the commotion. The United States Battleship *Maine* had exploded and sunk in Havana Harbor with 250 men dead. After the blast, she made her way to the bruised, cut and burned survivors at the Spanish Military Hospital, *San Ambrosia*. "I am with the wounded," she cabled to the Red Cross headquarters from Havana.² The experienced nurse knew her immediate duty was to take the names of the wounded. "Isn't this Miss Barton?" asked one of the wounded men. "I knew you were here and I thought you would come to us."³

The *Maine* incident highlights Clara Barton as the quintessential frontline nurse giving credence to an earlier newspaper report that indeed she was an expert

in binding up “many torn bodies and nearly crushed hearts.”⁴ Barton was specific with the details of the injuries that identified her as an experienced nurse.

Their wounds are all over them—heads and faces terribly cut, internal wounds, arms, legs, feet and hands burned to the live flesh. The hair and beards singed, showing that the burns were from fire not steam. Besides further evidence shows that the burns are where the parts were uncovered. If burned by steam the clothing would have held the steam and burned all the deeper.⁵

Barton noted the officers and the men were reticent to discuss the cause of the blast, but they thought it was not a result of internal combustion. The boilers were located at each end of the ship, places where all escaped. The blast had come from the center. In the resulting speculation afterwards, and throughout the following decades, it appears that investigators did not consider her observations.⁶

In the last quarter of the 19th Century, Barton defined her work through the American Red Cross. From 1882, the organization became “her” esteemed neutral vehicle for her direct participation in frontline nursing care. Whether providing relief during forest fires, hurricanes, floods or epidemics, Barton affirmed her nursing philosophy that guided her work. In 1898, she summed up her goals with this quote, “Ease suffering, soothe sorrow, lessen pain, this is [one’s] only thought night and day.”⁷ Her principles speak to the core of modern nursing today.

This essay reexamines Clara Barton’s attempts to bring frontline nursing care to those in Cuba suffering from hunger, disease and war wounds while battling with bureaucracy and gender constraints. Moreover, her humanitarian service presents an opportunity to reevaluate her nursing roots.⁸ Barton emerges not only as a staunch supporter of women’s rights, patients’ rights and victims’ rights, but also as a fierce defender of her own right to nurse in spite of her age.

Although Cuban historiography has largely overlooked Barton’s work,⁹ numerous biographers have documented her relief work and participation in the 1898 war.¹⁰ This essay draws from the work of these biographers, contemporary newspapers, Barton’s papers located in the Library of Congress as well as Barton’s first person narrative and record of her work that she compiled in her 1899 book entitled *The Red Cross In Peace and War*. By addressing her record in Cuba through her eyes and voice there can be little doubt that Barton deserves a prominent place

in *nursing* history and *Cuban* history, as well as in humanitarian and philanthropic history.

Barton's Background: War, Peace and Equality

Key points about her background illuminate Barton's character and mission. During the Civil War, she was literally and figuratively a battlefield nurse. In wielding considerable power to overcome prejudices against women at the front lines of battle, her initiative and autonomy stood out.¹¹ As scholar Ellen Langenheim Henle points out, Barton was "fearless under fire."¹² Henle argues that women's exclusion from war sustained their subordinated status. War was the legendary male realm. Without the franchise, women could not participate in governmental decisions to initiate or avoid war. Barton fought gender constraints to forge the way for women to participate in the forefront of battle.¹³

The Civil War and the aftermath of her care for the war dead followed by the endless rounds of public lectures took a toll on Barton's health as she moved around the country. In breaking ground as a public speaker, she met many suffragists who sought her support. Her feminist rhetoric was just as forceful, or even greater, than that of the suffragists. When asked what women should do in time of war, suffragist Elizabeth Cady Stanton replied that just like many of her male counterparts, she would urge others to go to war.¹⁴ Barton was truly a battlefield nurse. She declared that if people consider "the positions I occupy were rough and unseemly for a *woman*—I can only reply that they were rough and unseemly for *men*."¹⁵ Although a firm supporter of the movement, she refused any formal leadership roles. Instead, she placed herself in the forefront of yet another battle to bring humanitarian, or frontline nursing services, to women, men and children in need. She devoted her life to the cause when her physicians finally advised her to recuperate in Europe.

During her recuperation from ill health in Switzerland, she energized the founding of the American Red Cross. It was through her powers of persuasion, that the United States government finally endorsed the Geneva Accords and signed the international treaty. This was no small feat. Twice it had refused, even when requested by Dr. Henry W. Bellows, the head of war relief during the Civil War.¹⁶

Barton secured her place as the ARC president insisting that disaster relief was in its articles of incorporation. In 1882, the ARC set to work bringing relief nationally and internationally—with Barton at the center of the effort.

To provide nurses to assist in service under the Red Cross flag, she hoped the 1894 founding of the Red Cross training school for nurses in New York would become a model.¹⁷ This was the only Red Cross training school for nurses in the country. Barton hoped it would become a model that would prepare Red Cross nurses for service under the Red Cross flag. However, according to Lavinia Dock, one of the most prolific nurse historians of the Progressive era, the Red Cross school was doomed to fail. Dock was a contemporary nurse who trained at Bellevue School of Nursing, the first reformed nursing school to open in 1873. The Red Cross Hospital, founded by Bettina Hofker and sanctioned by Barton, was a facility that ran under the auspices of the Red Cross. (Hofker later married Red Cross surgeon-in-chief Dr. A. Monnae Lesser.) While the fledgling nursing profession strengthened itself with dynamic leadership to unite nurses under professional controls, Barton preferred her nurses to volunteer for service and practice regular military tactics.¹⁸ In contrast, Dock asserted merits of the “new” profession’s building blocks. “The founders of Bellevue had affirmed the principle of economic and professional independence,” she noted. “This was tenaciously held on to by the young profession.”¹⁹ Historian Barbara Melosh explains the growth of professional nursing and the early nurse leaders’ struggle aimed to make nursing into a respectable profession. However, the influential nurse leaders faced an uphill battle to negotiate between the hospitals’ need for service and the schools’ insistence of education. These issues remained an unresolved difficulty.²⁰ Consequently, Dock and her counterparts did not endorse Barton’s vision for nursing education. Dock concluded that the Red Cross Hospital met the forthcoming emergency of the 1898 Spanish American War with “pathetic inadequacy.”²¹

In her diary, Barton brings to light the difficulty of running the Red Cross Hospital that added credence to Dock’s criticism, as a younger nurse Hofker-Lesser had problems maintaining authority among the older “ambitious” nurses who would “resort to scandal as a means of [obtaining] power for themselves.” After a visit to

the hospital Barton wrote, "Poor Bettina is downhearted and wants to give up. Go out of the hospital and let someone else take the helm." Barton greatly encouraged the younger nurse to continue and offered solutions. She suggested a chaperone to help her "hold these unscrupulous wretches in place."²² Yet in spite of difficulties, during the absence of war and disasters, Hofker-Lesser organized the Red Cross nurses to care for the city's poor.²³ In 1898, the hospital and training school closed to permit the staff to meet the challenges in Cuba.²⁴

Relief Efforts for the *Reconcentrados*.

In the midst of bringing Red Cross aide to those suffering through disasters at home and abroad, news of the Cuban *reconcentrados* plight distressed Barton and once again, her autonomy stood out. She argued that the Red Cross was a "direct servant of the government," therefore, without President William McKinley's permission, Barton would not endorse any Red Cross involvement.²⁵ Those who were impatient for Red Cross action included Cuban patriots. In a gripping letter, they attacked Barton and the Red Cross for inhumanity towards the *reconcentrados*. As the summer of 1897 wore on, no longer able to quietly bear the reports, Barton requested that "the Red Cross [take] steps on its own in direct touch [and with the cooperation of] the people of the country."²⁶ Illustrating her ease of communication with the President, she called on him at the White House and joined the meeting in progress with his Secretary of State.²⁷ Finally, they agreed to form the "President's Committee for Cuban Relief," headquartered in New York, to solicit and to distribute funds. Urged by the President to take charge of the relief effort in Havana, the elderly Clara Barton journeyed to Cuba where she could be at the center of action.²⁸

Barton Spearheaded the Humane Issue

Upon arrival three days later, the hunger and starvation that had permeated the small villages overrun with people suffering from years of want struck Barton to the quick.²⁹ Barton's graphic penmanship illustrated her dismay at her visit to the concentration camp at Los Fosos and other facilities where the inmates were in slightly better condition.³⁰ She set to work visiting sites where the Red Cross could arrange distribution centers.³¹ The Red Cross hospital's chief nurse Bettina Hofker-

Lesser, Dr. Monae A. Lesser and four nurses from the now closed Red Cross Hospital followed Barton to Cuba to support her work.

Relief After the *Maine* Disaster

Amid the speculation of the cause of the *Maine's* blast, Barton continued with her relief effort.³² She traveled on to the small towns and villages where she found deplorable conditions. Calling for a battle against the “enemies,” of “dirt and filth,” Barton rallied for volunteers to thoroughly clean and whitewash a hospital, for example. Once enlarged, a freshly supplied hospital could accommodate more patients.³³ Local physicians anguished by lack of resources, spurred to action with Red Cross support.³⁴

Barton kept the public alerted to the progress of the Red Cross relief effort. Highlighting its humanity and neutrality, she reported about her cooperation with the Spanish authorities. Spain was one of the original founders of the International Red Cross and Barton fostered a rapport with General Ramón Blanco y Erenas. She reported that, “General Blanco was glad of this relief and sorry for the condition of the people.”³⁵ She explained that her cooperation with the Spaniards was through the international recognition that the Red Cross operated as a neutral humanitarian body. Barton disregarded any gender inequality. Rather she met the Spaniards on equal terms. “I meet you gentlemen not as an American and you as Spaniards but as the head of the Red Cross of one country greeting the Red Cross men of another,” she affirmed. “I do not come to speak for America as an American, but from the Red Cross for humanity.”³⁶ Throughout her stay, she noted that General Blanco and his staff’s unfailing “kindly spirit” prevailed. She wrote, “I was begged not to leave the island through fear of them.” They promised to extend “every protection in their power” to the Red Cross. When the coming war forced Barton to abandon her relief work, she accepted Blanco’s farewell and blessing and in her words, she left those “poor, dying wretches to their fate.”³⁷ One newspaper reported, “The whole system of succoring the starving Cubans is for the time being brought to a complete standstill.”³⁸ Barton moved the Red Cross headquarters to Tampa. At the declaration of war on April 25th, she had placed the Red Cross headquarters at a

strategic location to offer immediate war service and in spite of war, she hoped that her relief work would continue.

Two days before the outbreak of war, the Red Cross relief ship, the *State of Texas*, left New York harbor full of supplies for the *reconcentrados*. Barton was anxious that the Geneva Convention did not cover naval warfare at this time. Moreover, in war the Red Cross was supposed to have an active role with the military. She appealed to military leaders to follow the Geneva accords, but she found the same prejudices against her and “her” organization as she had in the Civil War. The generals believed that volunteer committees were unnecessary. The military should take care of its own medical needs.³⁹

On April 29th, Barton joined the *State of Texas* in Key West. She begged Admiral Sampson to allow it to pass the blockade surrounding the island. Admiral Sampson declared it his duty to keep the supplies out of the country. Barton insisted it was her duty to get them in! She had no choice but to wait patiently in Tampa where the troops gathered to depart for Cuba. Although tedious, the wait was not without action. Barton and her staff turned their attention to the Spanish crew of vessels, offering them sustenance under the auspices of the Red Cross. Again, “ease suffering” was her philosophy. She explained that until then “they had only live fish and brown sugar to eat.”⁴⁰

While Red Cross President Clara Barton waited in Tampa, many relief organizations throughout the country adopted the Red Cross insignia to offer assistance. Scores of trained nurses also rushed to volunteer. To accommodate the surge, the New York Red Cross committee organized an efficient auxiliary relief to the army that included recruiting and paying the nurses. Barton had neglected to provide specific guidance from the headquarters. Instead, she saw the young “branches” as evidence of the Red Cross success and another step in her passion to bring nurses to the battlefield as an integral part of the military. As Pryor concludes, she did not realize that while she waited in Tampa the adoring public would associate the Red Cross, not with her, but with the tremendous work of these “branches.”⁴¹

Returning to the Battle Front

Finally, when war arrived, functioning under the realm of humanitarian relief, Barton followed Theodore Roosevelt and the Rough Riders to Guantanamo Bay.⁴² Yet the prospect that she would go to the battlefield seemed dismal. She met with resistance from army surgeons.⁴³ She wrote in her diary: "All seemed interested in the Red Cross, but none thought that a woman nurse would be in place in a soldier's hospital; indeed very much out of place."⁴⁴ She reflected that it was the same old story and wondered what gain there had been in the last thirty years.⁴⁵ In Siboney, army surgeons at the American hospital rebuffed her offer to help and so she turned her attention to the adjacent Cuban hospital. Soon the Americans saw that the nourished, clean and cared for patients provided a stark contrast to their plight and changed their minds. The surgeons then requested Red Cross assistance.⁴⁶

During the July 1st *Battle of El Caney* wounded poured into Siboney. Barton, Sister Bettina, Dr. Lesser and the Red Cross team worked round the clock. On the second day of the July 3rd *San Juan* battle, Barton received a message that the wounded desperately needed care at the battlefield. Ensuring the supplies were loaded in the only two wagons available, she commandeered a hay wagon and proceeded over hills to a valley surrounded by dense jungle and mountains. She reached a collection of tents, the First Division Hospital of the Fifth Army Corps. Here she complained the conditions were far worse than anything she had seen during the Civil War.⁴⁷

Wounded men lay everywhere, exposed to the tropical elements made worse than ever by the rainy season. More than eight hundred men were "recovering" from surgery, some sheltered by palm leaves, many lying naked, in pools of water, exposed to the elements. Those more able greeted her with a delighted roar: "There is a woman! . . . My God, boys, It's Clara Barton. Now we'll get something to eat."⁴⁸ Setting up an emergency station, she worked relentlessly providing the best care her resources permitted.

Throughout the war, Barton was the only female nurse allowed to work at the front. In fact, some of the later criticism that she faced arose from her

willingness to minister to the Spanish soldiers as well. Barton arranged with General Shafter for these soldiers to receive emergency care and to return behind their own lines under a flag of truce.⁴⁹ To Barton, most trying of all was her continual struggle to maintain her authority to administer care for all at the battlefield.

She fought her cause with a sharp tongue and penned her anger to her diary. Her fight against gender constraints loomed large in her records. "You have been to the front," inquired one Major. "I should think you find it very unpleasant there. There is no need of your going there—it is no place for women. I consider women very much out of place in a field hospital."⁵⁰ Retelling her experiences, Barton justified her place at the frontline, "I must have been out of place a good deal, Doctor, for I have been [in the battlefield] a great deal."⁵¹ Yet the Major ignored her response. "That doesn't change my opinion, if I had my way I would send you home," he said. Barton was undoubtedly furious. The Red Cross success, in part, was due to Barton's avowed belief in the full rights for women.⁵² She hoped the result of her battles would bring "progress of humane sentiment . . . perfectly equal rights, human rights . . . and the advancement of the civilization and enlightenment of the world."⁵³

Throughout the war, Barton's team was continually overwhelmed with the amount of work. The army's meager resources did little to supplement Red Cross supplies.⁵⁴ In fact, Red Cross supplies targeting for starving Cubans went to supply the army. Nurse reinforcements recruited by the New York committee arrived in eastern Cuba, but the army refused them permission to land. To Barton, most trying of all was her continual struggle to maintain her authority to administer care at the battlefield.

Surgeon General George M. Sternberg adamantly reiterated it was the government's responsibility to provide medical care for the military—no female nurses were required. He somewhat reversed his decision after the publicity exposing the dreadful conditions in the recruiting camps and the military camps in Cuba. Outbreaks of disease, malaria, yellow fever, typhoid and dysentery posed such a problem Sternberg allowed female nurses to attend the camps and the hospital transport ships. The New York Red Cross sent 700 nurses to the camps and

hospitals. Hearing of their heroic efforts, the public lionized the nurses. Barton remained in the field.⁵⁵

Short Lived Triumph

After the Spanish American War, the face of nursing and especially army nursing changed. The soldiers' deaths from disease, heralded major health reforms including the establishment of the Army Nurse Corp. in 1901. Barton was not a part of this new thrust—and her contributions dimmed in nursing history, as did her presence within the Red Cross organization.⁵⁶ In fact, she returned from Cuba to a storm of criticism. Ongoing problems arising from her accounting reemerged with great intensity.⁵⁷ Why was she in the field and not directing operations from the Red Cross headquarters? Why had she aided the Spanish captives at time of war? Criticism pointed to the fact that she worked authoritatively and independently. Many argued that now she was simply too old to lead.⁵⁸ Yet she rallied on in Cuba and when the hurricane struck Galveston, Texas in 1900, Barton rushed to the action.⁵⁹

Although frustrated by women's lack of status, she drew upon the fire within herself to negotiate around the obstacles that stood in her way. Loyal to the cause, she was without criticism to those who stood against her. "To me who had seen other wars, [shortcomings in supply deliveries] seemed natural, probably largely inevitable, and quite the thing to be expected," she wrote, "the fatal results of which misfortunes I had spent half my lifetime in insinuating measures to prevent or lessen."⁶⁰ Ultimately, she was primarily an experienced bold and brave nurse who sought action in the field to "prevent and lessen" problems rather than at a desk.⁶¹

Barton's work, however, was finally ending. Her battles in Cuba fed into her personal battle with the Red Cross Board.⁶² The well-connected board member and progressive reformer Mabel Boardman led a vicious campaign to malign Barton's character.⁶³ Antagonism against Barton included personal smears labeling her as "an adventuress from the beginning and a clever one."⁶⁴ In 1904, the 83-year-old Barton resigned as president of the association she founded and nurtured for more than 20 years. On January 5, 1905, an act of Congress created a new corporation

signed by one of her chief critics, President Roosevelt.⁶⁵ William Howard Taft, the Secretary of War, became the president, a position he kept when he became the United States president in 1908.

Unacknowledged Unbroken Link:

Viewing the plight of the Cuban *reconcentrados* and the Spanish American War through Barton's eyes highlights her greatly acclaimed humanitarian efforts. Historians acknowledge Barton as one of the many Civil War nurses, who also stands out in the annals of history for her humanitarian work as the founder of the American Red Cross. Humanitarians are sometimes nurses. Nurses are usually humanitarians. In fact, the very nature of nursing is to bring humanitarian relief to the suffering. Clara Barton's nursing roots fired her humanitarian relief in war and peace. From childhood when she cared for her brother until she completed the Cuban relief program in 1899, Barton was first a nurse who demanded frontline action in spite of her gender. As a fiercely independent autonomous woman, she regarded the Red Cross as a vehicle for her to satiate her passion to nurse. Her hope was that the military accept Red Cross nurses as full-fledged members. Although seemingly dichotomous, nursing in war and peace would fulfill her goals.

Nursing history credits Florence Nightingale (1820-1910), a contemporary of Barton (1821-1912), as the founder of modern nursing. The women grew up on opposite sides of the Atlantic Ocean with passionate desires to nurse. Both went to wars that formed the groundwork for their future lives. After the Crimean War [1854-56], Nightingale sowed the seeds for the professionalization of nursing when in 1860 she opened the first reformed nursing school at London's St Thomas Hospital. Barton, too, broke new ground for nurses. The seed she planted grew into the Army Nurse Corp. Like Nightingale, she was endowed with a sense of duty—a mission to nurse. On his deathbed in 1861, Captain Stephen Barton sanctioned his daughter's wish to go straight to the battlefield. "Go, it is your duty to go," he said.⁶⁶ She carried his words with her throughout her life. "I'm well and strong and young—young enough to go to the front. If I can't be a soldier, I'll help others. Thank God I know how to nurse," concluded Barton.⁶⁷

During the last quarter of the 19th Century, Nightingale's shadow fell upon nursing on both sides of the Atlantic. The United States' first Nightingale inspired nurse training school opened on May 1, 1873, at New York's Bellevue Hospital in response to the poor state of hospitals and need for reformed nursing care exposed by the Sanitary Commission during the Civil War. In the same year, a training school at New Haven and Boston opened and thereafter training schools proliferated. The nursing leaders who emerged from these first training schools guided and strengthened the young profession; in fact, they evidently guarded it from any independent nurse training movement. In 1894, Barton endorsed the founding of New York's Red Cross Hospital and Training School under the auspices of the Red Cross. To Barton it represented a milestone towards preparing Red Cross nurses to become an integral part of the military. While the Red Cross nurses withdrew from the hospital for service during the Spanish American War and the facility closed, more and more hospitals developed nursing training schools on the Bellevue model.

In 1912, the year Barton died, there were more than 1,100 schools in the United States. The era of Barton's mold of battlefield nursing was over. The medical problems, diseases and epidemics that swept through the army camps at home and in Cuba during the Spanish American War and the valiant effort to send Red Cross nurses to care for the soldiers, prompted a call for change.⁶⁸ Establishing an Army Nurse Corp was the realization of Barton's dream. While she was busy in the field, the overtures for its founding were firmly in place. In response to the desperate situation, Dr. Anita Newcombe McGee, a physician working under the direction of the Daughters of the American Revolution and in cooperation with the army established criteria for the nurse selection. All nurses required graduation from a nurse training school and recommendations for health and character. After selection, the nurses enrolled as Red Cross nurses, thus establishing cooperation between the army and the Red Cross. Leading nurse educators, Isabel Hampton Robb, Anna C. Maxwell and Adelaide Nutting joined McGee to draw up the Army Nurse Corps bill. In February 1901, the bill passed through Congress and became law. Henceforth, the Red Cross enrolled qualified graduate nurses through its local committees.⁶⁹

Army nursing was a fruition of Barton's work, but she saw the glory for it swept away from her. Through the Army Nurse Corp, Red Cross nurses were now ready to step forward in time of war or disaster. Dita H. Kinney became the first superintendent of the Army Nurse Corp to coordinate army, nursing and the Red Cross. Her successor Jane A. Delano built up the program including the Navy Nurse Corp formed in 1908.⁷⁰ Red Cross nurses even took on new duties. As a precursor to public health nursing, they taught first aid classes and instructed women how to care for patients in their own homes. In 1912, Lillian Wald, the founder of public health nursing, spurred them to further action by branching out to include nursing in rural areas.⁷¹ Reaching out to offer care in rural areas was Barton's expertise—albeit at time of disaster. No one acknowledged the roots of public health nursing—or army nursing—that reached back to Barton. The Red Cross had gradually become a trained and organized service credited by nursing history to Mabel Boardman's managerial skills.

In 1915, Boardman wrote *Under The Red Cross Flag At Home and Abroad* to set the Red Cross record straight. She effectively dismissed the only account written in English, Barton's *The Red Cross in War and Peace*, as an incoherent, jumble of documents. In fact, she really does not give adequate credit for Barton's work during the Civil War or afterwards. Seeming to justify Barton's brief mention in the chapter addressing "Civil War Nurses," she noted that in 128 volumes of Civil War Reports in the War Department, Barton's name appeared once in connection with prisoners at Annapolis. Boardman did not mention Barton's work during the Spanish American War, but offered criticism of the relief effort. "As a result of this lack of centralization and of cooperation and in spite of most devoted and self-sacrificing work on the part of many individuals, this rich country failed to give aid as it should have given to our sick and wounded men."⁷² Florence Nightingale, Henri Dunant and the Sanitary Commission all receive great acclaim from Boardman—not so Barton. Boardman failed to address adequately Barton's place in history as the nurse-founder of the American Red Cross.

Among her acknowledgements, Boardman thanks Lavinia L. Dock, the nurse leader, who went on to publish one of the first accounts of American nursing history.

In Dock's *Short History of Nursing* published in 1920, Barton fared a little better—aptly credited for founding the American Red Cross. Although her “unselfish idealism was recognized abroad,” Dock noted, “With the passing of her generation, she has been partly forgotten.”⁷³ In her 1934 edition, Dock added insight to Barton’s scant recognition. “She was a free lance, carrying succor to “friend and foe alike, thereby earning ill will of some extreme patriots.”⁷⁴ In fact, the very gist of Barton’s nursing mission was to care for *all* wounded.

Finally, Dock suggested that Barton forfeited her prominent place in nursing history, because “she did not identify herself with the growing movement to reform nursing.” Instead, she was a “teacher rather than an organizer” and “looked up to for her service to the Red Cross, abroad even more than at home.” Dock seemed to point out that Barton’s “strongly individualistic” nature was not in keeping with the nursing standards desirable in training schools. One comment difficult to comprehend was Dock’s assertion that Barton was “rarely benevolent in spirit.”⁷⁵

On the contrary, by examining the evidence of the Spanish American War and the relief effort to the *reconcentrados*, Barton proved she was indeed completely benevolent in spirit. Throughout her life, she captured this spirit in her single-minded cause—to nurse. By example, her goal was to illustrate that nurses could become worthy members of the military. She defined her ambition not through the reformed nursing movement and not through the women’s reform movement but through what she saw as another reform movement—the American Red Cross. An eloquent nurse, she battled for her cause fighting gender constraints with a sharp tongue. “I must have been out of place a good deal, Doctor, for I have been [in the battlefield] a great deal,” she wrote.⁷⁶ Ultimately, the American Red Cross won the battle to establish an Army Nurse Corp. However, at the end of the 19th Century, criticism of the American Red Cross’ participation in its first active war brought a tide of change that excluded its stalwart founder.

Clearly, Barton’s record through her eyes and voice leaves no doubt that she deserves a prominent place in *nursing* history as well as humanitarian and philanthropic history.⁷⁷ In 1892, Barton composed “The Women Who went to the Field,” that synthesized her heartfelt life’s work. The long poem, she commented

was hastily composed to respond to a toast. She said it was “a prophetic application to the women who during the Spanish American War went bravely to field and camp to administer to the sick and wounded.”⁷⁸ Citing details of the nurses’ Civil War work, Barton roused the audience bringing the men to their feet in cheers as the women wept. The last lines projected her hope for nurses’ secure future in the frontlines of war and peace.

And what would [nurses] do if war came again?
The *scarlet cross* floats where all was blank then.
They would bind on their brassards and march to the fray.
And the man liveth not who could say to them nay;
They would stand with you now, as they stood with you then,—
The nurses, consolers, and saviors of men.⁷⁹

Again, Clara Barton’s battles in Cuba epitomized how she strove to fulfill the fundamental tenet of nursing philosophy. “Ease suffering, soothe sorrow, lessen pain. [These were her] only thought[s] night and day.” Adhering to her philosophy, she brought care for the *reconcentrados*, the American soldiers after the Maine’s blast, solicitude to their relatives and to the American and Spanish soldiers during war.⁸⁰ She deserves a prominent place in nursing and Cuban historiography.

¹ Clara Barton, *The Red Cross In Peace and War* (American Historical Press, 1899), 524.

² *Ibid.*, 525.

³ Barton, *The Red Cross In Peace and War*, 525-6; “Honors Dead Soldiers,” *New York Times*, (February 18, 1898):1.

⁴ *The Milwaukee Sentinel*, (April 3, 1872).

⁵ Barton, *The Red Cross In Peace and War*, 525.

⁶ *Ibid.*; For a thorough discussion of the *Maine* disaster see Edward J. Maroldu ed., *Theodore Roosevelt: The U.S. Navy and the Spanish American War*, (New York: Palgrave, 2001). The collection of essays includes Dana Wagner’s particularly illuminating “New Interpretations of How the *Maine* Was Lost.” The author discusses the 1974 investigation to discover the definitive cause of the explosion led by Admiral Hymen Rickover, head of the U.S. Navy’s Nuclear Propulsion program. He engaged Ib S. Hanson and Robert S. Price, two experts acquainted with analyzing explosions in ships’ hulls. The in depth investigation concluded that the explosion was most likely caused by spontaneous combustion of coal that was ignited from improperly stored ammunition. Wagner also cites a 1997 heat transfer study that confirmed the Hanson and Price conclusion. However, many people remained skeptical. Wagner suggests this is partly due to the aura of mystery that journalists fed into such publications as *the National Geographic*. See Allen B. Thomas, “Remember the *Maine*,” *National Geographic* 193 no 2 (Feb 1998):92-111; Vincent J. Cirillo notes more details about those lost in the disaster. He writes that of the 30 seamen aboard during the incident, 22 lost their lives. They were firemen, oilers, coal passers, mess attendants, five were petty officers, three seamen (experienced sailors) and one an ordinary seaman. In 1912, an underwater search team recovered 66 sailors. Their grave in Arlington national cemetery is marked with the battleship’s mainmast. “The Spanish-American War and Military Medicine,” (PhD. Diss The Graduate School-New Brunswick Rutgers, The State University of

New Jersey, 1999):23. In 2004, Rutgers's University Press published Cirillo's dissertation, see Vincent J Cirillo, *Bullets and Bacilli, The Spanish American War and Military Medicine*, (New Brunswick: Rutgers's University Press, 2004). See also Rebecca Livingston, "Sailors and Marines of the Spanish American War: The Legacy of the *Maine*." *Prologue* 30, no 1 (1998):62-72.

⁷ "Statesmanship in Beneficence," *The Voice*, New York, September 22, 1898, Scrapbooks, The Papers of

Clara Barton, Library of Congress, Box 59. Reel 111.

⁸ For examples of general nursing histories in chronologic order, see Lavinia Dock, *A Short History of Nursing From the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, (New York: Putman, 1920); Lavinia Dock et al *History of American Red Cross Nursing*, (New York: McMillan, 1922); Lavinia Dock and Isabel Maitland Stewart, *A Short History of Nursing From Earliest Times to the Present Day* (New York: Putman, 1934). Minnie Goodnow, *Outlines of Nursing History*, (Philadelphia: Saunders, 1938); In 1944, Elizabeth Marion Jamieson, and Mary Sewell credit Clara Barton for her Civil War service acknowledging her along side Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, Dorothea Dix and Louisa M. Alcott, for "standing out as progressives in feminine ranks." Jamieson and Sewell, *Trends in Nursing History Their Relationship To World Events*, (Philadelphia: Saunders, 1944); By the 1980s, scholars offered more in depth studies of women's work including nursing. Barton is generally acknowledged as a humanitarian and founder of the American Red Cross. In her recent comprehensive history of the U.S. Army Nurse Corp, Mary T. Sarnecky does not extend any great discussion of Clara Barton. She concludes "Barton preferred to be remembered for her relief work in the provision of humanitarian comforts and supplies to the battlefield and her efforts to identify wounded and captured soldiers and grave sites." Mary T. Sarnecky *A History of the U.S. Army Nurse Corps* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999); 21.

⁹ Revisionist scholar Lois A. Perez provides essential background information of the 1896 Cuban insurgency against the planters and the speed of the rebellion against Spain. In his *Cuba Between Reform and Revolution* first published in 1986, he discusses the reconcentrados policy as Spain's method to defeat the Cuban insurgency by denying the insurgents of their supporters and damaging their moral. By the end of 1897 and the beginning of 1898, when the end of Spanish rule was imminent, the United States considered and embarked on war not to support *Cuba Libre* but "to neutralize the two competing claims of sovereignty and establish by superior force of arms a third." *Cuba Between Reform and Revolution*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 3rd ed, 2006):122-136. Perez' histories are important sources to help place Clara Barton's work in perspective. Exactly a century after the Spanish American War, he dedicated another book to the historiography of the war. His in depth analysis of Cuban archival sources straightens out contradictions and misconceptions that arose when both Cuba and the United States wrote their histories and perpetuated them in concert with their nationalistic ambitions. Barton is absent from his extensive bibliographic essay. Lois A. Perez, *The War of 1898: The United States and Cuba in History and Historiography*, (Chapel Hill: North Carolina Press, 1998): xiii, 131-132. Another one of the most interesting studies to provide background to Barton's work is John Lawrence Tone's *War and Genocide in Cuba 1895-1898*. The author reevaluates the events leading up to the Spanish America War and offers insightful analysis to the plight of the reconcentrados. Extensive research including the military archives in Madrid led him to a revisionist view. He argues that by 1897 the waning Cuban insurgency could not expect victory without outside assistance. The help, however, came from both American intervention as well as the political events in Spain that undermined Spanish strength in the following year. According to Tone, from Spain's perspective, although the navy and army needed reform, the war was not "bumbling and incompetent." Most interesting is Tone's assertion that General Valeriano Weyler alone was not responsible for the 1896 *reconcentration* but rather other Spaniards and the Cuban insurgents must share the blame for the catastrophic human tragedy. While Tone includes Senator Proctor's report of his "fact-finding" visit to Cuba in his analysis, he does not include mention of Proctor's assessment of the relief effort or his endorsement of Clara Barton. As Barton reports, Proctor "had come imbued with the desire, not only to see the condition of the island and the people, but to try and find as well, what could be done for them,—to gain some practical knowledge which could be used for their benefit." In spite of the void of Barton's voice in his study, Tone's *War and Genocide in Cuba 1895-1898* is an astute studies of the plight of the *reconcentrados*. (University of

North Carolina Press, 2006): xii-xiii, 210, 219; see also Barton, *The Red Cross In Peace and War*, 531; John Joseph Leffler's dissertation also proved valuable context, although Leffler also ignored Clara Barton's presence in Cuba. For example, his study details Senator Proctor's report cited from the Congressional Record that would perhaps add greater insight if contextualized with Barton's contribution. In his speech to the Senate March 17, 1898 Proctor said, "Miss Barton and her work need no indorsement (sic) from me. . . I saw nothing to criticize but everything to commend." John Joseph Leffler, "From the Shadows Into the Sun: Americans in the Spanish American War," (PhD diss., The University of Texas at Austin, 1991): 60-61; see Proctor's speech in Barton, *The Red Cross In Peace and War*. 534, 537-539; An earlier study of the Spanish American War, G. J. A. O'Toole's *The Spanish War: An American Epic—1898* does include a mention of Clara Barton. Nevertheless, critic Jerry M. Cooper, of the University of Missouri, blasts the scholar for his general lack of analysis and for superfluous inclusions stating, O'Toole "even manages to work in Clara Barton and Winston Churchill though neither had anything to do with the war." *Journal of American History*, 71 No. 4 (March 1985): 875-876. Scholar Kristin L. Hoganson furthers an innovative study of gender during the Spanish American War. The subject is interesting to consider in the light of the gender constraints Barton suffered. Kristin L. Hoganson, *Fighting For American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish -American and Philippine Wars*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998). Other works that provide help with contextualizing Barton's era in Cuba include Richard Ernest Dupuy, *The Compact History of the United States Army*. Dupuy brings the chaotic mobilization of the United States army to life. He aptly describes the diseases that spread through the army camps and the problems that included lack of funds to provide for the soldiers medical needs. *The Compact History of the United States Army* (New York: Hawthorn, 1956):172-173; Allan R. Millet and Peter Maslowski also describe the army's inadequacies in *For the Common Defense A Military History of the United States of America* (New York: Free Press, 1994):288; Walter Millis explains how the 1898 war was the basis for an overhaul of the naval and military system with implications leading to "aggressive interventions upon the world stage." Millis, *A Study in Military History*, (New York: Putman, 1956). Finally, a useful aid to keep the events of the war in chronological order, is Harvey Rosenfield's, *Diary of A Dirty Little War The Spanish-American War of 1898*, (Westport: Praeger, 2000).

¹⁰ Clara Barton is the subject for numerous biographies. One of the most insightful is Elizabeth Brown Pryor's *Clara Barton Professional Angel* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987). Pryor's study offers compelling evidence of Barton's personal and public life. Stephen B. Oates, an articulate biographer, presents Barton's early life and her Civil War contributions. . His *A Woman of Valor: Clara Barton and the Civil War* (New York, Free, 1994) is a study rich in detail and provides many insights that help understand this complex woman. Earlier biographies add to the body of literature that documents Barton's life in narrative form: Percy Epler, *The Life of Clara Barton* (New York: McMillan, 1924,) Blanche Colton Williams, *Clara Barton*, (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1941), Alice Crew Gall, *In Peace and War*, (New York: Crowell, 1941), and Ishbel Ross, *Angel of the Battlefield The Life of Clara Barton*, (New York: Harper, 1956). One of the latest biographies, David Burton's *Clara Barton: In the Service of Humanity* (Westport, Greenwood Press, 1995) continues in narrative form. For a notable analysis focusing on recent nursing scholarship including Clara Barton's life and work see Joan I. Roberts and Thetis M. Group, *Feminism and Nursing An Historical Perspective on Power, Status, and Political Activism in the Nursing Profession*, (Westport: Praeger,1995).

¹¹ Ellen Langenheim Henle, "Clara Barton, Soldier or Pacifist," *24 Civil War History*, (1978): 154-155; Joan I. Roberts and Thetis M. Group cite Henle's argument in *Feminism and Nursing An Historical Perspective*, 107; see also, Percy H. Epler, *The Life of Clara Barton*, 35; Lavinia L. Dock, et al. *History of the Red Cross*: 9; Roberts and Group, *Feminism and Nursing*, 110.

¹² Ellen Langenheim Henle, "Clara Barton, Soldier or Pacifist," 155.

¹³ Ibid 152-160. Roberts and Group, *Feminism and Nursing An Historical Perspective on Power, Status and Political Activism in the Nursing Profession*, ,107-108.

¹⁴ Henle, "Clara Barton, Soldier or Pacifist," 154.

¹⁵Epler, *The Life of Clara Barton*, 35.

¹⁶ Pryor, *Clara Barton Professional Angel*, 190, 201; Ellen Langenheim Henle's thesis in Roberts and Group, *Feminism and Nursing*, 10. Clara Barton publicized a pamphlet to clarify the aims and purposes of the American Red Cross. *The Daily Inter Ocean* (December 22, 1881):4.

- ¹⁷ "A Heroic Nurse, Sister Bettina Who is Clara Barton's Chief Nurse in Cuba," *The Atchinson Daily Globe*, (March 18, 1898):3; Dock et al *History of American Red Cross Nursing* , 23,24.
- ¹⁸ Between 1890 and World War I, the number of women seeking professional training skyrocketed. The number of trained nurses increased seven fold. Alice Kessler-Harris, *Out To Work A History of Wage -Earning Women in the United States*, (Oxford University Press: 1982):116. Mary Roth Walsh provides statistics in *Doctors Wanted No Women Need Apply Sexual Barriers in the Medical Profession 1835-1975*. In 1890, there were 30 nursing schools graduating 470 nurses annually. By 1926 there were 2,000 schools graduating 17,500 per year. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977): 246.
- ¹⁹ Dock, *History of American Red Cross Nursing*, 23.
- ²⁰ Barbara Melosh, *The Physician's Hand: Work Culture and Conflict in American Nursing*, (Philadelphia: Temple University, 1982).
- ²¹ Lavinia Dock et al, *History of American Red Cross Nursing* , 23-24.
- ²² Barton, "Dairies and Letters," June 18, 1897, The Papers of Clara Barton, Library of Congress, Box 6, Reel 4.
- ²³ In his 2005 dissertation, Charles Dean McGraw discusses the gendering of nursing during the Spanish American War and its implication to the evolution of the profession. His study extends to Sister Bettina Hofker-Lesser and the Red Cross Hospital in terms of Hofker-Lesser's nursing roots based upon the German Kaiserwerth model. Although focusing on Hofker-Lesser, Clara Barton is part of his analysis of nursing during the war. He suggests, " Barton's age and marital state could be rather unstable explaining why she never overshadowed the New York sisters in the rhetoric of relief." He notes that Barton's critics posited, "battlefield heroism and spinsterhood could produce an iconoclastic image at odds with the dictates of female benevolence." Charles Dean McGraw, "Every Nurse Is Not A Sister': Sex, Work and the Intervention of the Spanish American War," (PhD diss. University of Connecticut, 2005): 46-47.
- ²⁴ Pryor, *Clara Barton Professional Angel*, 307; "The Red Cross Hospital," *The New York Times*, (May 1, 1898):14.
- ²⁵ Barton, *The Red Cross In Peace and War*, 514.
- ²⁶ Ibid., 516.
- ²⁷ Clara Barton, "Dairies and Letters," November 30, 1897, The Papers of Clara Barton, Library of Congress, Box 6, Reel 4.
- ²⁸ Ibid; Barton, *The Red Cross In Peace and War*, 517, 519
- ²⁹ Ibid., 521; Pryor , *Clara Barton Professional Angel*, 303.
- ³⁰ Barton, *The Red Cross In Peace and War* 521.
- ³¹ Ibid., 522.
- ³² Ibid., 527.
- ³³ Ibid., 529; Ross, *Angel of the Battlefield*, 207.
- ³⁴ "Clara Barton Horrified," *The Milwaukee Sentinel* (February 24, 1898):3; Pryor, *Clara Barton Professional Angel* 304; Barton , *The Red Cross In Peace and War*, 540-545.
- ³⁵ Elbert F. Baldwin, interview with Clara Barton, "The Red Cross in Cuba," *Outlook* 58 (April 9, 1898): 911.
- ³⁶ Ibid. Barton's rapport with General Blanco and her assertion that the Red Cross relief effort would continue appeared in newspaper reports. "Gen. Blanco himself belongs to the Red Cross society of Spain. I am confident that the Red Cross will work in Cuba will not be interfered with," Barton noted. "Red Cross Work in Cuba," *The Milwaukee Sentinel*, (May 24, 1898):2.
- ³⁷ Barton, *The Red Cross In Peace and War*, 548.
- ³⁸ "The Cuban Relief Work," *New York Times*, (April 9, 1898):4.
- ³⁹ Pryor, *Clara Barton Professional Angel*, 307.
- ⁴⁰ Barton, *The Red Cross In Peace and War*, 551; Barton, "Dairies and Letters," May 9th 1898, The Papers of Clara Barton, Library of Congress, Box 6, Reel 4.
- ⁴¹ Pryor, *Clara Barton Professional Angel*, 307; "The Red Cross Hospital," *The New York Times*, (May 1, 1898):14.

⁴² In 2004, Theodore Roosevelt's account of the Rough Riders and his autobiography are published together in Louis Auchincloss, ed. *Theodore Roosevelt The Rough Riders An Autobiography*, (Penguin Putman, 2004). In their study of Roosevelt at St Juan, Peggy Samuels and Harold Samuels examined the implications of his Cuban campaign on his presidency. Interestingly, the charge up San Juan Hill was the basis of a legend that did not take place. Roosevelt and the Rough Riders arrived after other troops stormed the hill. Roosevelt led the charge to the smaller and less important nearby Kettle Hill. Samuels and Samuels *Teddy Roosevelt at San Juan: The Making of a President*, (College Station: Texas A & M University, 1997); In 1896, Theodore Roosevelt, assistant secretary of the Navy first met his life long friend the decorated military surgeon, Leonard Wood. Roosevelt and Wood insisted McKinley appoint them to recruit a "cowboy regiment." Details of their service are recounted in first person by Roosevelt and by Wood's many biographers. In his recent biography, Jack McCallum eloquently synthesizes his life noting that after the war, Dr. Wood became the administrator of Cuba restoring order to the community, sanitizing or closing the prisons, asylums and orphanages and creating a public education system. His "crowning achievement was funding and taking responsibility for Walter Reed's yellow fever experiments and authorizing William Gorgas to use the findings to virtually eradicate yellow fever and malaria from the island. After three years, Wood turned Cuba back to the Cubans, orderly, clean if not exactly prosperous." McCallum describes the conditions of despair in El Caney and notes Clara Barton's Red Cross tried valiantly but fruitlessly in their relief efforts. He also describes how Wood utilized the food obtained from Clara Barton's steam ship Texas to maintain order by reward for those who worked. Jack McCullum, *Leonard Wood, Rough Rider, Surgeon, Architect of American Imperialism*, (New York: New York University Press, 2006): 4-5,107, 122. Earlier biographies of Leonard Wood, include John G. Holme, *The Life of Leonard Wood*, (New York: Doubleday, 1920); Joseph Hamblen Sears, *The Career of Leonard Wood*, (New York: Appleton, 1920); Isaac F. Marcossan, *Leonard Wood: Prophet of Preparedness*, (New York: John Lane Co, 1953); Like McCullum, Dale L. Walker does not capture Barton's voice. However, he weaves Barton's presence in Cuba into his narrative of the Rough Riders. Walker, *The Boys of '98 Theodore Roosevelt and the Rough Riders* (New York: Tom Doherty, 1998):52-53 56, 137, 154, 246, 253.

⁴³ Pryor, *Clara Barton Professional Angel*, 309; Barton, *The Red Cross In Peace and War*, 557, Barton, "Dairies and Letters," June 26, 1898, The Papers of Clara Barton, Library of Congress, Box 6, Reel 4.

⁴⁴ Barton, *The Red Cross In Peace and War*, 557.

⁴⁵ Pryor, *Clara Barton Professional Angel*, 310; Barton, *The Red Cross In Peace and War*, 565.

⁴⁶ Pryor, *Clara Barton Professional Angel*, 310.

⁴⁷ Ross, *Angel of the Battlefield*. 215.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 216; E. Winfield Egan, MD Report, cited in Barton, *The Red Cross In Peace and War*, 649.

⁴⁹ "A Move Against Clara Barton," *The North American* (September 14, 1898): 6.

⁵⁰ Barton, *The Red Cross In Peace and War*, 570.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² *Morning Oregonian*, (October 20, 1899):10.

⁵³ Barton, *The Red Cross In Peace and War*, 570; Ellen Langenheim Henle argues that Barton's image of herself as a soldier was an important part of her character. She argues that Barton was, however, conflicted between her desire to serve as a soldier and work for peace. "Clara Barton, Soldier or Pacifist," *Civil War History*, (1978):152-160.

⁵⁴ Pryor, *Clara Barton Professional Angel*, 311.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 313; For a thorough account of nursing during the Spanish American War see Philip A Kalisch, "Heroines of '98: Female Army Nurses in the Spanish American War," *Nursing Research* 24 no 6 (November -December 1975), 411-429.

⁵⁶ General and medical reforms that resulted from the impact of the Spanish American War overshadowed Barton's contribution in Cuba. In his PhD dissertation, Vincent J. Cirillo provides a succinct and detailed account of many reforms: "the Army Nurse Corps, the Department of Military Hygiene at the United States Military Academy, the Army Medical Reserve Corps; compulsory anti-typhoid vaccination; stockpiling supplies for future wars, classic monographs of typhoid fever and the diagnostic value of X-rays; and monumental contributions to typhoid fever, tropical diseases and Yellow Fever Boards." Most interesting to give context to Barton's work is Cirillo's assertion that "typhoid fever was the defining event of the Spanish American War." He notes that even before the

war, doctors understood the cause and prevention of typhoid fever, however, medical officers could do little to educate line officers who did not understand the importance of sanitation. Together with their indifferent superiors and undisciplined troops, there was little hope to change military practice. Lack of cooperation led to tension between the medical officers and the line officers. The result was downward spiral with devastating health effects for the soldiers. In fact, more American soldiers died from the typhoid fever (1,590) than on the Cuban battlefields. Cirrillo also details Dr. Anita Newcombe McGee's contributions towards attaining nurses. He bypasses Barton's nursing contributions. "The Spanish-American War and Military Medicine," (PhD. diss. The Graduate School-New Brunswick Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, 1999): ii-iii, 53, 107.

⁵⁷John F. Champions Hutchinson, *Charity War and the Rise of the Red Cross*, (Boulder: Westview, 1996): 230. "A Move Against Clara Barton," *The North American* (September 14, 1898): 6.

⁵⁸Pryor, *Clara Barton Professional Angel*, 317.

⁵⁹Barton, Dairies and Letters," September 8, 1900, The Papers of Clara Barton, Library of Congress, Box 6, Reel 4.

⁶⁰Barton, *The Red Cross In Peace and War*, 559.

⁶¹"Statesmanship in Beneficence," *The Voice*, New York, September 22, 1898, Scrapbooks, The Papers of Clara Barton, Library of Congress, Box 59. Reel 111.

⁶²Ibid., January 5, 1901; February 3, 1901.

⁶³Pryor, *Professional Angel*, 340-341.

⁶⁴Ibid., 341

⁶⁵Mabel Boardman, *Under the Red Cross Flag at Home and Abroad*, (Philadelphia: Lippincott. 1915), 98.

⁶⁶Epler, *The Life of Clara Barton*, 34.

⁶⁷Blanche Colton, Williams, *Clara Barton, Daughter of Destiny*, (Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1941), 63.

⁶⁸"Gen. Sternberg's Report," *New York Times*, (November 21, 1898):3.

⁶⁹Dita H. Kinney, head nurse of the U.S. Army Hospital at Fort Baynard, New Mexico became the first superintendent of the Army Nurse Corp. An amendment made in the Senate was that the superintendent must be a nursing school graduate. Dr McGee did not qualify and tendered her resignation from the Army. Kalisch, "Heroines of '98," 426; see also Boardman, *Under the Red Cross Flag at Home and Abroad*, 130; Elizabeth Marion Jamieson and Mary Sewell, *Trends in Nursing History Their Relationship To World Events*, (Philadelphia: Saunders, 1944), 470-472; "Patriotic Daughters' Offer," *New York Times*, (May 1, 1898):2; "Duties of Army Nurses," *New York Times*, (June 7, 1902):3.

⁷⁰Dita H. McKinney served from March 1901 to July 1909 and Jane A. Delano from August 1909 to March 1912; Lavinia Dock, *A Short History of Nursing From the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, 182; Jamison *Trends in Nursing History Their Relationship To World Events*, 472; "Women Nurses For Navy," *New York Times*, (August 9, 1908):7.

⁷¹Boardman, *Under the Red Cross Flag at Home and Abroad*, 182.

⁷²Ibid., 93.

⁷³Dock, *A Short History of Nursing From the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, 139.

⁷⁴Lavinia Dock and Isabel Maitland Stewart, *A Short History of Nursing From the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, (New York, Putman, 1934), 130.

⁷⁵Ibid., 150.

⁷⁶Barton, *The Red Cross In Peace and War*, 570.

⁷⁷General histories of the Spanish American War most often overlook Barton and the Red Cross. For example, see Louis Perez Jr's detailed history and historiography of the Spanish American War. *The War of 1898 the United States and Cuba in History and Historiography*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press 1998).

⁷⁸Barton, *The Red Cross In Peace and War*, 511.

⁷⁹Ibid., 513.

⁸⁰"Statesmanship in Beneficence," *The Voice*, New York, September 22, 1898, Scrapbooks, The Papers of Clara Barton, Library of Congress, Box 59. Reel 111.