

## COMMEMORATING NURSING: AN EXERCISE IN HISTORICAL IMAGINATION

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### Abstract

From the early 1900s, New Zealand nurses joined an international tradition of commemorating nurses and significant nursing events by establishing memorials. These were acts of 'historical imagination'. This article proposes that nurses have erected four kinds of memorial 'stones' on their professional landscape: 'scratchstones' (simple markers of identity), touchstones (tangible links to nurses in the past), boundary stones (markers of exemplary service or extreme sacrifice) and milestones (markers of the past which guide professional direction). The article also argues that nursing memorials serve five functions: they perpetuate memory, honour, inspire emulation, shape professional identity and demonstrate the profession's worthiness. The article also explores the tensions surrounding memorials and finally considers their durability and place in the profession's present and future.

**Keywords:** Nursing history, historical imagination, commemoration, memorials.

Just three decades after the establishment of a Nightingale system of nursing in New Zealand in the early 1880s, nurses were engaging in an exercise in historical imagination. Whether prompted by a need to acknowledge the achievements of pioneering nurses, honour those who had died in wartime service, or mark events in which nurses had provided a vital service under exceptional circumstances, nurses were seeking ways to commemorate aspects of their history. These activities also served a professional agenda. Nurses understood, perhaps intuitively, that such commemorative acts could help add a sense of legitimacy to a female occupation seeking professional standing. They saw the benefit of showing others, as well as themselves, that they were part of a much larger

professional body, with a tradition of commemoration set by longer established nursing groups in other countries.<sup>1</sup> They also recognised the opportunities these commemorative acts gave them to point out nurses' exemplary service to those outside the profession, and to encourage those within it to emulate the achievements of their nursing forebears. Whatever the motivation which prompted these acts, their commemorative nature necessitated nurses' engagement of their 'historical imagination'. This is a term that has been used by a few writers in fields such as history, literary criticism and anthropology, emerging particularly with Hayden White's use of it in describing the craft

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and approach of nineteenth-century historians,<sup>2</sup> but the term does not seem to have been addressed in nursing literature. I am using the term more broadly than White, and in relation to a professional group with a quite different focus – nurses rather than historians. In particular, I am exploring it here as a form of thinking and action in which nurses held the past in their consciousness, valued its preservation and envisaged its potential for the future. Establishing a memorial fund, putting up a plaque or collecting mementoes were acts of historical imagination. This article considers the various ways in which nurses have commemorated their professional past, the purposes this commemoration has served and the place it might have in our professional present and future.<sup>3</sup>

### **Commemorative stones in the nursing landscape**

On a hill high above Port Chalmers in Dunedin is a stone cairn, a memorial to Robert Falcon Scott, marking his final landfall before leading the ill-fated expedition to the South Pole, 1910-1912. Inscribed on the memorial is the text: Your children shall ask their fathers in time to come, saying, 'What mean these stones?'<sup>4</sup> The 'stones' erected to commemorate nurses and professional events have taken many forms: plaques and stained glass windows; hospital buildings, wards, halls, beds and Nurses' Homes; libraries, classrooms and nursing schools; bells, a light, a clock, trees, a street and a bridge; poems, embroideries, trays and photographs; and prizes, trophies, medals, scholarships and memorial funds. Museums, memorial cabinets

and exhibits also display nursing memorabilia. I am therefore using 'stones' as a metaphor for the multitude of ways nurses and others in New Zealand have chosen to commemorate people and events in nursing's historical landscape.

Depending on their form, purpose and meaning, I am suggesting that memorials fall into four groups of 'stones': 'scratchstones', touchstones, boundary stones and milestones. Scratchstones are the sometimes simple markers of individual nurses' existence – a mark scratched on to nursing's professional landscape. Tangible mementoes and memorabilia are nursing's touchstones of the past. Boundary stones mark the farthest points of exemplary practice and service, while milestones are those commemorative acts that mark valued aspects of the profession, offer guidance and point the way to the future. The divisions between these groups are not necessarily distinct – at times the groups may appear to overlap to some extent – but the groupings help us explore the different ways that nurses commemorated aspects of the past and the reasons they might have had for doing so. To consider the meaning of these 'stones' and issues in relation to their durability, the commemoration of Grace Neill will serve as an example.

### **Commemorating Grace Neill**

Grace Neill, a Scottish-born English-trained nurse and midwife, worked as Assistant Inspector in New Zealand's Department of Hospitals and Charitable Institutions from 1895. She played a significant role in

drafting both the Nurses Registration Act 1901 and the Midwives Act 1904, thereby guiding the transition of nursing and midwifery into professions governed by legislation, registration and regulation.

With such a significant role, Neill's contribution was one likely to be commemorated. Nursing histories and biographies include memories of her as a person, a mother and an example of an astute player in the political world of government departments.<sup>5</sup> Photographs of her, seemingly from the same portrait series of about three poses, are published in books and journals, and hang as tributes in nursing schools and the old Government Buildings in Wellington. Besides these recorded memories and mementoes, however, there are more formalised memorials. When nurses were pondering the best way to create a memorial to her after her death in 1926, they considered suggestions ranging from a new St Helens Hospital in Christchurch,<sup>6</sup> the establishment of a Chair of Nursing at Otago University, a tuberculosis shelter, a hospital bed for sick nurses, a bursary and even a 'nice tablet placed in all nurses' sitting-rooms with Mrs Neill's ideals expressed on it'.<sup>7</sup> Neill's son wrote to the organising group saying:

My mother did not, during her lifetime, express to me a specific wish that there should be no memorial to her name though I know that she disliked, in general, monuments of the tombstone order.<sup>8</sup>

The organising group apparently agreed. Spurning any idea of a 'monument of the tombstone order',

they used nurses' donations to establish a library at the Post Graduate School for Nurses in Wellington which opened in 1928.<sup>9</sup> When the School closed fifty years later, parts of this collection were transferred to other libraries, such as those at Victoria University of Wellington and the (now) Ministry of Health. The dispersal of this library perhaps indicated nurses' wish to see that the books would continue to be used. It has also meant, however, that the identity of the library as a memorial to Grace Neill has been lost.

Neill continued to be commemorated. The New Zealand Registered Nurses Association ran an essay competition for student nurses in the 1940s as a memorial to her. In 1953 the Association sent a memorial trophy, for a 'practical nursing' competition, to the Royal Manchester Children's Hospital at Pendlebury in England where she had been matron, 1877-1879.<sup>10</sup> From the 1980s Wellington Women's Hospital has been housed in the Grace Neill Building, though how many women, visitors, midwives and nurses understand the reason for its name is questionable. Markers of the past therefore have many forms and varying durability. As with those to Grace Neill, they are created to perpetuate a memory, honour and inspire achievement, and link nurses to their professional lineage and heritage.

### **Scratchstones**

Graffiti and tagging are two informal methods individuals and groups use today to mark their identity, perhaps their territory, or simply the fact that they exist. The bricks of the former

police barracks in Buckle St, Wellington, offer a nineteenth-century example of this same desire. Prisoners scratched arrows into the bricks as they made them, as a way to mark their existence in the world beyond their confinement and to remind others that they had crafted something useful. Such 'scratchstones', as I have called them, also exist metaphorically in the nursing world. They are an accepted way to inscribe nurses' existence on the cultural landscape.

Obituaries are a specialised expression of nurses' historical imagination. They comprise one element in the field of biography which I term nursing 'mortubiography', or biographies written at the time of death. Analysis of obituaries published in *Kai Tiaki* between 1908 and 1928 reveal their function as scratchstones. They marked the nurses' existence by describing their training, their career, usually the circumstances which led to their death (often with clinical details included), and the qualities they exhibited in their practice.<sup>11</sup>

Plaques and memorial windows in hospital chapels are frequently dedicated to individual nurses by relatives and friends.<sup>12</sup> Symbols in these scratchstones stand for valued features of nursing. The stained glass windows in the Nurses' Memorial Chapel at Wellington Hospital, for example, portray an archetypal nurse, Fabiola, and symbolic elements of nurses and nursing practice such as hands, lamp, cap, cape, red cross and medal. Symbols of service and sacrifice include flames and nails,

while the bees depicted in one window could represent the busy work of nurses and their effective collaboration to achieve a shared goal.<sup>13</sup>

Scratchstones sometimes took the living form of a tree. One still exists on the corner of Towey and Severn Streets in Oamaru, marking the life of Isabel Clark, one of the ten New Zealand nurses who died in the sinking of the troopship *Marquette* on 23 October 1915. Other commemorative trees were discovered through the 1950 survey by the New Zealand Nurses Association, which called for nurses throughout the country to search out and report any nursing memorial in their hospital. Miss E. M. Bascand, Matron of Dannevirke Hospital, wrote somewhat wryly:

I cannot find any trace of any Nurses' Memorials here with the exception of a few trees planted by ex-members of the Nursing and Medical Staff. It is doubtful if these could be called suitable memorials as one of the Doctors planted a Monkey Puzzle Tree and one of the Nursing Staff planted a Judas Tree.<sup>14</sup>

Scratchstones can therefore vary in form, sophistication and amount of information provided, but all inscribe the existence of nurses into the cultural landscape.

### **Touchstones**

Nursing touchstones commemorate nurses or events in the form of mementoes. These are personal, tangible reminders which link us physically with the person. They might connect us through an image

of the nurse or through some item which they owned or used. Many hospitals have displays of nursing photographs, often images of staff groups, classes of students or individual portraits of matrons, but nurses' own photograph albums are an even more personal reminder and link. Some hospitals have other mementoes, like certificates, paintings and embroideries. The Wellington Hospital Nurses' Memorial Chapel has had on display the medal of the first registered nurse in New Zealand, Ellen Dougherty. Alternately, a touchstone might be an item constructed in the present to represent a nurse in the past in some tangible form, such as the New Zealand Nurses' Organisation presidential insignia created in 1952 as a memorial to Hester Maclean who founded the organisation in 1909.<sup>15</sup>

In its library the Organisation used to have the Jessie Bicknell Cabinet, commemorating the Director, Division of Nursing, in the Department of Health between 1923 and 1931. Amongst many items of memorabilia, this cabinet contained nurses' photographs, albums, medals (including Sister Leatham's outdoor bowls medals) and Margaret Gunn's lace-edged handkerchief with the five-pointed-star medal embroidered in the corner. It also contained, almost inevitably, a memento linking New Zealand nurses to Florence Nightingale – instruments used by one of the nurses in the Crimea, as well as a probe tentatively labelled as belonging to Nightingale herself. (If all such displays around the world were collected together, the number of probes ostensibly owned by

Nightingale might be alarming.) These items, which sometimes express the ordinariness of nurses' everyday practice in the past or an aspect of their personal lives, are prosaic yet important touchstones linking us to our nursing lineage.

### **Boundary stones**

Perhaps the majority of memorial 'stones' in the nursing landscape are boundary stones. They mark the farthest boundaries of exemplary practice and service, or extreme personal sacrifice. The exemplary service of Beatrice Campbell, for example, who trained and worked at New Plymouth Hospital for forty years, serving as matron from 1917 to 1940, is marked by a brass plaque. It is inscribed as being 'in affectionate memory and appreciation of her guidance and example'. While perhaps representing a conventional wording style for memorials, inscriptions frequently noted nurses' affection, esteem or respect for their leaders and recognition of their importance and professional contribution. Augusta Wilson Godfrey was matron at Wellington Hospital between 1889 and 1898. As she represented stability in this position, after a period of high turnover with eight matrons in fifteen years, it is perhaps not surprising that she was remembered with a brass plaque and the inscription 'erected by her nurses in affectionate remembrance'. Another plaque marking exemplary service at Wellington Hospital is to Frances Keith Payne, who was matron between 1898 and 1900 and again from 1904 to 1916. It was 'erected by her nurses' to commemorate her service 'for over twenty years' as

nurse, sister and matron. Unveiled in 1926, the plaque was funded by subscriptions from nurses trained by her who 'felt that they would like to have her memory kept alive'.<sup>16</sup>

Another form of memorial to Payne was the medal and prize awarded to the Wellington Hospital nurse achieving highest marks in the State Final Examinations, provided she not only passed with credit but also brought credit to the profession.<sup>17</sup> Similar medals and prizes commemorating matrons were established in hospital nursing schools throughout the country, such as the Fraser Medal in Dunedin. In other places exemplary service was marked by naming classrooms (as in the Tennant Classroom in Dunedin, after P. E. Tennant, Matron 1925-1938), hospital beds (such as the Gladys Hughes bed at Paeroa Hospital), wards (as with the McKenny and Bakewell Wards at Wanganui Hospital), Nurses' Homes (such as the Lambie Home at Wanganui), buildings (like the Jean Todd building at Timaru) or entire hospitals (as in one at Christchurch named after Nurse Maude). Marion Little's service as matron of Westland and Hokitika, 1907-1922, was marked more prosaically by an entrance light.

Besides exemplary service, boundary stones also commemorated extreme sacrifice. Plaques remember nurses who died in the influenza pandemic, 1918-1919, and the Hawkes Bay earthquake 1931. More common, however, are memorials to nurses who died in wartime service. Some names are recorded on local war memorials, such as those of Margaret Rogers in

Akaroa, and Marion Brown and Mabel Jamieson in Palmerston North, who all died in the *Marquette* sinking. Memorials in chapels and churches record others, while the Christchurch Hospital chapel was erected as a monument in itself to the memory of *Marquette* nurses. Edith Cavell, a British nurse executed on 12 October 1915 during the Great War, has a number of memorials to her around the world, including a bridge in Central Otago. New Zealand nurses were also remembered through Rolls of Honour, Books of Remembrance, buildings such as a Memorial Hall at the New Plymouth Nurses' Home, and hospital beds like those at Kumara named after *Marquette* nurses Helena Isdell and Mabel Jamieson. As a group, nurses who died in wartime are commemorated more generally, as in the Wellington cenotaph roundel which depicts a nurse with scissors in her pocket, feeding a soldier. As a nation-wide memorial, nurses' subscriptions also funded the Nurses' Bell in the National War Memorial's carillon which is tolled in services commemorating nurses.

### **Milestones**

The fourth group of nursing 'stones' are those which, like the milestones still standing at the edge of many English roads, also serve as markers of direction and distance. They point the way to the future, mark things of value to bring forward from the past, and provide guidance for travelling the way ahead. That these memorials were intended to be used as milestones is particularly clear from their inscriptions or dedication speeches. Although using language conventions which might sound florid

to us now, they expressed a desire for the example of the commemorated nurse to serve as a guide to others. A brass plaque at the Dunedin Nurses' Home commemorated nurses who died in the Great War or in the influenza pandemic following it. A relative at its unveiling in 1920 said he hoped it would serve 'not only as a lasting memorial to those brave women' but also as an 'incentive to good and noble deeds' for those who came after them.<sup>18</sup> With a similar sentiment, Mr J. A. Murdoch, Mayor of Kumara and Chairman of the Hospital Committee, said on the dedication of the Kumara nurses' memorial that he hoped their lives would be 'a beacon guide for others'.<sup>19</sup>

### **The meaning of nursing's memorial stones**

Nursing 'stones' were therefore created to serve five main purposes. They *perpetuated the memory* of the nurse, service or significant event. They *honoured* a nurse's actions, attributes or professional contribution. They *inspired emulation* in others. They *shaped professional identity* by linking nurses to their lineage and heritage. They *demonstrated the worthiness* of nursing as a profession by portraying to those outside it the profession's heroines and heroic service.

However, memorials could also be used to *appropriate memory*. For example, the 'Marquette myth', which grew quickly after the sinking of the troopship, appropriated the nurses' memory for propaganda purposes. It suggested (incorrectly) that the nurses struggling to keep alive in the sea claimed 'with one accord' that

rescuers should 'save the fighting men first'.<sup>20</sup> Politicians saw potential in the pride and admiration this story of supposed sacrifice roused in the public mind. The Hon. W. D. C. MacDonald who spoke at the Kumara dedication, was quick to align himself with this sentiment and bolstered it by linking the deaths of the two nurses to the 'foul murder' of Edith Cavell.<sup>21</sup>

In a less explicit way, organisers of memorials could also appropriate the (assumed) wishes of the nurses being commemorated. Most commonly they insisted the nurses would want the memorial to be useful in some manner. Those wanting to mark the loss of the *Marquette* nurses felt a memorial should not be 'a statue or window or home' but a 'practical ... memorial for all time'.<sup>22</sup> The Nurses Memorial Fund, designed to help nurses in straitened circumstances, 'would have been most appreciated by the nurses who lost their lives', they felt, as it 'would help their fellow nurses'.<sup>23</sup>

### **Nursing commemoration and the historical imagination in the present**

To establish a memorial, organisers had to have a clear idea about the purpose and desirability of commemoration. That so many memorials have been created is evidence that nurses throughout the decades have seen a value in this particular expression of their historical imagination. The question now, however, is whether nurses in the present share that value. John Bodnar, an American historian, says that the public memory emerges at the

intersection of official and vernacular cultural expressions of commemoration. Vernacular examples, which tend to take a prosaic, everyday form, are those which are created 'from the ground up', rather than being imposed 'from the top' as official, public memorials. He also contends that tensions can exist between these sometimes competing realities.<sup>24</sup>

In considering Bodnar's ideas in relation to New Zealand nursing memorials, it seems that the tension sometimes surrounding memorials is more complex in nature than simply being between official and vernacular forms. Tensions can arise when the value of a memorial is not shared by others outside the profession. Nurses have discovered, rescued and restored memorials displaced by others. For many years the plaque commemorating Beatrice Campbell, for example, lay hidden in a dusty basement in New Plymouth Hospital but is now resurrected through the committed efforts of nurses for whom preservation of nursing history is an imperative. The Dunedin Nurses' Home plaque, removed when the building was converted to another use, was subsequently placed in the chapel at the hospital.<sup>25</sup> When the Nurses' Memorial Chapel at Christchurch Hospital was under threat in a rebuilding programme in the 1980s, only nurses' energetic protests against its proposed destruction ensured its survival. The Nurses' Memorial Chapel at Wellington Hospital was less fortunate.<sup>26</sup>

However, nurses have also

contributed to the loss of their own professional memorials. For a memorial to survive, it needs to be known, noticed and acknowledged. How many of the memorials listed in the 1950 survey survive today? Of these, how many are known or noticed by current nurses? Where were nurses' voices in decisions about memorials that have disappeared? To what extent have nurses colluded with these decisions by silence, apathy or ignorance of their profession's memorials? Have they themselves been instigators of their removal? When the New Zealand Nurses' Organisation recently moved to smaller premises, the Jessie Bicknell Cabinet and almost all its contents, as well as the Nightingale lamp trophy which sat on top of it, lost their position of esteem. They are no longer displayed.

As an organisation looked to for professional leadership, and as the creator, collector and guardian of many older nursing memorials, the Organisation's actions might represent Bodnar's description of an official public position imposed 'from the top'. Displacing this heritage, while simultaneously establishing a new memorial, suggests it values creating rather than preserving them.<sup>27</sup> The vernacular commemorative act can be seen in individual nurses' attempts to save memorials or value those remaining. Recurring rituals associated with a memorial can extend the original commemorative intention and reinforce the memorial's viability. Sometimes this is through a personal act, such as the way an unknown person (perhaps not a nurse) placed

a flower each year at the Oamaru tree dedicated to Isabel Clark. The Christchurch Nurses' Memorial Chapel is a clear example of one which continues to serve a meaningful commemorative purpose for a large number of nurses, as the annual memorial services show. Nurses who trained at New Plymouth, who have a strong sense of their professional heritage, have continued their commemorative tradition through formal exhibits. Similarly, a new window has been incorporated in the Christchurch chapel. Other events throughout the country in 2001 to mark the centenary of nursing registration show that nurses enjoy and see value in commemoration.

Perhaps Mabel Thurston's words are important for us to consider today. In dedicating the plaque to Frances Keith Payne in 1926, Thurston noted that nurses had been 'content to accept and take for granted all the good so strenuously fought for by our pioneers', without acknowledging

their indebtedness to them. It was 'right and fitting' to honour them and to 'leave a lasting memorial of their deeds' which would 'build up the tradition and history' of nurses and the profession in New Zealand. She hoped that all nurses, now and in the future, who saw the memorial would 'envisage all that has been accomplished, and set their faces towards higher endeavours, nobler ideals, and determination to add their share in the progress of the nursing profession'.<sup>28</sup>

One indicator of the durability of this sentiment, nearly eighty years after it was expressed, might be the survival of nursing memorials. Thurston recognised their importance for the profession's identity by the way they contributed to the tradition, history and advance of nursing. Their preservation, and even their increase, will depend on whether nurses continue to see value in expressing their historical imagination through such commemorative acts.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> The most famous, perhaps, is the fund set up to mark Florence Nightingale's services in the Crimean War. This fund was eventually used to establish the nursing school at St Thomas's Hospital in London in 1860.
- <sup>2</sup> H. White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1973. For examples from literary criticism and anthropology, see H. B. Henderson, *Versions of the Past: The Historical Imagination in American Fiction*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1974; J. Comaroff & J. Comaroff, *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination*, Westview Press, Boulder, 1992.
- <sup>3</sup> Much of this article has been developed from the inaugural Grace Neill Memorial Lecture I gave in 2001. I am grateful to nurses for their positive feedback about this lecture and their encouragement to ensure its wider dissemination in published form.
- <sup>4</sup> A biblical text: Joshua IV 21. I am grateful to Noel Latta for visiting the memorial to check my memory of this inscription.

- <sup>5</sup> Her son's biography is J. O. C. Neill, *Grace Neill: The Story of Noble Woman*, N. M. Peryer, Christchurch, 1961. An historian's biographical portrayal of Neill is available in M. Tennant, 'Mrs Grace Neill in the Department of Hospitals, Asylums and Charitable Institutions', *New Zealand Journal of History*, April 1978, pp.3-16 and in Tennant's entry on Neill in Charlotte Macdonald, Merimeri Penfold and Bridget Williams, eds., *The Book of New Zealand Women*, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1991, pp.467-471. Nurses' memories of Neill are contained, for example, in Hester Maclean, *Nursing in New Zealand: History and Reminiscences*, Tolan, Wellington, 1932, pp.20-5 and in Flora Cameron, 'A Tribute to a Great Woman', in J. O. C. Neill, *Grace Neill*, pp.70-97.
- <sup>6</sup> Neill had established the State's maternity service for working-class women by setting up St Helens hospitals in the four main cities, 1905-1906. She considered them her most significant professional achievement.
- <sup>7</sup> 'Mrs Grace Neill Memorial', *Kai Tiaki*, January 1927, pp.29-30. The journal *Kai Tiaki* was New Zealand's first professional nursing journal, published from 1908. It carried different names throughout the decades, such as the *Journal of the Nurses of New Zealand* and the *New Zealand Nursing Journal* but as *Kai Tiaki* was the additional title used consistently throughout, it is the one used in this article.
- <sup>8</sup> J. O. C. Neill, letter to the New Zealand Trained Nurses Association, 29 November 1926, held in New Zealand Nurses Organisation library, Wellington.
- <sup>9</sup> 'The Grace Neill Memorial Library', *Kai Tiaki*, January 1928, p.46.
- <sup>10</sup> 'Grace Neill Memorial Trophy', editorial, *Kai Tiaki*, August 1953, pp.114-5.
- <sup>11</sup> This period covers the first twenty years that the journal was published. I will be describing obituaries and other forms of nursing mortubiography in more detail in a forthcoming paper.
- <sup>12</sup> Although the Nurses' Memorial Chapel at Wellington Hospital contains memorials to individual nurses, a plaque there also says that the chapel was dedicated 'in memory of all nurses who have devoted themselves to serving the sick in this hospital'.
- <sup>13</sup> For a detailed description of the chapel and these windows, see Annette Stevenson, Wellington Hospital Nurses Memorial Chapel, Wellington Hospital Nurses Memorial Chapel Committee, Wellington, 2001. For an earlier description see also Ethel Crossman, 'Nurses Memorial Chapel at Wellington Hospital', *Kai Tiaki*, February 1966, pp.22-3. With the imminent demolition of the Wellington chapel, the windows will be relocated to parts of the new hospital building. For a description of windows in the chapel at Christchurch Hospital, see Fiona Ciaran, *Stained Glass Windows of Canterbury, New Zealand*, Dunedin, 1998 and Fiona Ciaran, *The Architectural Heritage of Christchurch, Vol. 7, Nurses' Memorial Chapel*, Christchurch City Council Planning Policy Unit, Christchurch, 1990.
- <sup>14</sup> E. M. Bascand, Matron, Dannevirke Hospital, letter to New Zealand Nurses Association, 10 October 1950, held in the 'Memorials to New Zealand Nurses' file at the New Zealand Nurses Organisation library, Wellington. See also 'Memorials to New Zealand Nurses', *Kai Tiaki*, December 1950, p.226.
- <sup>15</sup> Margaret Gibson and Yvonne T. Shadbolt, eds., *Objects and Outcomes: New Zealand Nurses' Association 1909-1983*, New Zealand Nurses Association, Wellington, 1984, p.9. See also the photograph on the cover of *Kai Tiaki*, April 1960 and caption p.3. The centrepiece is made of gold and silver, with a representation of a five-pointed-star medal and cherubim depicting 'the spiritual aspect of nursing'.