

Nursing Uniforms: Romantic Idea, Functional Attire, or Instrument of Social Change?

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The history of modern secular nursing uniforms, which identify a female wearer as belonging to the nursing profession, originated with Theodor and Friedericke Fliedner, who in 1836 founded the Kaiserswerth Deaconess Institute's Nurse Training School.¹ The Fliedners had a vision that they hoped to translate into a practical reality. They saw standard uniform attire as fundamental to the new, modern nursing occupation because the nurse had to have a respectable and competent outward appearance, both as an individual and as a member of a respected occupational group.² Their views differed from conceptions of nursing held by Florence Nightingale and her contemporaries, for whom uniforms were not an issue but a mere practical matter. But, in early nineteenth-century Prussia, later to become Germany, where the Fliedners labored to gain recognition and social respectability for the new nursing, attire was a matter of vital importance. Without uniforms signaling respectability in a very class-structured, rigidly controlled, authoritarian society, nursing could not have succeeded. Respectable women could not have overcome the loathsome reputation associated with the "derelicts" hired to do hospital nursing. As it was, nurses not only became recognizable by their dress, but their uniform clothing came to symbolize caring, professional competence, and, above all, unquestionable moral character. Distinguished by their uniform dress, these unmarried women engaged in nursing the public. The uniform signified that they could be trusted to conduct themselves according to narrowly defined social boundaries—in short, to adhere to paternalistic mores.

Image Building

According to historian Susan Reverby, character, above all else, differentiated the trained Nightingale nurse from her untrained predecessors. In this, “behavior and demeanor” as much as skill became “the hallmark of the trained nurse.”³ Although important to Nightingale’s system, these characteristics were even more elemental to Theodor Fliedner’s earlier vision of nursing. Fully aware that his idea of making proper women employable outside the home would be resisted because it proposed to reform important traditional customs, and knowing that success hinged on overcoming strong opposition to his viewpoints, he set out to create a powerful, public image of the new female occupation.⁴ To this end he invented the nursing uniform.

Although Friedericke Fliedner, as first matron, contributed to the implementation of a uniform policy, it was her husband who conceived the idea. Theodor Fliedner was a Lutheran minister compelled by a mission to establish nursing in Protestant Prussia equal to, but preferably better than, that provided by Catholic religious women in the Catholic regions of Germany. In so doing, he hoped to found nursing as a reputable occupation for honorable, single, Protestant women who otherwise had no means for working outside the home.⁵ Nursing was to be organized as a Protestant Christian order: its members would serve Christ by giving care as deaconess nurses.⁶ As an association, the order would provide social and occupational status; job, illness, and retirement security; and the opportunity for selfless Christian work for its members. In Protestant Prussia, especially for populations of the newly pauperized industrial working class, nurses would ensure dedicated, competent care in hospitals and the community.⁷ This dual purpose of occupational dignity for its members and Christian social service for the community had to be conveyed through the image of the dress.

Fliedner, his first wife Friedericke, and after Friedericke’s death in 1848, his second wife Caroline attached great importance to dress because it conveyed role and status and differentiated Kaiserswerth nurses from the common, disreputable attendants hired to nurse in hospitals.⁸ In this way, a deaconess’s outward appearance was as important to a public acceptance of her as a trained nurse as were her actions. Furthermore, according to historian Anna Sticker, the distinct, modest, but dignified outward appearance of a uniformed nurse reinforced an acknowledgment of her professional role as nurse and deaconess.⁹

NEED FOR SPECIFICITY

A specific uniform policy to clearly identify each practitioner as a qualified trained nurse and member of the newly created Protestant nursing order was necessary for the placement of nurses in hospital and community nursing. Dark blue was chosen by the Protestant order as the predominant color. In contrast, Catholicism was strongly associated with "popish" black. For this reason, there was reluctance to accept black for the overcoat, hat, and umbrella.¹⁰ As a member of the Protestant nursing order, the dress needed to show the deaconess's purpose, which was Christian service to the poor in the spirit of Evangelical love. Therefore, the uniform had to look modest and serviceable. It had to be rugged enough (and washable) to wear well despite the hard work required of a nurse, but without resembling the attire of a menial servant woman. Conversely, the uniform could not make the wearer look too refined, suggestive of a higher social class, because then it would appear to be unsuitable for the nature of the nurses' work.¹¹

CONTEMPORARY MORES

The complex uniform requirements were necessary because early nineteenth-century society was still rigidly divided into social classes. Upward mobility, as is known today, did not exist. A person was born to his social place, was raised to conform to his class expectations, and accepted his station in life. Historically, up to the turn of the eighteenth century, some statutes prohibiting behavior indicative of upward social class movement had been in effect. For example, in some areas dress laws reserved to aristocrats only the right to wear velvet and silk. Also, members of the lower class were prohibited from wearing hats. Their headgear was limited to a cap for men and cap or scarf for women. Villagers could not dress as townspeople; instead, they wore work clothes during the week and on Sunday dressed up in their regional costumes.¹²

In the towns and cities, merchants or tradesmen were readily distinguishable by their attire. So were members of other classes and even, to some extent, occupations. For example, among the trades, some ship carpenters still wore heavy, wide-weave, bell-bottom corduroy pants until 1950. In earlier times, dress served to identify the occupation of the wearer and even his rank within the group. For example, the academic gown, at one time worn daily, marked the magister from the baccalaureate. Similarly, the long coat worn by physicians denoted higher status than that indicated by the short coats of surgeons and practical doctors.¹³ A cook or maid wore

an apron and a head cap, never a hat. Only women from the middle class and above wore hats.¹⁴

Some dress customs were specific to women because in a male dominated society, tradition demanded easy recognition of a woman's marital status. This distinction by dress was most pronounced among middle and upper classes. In the nineteenth century, outward appearance still differentiated married from unmarried women.¹⁵ Married women were accorded a respect not extended to single women of marriageable age. While a married woman could move about unescorted, public appearance by single women of marriageable age was proper only when they were accompanied by a married woman or an elderly female. Women's place was within the family. Unmarried females occupied themselves appropriately with acceptable designated female work activities, among which were nursing sick household members within the parameters of an extended family.¹⁶

Family systems were patriarchal. By custom and civil law, the senior male, usually the father, was responsible for all female household members. In turn he was the provider, whom society judged by the extent to which he provided for his family (usually measured by creature comforts, clothing, luxuries, etc.) and by the degree of control, including protection, exercised over the household. Female household members were themselves as much external displays of family values as was their attire and activity. For example, if an unmarried woman, assuming this possibility, were to be gainfully employed outside the home, the patriarch would have been perceived as being (1) no longer in control, (2) unable to provide for his family, and (3) irresponsible, for allowing her to expose herself to the dangers of the world; he would have defaulted on his obligation to protect her.¹⁷

In this arrangement, women, especially young unmarried females, were indulged in at the price of personal independence. Their clothing was fashionable, colorful, and, depending on family means, expensive. Their dress displayed family wealth, representing the patriarch's economic achievements. Women also dressed to attract attention because their sole objective was to find a suitable mate. To pursue this goal, however, women required protection; thus, they were escorted in public. The availability of family members for this function and the clothing worn by unmarried women, in turn, indicated affordable leisure, a luxury not possible for the lower classes. Working-class people worked to survive. Assuming they were able to afford silk, and such, the working class had no means or help for its upkeep. Females could not be spared to escort the others. Every able body had to work. Their hands were to do work while those of the higher

class were protected with gloves. In this culture, obstacles to establishing nursing as an occupation for middle-class, unmarried women were formidable.¹⁸

Middle-class married women, whose attire (style, brighter colors, more adornments on dress and hat) distinguished them from those unmarried, were afforded greater latitude in personal movement and interaction. Because they were recognizable as being married, they received the respect due their married state. They belonged to their husband and, therefore, even unescorted were not in danger of being molested. They always enjoyed much greater personal freedom than younger single women or older spinsters.¹⁹ Of course, employment for single women was unthinkable.

The external attire and dress etiquette of unmarried females made them unlikely candidates for pioneering employment of women in a respected occupation. Because of these social restrictions, a new standard of dress was needed. An easily recognizable uniform dress that conveyed the proper status and respect for members of the new nursing order became an essential necessity. The nurse's attire had to identify her special role and give her protection when going about her business as a nurse in the public domain.²⁰ The deaconess-nurse dress, thus, would pave the way for the new profession of nursing.

DESIGN STRATEGY

A new image of nurses had to be established. According to Sticker, Fliedner solved the problem by "choosing the contemporary dress of a married woman (middle-class townswoman) from the lower Rhineland."²¹ This ingenious design greatly changed prevailing pejorative attitudes against respectable women assuming the nurse role. Recognizable by their uniform attire, deaconess nurses successfully withstood public scrutiny, even though their work involved menial labor and put them in close personal contact with male patients, a major taboo at the time. (It was unthinkable to imagine proper women publicly engaged in activity requiring close proximity to the naked body parts of men.)²² Dressed in uniform, however, Kaiserswerth nurses were accorded the respect they needed to function with a degree of independence as yet unknown by single women.

Fliedner, recognizing the importance of public print to image building, reprinted a previously published article taken from a weekly paper in his *Der Armen und Krankenfreund*. The article praised the deaconess-nurses' appearance as indicative of their competence. To this Fliedner added: "It is overall useful to make known the viewpoints of unbiased



Deaconess-nurse uniform from the 1830s.
Composite drawing after original sources in
Fliedner Archive, Duesseldorf Kaiserswerth,
Germany.

observers, who, as the author, admit to have been prejudiced against the deaconesses, but through observation changed their opinion."²³

Uniform Description

The uniform of a graduate nurse-deaconess consisted of a blue cotton dress that reached to the feet, blue cotton apron, white snug-fitting cap tied under the chin, white collar, and scarf. The dress was unadorned. The Sunday dress was of the same design and color but made from fine wool cloth. The Sunday cap was made of white net cloth, which was edged by a ruffle of the same cloth for graduate nurses. Stockings were knitted cotton or wool. A black, loose-fitting (to deemphasize body contours) coat completed the outfit. Velvet or fur trim was prohibited. The style had to conform to the designs of the coats made at the Institute.²⁴

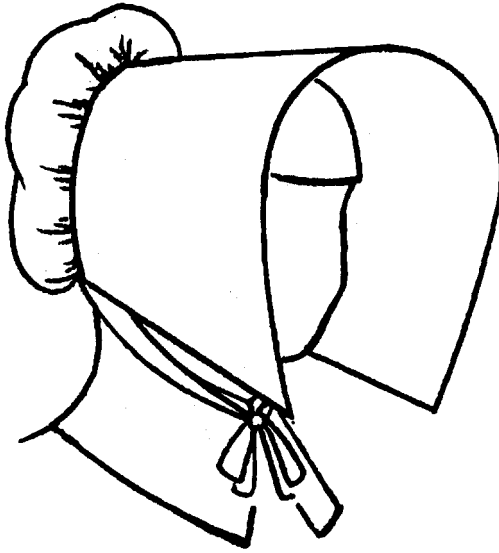
THE HAT

In public, the deaconess wore an accentuated, large-brimmed, black bonnet on top of her cap. The bonnet reflected early-nineteenth-century fashion. Fliedner writes, "The hats are of black silk, follow the design of those made here, are without any adornment, large and fitting enough to protect from the sun and intrusive stares."²⁵ The hat was most important to preserving the dignity of these young women and conferring ladylike respect upon them. Thus the whole attire, and especially the hat, served to overcome the social class problems. The bonnet's large brim served to protect the nurses not only from general public scrutinizing, but also from intrusive gazing by men, thus forestalling easy encounters that "could lead to temptations for the young women and give rise to scandalous gossip."²⁶

Sticker writes that,

In public appearances, attired with the hat, the deaconess resembled a solid middle class matron. Gertrud Reichardt, the daughter of a physician and the first deaconess nurse, being middle class was used to wearing a hat. Others, however, who came from the lower classes, in conformity with the strict class system, were unaccustomed to wearing a hat.²⁷

The addition of a hat in the uniform of a refined, trained nurse afforded her a certain respectability, but did not serve to encourage social climbing. "In view of the quantity, quality, and color of the material used for the whole outfit," Sticker judges the attire to have given deaconesses "a well-



Deaconess-nurse outdoor hat from the 1830s.
Free drawing from textual descriptions.

dressed, conservative middle class appearance that was far above the Prussian norm.²²⁸ Sticker concludes that,

The hat worn in public . . . conveyed the lady image. . . . Without changing the social order, a revolutionary step had been made. This uniform enabled the unmarried woman, as long as she had committed herself to a five-year service contract with the Deaconess Association, to function unmolested in public pursuit of her nursing occupation.²⁹

Policy Compliance

An open letter from Fliedner and his wife Caroline, dated October 1848, demonstrated the importance attributed to compliance with the uniform regulations to all Kaiserswerth deaconesses engaged in distant nursing assignments away from the mother house.³⁰ Because of noncompliance by some with uniform regulations, the letter admonished the nurses to strictly adhere to the clothing regulations. It continued by reminding them of their promise to obey. The letter unequivocally states:

Obedience in this case means obeying the uniform regulations. . . . Those of you who are guilty of infractions against the dress regulation will discover that either ignorance of the same, vanity, complacency, carelessness or an inappropriate thriftiness have led you to this action, and you must admit that it can only be helpful to your occupation when you avoid or overcome such errors. The Sunday and everyday dresses, aprons and caps must be of the same color, material, and cut as those you received upon assuming your duties.³¹

The letter further reiterates the need to wear the white collar. For those who owned a black dress, the prohibition to wear it except for special church services or “as a sign of mourning was reinforced.”³² Hat replacements were to be ordered from the mother house.

Other than this silk hat, and a silk umbrella, perhaps also a simple pouch of black silk, deaconesses are not allowed to wear silk, whether on dresses, aprons, full or half scarves . . . those who especially need to wear a scarf around the neck must wear one made of white linen or cotton. During occasions of extended appearance in public, and also the shortest public appearance in a larger city, the deaconess wears hat and scarf.³³

The conclusion reminds the deaconesses of their duty to obey the uniform regulation and their commitment to the mother-house policy.

A dress regulation which gives direction in every way is now even more necessary. . . . We have come to recognize that the present rules, as given in the Hausordnung, while not needing to be changed, nevertheless require more specific instructions and limitations, and expect from all of you in accordance with your promise, compliance and willing obedience with the Institute’s specified clothing policy.

Fliedner, Pfr. (Pastor)
Caroline Fliedner³⁴

The Fliedners reacted so vehemently because some deaconesses had made personal changes in their attire and apparently had also voiced dissatisfaction with the strict rules.³⁵ Sticker writes that two nurses questioned the need for wearing the white collar while attending to all the heavy hospital work, especially early in the morning. In addition to bedside nursing, early morning activities included scrubbing laundry, cleaning vegetables, and stoking stoves. Earlier, Friedericke Fliedner had debated substituting a black scarf instead of the white collar for probationers—at least until they had acquired the habit of keeping themselves clean.³⁶ These and other notations by Friedericke and Theodor attest to the difficulties encountered in teaching the young women, who usually were of lower-class

origins, the paramount importance of the proper wear and care of their prescribed uniform for maintaining the proper public image and, thus, the continued success of the nursing venture.

Sticker writes that requiring full dress upon rising opposed the customary practice, for women in general, of doing morning household chores in a housecoat. "Only later in the morning did she dress fully."³⁷ But Kaiserswerth nurses had to be fully dressed for public view from early morning to bedtime. The dignified image had to be constantly maintained, even early in the morning when nurses engaged in coarse, dirty household tasks. After all, nurses were always in public view of patients. Exceptions were not and could not be tolerated. Creation of the nurse image was as important, perhaps even more so, than any other factor that created the new nurse.

Probationers

Although probationers could "wear their own clothing during the six months probationary period, unless it is found necessary to acquire a housedress for them," a visitor to Kaiserswerth noticed their distinct appearance.³⁸ Fredricka Bremer, a Swedish novelist and early feminist, was attracted by the Institute's reputation for training women to assume an occupation and visited Kaiserswerth in 1846. She wrote: "All sisters wear the same clothing consisting of a dark blue cotton thing [dress], a plain white collar, and a simple, white cap. A small white lace on the cap differentiates those not yet invested from those invested, the actual deaconesses."³⁹

References in other documents to the white collar, cap, and dark color of the probationers' outer dress show that they were expected to conform only with the general uniform requirements. They could wear their own clothing if it was of dark color and simple style. Most likely their dress did not have to rigidly conform because they worked in the Institute's hospital, were not exposed to the general public, and were not yet permanent members. For them, learning neatness, cleanliness, and simplicity in clothing was more important as a component of their probationary training. As prospective members of an honored group, they also had to learn to take pride in their outward appearance; yet, they were to remain humble, seemingly unaware of dress customs, fashion, and other forms of vanity—indeed, a seemingly paradoxical goal.

Implicit Meaning

On the back of an envelope, Fliedner noted his thoughts on the uniform, its purpose, and its symbolic meaning. The everyday work dress was to distinguish the nurse as representative of the important office of nursing and of the competence required of a professionally trained nurse.⁴⁰ Her skills and demeanor set her apart from housemaids, untrained nurse attendants, and idle, middle-class women; her attire symbolized her professional characteristics. Also, the uniform helped the nurse gain entry into households and confer the privileges of a reputable woman, and it exempted her from fashion requirements.⁴¹

The Sunday dress of the nurse was to be like the work dress because, Fliedner wrote, “she often has to attend to the sick [on Sundays].” Therefore it had to be practical, but also “convey the proper respect in interactions with patients.” To honor Sunday and special holidays, however, the dress material was of a better cloth. Fliedner specified a dark blue color because often “patients fear black . . . and because it is extremely gloomy . . . [whereas] dark blue is modest and yet cheerful.”⁴²

Complete Wardrobe

A one-page document lists the complete wardrobe requirements for a traveling nurse:

Clothing articles, etc., which the traveling sister <i>takes along</i>	
6 shirts	5 pair shoes and houseshoes
4 slips	1 pair overshoes
2 corsets	4 leg dressings [possibly wet-weather coverings]
3 pair whites [underwear]	2 underjackets
4 pair colored [undergarments]	1 sewing box
4 pair woolen stockings	combs, toothbrush
4 proper dresses	clothing brush
1 sleeping coat	2 black scarves
6 aprons	2 hats
2 black aprons	1 coat
12 scarves	1 umbrella
12 handkerchiefs	1 hat box
6–12 collars	1 suitcase

6–8 caps	1 travel sack
3 night jackets	1 travel satchel
6–12 night caps	1 notebook or briefcase
1 Bible and 10–12 books	1 money pouch
1 other picture	deaconess certificate ⁴³

It was a substantial wardrobe, befitting a middle-class woman, providing for adequate changes between washings. It allowed the nurse to maintain cleanliness without compromising her busy schedule.

Image Validated

The goal of creating the image of a neat, clean, competent nurse and respectable woman was achieved, as is corroborated by a contemporary writer's description, dated 1850, of a practicing community of nurses in a small town.

Several days after my request two "sisters," as they are usually called, arrived to give help to the overburdened families. And if already, upon meeting them, my prejudices disappeared, then this occurred even more so upon observing them among the sick. Their hands, their clothing which is most suited for the work, which consisted of a blue dress, white collar and white, simple cap (in winter they wear a black coat), already gave me the certainty that they knew how to do an honest piece of work. Of course, their collar and cap were always gleamingly white, because cleanliness, neatness, and tidiness are their attributes, in hospitals as well as in their personal surroundings.⁴⁴

The dress of a Kaiserswerth deaconess announced her dedication, professionalism, and honorability to the public; as contemporary accounts show, her subsequent behavior and nursing skill confirmed the good reputation her clothing indicated.

Catalyst for Change

Because of Fliedner's brilliant plan to make the attire worn by Kaiserswerth nurses central to the strategy for reforming nursing and women's public role, the nurse uniform acquired singular importance. It became an instrument for change. The uniform established an image of respectability and competence for nurses: a necessary antecedent to societal changes that

allowed respectable women to be employed as nurses in public hospitals. The nurse uniform was neither a romantic idea nor mere functional attire, but a powerful catalyst for gaining the acceptance of modern nursing as a reputable occupation and for quietly revolutionizing women's status in early-nineteenth-century Prussia. In turn, the image of nursing established by Kaiserswerth deaconesses in Germany laid the foundation for Nightingale's advancement of nursing in the 1860s.

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Notes

1. For a more complete history of the origins of modern nursing at Kaiserswerth, see Irene Schuessler Poplin, "A Study of the Kaiserswerth Deaconess Institute's Nurse Training School in 1850-1851: Purposes and Curriculum" (PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1988). German primary and secondary sources used in this analysis were translated by I. Poplin into English. Many primary documents handwritten in German script required additional transliteration. All primary documents are housed at the Fliedner Archive, Diakonissenanstalt, Kaiserswerth, Germany (hereafter F. A.).

2. Extensive contextual reading on nineteenth-century German nursing and the status of women is found in Anna Sticker, *Die Entstehung der neuzeitlichen Krankenpflege* [*The Origin of Modern Nursing*] (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1960) (hereafter *Krankenpflege*); Martin Gerhardt, *Theodor Fliedner*, 2 Vols. (Duesseldorf-Kaiserswerth: Diakonissenanstalt, 1937). Susan Reverby, *Ordered to Care: The Dilemma of American Nursing, 1850-1945* (Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 1987) extensively examines the unique dilemma of women's private and public role and the aspirations for nursing as a female profession in the United States.

3. Reverby, 49.

4. Theodor Fliedner, *Erster bis Sechzehnter Jahresbericht* [First to Sixteenth Annual Report] 1 Januar 1836-1 Januar 1853, Jahresberichte File, F. A.

5. Ibid.; Florence Nightingale, in an anonymous monograph (her first publication) on Kaiserswerth written on Fliedner's request in 1850 after her first visit to the Institute, expounds in some detail on the idea. [Nightingale], *The Institution of Kaiserswerth on the Rhine* (1851; reprint, Duesseldorf-Kaiserswerth: Diakonissenanstalt, 2nd ed., 1959), 1-32.

6. “Deaconess” and “nurse,” as used by Fliedner in relation to dress, are synonyms.

7. Theodor and Caroline Fliedner to Deaconesses, “Kleiderordnung fuer die Diakonissen der Anstalt zu Kaiserswerth, fuer Helene Schirp” [Dress policy for the deaconesses of the Kaiserswerth Institute], Oktober 1848, Kleiderordnung File, F. A. This is a letter addressing all deaconesses. The title [Clothing Policy for H. Sch.], however, on a separate paper, is not a letter of salutation but a clothing policy for the named deaconess. It seems that Fliedner, at times, used a single document for multiple purposes.

8. Both functioned as Lady Superintendents of the order and Institute. They were also matron and clinical director of the hospital and nursing school. Undated handwritten note from Theodor Fliedner on used flattened envelope addressed to “Pastor Fliedner . . . at Kaiserswerth.” (Postage stamp on envelope reads “8.3” for day and month.) Caroline Fliedner signed her first name with the letter C. Her husband spelled it with the letter K. Documents show either of the two spellings. Text in this article follows Caroline’s usage; references cite the name as used in the specific document. Note that the Fliedner Archive holds a Karoline Fliedner file named K. F.

9. Anna Sticker, ed., *Friedericke Fliedner*, 2nd ed. (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag des Erziehungsvereins, 1961), 168, 171.

10. Undated handwritten note from Theodor Fliedner, “Bedeutung der dunkelblauen Farbe” [Meaning of the dark blue color], Kleiderordnung File, F.A.

11. Undated handwritten note to Kleiderordnung from Theodor Fliedner, Kleiderordnung File, F.A.

12. A. R. L. Gurland, “Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft im Uebergang zum Zeitalter der Industrie,” in *Propylaen Weltgeschichte*, ed. Golo Mann (Berlin: Propylcaen, 1960), 282.

13. Gurland, 280–85; see also Heinrich Kullmauer and Albert Meher, “Short Robed Surgeon Catherizes a Patient,” illustration from *Sketchbook*, courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum in Ann Carmichael and Richard Ratzau, *Medicine: A Treasury of Art and Literature* (New York: Hugh Lauter Levin Assoc., Inc., Macmillan, 1991), colorplate 39, 119.

14. *Der Brockhaus in Zwei Baenden* (Wiesbaden: F. A. Brockhaus, 1977), 364.

15. Sticker, *Friedericke*, 168.

16. Ibid.

17. *Brockhaus*, 364.

18. Helmut Bleiber and Guenter Hildebrandt, *Bourgeoisie und Buergerliche Umwaelzung in Deutschland, 1789–1871* (Berlin: Akademik, 1977), 48–50.

19. Sticker, *Krankenflege*, 35; Gerhardt, 2:550–51.

20. Undated handwritten draft of “Kleiderordnung” by Theodor Fliedner, Kleiderordnung File, F. A.

21. Sticker, *Friedericke*, 171.

22. Theodor Fliedner, *Hausordnung der Diakonissenanstalt* [Houserules for the Institute], 1837, Fliedner File, F. A. Theodor Fliedner’s file omits Theodor. Signed letter from Friedericke Fliedner to Theodor Fliedner, 14 June 1839, Friedericke Fliedner, Briefe [letters] File, F. A.

23. "Der fuefwoechentliche Aufenthalt zweier Diakonissen aus Kaiserswerth in Borgholzhausen" [The Five Week Stay of Two Deaconesses from Kaiserswerth in Borgholzhausen] (1850; reprint *Der Armen und Krankenfreund*, Maerz 1850): 1-4.
24. Theodor Fliedner, "Kleiderordnung," Kleiderordnung File, F. A.; Sticker, *Friedericke*, 170; Theodor Fliedner, "Notizbuch" [Notebook], F. A.
25. Theodor Fliedner, "Kleiderordnung," Kleiderordnung File, F. A.
26. *Ibid.*; handwritten remarks by Friedericke Fliedner on "Kleiderordnung," Kleiderordnung File, F. A.
27. Sticker, *Friedericke*, 171. For Reichardt, the uniform lowered her social-class standing. Most of the others, who came from a lower social class, gained a higher status.
28. *Ibid.*
29. *Ibid.*
30. Theodor Fliedner and Caroline Fliedner, "Kleiderordnung," Kleiderordnung File, F. A.
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Ibid.*
34. *Ibid.*
35. "Pflegerinnenbuch" [*Nurses Registry Book*], F. A.; Sticker, *Friedericke*, 158.
36. Friedericke Fliedner, "Bemerkungen" [Remarks], Friedericke Fliedner File, F. A.; Theodor Fliedner, "Kleiderordnung," Kleiderordnung File, F. A.
37. Sticker, *Friedericke*, 172.
38. Theodor Fliedner, "Tagesordnung" [Daily Schedule], Tagesordnung File, F. A.
39. Fredricka Bremer, "Kaiserswerth am Rhein 1846," reprinted in Sticker, *Krankenflege*, 341-46.
40. Theodor Fliedner, "Kleiderordnung," Kleiderordnung File, F. A.
41. Handwritten remarks by Theodor Fliedner, "Kleiderordnung," Kleiderordnung File, F. A.; Johann Christian Friederich Burk, ed., *Der Christenbote* 28, no. 9 (14 July 1839): 280; letter from Marie Schaefer, Kaiserswerth, to Burk in Grossbotwar, 11 June 1839, Briefe File, F. A.; letters from Theodor Fliedner, Kaiserswerth, to Burk, Fliedner File, F. A.
42. Handwritten note by Theodor Fliedner, on "Kleidung" [Clothing], Kleiderordnung File, F. A.
43. Undated handwritten list, "Kleiderstuecke etc., welche die reisenden Schwestern mitnehmen" [Clothing Items to be Taken along by Traveling Sisters], Kleiderordnung File, F. A.
44. "Der fuefwoechentliche," 1-4.