Florence Nightingale (1820-1910) info:

William Edward Nightingale (c. 1793-1874) and wife Fanny (William Smith – father was an abolitionist and supporter of factory workers, rights of Jews and Dissenters, as an MP for forty-six years). Married in 1818, and began traveling. Parthenope (1819-90) became Frances, Lady Verney, on her marriage in 1858 [dates and info from Chapple and Shelston, 141]. Florence born on 12 May 1820.

Family tree from Bostridge:

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William Shore (1752-1822) – m – Mary Nightingale (1758-1853)  
      |                                  
      |                                   
William Edward Shore – m – Frances Smith  
(1794-1874) (1788-1880)  
[exchanged Shore for Nightingale in 1815 in order to receive an inheritance, money + Lea Hurst]
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WEN inherited property in Derbyshire, with restrictions, from an uncle when a minor. A lead mine was discovered on part of the property, which increased its value substantially. And a large sum of money was invested in his name separate from the property. After their three-year European tour, they decided to return to England. WEN had his uncle’s house torn down and designed a new house, Lea Hurst.

Parents’ permanent residence was at Embley Park, Hampshire. Parents’ summer home at Lea Hurst, Derbyshire; postal address included Matlock as nearest town.

Located near village of Holloway, about 2 km east of Lea Bridge.
Nearest RR station at the time was at Whatstandwell, about 5 km from Lea Hurst. Nightingales owned the nearby lead smelter in Lea Bridge; 10% of the lead was reduced to silver, which went to the Bank of England.
Overlooked the River Derwent (on south side of RR line); Cromford Canal ran between house property and RR/River.

After returning from the Crimea, FN helped establish the Nightingale Training School for Nurses at St. Thomas’s Hospital, which opened on 24 June 1860.

FN wrote the Report of the Royal Commission on the Sanitary State of the Army in India (1863) with John Sunderland – that clarifies her views on cholera pathology.
The *Times* for Monday 4 September went to bed sometime Friday evening. Typesetting was finished by 5:00 a.m. Saturday morning, when the Applegath steam press began to print two-page impressions from huge rolls of newsprint-stock (initially brought to London from Lancashire or northern Ireland exclusively by trains on the London & North Western main line). By 11:00 Saturday morning, over 40,000 copies of the twelve-sided issue were ready for folding and bundling.

[The London and North Western Railway from Euston to Birmingham, a distance of 112 miles by rail. About ten miles after passing Coventry, and about that many miles before the train reached Birmingham, mails and newspapers bound for Derbyshire, Nottingham, and other points Northeast were transferred at Hampton-in-Arden station to a train on the Midland line. This train passed through Derby, then to Ambergate, where another transfer occurred for items bound for stations along a short trunk line, leased by the Midland, into the Derwent River valley – the Manchester, Buxton, Matlock & Midlands Junction Railway to Rowsley (Robin Leleux, *East Midlands*, 181, plus fold-out map at the back of the book, “Railways in the East Midlands.” Detail taken from this map showing the stations from Derby to Rowsley). At Whatstandwell, the station-master set aside, among others, newspapers and mails addressed to Lea Hurst, the summer house owned by the proprietor of the nearby lead mine and smelter.]

Whichever train reached Derby, where mails and newspapers for destinations between Derby and Matlock were transferred to the Derwent Valley Line. Later in the day, a servant from the summer house, Lea Hurst, near Holloway, Derbyshire, rode three miles to Whatstandwell Station for the daily post deposited by a train on the Derwent Valley line. So sometime Monday afternoon, most likely, Florence Nightingale read the report, tucked away on p. __, of a severe cholera outbreak in St. James.

* * *

Research from the *Times*:

Checked issue for Monday 4 September. Noted the heading where it states when the content was put to bed, when printed. p. 6 – publication commenced at 5:00 a.m. Saturday, finished at 11:00. Paper totaled 12 sides. Still unclear when the finished copies were ready for distribution, when sent to the RR stations, etc. Assume the Monday paper would not have been available in the country until Monday (unlike London, I presume, when it might have been available on Saturday or Sunday).

[checked Wikipedia for Augustus Applegath (1788-1871). First devised a four-feeding rotary press; after 1848, vertical rotary eight-feeder, which could produce 6000-10,000 single-side impressions per hour, depending on the experience and skill of the 16-person team].
Also wrote down generalization of what features on each page until p. 7, where the BoH article appeared. Nightingale would be interested in news of medical institutions, so look carefully at the adverts pages.

- p. 1: births, marriages, deaths.
- 2: Want ads.
- 3: Items/places to let and sell.
- 4: institutional and societies’ news; excursions; hospital reports and announcements. Eg., Westminster Hospital. Almost 2500 cases of cholera admitted since beginning of current epidemic [includes 1853, too?] 
- 5: Correspondent’s report from Ireland; intelligence of war in the Baltic.
- 6: editorials, foreign correspondence.
- 7: column A, GBoH articles; other columns devoted to foreign intelligence on Spain, Austria, etc.

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- List of FN’s writings, primarily longer works, but does include some letters, or extracts from letters, by FN. Usually provide a short summation.
- 143, scanned as PDF under Goldie in Research/Flo, refers to a pamphlet on cholera by the medical officer of Health for Buckingham, 1892, in which Flo added concluding words about keeping clean in our persons and our homes. Although the pamphlet notes that cholera can be transmitted by what we eat and drink, Flo responds to the assertion in the pamphlet that cholera is a filth disease.
- Editors add: “Miss Nightingale certainly had good reason to dread cholera. She had had plenty of experience of the disease during the 1854 epidemic, when she had served as a volunteer at the Middlesex Hospital, and of course in the Crimea” (all quotes on 132). [No other reference to cholera in the index; no indication of the source of this assertion.]


- have xeroxes showing major archival sources + endnotes + two pages on FN’s character and father giving her an allowance + selections from ch. 8 on Harley Street institute, etc. [seems a balanced assessment – could help me sort through divergencies and uncertainties from other sources.]
- April 1853: WEN decides to give FN an allowance of £500/annum, paid quarterly in advance. This permitted her to accept the position at the Gentlewomen’s institute, since it was unpaid (186; 190 – gratuitous appointment).
- gives proper name of the institute as Establishment for Gentlewomen during Illness. FN’s position was Superintendent (188). FN’s formal acceptance was dated 29 April 1853; terms were unconditional, at her insistence, including the right to retire after 12 months, if she chose.
– founded under royal patronage in March 1850, with initial premises at 8 Chandos Street. Target group was “the gentlewoman, of good family, well educated” but little income. Most patients had been governesses (189), of which there were many.
– A subscription of 5 guineas/annum made one eligible to recommend a patient who, if approved by the Ladies’ Committee, could remain at the Establishment for up to two months, free of charge (190).
– FN paid Mrs. Mary Clarke’s wages (the matron) (191).
– committee approved a change of premises to 1 Upper Harley Street, a three-story house, plus attic, basement, and stable in rear. Upper and Lower Harley Streets united in 1866 as Harley Street, and renumbering occurred; 1 UHS became 90 Harley St. [Renovations would be required before the move was finalized.] FN hoped that volunteer nursing sisters would eventually wish to be trained at the institution (191).
– [whilst renovations are underway, FN visits the Salpêtrière in Paris, then in the convent of the Sisters of Charity, where she contracted measles after a short period and had to convalesce at the Mohls’ apartment in Paris. Returns to London, mid-July 1853, and helps with final arrangements at the new premises – note the sanitarian and utilitarian (in sense of practical and philosophy) worldview – and purchases what were to become her signature outfits, black and grey silk gowns (191-93).]
– Institution could accommodate 27 patients in 10 single rooms and 17 compartments. FN had two rooms, both with fireplaces and south-facing windows. Residence there began on 12 August 1853 (193).

• FN also rented rooms in St. James’s Square, shared with an aunt and her daughter who regularly came to London. An escape for FN. She walked to Covent Garden regularly to purchase vegetables for herself; for quality, exercise, fresh air [again, sanitarian]. Regular flow of care packages from mother and sister at Embley (193).

• Dismissed all servants and nurses from Chandros St., with three exceptions – “John, the Cook & Nurse Smith” (194).

• Henry Bence Jones, of St. George’s Hospital, and William Bowman, surgeon from King’s College Hospital, were attached to the institution (194). Flo got on particularly well with Bowman.

• Became clear during the winter and spring of 1854 that the institution would never be suitable for Flo’s vision of organizing a formal nurse training school. Began using her spare time to visit London hospitals, gathering information for a report that would argue in favor of improving working conditions of hospital nurses and, indirectly, nurse training. Received support from the Herberts; Sidney Herbert had been Secretary of State at War since latter part of 1852, and facilitated Flo’s inquiries so that he could make use of the results in the training of nurses for military hospitals (197).

• In June 1854 Bowman recommended her for appointment as Superintendent of Nurses in a reorganized King’s College Hospital (197). In the quarterly report which she wrote in early August, Flo hinted that she was likely to leave the institution within the next three to six months to work at an institution that had a nursing school, if one became available to her (198). She began unpublicized interviews with men at King’s thereafter (198).
• 31 August 1854, Flo took temporary leave of absence from institution to volunteer at Middlesex Hospital (199). [note that Bostridge sets this up as a direct response to the cholera outbreak “on the north edge of Soho” and describes what happened the first ten days of September(199) – but this could not be, given the date of 31 August, when few realized that an outbreak was underway. Bostridge’s description of what she did at MH largely follows what Gaskell wrote that Flo told her family.]
  • Flo returned to institution as the epidemic waned, but was unable to shake an intense cold. Decided to take a holiday at the family summer estate at Lea Hurst (199).
  • Context for Gaskell’s last few weeks at Lea Hurst, after the Nightingales had left; and her mixed view of Flo, although Bostridge argues that Gaskell largely reflected Parthenope’s notion of the two sisters’ relationship (199-201).


[PDFs of letters #211-18, pp. 305-21] Also available electronically at:
http://books.google.com/books?id=ab_fNgINE6kC&printsec=frontcover&dq=Correspondence+of+Mrs.+Gaskell&source=bl&ots=8vjAo1vcuD&sig=Y7Zl6iML4ol5eKDekuElZoMt4To&hl=en&ei=dLjxS-6YL8Gbgeex_m2CA&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=2&ved=0CB4Q6AEwAQ#v=onepage&q=Correspondence%20of%20Mrs.%20Gaskell&f=false

[Scanned a PDF of letter # 211 (305-10); another of letters #214-17 (313-21); all in HistHand\Research\FloNightingale\~Gaskell

Biographical data: married to William Gaskell, a very strict, reserved Unitarian minister, in September 1832. Six children: first still-born; Willie dead at ten months – terrible blow to ECG; Marianne 12 Sept 1634; Meta 5 Feb 1837; Florence Elizabeth 7 Oct 1842; Julia Bradford 3 Sept 1846 (xiv). Lived in Manchester.

Supported millworkers during the “cotton famine” caused by the civil war in the US; active advocate for improved conditions for factory girl workers and female prisoners; humanitarian, but not without moral high-positioning and a Unitarian notion of what was proper (disapproved of George Eliot’s liaison with Lewes) (xxii). Often worked herself into states of exhaustion and mental breakdowns, requiring enforced periods of R & R. Died unexpectedly in mid-50s (xxiii).

• Letter #210, last before the Lea Hurst letters, dated 26 September 1854 [from home, apparently].

• Letter to Catherine Winkworth, begun Wednesday evening 11 October 1854, from Lea Hurst (#211) [not clear when ECG arrived, but must have been sometime the previous week; see letter to Emily Shaen in Further Letters]:
  – refers to death of George Duckworth [Senior Captain in the 5th regiment in the Crimea; died of cholera (letter 209a)]: everyone who has written about it insists that cholera is “not infectious i.e. does not pass from one person to another” (305). Offers FN as an authority on this point, and then goes into her work at Middlesex Hospital.
that FN went there on 31 August “to take superintendance of the Cholera patients” [likely an overstatement of her role].

– MH had to make room for victims arriving every half hour from Soho, esp. Broad st.
– only two nurses developed cholera, one died and the other recovered; no porters or other staff developed cholera, including herself – not even diarrhea.
– FN considered improved chances of recovery over duration of epidemic additional evidence for its non-contagiousness [misses the distinction between point source and propagated phases of the epidemic].
– FN never rested from Friday afternoon (1 Sept) until Sunday afternoon, mainly nursing prostitutes from Oxford St, without assistance – undressing victims, administering turpentine tipes, etc. [seems a tad overstated to make herself appear essential and significant; compare with Stewart’s account, which seems more balanced] (this and above all 305).
– this is the letter that gives ECG’s description of FN as “slight & willowy” with grey drooping eyes, delicate complexion, “perfect teeth” (but suffering from a toothache [so perfect to outer appearance] (306)
– work-study at Kaiserwerth, Parisian hospitals, and a month with Sisters of Charity [ECG may have received an overstated view of the extent and depth of FN’s training, although there really were few places to do this]
– now “head of the Establishment for invalid gentlewomen; nursing continually, & present at every operation.” Enjoys it. Mimics “most capitally” manner of speech of some of the governesses who are delighted that their little world is turned upside-down, with Ladies serving them. (306)
– Considered the Establishment her main responsibility even when she was at the MH during the “Cholera time” (307). At Lea Hurst for her annual fortnightly holiday when ECG arrived toward the end of her holiday.
– Nightingale family, including FN, gone by Saturday 14 October [so FN’s holiday began in late September (see letter to Emily Shaen in Further Letters) – could have planned on a month earlier until news of the outbreak, and postponed it.] ECG moved into the old nurseries, and slept in FN’s bedroom for the next two weeks; [worked on Mss that would be published as North and South. ]
– gives brief description of the grounds visible from her rooms, including the sloping meadow to the river Derwent and three ranges of hills beyond. (308).
– writes that FN is considering becoming the Matron of one of the large London hospitals once she has the invalid gentlewomen’s establishment functioning as she expects – but keep it a secret since she has yet to inform the institution’s committee (309).
– only regular companion is FN’s pet owl ([Athena] found at the Parthenon when it was tossed from its nest; FN nursed it to health and it became her and Parthenopy’s pet) (310).

• #212 (311-13) to daughter Marianne, dated Friday 13 October.
– contains a bit of info about Nightingales leaving tomorrow [since no mention of FN, she may have left on Friday to be in London and working on the 14th]. More description of the house/rooms at her disposal, who remains behind when the Nightingales are gone, etc. Matlock is 4 miles away from Lea Hurst, and she’s out of stamps and no one to send for any [ poor dear.] (311).
• #213, dated c. 16 October, to Anne Holland (312).
  – agrees to visit after leaving here at end of next week. Nightingales in London now. Had not been to Derbyshire before – “such beautiful country . . . as distinct from wild or grand.”

• #214, dated Tuesday 17 October, to Parthenope Nightingale (313-14).
  – refers to “our old walk” along the Derwent river (313).
  – asks Parthenope to inform her sister that Mr. Sam Gaskell [ECG’s brother-in-law, and perhaps a surgeon] lives at 2 St. James Place and is willing to give her whatever information she desires. (Note to effect that FN left London on 21 October [for the Crimea]) (313).

• #215, tentatively dated 20 October, also to Parthenope (314-15).
  – just received her letter [which must have told ECG about the letter that Sec of War Herbert wrote FN on 15 October, asking her to take over nursing training at Scutari]; God will watch over her [FN].
  – Owl is dead. Mrs. Watson found it just after dinner; must have been a fit of some sort. Will have it stuffed (314).
  – visited one of the villages attached to Lea Hurst, Crich, and spoke with Mrs. Storer’s husband about the lead mines (315). Wanted to know if she should order a belladonna plaster for Mrs. Storer at the druggist’s in Cromford.

• #216, dated Wednesday 25 October, to Anne Holland (315-16).
  – accepts offer to be picked up in a carriage. By which railway should she send her luggage to Ashbourne? Gives location of Lea Hurst – on the Cromford side of Matlock near the railway that links Rowsley with Derby (315).

• #217, dated October 27 from Lea Hurst, to Emily (Winkworth) Shaen. [superceded by corrected version in Further Letters.]

• #218, dated Monday 30 October, from Ashbourn-Hall, to Parthenope N.
  – [not in PDF]: knows that she “must have so much to do, & to think of [about FN on the way to Scutari, and worries about her; then comes the clincher that ECG saw through FN’s studied self-image creation] – (dear Miss Nightingale if it had not been for your careful performance of the quiet home duties, she would not have been at liberty for what she is now free to do —)” (322).


• ECG married William Gaskell (1805-84), a Unitarian clergyman, second minister at Cross Street Chapel, Manchester. They had seven pregnancies; one was still-born. Only four reached adulthood (304).

• The letter #211 in basic volume is not mentioned here. But Sam Gaskell (1807-86) is identified in the index. He was a physician, residing at 2 St. James Place, London, in October 1854. He was a brother of ECG’s husband.

• letter just previous to the corrected #217 is dated 8 June 1854.
• corrected version of #217 of *Letters* which includes deletions, clarifies pagination, and adds endnotes (113-18); Emily Shaen, née Winkworth.

[No other letters or notes that refer to FN of relevance for the Broad Street outbreak]

• October 27 from Lea Hurst, to Mrs. Emily [Winkworth] Shaen (113-18).
  – insight into Parthe’s character and role in the family pantheon (114). Parthe also understood her sister quite well – “She says F does not care for *individuals* – (which is curiously true,) but for the whole race as being God’s creatures” (114). [BJ noted that this was a very Benthamite notion – greatest good for the greatest number, the aggregate matters; so what happens to single individuals is not significiant.]
  – during FN’s recent holiday at Lea Hurst, the family was involved in correcting proofs of FN’s letters from Egypt. FN has lost all interest in reading, all curiosity about everything except her current obsession. Has no time to read, she says (114).
  – some discussion of Bunsen’s Hyppolytus; FN speechified about the importance of heroes in history and as a basis for cultural values (115).
  – ECG uses the expression, “her speeches,” to refer to FN’s comments to her family, including two about the cholera at MH (note that a later commentator, F. B. Smith, said they are unsupported by documentary evidence in the hospital archives): the prostitutes were the worst affected; relayed part of conversation with one of them. Then FN mimics another victim, who earned her keep nursing ladies; FN said she and a porter were the only ones awake and willing to work that night – other nurses worn out, three med students smoking cigars unwilling to assist. [one must wonder about this “avenging angel” – always puffing herself up at others’ expense.]
  – FN kept her family in the dark about her plans. As an example, FN suddenly announced on Monday [9 October, probably, since a letter in Vicinus & Nergaard dated 14 October was written in London and indicated she had recently arrived] that she was leaving the next day. Her mother thought it a bad idea since FN had a toothache and an abscess in her mouth and needed longer to heal. But FN had already arranged so many meetings in London that the family was forced to yield (115).
  – FN has no friends, and want none. Develops no emotional attachment to anyone. Could not be bothered to visit a villager whose son she had nursed when the woman’s husband died; too busy with her hospital plans (116).
  – At the Ladies’ establishment, ECG describes what one must consider a micromanager of the highest order (116).
  – ECG and FN “had a grand quarrel” about how children should be raised. FN thought every child, rich or poor, should be placed in a creche rather than raised by their mothers. ECG said that showed an absence of love for the individual. But then she could thought that this
“want” becomes a “gift” when applied to her love for the race and her willingness to serve others (116).

**Cook, Edward Tyas.** *The life of Florence Nightingale.* 2 Vols. London: Macmillan, 1913. WZ 100 N5C6 1913 T (Emory, Health Sciences Lib).

I. 139–40. [Cook’s chronology is at variance with letters from EG; the latter says she arrived at Lea Hurst towards the end of FN’s annual fortnightly holiday, around the 10th of October. Moreover, EG provides details about FN being at Middlesex Hosp at the beginning of the epidemic that favor her account rather than Cook’s unsubstantiated assertion.]

- re-checked the biography, searching for Gaskell. Cook was aware of the letter she wrote to Catherine Winkworth dated 20 October 1854 – the one that includes passage about when Flo was at MH and what she did there. Cook does not include this passage; he does quote other short passages from the letter. **In short, he botched the bit about Flo and cholera at the MH.**
- the letter that he quotes at the top of page 140 begins on 139; it’s a letter Flo wrote Mohl in August 1853.


- Doesn’t believe letter to Emily Winkworth Shaen of 27 October had been published before. [that would explain why Cook did not know when Flo left Lea Hurst]. This is the letter that contains the passage, “Speaking of the cholera in the Middlesex Hospital, she said, ‘The prostitutes . . . ever imagine’” (93).
- Haldane writes that Cook included some of Mrs. G’s ltr of 20 October to Catherine Winkworth, Emily’s sister, “but much of interest is omitted there.” Haldane does not give the letter in full, but extensively. The MH section leaves out the Duckworth, etc. sentences, and begins: “Miss Florence Nightingale went on the 31st of August,” full until “undressing them . . . putting on turpentine stupes,” and ends with 20 to 1. (98)
- Haldane writes that she only found one ltr written by Mrs. G to Nightingale – 31 December 1858, which includes ECG’s reaction to FN’s essay on Female Nursing in Military Hospitals (107).
- Haldane notes that she consulted the Gaskell correspondence in the library of Lord Brotherton. She also had access to unpublished ltrs belonging to the Winkworth sisters (vi).
- With respect to ECG’s authorship: Cranford (1851); The Old Nurse’s Story (1852); North and South (1854).

Chronology (p. xiii):
– British troops land in Crimea on 20 September 1854
– 4 November ’54, FN reaches Barrack Hospital, Scutari, Turkey.

Copied p. 49 – Hobbs-FN, 49a and 49b

RT37 .N5 H86
Has interesting illustrations – worth looking at again.
Copied pp. 47- 50 (about Flo getting the job as superintendent at the establishment; she was 33 in August 1853.
51 -- an illustration of Flo at Lea Hurst (“a portrait, now at Clayton House” – 50).
Pp. 53-55 is on the Soho outbreak
Wrote that Eliz Gaskell ltr of October 1854 describes FN’s experiences at the Middlesex Hospital.
She has no notes; bibliography is scanty.

Overall, this collection of FN’s writings, published and unpublished, strongly suggests that she was a therapeutic nihilist – nature cures, not medicine (510–undated fragment) – and a sanitarian (strengthening treatments such as clean air and pure water; strengthening diets; exercise; cleanliness; state intervention when necessary to remove causes of ill health and disease when those causes are beyond the control of individuals.)
• Index contains no entries for Middlesex Hosp or Snow or Broad St epidemic.
• Following mentions of cholera, based on index, suggestive: Fog over houses are indicative of moisture build-up from neglect of basic sanitary measures; they indicate where fever and cholera will come later (52, *NoNfLC*-1861). Everything happens by God’s laws, even cholera; it’s a blessing to teach us to obey God’s laws (58, *Non*). Diarrhea “merging into cholera” [ie., believer in disease generality rather than specificity] (126, *NoN*). Cholera as a miasmatic disease (170-71 175, “Sanitary statistics of native colonial schools and hospitals” - 1863). “The less movement you have of patients in cholera the better. And the shorter the distance the better. A hand ambulance [a stretcher, carried through streets and directly to the bed in the hospital ward] . . . is the best. Have a few hot bricks, or hot water vessels to put round the patient in the ambulance. Get your house-to-house visitation and dispensaries into operation as soon as you can” (269, letter to Harry Verney, Wellcome (Clayton copy) Ms 9002/03). “Our whole Indian experience tends to, nay actually proves, that cholera is not communicable from person to person, that it is a local disease, depending on pollution of buildings, earth, air and water, that quarantine, cordon, medical inspection and the like are all fatal aggravations of the disease, that the only preventives are, first, to remove the healthy troops, healthy people, from the locality, to put earth, air and water and buildings into a healthy state by scavenging, limewashing and all sanitary work. . . . Is this not so?, that attendants do not “catch” the disease from the sick, anymore than they do from poisoned cases.” Then derogatory comment about “germs” (27 July 1883, to Dr. Sutherland, ADD Mss 45758 ff170-72). “Editor: Material on cholera appears in many places in this Collected Works. Nightingale had nursed cholera patients in London during

- **Hardly an auspicious or convincing approach to medical history:** “The very backward state of medicine as a whole, as well as nursing, prevailing in Nightingale’s time must be understood as context” (6). [what does that mean, understood as context?] McDonald is very presentist – “Medical doctors were educated, respectable men” [All of them? Doesn’t mention the three colleges, or the differentiations among such medical men]. Nurses were mainly “disreputable, ill paid and often drunk.” Little known of the causes of disease [by 21st c standards?]. Limited treatment. Chloroform only discovered in 1847. Leeches still used (6). Water cures used. Epidemics of cholera killed many people [still do, don’t they]. Snow’s theory that “cholera was spread by water” doesn’t appear until 1849, and map of 1854 epidemic shows Br. St. Pump as “major source.” Germ theory “postdates her [FN] own writing and practice” (7) [huh? She vehemently opposed it in the 1880s on].

- Writes that FN’s “only civilian, appointment as a nurse [was] in August 1853” – ie., her superintendence at Harley Street (26). [whoops!] “Also during this [26/27] period [the year or so she was at the institution] there was a cholera outbreak in London. Nightingale nursed women patients at the Middlesex Hospital, notably ‘Soho outcasts.’” [doesn’t give source of the quoted part]

- Footnote 30 (p. 26) states that the printed letterhead of the institution gave its name as Establishment for Gentlewomen during Illness.

Nightingale, Florence. *Florence Nightingale : letters and reflections*. Introduction by Rosemary Hartill. Evesham : Arthur James, 1996. [No letters that mention Soho cholera outbreak or indicate where she was in Aug/Sept 1854.]
Thesis is that FN was unaware until a year after her return from the Crimea that inadequate sanitation was the major cause of the death of 14K ill and wounded soldiers during her nearly two-year stay at Scutari. The realization mentally crippled her with guilt, caused her to lose faith in herself and her plans to run a training school for nurses, and brought about the ten-year illness that left her an invalid (and others have suggested was brought on by brucellosis) (chap. 1).

After the Crimean War, FN was introduced to Wm. Farr and asked him to undertake a statistical analysis of the evidence about mortality amongst British troops gathered by Sir John McNeill and Col. Alexander Tulloch (77). Small then summarizes Farr’s zymotic theory that some diseases were propagated by chemical products of putrefaction carried in air and water. Small sees this as a variation on contagion – communicable not by direct touch, but something in the environment. “As far as can be seen, Florence Nightingale was not yet very familiar with it [fall 1856]. Only in the case of cholera she had, just before the war, expressed an opinion [77/78] that it depended on the environment” (cites Wellcome Western MSS 8994 f110 [may be a letter to Parthe that Small mentions on 128–look for in London]). Otherwise, “like many medical experts she appeared to believe that malnutrition or overwork was the cause of most diseases, and that poor living conditions during childhood could weaken the ability to resist them” (78).

Farr showed FN in early 1857 that McNeill and Tulloch were wrong about the cause of high mortality among troops in the hospitals: it was epidemic diseases brought on by bad hygiene, not the combination of improper nutrition, overwork, inadequate clothing and shelter (88). Worst mortality occurred where overcrowding aggravated inferior sanitation; worst of all was the base hospital at Scutari, where inferior hygiene killed 5000 men in winter 1854/55, just after FN took over superintendance of it (88). Three in eight died there (89), compared to one in eight at the regimental hospitals near the front (88), and fewer still on ships on the way home (89). FN interpreted Farr’s conclusions to mean that the mortality was mainly caused by “bad air” (91) in hospital with overcrowding, poor ventilation, and situated above defective sewers (88-89). Proof in her mind came in the winter of 1855/56, where mortality was much reduced when the number of patients were greatly limited (92).

mention of the 1854 cholera epidemic on 128-29 (PDF made). Small says she associated cholera with exposure to sewage in the Thames (129 – her words are “a pestilential river”). Then follows the [silly] statement that JS proved this notion two weeks after she wrote the letter by taking the handle off the pump – [which makes one wonder about the date of the letter to Parthe – was it written before she helped out at the MH? The reference to elevation also suggests, contrary to what Small stated earlier, that she was familiar with Farr – or, at the least, to what Farr was writing in the WR about the inverse relation between elevation above the Thames and amount of cholera.]

[Smith argues on pp. 16-17 that Middlesex Hosp. archives do not support FN’s account to her family and ECG – check Hospital Archives when in London]

- xerox copies of Preface and chapter 1 (where the assertion is made) – [there’s too much of an edge to this man’s interpretation; borders on character assassination, and invective – hardly an appropriate tone for historical analysis. Who is this chap? Writes in the Preface that he’s in the Research School of Social Sciences – Australian National University? Found an F. B. Smith who wrote an article on medical inspection of Australian school children in the History Cooperative data base for 2008 – think this is the guy.]

- Preface: lauds Edward Cook’s biography of FN (“accurate,” “tact and fairness”); considers all subsequent works on FN to be “recensions of Cook,” including Cecil W-S, whom he considers “pretentious . . . careless, often misleading, and ungrateful to Cook” – borders on saying she plagiarized him. Smith believes he has made “a fresh, close examination of the Nightingale Papers,” etc. and hopes to show what made FN tick (xi). Received a lot of research help – one person providing sources, three who “unearthed crucial facts” (xii).

- First para on FN’s appointment to the institution: gets two facts wrong – the formal name of the institution, and that those admitted must themselves pay a weekly rate during their stay. [Bostridge shows why this was not the case, not only citing the by-laws, but also FN’s comments on the manipulations some of the “inmates” went through to appear ill the day before the committee was to meet to decide who would remain, who might be released, and who should be admitted.]

- Smith’s interpretation is peppered with quotations from FN’s letters, but he frequently extracts a phrase without providing the context that would dispute his reading of the quote; or he doesn’t provide an explanation of how her actions were received, or how she made exceptions to her own policies. In short, very selective scholarship to advance his particular notion of an effective reformer (he does think highly of FN in this regard, but the brush he’s using to paint her is often at variance with the full body of extant evidence).

- Bobbles the ball when setting up the Middlesex Hospital episode, making it appear as if the cholera epidemic and her work at the hospital had occurred in August and that she then met Mrs. Gaskell at Lea Hurst “later in August” (16). Contrary to what Smith writes, she had not “moved” to the hospital – she left the institution for a short period of time, with instructions to contact her if any problems arose.

- Again, a selective quote from ECG: just the part of her letter that discusses the prostitutes, nothing about when she was there [or he could have corrected the dating]; then goes on to state that most of the cholera patients at the MH were “ ‘respectable artisans’ from a neighbouring piano factory” (17) [obviously, never consulted the WR], and therefore it was unlikely that prostitutes would be permitted in the hospital [that logic escapes me]; and that first female patient with undoubted cholera was not admitted until 5 September. [note 7 makes it clear that Smith never visited the MH archives and relied entirely on what Winterton sent him]. Then proceeds to describe this episode as a “memorable example of her powers as titillating fabulist” (17). Never checked Stewart’s article in *Medical Times and Gazette*.

- Then Smith back-tracks biographically, with short summations of what he thought of her parents, Parthenope, her early years, her “calling,” and ends on the precipice of the Crimea.
- cites from Campbell de Morgan, assistant surgeon at the MH in 1850s. De Morgan’s recollection of A. P. Stewart [helped clarify the distinction between typhus and typhoid fever] is that he was a night person, working far into the early morning. Then would sleep past noon, arriving at the hospital again in the afternoon (43).
  - De Morgan was very high on Dr. George Corfe, resident physician. Considered him an acute observer, when he accompanied the physician on morning rounds (42).
  - Seth Thompson, assistant physician, had spent time abroad before coming to the hospital. Excellent post-mortem pathological anatomist. Lectured in this subject to students (42).

- see PDFs in HH\Research\FN that cover acknowledgements, manuscript sources, intro, and selected pages on FN’s early interest in public health, the run-up to the Harley St. Institute, and the cholera outbreak in Soho.
  - There was nothing of interest on pp. 69-71 (missing from the PDFs I made previously).
  - Decided against scanning the photo of Flo from 1856 because it’s so small and next to the binding.

Family home at Embley [?] – p. 63; the one at Lea Hurst was summer house.

Father gave her an allowance of £500/annum in 1853 so that she could become the superintendent at the Institute for the Care of Sick Gentlewomen in Distressed Circumstances, 1 Upper Harley St., London. [seems to be taken from Woodham-Smith; Bostridge has a different name.]

Letter from 5 June 1853 to Lady Canning about what she wants in the Institute (66-68). Returns to England after a short stay with the Sisters of Charity in Paris because she contracted measles and needed to recover. In summer of 1853, she rented rooms in Pall Mall whilst supervising the final arrangements at the new Institute. Moved to Upper Harley Street on 12 August 1853. Quite quickly she found herself unhappy with what she was expected to do; too limited in terms of supervision, too much hands-on nursing care. In summer of 1854 she began inquiries for a different position, and either applied, or considered applying, for the superintendence of nursing at the new King’s College Hospital (77).

[No letters in this collection about the St. James cholera outbreak.]

- Mrs. Glover is the correct name of the person that ECG, during her stay at Lea Hurst in October 1854, asked FN to have admitted to the Harley Street institute. [FN ltr to ECG from October 1854 – ref. frChapple and Shelston, 96.]

Emory has London: Constable, 1950. In that edition, the pages on the MH are 126-27, which I scanned. She thanks publisher of Haldane, Mrs. Gaskell and Her Friends, for permission to publish extracts from letters in that volume (vi). On page 58-59, she prints the extract in which Flo reputedly told the story about the nurse/prostitute – the one who once wore “Real French silk.” No change in wording from that in later re-printings; just pagination is different.

Pp. 79-80 (copied): Soho outbreak. States that Elizabeth Gaskell’s account of what FN told her was in a letter to Emily [?] Winkworth – p. 71.
– v. 4-5 for description of Lea Hurst. But house too small (only 15 bedrooms), cold, and inaccessible. Became their summer home when in 182 WEN bought Embley Park, near Romsey in Hampshire, near the New Forest.
– Girls’ nicknames Flo and Parthe or Pop (5).
– Decides during spring of 1844 that her calling could be fulfilled via some kind of work with the sick in hospitals (33). Specific interest in nursing came after she nurses her grandmother Shore to health in 1845, immediately followed by extended period of caring for Mrs. Gale, the former children’s nurse, which did not end as well (37).
– 1846, at the suggestion of Lord Ashley [not sure who he was] she undertakes a systematic study of government Blue Books and hospital reports, in the UK, Paris, and Berlin. Became a dilettante expert in sanitary conditions amongst the urban and rural poor, as well as the hospitals established for their care (43). Among these were the Year Book of the Institution of Deaconesses at Kaiserswerth (44).
– Met Liz and Sidney Herbert in Rome in 1847. Become fast friends (47). Although a fabulously rich Tory, he and his wife had pledged to give away much of their fortune in charitable work. Used home at Wilton as a base. Particularly interested in reform of large public hospitals, especially in London (48).
– On way to Kaiserswerth, she spent a couple of weeks visiting hospitals and charitable institutions in Berlin. Only spent a fortnight at the Fliedner’s Kaiserswerth Institution on first visit in August 1850; but long enough to inspire her to write a 32-page pamphlet urging English women to visit The Institution of Kaiserswerth on the Rhine for the Practical Training of Deaconesses . . . embracing the support and care of a Hospital . . . , anonymous, printed by Inmates of the Ragged Colonial Training School in Westminster (55). Returned the following summer of 1851. Included a hospital with 100 beds and an orphan asylum. FN worked in both (60). Remained there until October (61).
– W-S argues that in fall of 1852 Parthe had a mental breakdown, caused by her inability to deal with FN’s absences. Sir James Clark advised FN to leave her family for an extended period, in essence break the unproductive sisterly ties, so that Parthe could have a chance of making a recovery. FN took this welcome advice, and made a final break with her family (66-67).
– Parthe’s 29 January 1853 letter to “Clarkey” [Mary (Clarke) Mohl], which W-S quotes at length: Pop is jealous, possessive, but spot on when it comes to FN’s character and how the family treats everything she says as the gospel and does as angelic. Pop sees the cold, un-empathetic side of FN – what W-S says, “there was . . . something about Florence which chilled”
Now that FN had decided to make a complete break from involvement in daily life of her family, she made plans to study nursing at the Sisters of Charity hospital in Paris; accepted, but never started because she returned to nurse her grandmother at Tapton until she died. Then went to Lea Hurst, where she learned in April 1853 from Liz Herbert about Lady Canning’s plans for a reorganized Institution for the care of Sick Gentlewomen in Distressed Circumstances (69) in Chantos Street. New premises would be found in Upper Harley Street.

– pp. 69-78 on her superintendance of the reorganization at new premises, and first year of her administration.

– father awards her income of £500/annum (71). This amount permitted her to accept the post of superintendent without pay, and to bring along a Matron of her own choosing, at her own expense.

– measles in Paris foils her second attempt at training with the Sisters of Charity (72).

– 13 July - 12 August in rented rooms in Pall Mall whilst final preparations were made on the new premises in Upper Harley Street. Moved to the latter on the 12th.

– had institute under her complete control by December (77); by January 1854 she was bored and in early spring she had begun to visit hospitals and collect information for a pamphlet on reforms for hospital nursing. Worked closely with the Herberths, with reports and letters exchanged almost daily about specific hospitals and conditions (78) [Sidney and Liz; he was Lord Herbert of Lea, appointed Secretary at War [financial admin of the army and treatment of sick and wounded] in 1852, after which he invited FN to undertake the nursing expedition to Scutari after Russell in the Times sent his damning reports on lack of proper medical treatment for the troops.]

– investigations convinced FN that nursing reform could only come if nurses’ training was improved. In summer 1854 she began informal negotiations with Dr. Bowman at King’s College Hospital. It was being reorganized and rebuilt, and Bowman and FN made inquiries about having her appointed Superintendent of Nurses, with a special training school, in the new hospital (79).

– cholera in London in summer of 1854. W-H has a paragraph on FN at Middlesex Hosp., using ECG’s description of her duties to superintend nursing there, and her description of what FN said occurred [which was based on what FN speechified to her family afterwards] (79).

– W-S interprets ECG as realizing that beneath the gentle veneer of FN resided a cold, dark side (80-81).