Preparing the Next Generation of Historians

The beginning of a new academic year always brings new energy to the School of Nursing as new and returning students fill the lobby and classrooms with enthusiasm. This autumn has been particularly exciting for the CNHI as we moved into our newly renovated Center on the first floor of McLeod Hall and unpacked cart loads of historical documents that had been ware-housed for almost a year during the construction. During the unpacking, it became quite clear to those of us involved in the move that the Center is well on its way towards meeting its goal of preserving nursing history. The archive space is already full!

What also became clear is that the Center, after almost 20 years in existence, is well positioned to focus on the preparation of a new generation of scholars to ensure the continued study and dissemination of health care history. Currently, we have five PhD students studying various aspects of nursing history and its implications for health policy today. Topics include maternity and infant care during World War II; public health nursing and the role of the federal government among black North Carolinians during the Great Depression; the history of nurse anesthesia in the United States; pediatric diabetes care in the 1920s and 30s; and nursing in cotton mill towns in the Industrial period. Several of the students, including Rebekah Carmel, Sarah Craig, Deborah Gleason-Morgan and Nena Patterson recently presented their work at the International Nursing History Conference in England, disseminating their findings to other historians for critique. In addition, while attending the conference, these students participated in a doctoral student seminar with other PhD students from around the world – making lasting friendships and connecting with peers who are doing similar work.

Supporting these promising scholars is a priority of all the Center Directors. That support will involve not only intensive mentoring within
The Center for Nursing Historical Inquiry (CNHI), established at the University of Virginia in 1991 to support historical scholarship in nursing, is dedicated to the preservation and study of nursing history. The development of advanced clinical nursing practice, and the clinical specialty organizations that represent the various practices, is a major focus of the Center. The goals of the Center include the collection of materials, the promotion of scholarship, and the dissemination of historical research findings.

Many thanks to all those who helped with the move! Special thanks to Doug Webbink and Shirley Gordon (SON DIPLO 1958) who gave of their time and energy to help us pack, unpack, sort and stack a myriad of books and boxes. Marty Doherty graciously joined the book-packing fun. Long-time Center supporter and School of Nursing staff member Becky Bowers worked from dawn to dusk for days to coordinate the renovation and move-in details. Sarah Craig (SON MSN 2010) deserves a big thanks for her work packing and unpacking those heavy archival boxes, and thanks to Linda Hanson for coordinating yet another move.

I’d also like to thank Barbara Brodie and Mary Gibson for their support and time, as they went above and beyond the job description for directors in helping to move a Center three times!
Please join us! The CNHI is settling into its newly renovated space in a prominent location off the first floor lobby of the School of Nursing’s McLeod Hall. Books are on the newly built shelves, collections are housed in a temperature and humidity controlled environment, and students are flocking to use the inviting, spacious, and comfortable Center.

We would like to show you our new space and so invite you to join us for the Grand Reopening Celebration on November 16th. Please join us for the History Forum at noon (see full description in previous column) and a reception in the Center at 1:00. We look forward to sharing the Center with you!
John Kirchgessner Returns to Rochester

John Kirchgessner relocated to Rochester, N.Y. this summer after being on the faculty of the U.Va. School of Nursing for nineteen years. John is a native of Rochester and returned to be closer to family and begin a faculty position at St. John Fisher College’s Wegmans’ School of Nursing. We are pleased that he will continue to be actively involved with the CNHI as an assistant director and the editor of Windows in Time. We wish John every success in his new position.

Nightingale Evensong

On April 25, the School of Nursing, the Center for Nursing Historical Inquiry and the Nursing Student Council sponsored a trip to a Commemorative Evensong held at the National Cathedral in Washington, D.C. to celebrate the International Year of the Nurse and the one-hundredth anniversary of Florence Nightingale’s death.

A bus filled with enthusiastic students, alumni, faculty, and friends traveled to the Cathedral to join the celebration. After a warm welcome en route from the School of Nursing’s Dean Dorrie Fontaine, Dr. Barbara Brodie gave an informative talk on Florence Nightingale’s life and legacy, drawing on her broad knowledge of the subject. During the Evensong, speakers and performers urged the participants, who represented nurses from many nations, to renew their commitment to the improvement of health throughout the world. Following the service, Anne Weiland, U.Va. School of Nursing alumna, and her husband, Stuart Seides hosted the U.Va. contingent at their home for a reception, where each visitor received a copy of Nightingale’s Notes on Nursing.

Late that evening about fifty tired but happy nurses, student nurses and guests arrived back at McLeod Hall. Many thanks to Dr. & Mrs. Seides and all those at the School of Nursing who contributed to a well-planned and memorable trip!

Staff Presentations & Publications:

Brodie, B. “Notes on Florence Nightingale.” University of Virginia Nursing Student Council and Center for Nursing Historical Inquiry Event in conjunction with the commemoration of the Centennial Anniversary of Florence Nightingale’s Death and the International Year of the Nurse, the National Cathedral, Washington, DC, April 25, 2010.


Keeling, A. “‘A New Dimension in Nursing’: Coronary Care at Presbyterian Hospital, 1960s.” Presbyterian Hospital Symposium, August, 2010.


**Staff Externally Funded Research:**


**Staff Research in Progress:**

Anne Z. Cockerham and Arlene Keeling were awarded a grant by the Frontier School of Midwifery and Family Nursing to write a book manuscript focusing on the stories of students who attended the school between 1939 and 1989. The nurse-midwifery and family nurse practitioner students trained in the mountains of rural and remote eastern Kentucky, often reaching their patients on horseback, particularly in the years prior to 1960. They are using essays based on interviews with the alumni, as well as other primary and secondary data, to tell the stories of these nurses on the frontier.

John Kirchgessner is currently investigating the ways the public health needs of West Virginia miners and their families were met, 1920-1940, and the role of nurses in meeting those needs.

**Agnes Dillon Randolph Lecture/Award March 15, 2011**

Dr. Sandy Lewenson, PhD, RN, FAAN, has been selected as the recipient of the Center for Nursing Historical Inquiry’s 2010 Agnes Dillon Randolph Award and Lectureship. Dr. Lewenson is a professor at Pace University Lienhard School of Nursing. As an expert educator she has combined her love of nursing history with many of her contemporary courses including educational leadership and decision-making. She has presented and written extensively on historical research methods, issues surrounding feminism and nursing and the interrelationship between health care policy and nursing. Dr. Lewenson has received numerous awards in recognition of her teaching excellence and historical research. These awards include two American Journal of Nursing Book of the Year Awards, the Keenan Award for Teaching Excellence from Pace University and the Lavinia Dock Award from the American Association for the History of Nursing.

The Agnes Dillon Randolph Award & Lectureship, named in honor of one of Virginia’s early nursing leaders, is given to an individual who has contributed significantly to the intellectual rigor and scope of the discipline of nursing history. Dr. Lewenson’s lecture is scheduled for March 15, 2010 at 4:30 p.m. and will be followed by a reception.
“In the absence of proper medical and surgical skill”¹: Childbirth and Nursing Care Among the Mormon Pioneers, 1846-1866

Emily C. Evans, MSN, RN
U.Va. School of Nursing PhD Student

It was no uncommon thing for delicate women to give birth to children crossing the desert, and in the absence of proper medical and surgical skill and conveniences it may well be imagined how severe must have been the sufferings of some of our sisters.²

Joseph Yates was a boy of seventeen when he observed the difficulty Mormon women had giving birth while travelling west on the overland trail to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake. Members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints travelled across the United States seeking refuge and safety where they might practice their religion freely. Preeminent among their motives for moving west was a desire they shared with many religious groups during this period of United States history; that of creating a new and ordered society, Zion.³ To them, Zion was a holy city or promised-land for which they were willing to sacrifice, in some cases, everything. It was their mission collectively, and as individuals, to build up God’s kingdom on earth by living his law and uniting together.

The Church was officially organized in 1830 in Fayette, New York. The Mormons, or Saints, believed that their religion was not new, but a restoration of that which was organized by Jesus and his original twelve apostles after his death.⁴ Mormons believed that life was sacred and that the family was the basic unit of society. As the church grew, its members tried to establish communities in the states of New York, Ohio, Missouri and Illinois, only to be met with persecution and mob violence. At the height of its fervor, animosity toward the Saints was characterized by the sentiments of Missouri Governor, Lilburn Boggs who issued the order that the Mormons “must all be driven from the state or exterminated.”⁵ After their leader, Joseph Smith, and his brother, Hyrum, were killed in June of 1844, hostility toward the Saints escalated until the Church issued an official letter in October of 1845, calling upon its members in the United States and Great Britain to sell what they could and prepare to move west.⁶

In January of 1846, although not all were ready, nearly all the Mormons left the last city they had toiled to build: Nauvoo, Illinois. Wagons, livestock, provisions and people lined up and waited to cross the Mississippi River so that they could camp for the rest of the winter on the temporarily safer ground of Iowa. When spring arrived they broke trail in earnest, only to have their hopes of easy travel squelched by a sodden and impossibly wet spring. Unable to press on further and spread out over thousands of miles, approximately 15,000 Saints spent that winter in temporary settlements throughout Iowa and Nebraska.⁷ When winter was over, they began their journey again, finally arriving in the valley of the Great Salt Lake in July of 1847. The next twenty years brought over 50,000 more
Mormon pioneers from the eastern United States and Europe.

Mormon pioneer companies were typically large and very organized. Broken into groups of tens, fifties and hundreds, they never travelled alone, and there was an expectation that everyone would watch over and care for each other. Calling each other brother or sister, members of the Church were welcomed and cared for as part of a larger family. This social network proved invaluable for women having babies and was a manifestation of the preeminence of the family and Zion in the lives of the Mormons.

Provisions travelling overland were usually less than adequate, but what they did have, they shared. Food was reliably a scant amount of corn bread, water, porridge with occasional vegetables, preserves or buffalo meat. They travelled on foot, alongside wagons or pushing and pulling handcarts. Developed for those Saints with little or no money to outfit a wagon, the handcart was a box on wheels with a large bar attached so that it could be pushed and pulled by two adults. Constantly exposed to the whims of nature, the trail was rough and rugged. If it wasn't the insufferable dust sweeping over and settling on everything, it was the mud, sticking to and stopping livestock, people and wagons in their tracks. Harsh winters, malnutrition and poor living conditions created the perfect setting for sickness, the most common being malaria, dysentery, typhoid, tuberculosis, pleurisy, asthma, croup, whooping cough and the common cold.

Women during this time period typically worked preparing food, knitting, mending, washing, and caring for children, the sick and the dead. However, on the trail women took on roles they had heretofore left to the men; for example, collecting buffalo chips and caring for, corralling and driving the animals. Western author and historian, Wallace Stegner, notes that many pioneer women were “capable, indefatigable (and) unquestioning;” they found that the work suited them. Some women were physically unable to exemplify this strong female ideal and often found themselves in danger as they pushed themselves to meet it. Pregnant women were among this group; although an expected part of women’s work, childbearing on the trail took on new levels of difficulty.

Motherhood held special meaning for Mormon women because of their beliefs. Western historian Sylvia Hoffert explains that “Mormon doctrine held that every form of life had an existence in spirit form before being born on earth . . . When these spirits passed from God’s presence they received a body and became mortal, further(ing) the(ir) eternal advancement.” After death, if a person lived righteously, the family relationships they nurtured here would remain intact forever. At the forefront of Mormon doctrine, and woven throughout was the importance of family. Within their culture, motherhood was the highest and most noble calling a woman could pursue. Their faith in this calling gave them purpose in life and strength to endure hardship. As Hoffert further explains, motherhood was “a uniquely feminine way to contribute to the effort to build God’s kingdom on earth.”

In the mid 19th century, women typically gave birth at home with family members, neighbors and relatives performing nursing care. They provided food and drink, purchased special linens, administered folk medicines, dilated the birth passage with warm cloths or enemas, set up a place for delivery and supported a woman during labor. On the trail, all of these comforts were a challenge to procure. Nursing care for mothers on the trail was given by those within the company who provided food and necessities as they could. Some of the most thoughtful and imperative nursing care occurred in simple gestures like the ones recorded in a letter by the young Helen Watson: “I remember my Mother going over with food and clothing to a lady who had given birth to a little baby in that cold and barren mountain retreat, far removed from every
comfort”. In the absence of midwives and doctors, family and company members found themselves using what experience they had to aid with birth. When Lois Pratt Hunt gave birth to her first child, her mother noted that there was “No Dr or midwife; but Mother Hunt with energy equal to any emergency officiated and it proved a happy deliverance; A beautiful daughter was born.”

When experienced midwives were available to provide nursing care on the trail, they were considered invaluable. Their responsibility to care for mothers was based on their training and a spiritual commission given to them by their religious leaders. The attention religious leaders gave to those who were helping to deliver babies, and the special commission they offered them reflects the importance motherhood and childbearing held within this culture. Patty Sessions, a midwife from Maine, typically attended anywhere from one to seven women each week during the 1846-47 migration. She gave baths, fixed bedding, made food and medicine and taught family members basic nursing care. Ingredients for medicines included bark of indigo weed root, beeswax, mutton tallow, rosin, castile soap shavings, sugar, rhubarb, carbonate soda, brandy, peppermint essence, laudanum, ammonia, sweet oil and camphor. Mrs. Sessions described the care she gave to women, using the phrase “put to bed”, which was typical of the time, but somewhat of a misnomer on the trail, considering very few births occurred in a traditional bed. This modest language and minimal detail describing childbirth is typical of the Victorian era and reflects societal perceptions of pregnancy and the female gender. They may also reflect the fact that the details of nursing care on the trail were less astonishing than the details of the spectacularly different setting in which it took place.

Births typically occurred in wagons, handcarts, tents, or out in the open. Based on the reminiscences of James Jensen, a description of one such birth on the trail offers insight into the location of birth, who provided nursing care and the pressure women felt to resume activity as quickly as possible.

At Wood River, Anna Marie Sorensen, after the exhausting journey and in a famished condition, gave birth to a baby girl . . . She had retired into the brush where her accouchement was accomplished by the aid of devoted friends . . . On the morning following she appeared again with her infant in her apron ready to pursue the journey. She had not murmured; her courageous and devoted soul knew no obstacles to the goal of her ambition. James Jensen was impressed by Anna Marie, calling her “brave”, “courageous”, and “devoted”.

Although giving birth was expected of women, the accompanying risks and hardships, especially on the trail, elevated them to a saintly and heroic status among their brothers and sisters. Joseph Yates used words like “good”, “fine”, “heroine”, “true” and “brave” to describe Susannah Jolley, a mother of six or seven, who died after childbirth “in our journey west”. He recalled how:

not wishing to be a burden to others, she used to get out of the wagon after breakfast . . . and walk on ahead of the train carrying her little infant in her arms . . . One morning as usual she took her accustomed walk carrying her little one in her arms, and about ten o’clock she got into the wagon and handing her infant to one of her little girls, she lay down to rest upon the bed. She lay upon the bed without movement or a sound proceeding from her, until her little girl became alarmed and called the attention of the teamster to this sister. He stopped and gave an earnest look at the still form of the woman, and to his astonishment and the deep sorrow of the husband and little family,
the mothers pulse was still, the heart of the brave woman had stopped its beating and without a sigh or a moan she had taken the last sad journey to the great beyond.21

At night, pioneers camped and maneuvered their wagons into a closed circle for protection and proximity. In this setting, women could be attended to well enough, but during the travel of the day, it was ideal to stop the wagon as a woman approached delivery. According to 25 year old Frederick William Blake:

At 11 O’clock two children were born to the gratification of the McGhie and Poulton famil(ies) . . . These delicate emissions from nature’s generative caverns caused a stoppage of six wagons for a few hours to prevent damage occurring to the mothers…, who certainly were much weakened by the movements of their late prisoners for freedom - Our wagon was one of the six . . . We joined the main stock of Wagons after a brisk run,[sic]22

When women and their families stopped for childbirth, they had to catch up to the company quickly or face the hostile strangers, dangerous animals and uncertain weather of the open plain alone. Patience Loader and her family dangerously decided to stay behind with their handcarts to provide nursing care for her sisters. She described their desperate situation:

There lay My Sister Zilpha on the ground, just gave birth to a child. She was lying on some Quilts in one corner of the tent and my sister Tamar lying on quilts in the other corner of the tent, neither of the poor things able to move . . . We was there all day alone with our sick and when night came my poor father and brother in law John Jaques had to be up all night to make big fire to keep the wolves away from us. I never heard such terrible howling of wolfs in my life as we experienced that lonesome night. (In the morning) we packed our handcart, struck our tent, packed it on my hand cart, then lay my sister Tamar on that . . . This was very hard on my poor dear sick father after having to be up all night . . . to keep the wolves away from us. Surely God gave him new strength that day for we traveled 22 Miles before we came up with the Company[.]23

Complications associated with pregnancy and childbirth included fatigue, hunger, weakness and exacerbation of existing disease or pregnancy related conditions. Nursing care for minor complications included encouraging the women to rest, allowing them to ride in a wagon and providing food and encouragement. When more dangerous complications arose, caregivers used their limited knowledge and experience to do the best they could. David Osborn resourcefully made a bed for his wife, too sick to walk toward the end of her pregnancy:

I took a bed chord & wound it across the wagon box on which we put a bed for Cynthia (to lie on). We moved on quite comfortably (with) Cynthia doing better than we had expected for two or three weeks when she began to grow worse as the weather became hotter. She had been troubled with convulsive fits at times and they now returned harder than formerly. She gave birth to an infant, though not living and revived somewhat again. She lingered along about two weeks then departed this life July 2, 1852. Thus terminated the life of my old & worthy companion.24

Even without complications, childbirth brought women within death’s grasp. Leavitt notes in her book about 19th century childbirth, *Brought to Bed,* “the shadow that followed women through their childbearing years was the fear of the physical risks of bearing children.”25 In these cases, caregivers did all
they could, but often to no avail. Mary Goble traveled with her parents and five siblings by boat, train and finally handcart from Sussex, England to Utah in 1856. In a letter written in 1908, recalling her experience crossing the plains with a handcart company, she recalls the birth and death of her final sibling and the death of her mother:

> the 23 of Sep my mother was confined with a Little Girl, we named her Edith. She Died and was buried (at) the Last crossing of the Sweetwater (river) for the want of nourishment. Our mother never got well. She lingered for 11 weeks and then died the 11 December 1856. I rode in the same bed with my dead mother till 9 o’clock that night.26

At age 13 Mary was old enough to walk, even push a handcart, but it seems likely that as the oldest girl in the family, she may have been riding along with her mother in the sick wagon, where she could attend to her, keep her company and make her comfortable during her final moments of life.

Women whose babies died on the trail experienced a grief beyond that described by most. They rarely recorded their feelings themselves; we learn about these women from the accounts of others. Joseph Grafton’s journal records: “Br Heber is detained on acount of Hellen . . . being sick . . . (she) lost her (five day old) child of days ago[,] She is some out of her head .”[sic]27 Heber was the company captain and a leader in the Church, and Helen was his 19 year old daughter. He stayed with her, stopped the company and arranged for others to be with her through the rest of the journey. Eunice Billings Snow remembered her brother caring for Helen:

> My brother was not with us all the time, since it was necessary for him to drive Helen Mar Whitney’s carriage most of the way. She was not feeling very well, due to the fact that she had recently lost a child. This sorrow so preyed upon her mind that it was necessary to have someone with her all the time to comfort and console her. She was a very devout woman, and the brethren, all of whom loved and respected her, administered unto her and she became more reconciled.28

In addition to providing physical assistance and companionship to help their sisters, Mormon men cared for those who were suffering by providing spiritual support. This support came in the form of a spiritual blessing in which they would lay their hands on the head of those suffering and offer a prayer to God on their behalf. Faith in God’s ability and desire to bless them was a powerful tool of the Mormons in relieving suffering, and receiving a spiritual blessing from others in the church was a frequent means of treating physical, emotional and mental illness. Courage, peace and certainty came to those who held on to their faith that God was a benevolent Father directing their paths and that through Him they could overcome.

**Conclusions**

Whether pushing a handcart or walking alongside a wagon, travelling overland from 1846-1866 presented great hazards to Mormon pioneers. At no time were the women more vulnerable and in greater need of nursing care than while they were bearing children. Everything about childbirth was made more uncomfortable, more dangerous, more taxing and more difficult as they crossed the wilderness. Their religious beliefs regarding Zion, family, motherhood and faith knit these pioneers together and compelled them to care for each other. It was not only their culture to sacrifice and endure, but to lift each other up. Sisters, mothers, fathers, children, husbands — these were the nurses on the trail. Together they addressed the breadth of women’s needs: practical, physical, spiritual, and emotional. The trail tested their faith and changed the things they did to care for each other, and it also provided new opportunities to care in ways that life before had not. In this vein,
nursing was a vehicle for building strength and unity among the Mormons, and it made possible for them to attain Zion, the united community they so faithfully sought.

Notes


2 Ibid.


4 The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, *Our Heritage: A Brief History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*. (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1996), 13-15.


7 Richard E. Bennett, *We’ll Find the Place*, (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009), 58, 106.

8 Ibid., 130.

9 Ibid, 100, 252.

10 Stegner, *Gathering*, 177.


12 Ibid, 281.


14 Letter of Helen Watson. MPOT, LDS.

15 Louisa Barnes Pratt, “Autobiographical Sketch,” in *Autobiographical Accounts by Beaver Residents [ca. 1879],”* 77-78. MPOT, LDS.


17 Ibid, 34.

18 Ibid, 34.


20 Jensen, James, [Reminiscences], in J. M. Tanner, *A Biographical Sketch of James Jensen* [1911], 23-40. (MPOT, LDS)

21 Yates, *Autobiographical*.

22 Blake, F. W., Diary, 1861 Apr.-Dec., v30. (MPOT, LDS)

23 Archer, Patience Loader, Reminiscences, 57-92. (MPOT, LDS)


26 Pay, Mary G. to S. S. Jones, 18 Oct. 1908, in Handcart Veterans Association, Scrapbook, 1906-1908. (MPOT, LDS)

27 Hovey, Joseph Grafton, Reminiscences and journals 1845-1856, vol. 1, 130-75. (MPOT, LDS)

Barbara Brodie Nursing History Fellowship 2011

The Center for Nursing Historical Inquiry Barbara Brodie Nursing History Fellowship, a postdoctoral award, is open to nurses engaged in historical scholarship that advances the field of nursing history. Applications for the $3000 award are due October 15, 2010, and the recipient will be announced in December, 2010. The selected Barbara Brodie Nursing History Fellow will present a paper from their research in the Center’s History Forum series.

Selection of the fellow will be based on the scholarly quality of the investigator’s project including: the clarity of the project’s purpose, its rationale and significance, the rigor of its methodology and questions posed, and its potential contributions to the field of nursing.

The application and a curriculum vitae should be sent to Dr. Arlene Keeling, Director, Center for Nursing Historical Inquiry, University of Virginia School of Nursing, PO Box 800782, McLeod Hall, Charlottesville, Virginia 22908. Applications are available on the Center’s Web site, at:

www.nursing.virginia.edu/Research/CNHI/Fellowship

Recent Acquisitions

Lorraine Bowers Albrecht – Class of 1951 memorabilia.
Jeanne Brown – nursing texts.
Kae Brown – 19th c. medical texts and scale, fetoscope, mortar and pestle, c. 1900s.
Alice Bugel – World War II 8th Evacuation Hospital photographs.
Mary Cook Hodge – Class of 1955 memorabilia.
Elinore Howard – Nursing texts, personal papers.
Arlene W. Keeling – The Voice of Professional Nursing: A 40-Year History of the AACN.
Carolyn LaFon – 1930s medical texts.
Betty Lambert – nursing caps.
Ruth T. White – Class of 1960 memorabilia.
Nancy Whitman – Nursing texts, fiction about nursing, and nurse dolls.

In Memoriam —
Dr. Philip A. Kalisch

Dr. Philip A. Kalisch (1942-2010), professor of nursing at the University of Michigan School of Nursing, died Saturday, May 22, 2010, in Ypsilanti, Michigan. Dr. Kalisch joined the faculty in 1974 and with Dr. Beatrice Kalisch conducted hallmark research on the history and politics of nursing, nursing’s public image and the nurse shortage. Dr. Kalisch’s honors and awards were numerous and include the CNHI’s 1997 Randolph Award for his distinguished contributions to the field of nursing history.

(Recent Acquisitions cont.)
Patricia Woodard – Psychiatric nursing text.
Carol Yonan – Class of 1960 memorabilia.
Nursing & Medical History Opportunities

Medical History Conferences
Southern Association for the History of Medicine & Science
Memphis, Tennessee, March 4-5, 2011
Additional information: www.sahms.net

Calls for Abstracts
The European Association for the History of Medicine and Health (EAHMH)
Utrecht, The Netherlands, September 1-4, 2011
Abstracts due December 1, 2010
Additional information: www.eahmh.net
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* In honor of
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** In honor of
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§ In honor of
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* In memory of
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† In honor of
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