Introduction

We are now more than four years into our Strategic Award, and it is clear that this generous grant has enabled us to grow significantly in a variety of ways. The Centre now has six core members of staff and we will be delighted to welcome Dr Roberta Bivins to the Centre when she takes up her post as Associate Professor in August 2008. Additionally, we have a Programme Manager, six full-time researchers, and a large and growing cluster of postgraduate students. Collectively, this fosters a lively atmosphere and rich programme of activities. We are also periodically joined by research or clerical staff employed on short-term contracts to facilitate particular projects.

In the 2006-07 academic year we hosted eight workshops and conferences, two of which were held at venues overseas. In addition to our annual seminar series and postgraduate reading lunches, we held a series of professional development workshops for postgraduates and postdoctoral colleagues. Our visiting scholars this past year included Dr James Vernon (University of California, Berkeley), postgraduate student Cecilia Riving (University of Lund, Sweden), and Professor Sander Gilman (Emory University). We are delighted that Professor Gilman has been named a Visiting Fellow by the University’s Institute for Advanced Research, and will be returning to Warwick in 2008 to participate in the Centre’s first Summer School on the theme of Medicine and New Media.

Our research portfolio has also expanded, though at the same time projects initiated at the beginning of the current Strategic Award are now concluding. Professor David Hardiman’s ESRC-funded project on ‘Healing, Medical Power and the Poor: Contests in Tribal India’ came to an end in the past year, as did Dr Iain Smith’s Wellcome Trust-funded project ‘Morbidity and Morality in the Concentration Camps of the South African War, 1899-1902’. A Small Project on palliative care and medical education, also funded by the Wellcome Trust, was completed within the year. Full reports on these projects can be found in this report.

Among recently funded projects is an oral history of spa practice and experience at the Pump Rooms, Leamington Spa. Our bids to fund public engagement projects have also been very successful. In the coming year the Centre will work closely with Coventry-based Triangle Theatre Company to develop the medical history dimension of their project 'The Last Women', inspired by the histories of Mary Ball, hanged in Coventry in 1849, and Ruth Ellis, the last woman hanged in Britain in 1955. Lastly, interdisciplinary artist Phillip Warnell received a research and development award of £30k from the Wellcome Trust for his project on transplantation.

There has been significant activity this year leading to development of a new Strategic Award bid, which was submitted in January 2008. The shaping of the application entailed many conversations and Centre meetings, and lively discussion on how we see the Centre’s future research and other activities moving forward in the coming five years. 2007-08, the last year in our current Strategic Award, promises to be no less busy and rewarding than the previous four years have been, with two major projects on work and health and curing with water drawing towards their final phase, and with numerous conferences, workshops and public engagement events planned over the course of the year.

With best wishes,

Professor Hilary Marland
Director, Centre for the History of Medicine
Centre for the History of Medicine
University of Warwick

Annual Report 2006-2007

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Centre Staff

The 2006-07 academic year saw the addition of three new members of staff to the Centre: David Arnold, who was appointed Professor of Global History in the Department of History; Elaine Leong, who as a Leverhulme Early Career Fellow will work on recipe books in early modern England; and Jonathan Toms, who commenced work on his Wellcome Trust Fellowship on psychiatric social work. Michael Bevan also re-joined the Centre to work with Dr Rodger Charlton (Medical School) on a pilot project on the history of palliative care education and delivery in Birmingham, and subsequently to begin work on an oral history of spa practice and experience at Leamington Spa.

As well as the start of new projects, the year saw three projects reach completion, including Iian Smith’s collaboration with Elizabeth van Heyningen (University of Cape Town) on the Wellcome Trust-funded project ‘Morbidity and Mortality in the Concentration Camps of the South African War (1899-1902)’. This project resulted in a database for the deaths of camp inmates, a path-breaking achievement which will henceforth transform research into the camps. In the final phase of David Hardiman’s ESRC-funded project ‘Healing, Medical Power and the Poor: Contests in Tribal India,’ in collaboration with the Centre for Social Studies in Surat, India, he organised a major international conference on the subject of his research. For findings of these projects, see Recently Completed Projects, below.

Ongoing research in the Centre included Vicky Long’s work on ‘The Politics and Practices of Health in the Workplace, 1915-51; and Jane Adam’s research on ‘Healing Cultures, Medicine and the Therapeutic Uses of Water in the English Midlands, 1840-1948’; (see Ongoing Research Projects, below).

Several members of Centre staff published books in 2006-07 – including David Hardiman, Sarah Hodges, Caroline Proctor, Ingrid Sykes, and Mathew Thomson – and most everyone published articles and gave conference presentations. Major conferences and workshops were also organised by staff. In addition to David Hardiman’s conference in Surat, Hilary Marland and Jane Adams organised ‘Kill or Cure: Water and Health in the Nineteenth Century,’ which took place at Warwick University’s venue in Venice, the Palazzo Papafava Pesaro; and Sarah Hodges organised ‘Health, Governance and the Global: Cultural Histories and Contemporary Practices’ as part of her ‘biotrash’ project.

At year’s end we were sorry to say ‘goodbye’ to Caroline Proctor, who accepted a research position at St Andrews. Sad departures, however, are often followed by new arrivals, and we are pleased to note the anticipated arrival of Dr Atsuko Naono and Dr Norwood Andrews to the Centre.

Further descriptions of research activity for each member of staff may be found below as Appendix A.
Workshops and Conferences

In 2006-07, the Centre organised eight workshops and conferences, including ‘Healing, Medical Power and the Poor in Tribal India’, co-organised with the Centre for Social Science in Surat, India, where the conference was held; and ‘Kill or Cure: Water and Health in the Nineteenth Century’, which was held at the University’s Palazzo Pesaro Papafava in Venice. Further highlights include ‘Approaches to the History of Medicine: Discussing Methodology’, organised by postgraduate students Katherine Foxhall and Lisa Grant, and ‘End of Life Care: Historical Approaches’, an event concluding Michael Bevan and Rodger Charlton’s project on Palliative Care.

1 December 2006

Histories of Hunger

Organiser: Mathew Thomson (CHM)
Speakers: James Vernon (Berkeley); David Arnold (CHM), Carolyn Steedman (Warwick)

Following on from earlier events looking at the history of food and medicine, and to coincide with the visit of Professor James Vernon (University of California, Berkeley) to the Department, the Centre organised a workshop on ‘Histories of Hunger’, which took place at the Modern Records Centre. Participants were encouraged to read two of Professor Vernon’s articles on this subject ahead of the meeting; the meeting itself consisted of three brief papers followed by a general discussion. James Vernon spoke on ‘Hunger: A Modern, Imperial, but Very British History’, setting out some of the core themes within his forthcoming book on the history of hunger. David Arnold addressed the issue of hunger and its science in the colonial context of nineteenth- and twentieth-century India: ‘Feeding South Asia: Science, Empire, and Consumption’. Finally, Carolyn Steedman commented from the perspective of an historian working on the history of servants and political economy in eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Britain. The ensuing discussion centred on the challenges of thinking across time and space about hunger (and famine) as cultural rather than natural categories. It was particularly exciting to see the theme breaking down conventional disciplinary boundaries and establishing a dialogue between historians of Britain and India, between modernists and early modernists, between historians of medicine and of welfare, and between historians and social scientists.

14 December 2006

Psychiatric Science and Lay Perspectives

Organiser: Hilary Marland (CHM) and Cecilia Riving (University of Lund)
Speakers: Akihito Suzuki (Keio University), Joseph Melling and Pamela Dale (Exeter), Pamela Michael (Bangor), Jette Møllerhøj (Cambridge), Hilary Marland (CHM) and Cecilia Riving (University of Lund)

The aim of the workshop was to shed light on the relationship between psychiatric science and lay interpretations of mental illness. Since its establishment as a science in the nineteenth century, psychiatry has sought to achieve status as a clinical medical discipline independent of lay opinions. However, the narratives provided by people in the local community have always played a large part in psychiatric practice, as doctors have made their judgments in close association with the interpretations presented to them by family members, relatives, neighbours, local officials, and others.

The workshop explored the histories of psychiatry with special reference to the relationship between professional and lay perspectives on mental illness. Professor Akihito Suzuki from Keio University in Japan, who recently published on domestic psychiatry, was invited as the keynote speaker. Papers were given by Joseph Melling and Pamela Dale from the University of Exeter, Pamela Michael from the University of Bangor, Jette Møllerhøj, visiting scholar at the University of Cambridge, Hilary Marland from the University of Warwick, and Cecilia Riving from the University of Lund, Sweden.

The workshop was well attended and the discussion provided good insights into the research that is currently taking place in the field. It was an excellent opportunity for scholars from different universities and countries to meet and discuss their research, and the workshop laid ground for continued contact between the participants.
19 January 2007  
**Approaches to the History of Medicine: Discussing Methodology**  
*Organisers: Katherine Foxhall and Lisa Grant (CHM)*  
*Speakers: David Arnold (CHM), Claudia Stein (CHM), Jonathan Reinarz (Birmingham), Flurin Condrau (Manchester)*  
‘Approaches to the History of Medicine: Discussing Methodology’ was organised by two postgraduates. The event was intended for early-career academics and sought to explore and debate new approaches in the history of medicine. Four invited speakers led the sessions, beginning with David Arnold, who revisited his major work *Colonising the Body*, touching on wider debates surrounding colonial bodies, medicine and control, and the ‘global’. The centrality of conflict in the history of the colonised body was a significant theme arising from the discussion, one that re-emerged throughout the day.

Claudia Stein’s paper examined the varying ways in which disease can be explored historically: from palaeopathology, through social construction and Bruno Latour’s critique of retrospective diagnosis, to Rosenberg’s ‘framing’ and Sontag’s ‘illness as metaphor’. Stein’s talk raised many important questions, including whether a disease such as AIDS should be considered the same disease, or indeed treated in the same way, in South Africa and in Britain. Her presentation raised again the question of conflict, and whether resistance is in-built to any given episteme.

Medical geography, Jonathan Reinarz argued, is the key to overcoming traditional thematic barriers within the discipline. Historians have generally regarded science and medicine as ‘placeless,’ as transcending locality to manifest similarly in disparate contexts; however medicine is most certainly dependent on the place in which it is conducted. Reinarz urged a return to local history and reviewed works by Cresswell, Livingstone, Naylor and Warner, who have used medical geography to demonstrate the interconnectivity of scientific and medical history. Historians of colonial medicine have traditionally been conscious of place as a key factor, and the links between Professor Arnold’s presentation in the morning were expanded upon.

Finally, Flurin Condrau built on the themes of previous speakers by examining the historiography of ‘the view from below’, raising a heated debate on the feasibility and productivity of attempting this type of history. Where is the patient in medical history and did he/she even exist before bioscience invented the concept of ‘the patient’? After examining cultural and social approaches to conducting history from below, Condrau acknowledged that there is a problem of sources and bias in writing the history from below. Despite these problems, however, it was largely agreed that the benefits of such an approach far outweighed the drawbacks.

9 March 2007  
**Health, Governance and the Global: Cultural Histories and Contemporary Practices**  
*Organiser: Sarah Hodges (CHM)*  
*Speakers: Sophie Harman (Manchester), Sarah Hodges (CHM), Julie Kent (Western England), Naomi Pfeffer (London Metropolitan), Mohan Rao (JNU, India)*  
Increasingly, ‘the global’ has become an ever-more regularly invoked term – both in popular anxieties about health (such as SARS or Avian ‘flu) and in the world of public policy. What has been less clear, however, is what exactly the object of governance is in the ‘global governance of health’. Is it a set of regulations? Is it bodily practices (including, for example, migration) of individuals or groups? Or, is it the bio-health phenomena themselves (such as pathogens, vectors or therapeutics)? Finally, what is the relationship in the global governance of health between the governance of commerce, on the one hand, and the governance of infection, on the other?
This one-day workshop sought to begin to map out the practical and epistemological terrain produced by the global governance of health – both as a set of contemporary practices (as in the trade in stem cells, or the international monitoring of Avian ‘flu), and their historical antecedents. The most significant finding of the workshop was that there appears to be a massive gap between the sets of assumptions guiding regulatory practices for health services and human biological products in the global north and that of the global south. The presentations of Julie Kent and Naomi Pfeffer described a regulatory system for the use of human foetal tissue in scientific research that is effective and transparent. Yet the subsequent presentations suggested that this effectiveness and transparency exist only when one confines a view to the practices of the USA and UK (as was the case in the presentations by Kent and Pfeffer). The presentations of Rao and Hodges suggested that there is a free market in human biological materials in contemporary India and, moreover, that it is entirely likely that the rampant global outsourcing of processes and technologies favour an ever more diversifying reliance on India as both producer and manufacturer of health therapies.

Given that there are no meaningful regulatory practices currently enforced in India, it is highly likely that the large rates of unregulated commerce in body parts – living and dead – will soon have a substantial and largely unanticipated impact on tissue collections and transplanted materials within patients in the global north. This is particularly likely to be the case for the growing industry of health care practices and research imbricated in stem cell traffic.

21-23 March 2007
Healing, Medical Power and the Poor in Tribal India
Organisers: Akash Acharya (CSS, Surat), David Hardiman and Gauri Raje (CHM)
Speakers: Jan Bremen (Amsterdam), Pradip Chattopadhyay (Burdwan, West Bengal), David Hardiman (CHM), S. Karmegam (NU, Delhi), Chakravarti Mahajan (Chandigarh), Amit Mitra (Delhi), Minoo Parabia (Surat), Gauri Raje (CMH), Nitya Rao (UEA), M. Saji (JNU, Delhi), Ashish Satav (Melghat, Amravati, Maharashatra), Bina Sengar (Tarsali, Vadodara), Ratnawali Sinha (CSS, Surat)
The Centre for the History of Medicine and The Centre for Social Sciences, Surat, India, held a three-day workshop March 21-23, 2007 on the theme of ‘Healing, Medical Power and the Poor: Contests in Tribal India’. The workshop brought together academics, grassroots workers and activists to discuss health development work in tribal India, historically and in the current political climate.

David Hardiman began by introducing the theme of medical power as it relates to the tribal people of India. Since the late nineteenth century, an increasing number of groups have sought to provide healthcare for these people. The British colonial rulers were concerned above all with controlling and opening the tribal territories to exploit their forests and other resources, and they established dispensaries that catered largely for officials rather than the people. They were followed by protestant missionaries, who provided medical care as a means to gain the sympathy of tribal peoples with a view to ultimately converting them to Christianity. This process was initially contested during the early-twentieth century by Gandhian and other nationalists, with their own views on sanitation, cleanliness and health. After independence in 1947, the state extended its programme through primary health centres (PHCs) and various preventive campaigns, such as vaccination, inoculations, and DDT spraying to eliminate mosquitoes. Others entered the scene, such as committed NGO workers, Catholic priests and nuns, evangelical faith healers, religious organisations, and political and quasi-political groups. Despite all this attention, health care in these areas is at best patchy and generally highly inadequate.

The keynote address was given by Jan Breman, Professor of Sociology at the University of Amsterdarn, who raised the question of why we should focus on the tribal people in such a workshop. He argued that it is important to distinguish tribal people from other poor and disadvantaged people in India. In the first thematic session, the focus was on tribal systems of healing, particularly how such forms of healing have changed over time, and their role today. The myths and legends of the tribal people reveal that in the past they suffered from a wide range of ailments, endemic as well as epidemic. They were left largely to their own devices when ill, with most healing being carried out by relatives and neighbours using herbal and other folk remedies. Minoo Parabia argued that his investigations in tribal south Gujarat are a rich resource that are being under-utilised, especially as there is evidence that some of these plants can treat conditions that are considered incurable in allopathic medicine. S. Karmegam provided a detailed account of a healing ritual performed by the Kani tribe of the
Tamilnadu-Kerala border region, which is known as ‘Chattrupattu’. Amit Mitra adopted a sceptical tone towards the whole subject of indigenous medicine, noting that knowledge of it came originally from colonial officials and missionaries.

Two papers were presented on the panel on ‘Scientific Medicine and Faith Healing’. David Hardiman looked at the practices of Christian therapies in tribal Gujarat historically and argued that they could be seen as a form of indigenisation, with Indian pastors using methods that are understood and appreciated by tribal peoples. It could also be understood as the assertion of an alternate form of healing that is every bit as ‘modern’ as allopathic medicine. In the second paper in this panel, Pradip Chattopadhyay argued that the Santhals have had a holistic understanding of health, in which healing is rooted within the community. In recent years, however, fractures have appeared in this holistic approach, with the emergence of more individualistic health-seeking behaviour and the growth of a medical marketplace.

The third session in the workshop was on private practitioners. Gauri Raje presented a paper on the ethnography of private doctors in the Dangs district of Gujarat. The doctors she studied are an individualised group with no strong community base in the area. M. Saji examined the problems faced by tribal people who take advantage of reservations to gain medical training.

In the fourth session, the theme of non-governmental approaches to health development work in the current climate was addressed. Bina Sengar provided the history of one such organisation, Archvahini in Gujarat. Ashish Satav, a Gandhian, talked about his own work in Melghat, a tribal area of eastern Maharashtra. Sonal Shroff, Ketan Zaveri, Shubhhalaxmi, Ashwin Shah and Harsha Shah then spoke about the work of their own NGOs in south Gujarat. The question that arose in the discussion was to what extent such models could be duplicated on a wider scale, given the severe lack of such dedicated medical workers in India in general. What happens when the charismatic individuals who run such schemes depart the scene or retire?

The last panel consisted of two paper presentations: one on migrant cattle herders, and the other on women’s health. Chakraverti Mahajan spoke on the transhumant gujar pasoralists of Jammu and Kashmir. Ratnawali presented a paper on the health problems of women in trial south Gujarat. She argued that they still depend to a large extent on their traditional remedies, such as divination, exorcism, herbal remedies, branding with a hot iron, and incisions into the skin. But she also said that when good allopathic medical facilities are made available, trial women generally make use of them willingly.

The workshop ended with Jan Breman’s call for more studies that acknowledge that a large majority of tribal people in India today live in highly degraded environments, or survive by migrant labour in commercial farms and other enterprises on the plains, or in cities. This pauperised class has very little access to healthcare of any sort. More studies of contemporary tribals need to focus on their pauperised conditions of life, and the ongoing discrimination that they face in caste society.

28-29 March 2007

**Kill or Cure: Water and Health in the Nineteenth Century**

*Organisers: Hilary Marland and Jane Adams (CHM)*

In March 2007 the Centre for the History of Medicine took advantage of the University of Warwick’s new conference location, the Palazzo Pesaro Papafava in Venice, to hold a two-day workshop on water and health, organised by Jane Adams and Hilary Marland. The event was generously supported by the Wellcome Trust and the University of Warwick’s North America Fund.

This international workshop explored the ways in which water was represented as a potential hazard and source of disease as well as an important health resource in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, with particular focus on Western Europe and Asia. The papers opened up debate on notions of water purity, responses to water-borne epidemics, the politicisation of water supply and usage, and the relationship of water with hygienic and healing practices and cultures. The workshop was partly inspired by questions arising from the Centre’s Wellcome Trust-funded Project ‘Healing Cultures, Medicine and the Therapeutic Uses of Water in the English Midlands, 1848-1948’, and brought together a group of scholars
working with a variety of approaches within the field of medical history. The workshop
illustrated the potential for the development of a network of international scholars working on
the theme of water and health and for future publications on this topic.

Several papers addressed the huge interest in the curative potential of water in the
nineteenth century, demonstrated by the expansion of hydropathic therapies and treatment
centres and the continuing popularity of mineral water spas across Europe. The opening
paper by Marguerite Dupree noted that hydropathy, although originating with one man,
Vincent Preissnitz, proved to be a malleable phenomenon, reshaped within national contexts,
a theme reflected on by several other contributors. Dupree's paper focused on the distinctive
features of the hydropathic system in Scotland, noting its relative late flowering from the
1870s and arguing that its popularity was influenced by both religion and temperance.
Although Preissnitz presented hydropathy as a complete medical system, to be practised in
opposition to orthodox medicine, Borbála Csoma, using evidence from the private
correspondence of aristocratic Hungarians attending Preissnitz's own institution at
Graefenburg, showed that many patients took a more eclectic approach to healing
possibilities, mixing his treatments with other systems, notably homoeopathy. Sabina Roth's
paper on the Schroth water-cure as practised by Heinrich Traschler in Switzerland, also
emphasised local variation in healing frameworks and practices. Schroth mixed specific
elements of hydropathy, notably the humid pack, with dietetic advice and cast his system
within a framework that incorporated popular and folk traditions, which, Roth argued, were
important elements in fostering its popularity with clients drawn from the rural middle-class
and urban artisans. Mariama Kaba and Vincent Barras discussed a comparative hydropathic
approach in Switzerland, the hydro promoted by Glatz at Bains de Champel-sur-Arve. Using
water drawn from the Alps, Glatz developed a commercial enterprise that drew on both
French and German approaches using showers, half-baths, friction massage, walking-cures
and electrotherapy. Jane Adams and Hilary Marland's paper stressed the malleability of the
water cure in nineteenth-century England where the rapid rise of hydropathic resorts and
institutions from the 1840s took place against the backdrop of an existing tradition of visiting
mineral water spas. By the 1890s there had been an explosion in healing sites using the
water-cure which allowed access by patients from all social classes. Access to water cures
embraced costly, refurbished and luxurious spas providing a huge range of therapies though
to home treatments promoted through advice books such as those produced by John and
Caroline Smedley. The establishment of the Society of Balneology and Climatology in 1894 is
significant in showing how hydropathic and auxiliary practices, attacked as unorthodox earlier
in the century, were incorporated into the orthodox medical canon.

Jill Seward's paper addressed the wider cultural context of European spas and
mineral water resorts, exploring the interface between the rise of health and leisure tourism.
She argued that the spa regime was significantly commercialised over the nineteenth century,
taking advantage of an expanding clientele of urban dwellers whose lifestyles encouraged the
ailments that the spa cure was able to address. Douglas Mackaman's exploration of French
spa practice highlighted the tensions between the healthy tourists for whom the cure was a
way of organising their leisure and the deathly sick who sought to give their rigorous treatment
regimes a veneer of the vacation. Eric Jennings focused on a contrasting group of visitors to
French metropolitan spas, the 'colonials' who attended centres specialising in the treatment of
tropical diseases such as malaria and yellow fever, for whom the annual cure was integral to
fostering a bourgeois French identity.

Turning to water and disease, a crucial theme to emerge was the importance of water
treatment as a precondition for healthy urban settings. Bernadino Fantini traced the various
theories concerning the role of water in malaria epidemiology in the nineteenth and twentieth
centuries, which initially established the continued importance of the classical elements of
water, air and earth. It was not until the end of the nineteenth century, with the discovery of
the crucial role of the mosquito as vector, that control of water became just one component in
larger preventive strategies. A colonial context to the political and technical difficulties
encountered in water control was explored by David Arnold in his discussion of South Asia.
Ritual bathing in sacred streams and tanks and the consumption of 'purifying' Ganges water
were prominent features of Indian society, but became a source of concern to the colonial
authorities due to the perceived threat of the spread of epidemic cholera from polluted water
at bathing festivals. The complex history of drought and famine and attempts to improve water
supplies in both rural and urban areas, attest to the central importance of water in the
economic and political spheres. Political difficulties were not limited to the colonial context, as
shown by Deborah Brunton who assessed the tensions between the private and public good
in her discussion of proposals to bring a public water supply to Edinburgh from St Mary's
Loch. This scheme provoked huge opposition based on both cost and the alleged impurities of the proposed public water. Sally Sheard’s paper addressed the question of changing practices in personal hygiene regimes in addressing the ‘dirty-diseases’ of English industrial cities. She argued that although the supply of facilities for bathing and washing expanded through public initiatives, changing cultural practices were influenced by a much wider range of issues, such as the levels of personal hygiene required by schools.

David Cantor introduced a session based around film at the conclusion of the first day of the workshop on the theme of ‘War, Water and the Public Health Movie in the 1940s’, showing a selection of films held at the National Library of Medicine, Bethesda. These illustrated the vital importance of water in wartime in managing military and civilian health. Pure drinking water was vital to military and industrial efficiency, and the films demonstrated how impure water could damage the effectiveness of troops through diarrhoea and other stomach complaints. A final film showed the wide range of hydropathic treatments used in nursing in 1945. These varied topics, addressed to audiences including the military, health professionals and the general public, were presented though a variety of genres, including public information or training films and cartoons. Some of these movies attracted large budgets and Hollywood involvement and played to huge audiences, and thus should be seen to be as much about the wartime use of the movie as about wartime concern with water.

The workshop ended with the keynote paper delivered by Chris Hamlin who used the vehicle of Charles Kingsley’s The Water Babies to explore the moral and symbolic significance of water and hygiene the nineteenth century. In a discussion touching on moral reform, the rural and the urban, pollution and regeneration, he re-emphasised the broader cultural context for the study of water and its enduring symbolic appeal.

The Palazzo provided a convivial backdrop for exploration of the conference theme in formal and informal sessions, and Venice an excellent base for such an event, and we anticipate that the Centre will make increasing use of it in organising future workshops and conferences.

17 May 2007

Classicism and Traditionalism in Medical Systems

Organisers: Claudia Stein (CHM) and Peter E. Pormann (Classics)
Speakers: David Hardiman (CHM), Elisabeth Hsu (Oxford), Christopher Lawrence (Wellcome Trust Centre, UCL), Junko Iida’s (Kwasaki University of Medical Welfare / Oxford), Peter E. Pormann (Classics), Claudia Stein (CHM)

Co-organised with the Department of Classics, this workshop brought together scholars working in the history of medicine to open up debate on what constitutes the ‘classical’ and ‘traditional’ in different medical systems, past and present. In his opening remarks David Arnold investigated the meaning of both terms and singled out differences between them. In all medical systems, he argued, references to the ‘classical’ embody similar ideas such as lineage, parallelism, authority; but ‘classicism’ stands also for a socio-cultural notion of logic, rationality, balance, equilibrium, simplicity, elegance, for order in opposition to chaos, for science in contradistinction to superstition.

To invoke ‘tradition’ in relation to medical systems means something different, Arnold claimed. First, it suggests something more amenable to historical process – changing over time, being modified and re-interpreted, a mode of transmission effected across generations, between different languages and cultures and across diverse lands, while yet retaining an authority derived from ‘original’ texts or from a apostolic succession of revered teachers and gifted practitioners. Secondly, reference to ‘tradition’ should remind us of The Invention of Tradition by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, and the way in which the idea of ‘tradition’ is repeatedly invoked in the ‘modern’ world to communicate authority and legitimacy, to convey ideas of continuity and purity to something that might never have actually existed or to which the modern is only spuriously and tangentially connected, but which is a heavily edited, and often highly politicised, version of the past.

Arnold’s introduction was followed by Peter E. Pormann’s presentation, Hippocrates: Between Tradition and Innovation. Pormann investigated the history the Epidemics, a collection of case notes in seven books attributed to the ‘father of medicine’, the Greek physician Hippocrates. By looking more closely at how this collection was used by two of Hippocrates predecessors, the Greek physicians Galen (d.c. 216), and the medieval clinician Rhazes (d.c. 925), Pormann showed how through the literary technique of the medical commentary both authors considerably reshaped the original ideas of the Epidemics. By introducing the fruits of their own medical experiences into the text both men thus forged their
very own Hippocrates, creating a model, a classic at their own accord, which other physicians were urged to imitate. The lively discussion that followed Pormann’s paper centred on the question how medical authority is shaped through text, literary styles and techniques, and how ancient medical practical experiences was related to written authority.

Christopher Lawrence moved the discussion from the creation of authoritative medical figures to medical systems and theories in the Enlightenment. Perhaps no century, he suggested, was more fond of building and teaching ‘medical systems’ than the eighteenth century. System-making was the core of orthodox medicine in enlightened Europe and the United States. Medicine, everybody was convinced, could only be learned and practised by a system. This shared belief, however, became unfashionable by the 1820s, when it was rivalled by the new clinicopathological method of the Paris school under Xavier Bichat (1771-1802), which claimed to build medicine anew on empirical lines. Lawrence presentation raised questions such as how one moves from one ‘medical system’ to another, and whether such a move should be considered epistemologically “progressive”. Moreover, it as debated what a ‘medical system’ actually is and how it is shaped by its institutionalisation.

Claudia Stein’s presentation Inventing Tradition in the History of Medicine: The Case of Karl Sudhoff investigated the constituencies of a particular medical historical tradition which Germany’s first medical historian Karl Sudhoff (1853-1938) is supposed to have ‘invented’ according to his ardent past and present admirers. Stein suggested that the ‘invention of tradition’ refers to two aspects of Sudhoff’s academic work. First of all, it relates to a particular methodological approach, modelled on Leopold von Ranke’s critical-philological method, which Sudhoff successfully institutionalised. In fact, his method dominated German medical history writing until the 1960s. Secondly, Sudhoff ‘invented’ a medical past populated by his own medical ‘heroes’. Stein argued that a closer look a Sudhoff’s wider political views and activities reveals that this historical narrative was entirely shaped by his political concern in regard to the future of medical practice, particularly the pressures he saw emerging from the new laboratory sciences. Sudhoff ‘invented a tradition’ of empirical medical history, Stein claimed, which was targeted at changing the present. Stein’s talk raised questions about the various interests (political, economic, disciplinary) involved in the creation of a ‘medical tradition’ in the field of history writing.

Economic interests were also at the centre of Junko Iida’s talk on the Standardisation of Thai Traditional Medicine and Sensory Dimension of Thai Massage. She argued that the increasing attempts of the Thai authorities at the normalisation of massage practices since the 1960s were intrinsically linked to the country’s ‘discovery’ as a favourite destination for Western tourists. Her talk not only explored the long history of Thai massage practise but also how these were standardised (and thus made ‘traditional’) in order to ‘fit’ Western tactile expectations. Iida pointed out the myriad difficulties involved in the standardisation of touch, a sense, while highly valued in Thai culture, had become to be considered inferior to vision and sound in the Western world. Her presentation initiated a controversial discussion over the role of global market forces (including sex tourism) in the ‘invention’ of all sorts of medical holistic traditions in the non-European countries.

Elisabeth Hsu (Oxford), in her presentation What is Gained by Viewing Traditional Chinese Medicine as an ‘Invented Tradition’?, started off by claiming that that ‘Traditional Chinese Medicine’ (TCM) as practised in the government-run institutions of the People’s Republic of China, fits the definition of ‘invented tradition’ perfectly. She reminded the audience that Hobsbawm/Ranger remarked in their germinal work The Invention of Tradition, that it is the rapid appearance and establishment rather than their survival that marks ‘invented traditions’. Hsu then investigated the conceptual ideas behind this famous idiom, which was originally, as she reminded the audience, more a Marxist attack on conventional British historiography, than a major theoretical work. A question never answered in following works by Hobsbawm is, for example, how ‘real traditions’ actually differ from ‘invented traditions’ ones Hsu also raised the question whether innovation is intrinsic to the performance of any ritual and scholarly repertoire, and whether it is really useful to contrast ‘genuine’, ‘old’ and ‘fixed’ traditions with ‘invented’ and ‘new’ ones? However, despite her criticism Hsu considered one aspect of the concept of ‘invented tradition’ very productive and useful for the history of Chinese medicine and that is its relationship to nationalism. Recent scholarship, for example, has traced the intimate relationship between nation building and the emergence of TCM. The lively discussion after her paper centred on the question whether the concept of ‘invention of tradition’ is still useful in our increasingly globally (instead of nationally) constructed world.

David Hardiman’s presentation Inventing Indian Medicine raised similar questions about the relationship between the establishment of a ‘classical traditions’ and the world of
national politics. Using Ayurved medicine as an example, he showed how colonial rule and its favouring of western medical science forced India’s indigenous practitioners to modify their forms of practice to render them in tune with western biomedical models. One of the selling strategies of its practitioners was to model this healing system as nationalistic. However, in order to be officially recognised as a science Ayurved had to produce recognised standardised texts, the first collection being published in 1936 and 1937. Hardiman claimed that the history of Ayurvedic medicine is exemplary for many other invented classical traditions, which have in common that they became projected as nationalist alternative to biomedicine. However, he reminded the audience that the large majority of population in India did not have access to such ‘nationalistic’ treatment. There existed a vast domain of subaltern healing practices operated by poor people without an adherence to tradition, invented or not. The investigation of these subaltern healing practices, Hardiman suggested in his conclusion, presents an immense potential for more historical research.

The very animated final discussion indicated that a re-investigation of the notions of ‘classicism’ and ‘tradition’, which are too often taken for granted, is a timely topic in the history of medicine. David Arnold in his concluding remarks suggested that to investigate and compare these ideas inherent to the ‘classical’ and the ‘traditional’ in different medical systems might enable us better understand the authority, utility and significance of these different medical epistemologies, East and West, ancient and modern.

14 June 2007

End of Life Care: Historical Approaches

Organisers: Michael Bevan (CHM) and Rodger Charlton (Warwick Medical School)

Speakers: Michael Bevan (CHM), Rodger Charlton (Warwick Medical School), Elaine McFarland (Glasgow Caledonian), Daniel Munday (Warwick Medical School), Jason Szabo (McGill), Michelle Winslow (Sheffield)

This workshop was an outcome of the Centre’s Wellcome Trust-funded pilot project, ‘Pre-history of Palliative Care: A Pilot Study Centred on Medical Education and Practice in Birmingham, c.1930-1970’, carried out by Rodger Charlton and Michael Bevan. The workshop attracted an audience of historians, sociologists and medical professionals.

Michelle Winslow spoke of the influence Cicely Saunders had on the development of the hospice movement and went on to discuss the role other pioneers such as Wilkes, Feifel, Kubler-Ross and Hinton, changing views of pain and the concept of ‘total pain’, together with changes to the care of the terminally ill brought about by the formation of the NHS. Daniel Munday followed with his talk on ‘The Parallel Emergence of Biographical Medicine in Primary and Terminal Care, 1948-1967’. Drawing on the ideas of the sociologist David Armstrong, he charted how medicine had developed from ‘bedside’ to ‘hospital’ through to ‘biographical’. The final phase included the work of Micheal Balint, who emphasised a holistic approach to healthcare, which placed importance on symptoms and the centrality of the doctor’s personality in treating the patient. Munday ended by discussing how palliative medicine (but not palliative care) sees itself as part of mainstream medicine.

The final session of the morning saw a joint presentation from Rodger Charlton and Michael Bevan on ‘The “Pre-History” of Palliative Care and Education in Birmingham, 1930-1970’. They gave a brief summary of the background to their project, and of the historical literature, before examining the lack of training in palliative care available to Birmingham medical students between 1930 and 1970, and providing material drawn from the project’s oral history interviews with Birmingham doctors to show the nature of palliative care during this period. Jason Szabo discussed the reasons behind the reluctance of hospitals to treat incurables of all kinds. The final paper of the day was delivered by Elaine McFarland, who drew on oral and other sources to examine the changing nature of the ‘culture of death’ in modern Scotland. Traditions surrounding death and burial have now given way to more secular and homogenous rituals – death has become ‘medicalised’ – while modern firms of undertakers have come to be ‘managers of death’ and have become central to the whole process. Elaine also spoke on how nurses, despite not having any training in the area, had developed their own routines and conventions for managing death.
Undergraduate Research Scholarship Scheme

Funded by the University's Undergraduate Research Scholarship Scheme (URSS), Elizabeth Simpson conducted research on Bathing for Health and Pleasure: The Turkish Bath at Leamington Spa, 1860-1970'. This project dovetailed with the Centre's Wellcome Trust-funded project on 'Healing Cultures, Medicine and the Therapeutic Uses of Water in the English Midlands, 1840-1948' (see Ongoing Projects, below).

Drawing from the archives of the Leamington Spa Art Gallery and Museum, and collections at the British Library, Elizabeth investigated the role of the Turkish Bath, or Hammam, which opened in Leamington Spa in 1863, as a facility for both health and leisure. She considered how the Turkish Bath penetrated the existing market for hydrotherapy and preventative remedies. More broadly, her project explored the Turkish Bath as a location in which social concerns, such as leisure and hygiene, intersected with those pertaining to health and vitality. The Bath was also considered as an interior space, one separated from the external world by boundaries of culture and cleanliness, etiquette and attire. The interactions between individuals and the architecture of the Hammam were examined alongside the structural and aesthetic features of the Bath and how these added to the bathing experience. More information on Elizabeth's research may be found at http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/history/chm/activities/projects/water/turkish.

Seminar Series

The seminars for 2006-07 were organised by Claudia Stein. Speakers from institutions around the UK and overseas presented papers on topics ranging from death and the anatomy of museums in eighteenth-century London to scrapie research in the 1960s. Attendance was consistently high, and colleagues from across the University attended, as did numerous visitors from other institutions in the UK.

The complete series programme may be found as Appendix C.

Reading Lunches

Reading Lunches are organised by History of Medicine postgraduates, who use the forum to expand their comprehension of particular texts. These may be key texts in the history of medicine, or less well-known publications relating to a student’s own research that he or she wishes to better understand. In the first term visiting scholar Cecilia Riving led a discussion on a chapter from Micheal Foucault’s book Birth of the Clinic, addressing the significations and diagnostics of medical signs and cases. Sessions were also organised on a chapter from Bruno Latour’s text Biographies of Scientific Objects (Chicago, 2000) and Charles Rosenberg’s Explaining Epidemics (Cambridge, 1992). The reading lunch for the Spring Term was organised by Katherine Foxhall on Nancy M. Theroit’s article ‘Negotiating Illness: Doctors, Patients and Families in the Nineteenth century’ and chapters from the book by Opinel Jorland and George Weisz, Body Counts: Medical Quantification in Historical and Sociological Perspective (Montreal and London, 2005). Reading Lunches typically draw students from across the University who find the subject of discussion relevant to their own work.
Visiting Scholars

Cecilia Riving

Cecilia Riving, PhD student at the Department of History, Lund University, Sweden, visited the Centre during the autumn term. Her research focuses on the relationship between psychiatric science and lay perspectives on mental illness in Sweden in the 19th century. She received a scholarship from a Swedish fund which made it possible for her to visit Warwick.

In addition to conducting research, engaging with staff, particularly Hilary Marland and Mathew Thomson, and attending seminars, Cecilia co-organised an international workshop on “Psychiatric Science and Lay Perspectives”, which took place on December 14 (see Workshops and Conferences, above). In October she also led a reading lunch on Michel Foucault’s The Birth of the Clinic.

Sander Gilman

In May 2007 Sander Gilman, Distinguished Professor of the Liberal Arts and Sciences at Emory University, visited the Warwick campus. Centred around a debate between Professor Gilman and Dr Deborah Steinberg of the Sociology Department on the theme of genetics (‘What is “Real” about Genes?’), his visit attracted a large and diverse audience, which was followed up by a series of well-received podcasts. The debate testified to the broad interest in Gilman’s work and ideas, his outstanding ability to provoke intellectual discussion across disciplines, and his deep-seated interest in drawing links between historical contexts and current events. His visit concluded with an informal discussion on race and contemporary medicine with staff and students from CHM, History, and Sociology.

Professor Gilman has since been named a Visiting Fellow by the University’s Institute for Advance Study. The fellowship will enable his participation in the Centre’s first Summer School, to be held July 2008 on the theme ‘Medicine and New Media’.

James Vernon

Professor James Vernon (University of California, Berkeley) visited the Centre and the Department of History in November/December 2006, a visit made possible by the University’s North America Fund. Professor Vernon met with colleagues and participated in the workshop History of Hunger, which took place on 1 December (see Workshops and Conferences, above).

Funding Applications

Between 1 October 2006 and 30 September 2007, the Centre submitted 10 applications to external funding bodies, of which 5 were successful. The total amount awarded was £164,460. Following are brief descriptions of the successful projects. Further details may be found as Appendix B.

Kill or Cure: Water and Health in the 19th Century
Principal Researchers: Hilary Marland and Jane Adams
Funding: Wellcome Trust Conference Grant
The Wellcome Trust generously supported the Centre’s conference on water and health in the nineteenth century, held at the Palazzo Pesaro Papafava in Venice. (See Workshops and Conferences, above.)

Pulling the Plug?: An Oral History of Spa Practices and Experiences at the Royal Pump Rooms
Principal Researchers: Hilary Marland and Michael Bevan
Funding: Wellcome Trust Small Project Grant
Undertaken in collaboration with the Leamington Spa Art Gallery and Museum (LSAGM), ‘Pulling the Plug?’ explores, chiefly through oral history interviews, the practice and experience of spa therapy in the second half of the twentieth century, based on the Royal Pump Rooms, Leamington Spa. The project questions how approaches to spa therapy
changed over this period; the training and working practices of those providing treatment; access to services; the perceptions and experiences of patients; the organisation and management of spa provision, and the factors influencing the decline of support for spas by the NHS at the end of the twentieth century.

The second half of the twentieth century was a period of significant decline in the provision of spa treatment in Britain, marked by the withdrawal of support by the National Health Service (NHS). This contrasted with a continued interest and, more recently, resurgence in demand from the public for these therapies, which is now met by the private leisure sector and private medical insurance rather than state run medical institutions. This short-term project (six months) will build on an established collaboration between the Centre and LSAGM to contribute to an understanding of the experience and meanings of spa therapy in Britain in the second half of the twentieth century.

The project uses oral history as a means of exploring occupational practices and patients’ views and experiences. Research will involve approximately 40 interviews (c.80 hours of taped material) with patients, medical practitioners, physiotherapists and other health care workers who had treatment or worked at the Royal Pump Rooms in Leamington Spa in the latter half of the twentieth century. The oral history research will be complemented by other resources: press cuttings, the spa manager’s books, council minutes, health authority records and the large collection of photographs and objects held by the specialist museum at the Royal Pump Rooms.

Transplant
Principal Researcher: Phillip Warnell
Funding: Wellcome Trust Arts Award
Interdisciplinary artist Phillip Warnell has been granted a Wellcome Trust Arts Award to undertake research and development for his project on transplantation. Working closely with University Hospitals Coventry and Warwickshire NHS Trust, he will document a live-donor transplant and related clinical procedures. He will seek suitable modes of representation that touch on the cultural, ethical, medical, biological and philosophical implications of transplantation. Working with UK Transplant and Transport for Transplant, Phillip will also develop a prototype tagging system to be used with organ transporters for the purpose of tracking the movement of donor organs nationwide; this will feed into a later stage of the project, in which he will develop a real-time interface representing transplantation procedures taking place in the UK.

Since 2004 the Centre has collaborated with the School of Theatre, Performance and Cultural Policy Studies at Warwick to explore the common concerns of the disciplines of performance and medical history. Phillip Warnell was selected to be the focus of this collaboration, and will in the coming years be undertaking a range of activities relating to his project on transplantation. For more information on the Centre’s work with Phillip, visit http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/history/chm/activities/other/liveart/.

Rest and Restitution: Nervous Patients and Convalescence in Interwar England
Principal Researcher: Stephen Soanes
Funding: Wellcome Trust PhD Grant
This project seeks to bridge the divide between institutional histories of convalescence and scholarship on community care. The ‘institutions’ to be studied include asylums, convalescent homes, and hospitals responsible for nervous convalescents. The project will explore how far institutional treatment reflected the wishes of patients and their families, and the circumstances under which either domiciliary or institutional care was considered preferable. Class, gender, age and occupation will be considered as factors potentially influencing both the availability, and desirability of convalescent treatment. Within institutional contexts, I will investigate to what extent a patient’s background determined the choice of therapeutic method employed.

Medical History, Immersive Museum Theatre, and ‘The Last Women’
Researchers: Mathew Thomson and Norwood Andrews
Funding: Wellcome Trust Small Project Grant
This project centres on a collaboration between the Centre for the History of Medicine and the Coventry-based Triangle Theatre Company. They will work together on Triangle’s new production, ‘The Last Women’, inspired by the histories of Mary Ball, hanged in Coventry in 1849, and Ruth Ellis, the last woman hanged in Britain in 1955. The Last Women will bring together historical research with improvisational enquiry in a series of formal and informal
events and interactions between a company of seven actors, experts, young people, and other members of the public.

This project will utilise Triangle’s innovative ‘Immersive Museum Theatre’ technique, which entails participants’ use of museum collections – archives and artefacts – and historic locations as springboards for the development of character, and in the creation of an environment in which to become ‘immersed’ in the material. Action is devised by participants engaging with the material, and also drawing from their own experience, by playing out and maintaining roles in group dynamics. This devising process is further enhanced by the input of specialists supplying information – specialists who become participants in the process. While projects usually focus on historical moments to provide themes, they also provide scope for the exploration of contemporary issues. Under the artistic direction of Carran Waterfield, Triangle has eighteen years of experience of working within education, professional theatre, and museum settings, and an international reputation in this area of performance.

The Last Women will be developed through seven linked, thematic modules, utilising the Immersive Museum Theatre technique described above. The module themes are: Authority; Health, Safety, Creativity; Incarceration; Death and Taboo; Criminality and Personal Power; Language and Politics; and The Underworld. For each module an immersive space is set up in which participants engage with each other and with objects, documents and other artefacts relevant to the module theme. Participants include professional actors, specialists, and young people from the community. On separate occasions (at least two events for each module) members of the public will ‘witness’ the developing activity as audience members, but will also be drawn into the scenario. Triangle’s artistic director will serve as ‘facilitator’ throughout the project. Each module will last four weeks, taking place sequentially between January and July 2008, with a performance at the conclusion of each. Following the last module we will collaborate in the development of a performance that draws on the material produced by all seven modules.

The Centre for the History of Medicine will play a key role in developing a medical history dimension for ‘The Last Women’. Dr Norwood Andrews will undertake and publish historical research on the theme of medicine and public execution; contribute to ‘The Last Women’ as a specialist-participant, being directly involved in all seven modules; and draw on this experience in evaluating the interaction between historical research and Immersive Museum Theatre as a route for public engagement within the history of medicine.

Recently Completed Projects
Morbidity and Mortality in the Concentration Camps of the South African War (1899-1902)

Principal Researchers: Iain R. Smith (History, Warwick), Elizabeth van Heyningen (University of Cape Town)

Funding: Wellcome Trust Project Grant

The internment camps for civilians (Boers and blacks) set up by the British army during the South African War remain the most controversial aspect of this war and became an important reference point in the mobilisation of Afrikaner nationalism in the twentieth century. The deaths of an alleged 27,927 Boer civilians in these camps (three-quarters of them children under the age of 16) became the focus for a potent mythology of suffering and victimhood but the subject was not fully or empirically investigated and the many deaths of blacks in these camps was ignored until very recently. Our project investigated the whole subject of these camps, and especially the record of morbidity and mortality in them, utilising the extraordinarily rich range of evidence which has survived, mainly in South African archives but also in the National Archives in London.

Early in the project we realised that a database for the deaths of camp inmates was essential if we were to undertake a reliable analysis of camp mortality which did not rely on the published British statistics or those gathered by the Transvaal archivist P.L.A. Goldman after the war. With the financial support of a supplementary grant from the Wellcome Trust, we embarked on this ambitious task and have established a database of 98,000 individuals. This database is relevant to the 45 ‘white’ camps, the meagre surviving evidence for the 64 ‘black’ camps making it impossible to construct anything similar for them. The database is in Microsoft Access and consists of a primary database and several linked databases.
We are currently analysing the vast amount of data which we have gathered on the morbidity and mortality in the ‘white’ camps. Our present reckoning is that a total of around 25,000 deaths are recorded and can be verified in these camps. This is more than the recorded British figure of 20,139 but less than the widely accepted figure of 27,927 established by Goldman. Much of the evidence about the ‘black’ camps was destroyed some time after the war and it is probable that detailed records of individuals there were never collected in the same way. We are therefore dependent upon the reports on the ‘black’ camps compiled by their supervisor (Captain G.J. de Lotbiniere) and the basic statistical returns in the British records which give a total of 14,154 deaths in them.

The disease specific data for the ‘black’ camps is almost totally lacking but the fragments of anecdotal evidence suggest that measles (and its resulting complications) and respiratory diseases generally formed a large component of the mortality, especially in the cold winter months and especially amongst the women and children who were left to construct their own shanties and cultivate their own subsistence whilst most of the menfolk were deployed as labour often far away. Diarrhoea and intestinal infections also emerge as a major cause of death amongst the very young. Some of these camps were noticeably less well-administered, some had incompetent doctors and inadequate medical provision, and in some cases higher adult mortality impacted further on child mortality.

The creation of the database is a major, path-breaking achievement which will transform research into these camps in the future. There is already considerable interest in it, especially in South Africa. We are also in the process of establishing a web-site and it is our intention to make the data we have collected, camp by camp, accessible to other scholars. Elizabeth van Heyningen has already written a well-researched article on the historiography of these camps (which will appear in a forthcoming issue of the Journal of Southern African Studies). Together we plan to write a substantial article for publication embodying our chief findings and then to go on to write a social history of these camps in book form.

A complete report, from which this summary is extracted, may be found at http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/history/chm/activities/projects/archive/morbidity/outcomes.

Towards a Pre-History of Palliative Care: A Pilot Study Centred on Medical Education and Practice in Birmingham, c.1930-1970

Principal Researchers: Rodger Charlton and Michael Bevan
Funding: Wellcome Trust Small Project Grant

Palliative care emerged as a new specialty following the pioneering work of the late Dame Cicely Saunders, founder of St Christopher’s Hospice in London in 1967. The aim of this project was to ascertain the nature of medical education in the care of dying from 1930 to 1970, before the modern hospice movement was established, with a focus on Birmingham Medical School. The project tested the hypothesis that doctors at Birmingham Medical School were not adequately prepared to undertake the equivalent of modern day palliative care. In addition to conducting research in the Medical School archives, the project undertook oral history interviews with ten doctors who graduated prior to 1970 and five members of the public.

The results of the project supported the hypothesis, with a number of ‘themes’ arising in both the archival work and the oral history interviews. First, there simply was no formal teaching in the care of the dying in the research period, and the lack of training led to problems after qualification. Second, a lack of communication with the patient about the truth of their illness, which was then common, resulted in a ‘conspiracy of silence’, which contrasts strongly with current patient-centred medical education. And finally, many patients prior to the establishment of the NHS may have gone without palliative care for financial reasons, and as a result it was not identified as a necessary part of doctors’ work and training.

Three areas of medical education changed shortly after the study period: attitudes towards death, communication skills and openness with patients, and curriculum development. It was concluded that potential exists for further in-depth research to ascertain...
what factors influence medical curriculum change and the factors that facilitate home care for the dying.

Healing, Medical Power and the Poor: Contests in Tribal India

Principal Researchers: David Hardiman and Gauri Raje
Funding: ESRC Research Grant

Between 2004 and 2007, research was carried out on medical care and various other forms of healing that have been and are practised amongst tribal peoples in the present-day state of Gujarat in India. The main questions posed were as follows: How have indigenous systems of healing changed over time, and what is their role today? What was the impact of the Protestant medical missionaries who provided the bulk of biomedical care for the tribal people from the 1880s to the 1950s? How did Indian nationalists and then – after 1947 – the Indian government seek to meet the health needs of the tribal people? How did non-governmental doctors in tribal areas – both self-employed and employed by NGOs and Hindu organisations – respond to these needs? What are the causes and implications of the upsurge over the past three decades of Christian faith-healing?

In general, it was found that so long as written records go back, the tribal people of this region suffered from a wide range of health problems. In the past, they largely relied for treatment on their traditional healers known as bhagats. Their cures ranged from the use of herbal medicine and cauterisation to divination and exorcism of evil spirits. They were highly respected in tribal society. Over the course of the past century, they have been partially displaced by biomedical practitioners, as well as Christian faith healers. Despite this, they have proved remarkably tenacious, and have if anything made something of a comeback in recent years, as their skills in the use of forest herbs has attracted a growing interest from pharmaceutical companies and government foresters. Some bhagats have also become more entrepreneurial in their practice, adding certain alternative therapies to their repertoire and marketing themselves aggressively.

The foreign missionaries who worked in tribal Gujarat from the late nineteenth century to the 1960s provided the first effective biomedical care for these people. Although on the whole appreciated for their work, at some junctures they came into conflict with the traditional healers. After Indian independence in 1947, most foreign missionaries had to leave India. From the 1970s onwards a new form of Christian healing came to the fore, that of faith healing of the Pentecostalist type. So popular did this prove that there was a backlash by Hindu fundamentalists in the late 1990s, with tribal Christians being attacked and their churches burnt. The Hindu fundamentalists then sought to provide their own forms of biomedical care. Our investigations found, however, that the latter has not proved popular, while Christian faith healing continues to have large numbers of adherents.

We found that before independence in 1947, Indian nationalists placed a low emphasis on health care work, in contrasts to their excellent educational work amongst the tribals of Gujarat. After independence, the new government established an extensive system of health care. We found that the government clinics were in most cases poorly run and understaffed, with practitioners often earning from private medical work on the side. A great deal of the energy of government health officials went into a series of campaigns, one of which – the polio vaccination campaign – we observed in detail. Because of the bureaucratic compulsion to meet targets, the government health workers were, for a change, eager to gain support from the tribals, and made extra efforts to reach them in their villages. Even then, some tribals resisted the campaign, citing internationally-current rumours that the vaccination was a form of mass sterilisation, or that it caused AIDS. This was illustrative of the manner in which global debates on health and medicines are interpreted, translated and come to have specific meanings in local settings.

Most biomedicine was practised in tribal areas by private ‘doctors’, only a minority of whom have full medical qualifications. Some maintain clinics in small towns and villages, while others live an itinerant life, carrying nothing but hypodermic syringes, glucose bottles, and an assortment of pills. In recent years, there has been a marked increase in such dubious ‘doctors’ practising in the tribal villages of Gujarat. In general, they rely on extensive social and political networking to secure local faith in their skills. It was observed that they are fiercely possessive about their clientele. In some cases, they maintained their influence over patients by giving them loans at high rates of interest (up to fifty percent). Such ‘doctors’ thus establish themselves in a patron-client relationship with their patients.

There are also a range of non-governmental organisations involved in health projects of one sort or another in tribal areas. Some have been around for a long time, and have done much excellent work. We found that in recent years the government has been depending
increasingly on NGOs to carry out fundamental health work in India, and that this allows for the proliferation of many sub-standard NGOs. It also absolves the government of responsibility for health care. Although it is clear that government health projects are often mistrusted – for good reason – we do not believe that NGOs can ever be an adequate substitute for systematic health schemes implemented by the state.

To conclude, biomedical health care in the tribal areas of Gujarat was found to be highly inadequate, with tribal people being systematically exploited by both legitimate doctors and quacks. Alternative forms of treatment continue to flourish, whether by the traditional healers or by Christian faith healers. Each of these modes of healing can be seen to cater for particular needs, and so long as present socio-economic conditions remain as they are in the tribal regions, and the public health care system exists as it does, it seems unlikely that there will be any significant change in this respect.

Ongoing Research Projects

**Relationship Versus Authority: Psychiatric Social Work, Therapeutic Communities and the Subjectivity of the Child, c.1930-1970**

*Principal Researcher:* Jonathan Toms  
*Funding:* Wellcome Trust Fellowship

This study will research the theories and practices developed at therapeutic communities and in psychiatric social work. Both these areas of psychiatric activity emerged around the 1930s. Therapeutic communities began as experiments in using the physical and relational environment as a means to reform ‘socially maladjusted’ young people. Psychiatric social work developed as a practice mainly in mental hospitals and child guidance clinics. It quickly emerged as a profession that linked emotional problems with ‘social maladjustment’.

These two areas of psychiatric activity appear to have been crucial to a move away from seeing emotionality as individually located in the body and ‘in need of mastery’, to seeing it as dynamic and relational. This study will examine how this transformation entailed the development of an important new model of subjectivity. Looking at unexploited archives of individuals and organisations involved in psychiatric social work and therapeutic communities it will reconstruct this model’s emergence and development; the various agendas that informed it; the practices that sustained and developed it. Finally, this contemporary model will be contrasted to one, increasingly influential in histories of the subject, which denies the common-sense notion of an individualised, private self with an internal essence.

**Healing Cultures, Medicine and the Therapeutic Uses of Water in the English Midlands, 1840-1948**

*Principal Researchers:* Jane Adams, Hilary Marland  
*Funding:* Wellcome Trust Project Grant

This project explores the use of water in English medicine between 1840 and 1948, taking as a case study the English Midlands. It challenges the assumption that spas declined in importance from the mid-nineteenth century and highlights water’s role as a continued mainstay of a rich and varied spectrum of therapeutic approaches. It explores the complex process through which the water cure became increasingly medicalised, characterised by greater specialisation and a proliferation of medical institutions. These trends were influenced by an expanding medical marketplace in which a range of non-medical actors, including local authorities, mutual societies and private businesses, became increasingly active as services were targeted at specific publics, including the poor, the middle classes, women and the chronically ill. The importance of broader public and private cultures of health will also be examined, in particular how health and social reform movements and political and religious attitudes affected the patient’s view of the water cure. Additionally, the project considers the relationship between the medical uses of water and wider social and cultural changes, including public health and hygienic campaigns, expanding domestic supplies and increased commodification of water.

The emphasis on the English Midlands provides a geographical bridge between old and new systems of healing with water, with the inclusion of both established watering places and new spas and hydroopathic towns. The project entails detailed comparative analysis of the traditional spa towns of Cheltenham, Leamington and Buxton, alongside Malvern and Matlock with their booming hydroopathic establishments, Droitwich (the only inland brine spa in Britain), and several smaller mineral spas (e.g. Woodhall and Tenbury Wells). During the period under review the region saw large-scale industrialisation, which opened up new market opportunities...
in terms of the growing working- and middle-class populations. The sites of water cures were presented as healing environments in contrast to polluted, unhealthy urban communities. Continuous efforts were made to update facilities and to develop state of the art therapeutics within strikingly different settings, from the subdued pleasures of genteel, urban Leamington and Cheltenham Spas to the rigorous natural backdrops of Malvern and Matlock. In a quest to mould an appropriate but distinctive image, each town offered a range of leisure activities and public amenities, leading to the creation of very different micro-environments.

The main outputs of the project include a monograph study, journal articles and public outreach activities, some developed with our collaborative partner, the Art Gallery and Museum, Royal Leamington Spa.

During 2005-06 most of the research was completed on the project in local archives, the British Library, and the Wellcome Library. Two articles were co-written by Jane Adams and Hilary Marland, and a further article authored by Jane Adams, who also devised two walking tours together with the Art Gallery and Museum in Leamington. Several conference presentations were made in connection with the project, and a workshop was organised on water and health (see Workshops and Conferences, above).

Blindness, Sound and the Development of Acoustics in Nineteenth-Century France

Principal Researcher: Ingrid Sykes
Funding: Wellcome Trust Fellowship Grant

Dr Ingrid Sykes’s study is the first systematic attempt to combine histories of disability and medical acoustics. In the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the blind played a crucial role in the interconnection of various musical and medical practices. The exploration of an alternative form of ‘vision’ for the blind during this period involved the large-scale manipulation of acoustical sine waves through sound and music. The role of the disabled group in the formation of medical fields such as auscultation and bioacoustics will be a central aspect of this study. By simultaneously confronting and appropriating this sonic medical research, the blind placed themselves at the centre of cutting-edge contemporary debates about the theories themselves and wider issues of individual freedom and medical ethics. To examine the interrelation between blindness, sound culture and medical acoustics, she is analysing medical-acoustical treatises to show how the graphic representation of the acoustical wave influenced medical diagnosis and contemporary practices of music therapy. She is also examining the sonic environments of institutions of the blind to explain how these institutions translated medical-acoustical theories into everyday situations. Dr Sykes is focussing on individual case studies of blind residents in nineteenth-century Parisian institutions. These case studies will throw light on the attitudes, feelings and responses of the blind person in relation to medical-acoustical theory, and to its implementation.

In 2009 Dr Sykes will convene a conference titled 'Signalling Sound' which will bring together leading researchers in the areas of hearing science and musicology, and she is currently preparing an article, “Out of Sight, Out of Mind?: The Role of Sound amongst les malvoyants of Nineteenth-Century France.”

The Politics and Practices of Health in Work in Britain, 1915-1951

Principal Researchers: Vicky Long, Hilary Marland, Mathew Thomson
Funding: Wellcome Trust Project Grant

This project focuses on the workplace as a creative site for health improvement rather than a place of risk to safety and well being between 1915 and 1951. The project takes as its starting point the interests of the state in forging an efficient workforce in the early twentieth century, beginning with the Munitions of War Act (1915), which heralded a cluster of innovative welfare measures in munitions factories. The project then moves to the inter-war years, exploring the Trades Union Congress’ growing involvement in health matters such as health education, convalescence, holidays with pay, the health problems of women and young workers, mental hygiene and the place of industrial medicine on the medical curriculum, both on its own and in collaboration with medical organisations and the state. The TUC’s growing interest in workers’ health is studied in relation to the depression, changes in the state of industry, the growth of the industrial welfare movement, the status of industrial medicine and the development of the TUC itself as an authoritative voice of organised labour. Finally, the project will examine the
disruption of the Second World War, looking at new initiatives introduced to improve the health of workers during wartime, and go on to explore models of a national industrial health service, which were developed in anticipation of a national health service. It concludes with the publication of the Report of a Committee of Inquiry on Industrial Health Services (1951) which reiterated the government’s stance that occupational health should remain separate from the National Health Service.

Research for the project is currently being completed. Two thirds of the manuscript has been drafted and work on the final chapter and a publication proposal is advancing. One article drawing on research for the project has been submitted for publication, and a further joint article is in progress. Findings from the project have been presented at national and international conferences and at two seminars. Further presentations are planned for 2007-08.

**Medicine at the Baroque Court in Munich (1600-1750)**

*Principal researcher: Claudia Stein*

*Funding body: Wellcome Trust University Award*

Dr Claudia Stein is analysing the social and professional lives and significance of medical practitioners attached to the court of the absolutist Bavarian Electors, the most powerful Catholic rulers in early modern Germany. Over the last year her project has slightly changed in focus (see report 2006/7). Although the electoral court in Munich is still at the centre, the project now concentrates on one particular physician Johann Anton von Wolter (1711-1778) and explores his activities in detail. Von Wolter served the Elector Maximilian III Joseph for over five decades holding the most powerful medical positions in the country. As the elector's personal physician responsible for the well-being of the ruling family his influence at court and its politics was unrivalled, as protomedicus of Bavaria he was able to shape medical practice and its organization according to his Enlightened ideas. Of particular interest to Stein are his activities in the areas of midwifery and military medicine. Von Wolter’s strategies of professional self-fashioning offer an exciting insight into the ideas and practices of Enlightment science and medicine in an absolutist AND deeply Catholic country, a still very much neglected topic in the history of medicine.

**Warwick - Leicester Collaboration**

The Centre for the History of Medicine’s Wellcome Trust Strategic Award is jointly held with Professor David Gentilcore of the University of Leicester.

**Research Projects**

**Italian Books of Secrets**

This past year’s work has largely involved entering data into the database. The work is being done by Dr Tessa Storey, research assistant to Professor Gentilcore. The first text selected for entry was *De' Secreti del Reverendo Donno Alessio Piemontese*, one of the most important and substantial of the sixteenth-century Italian recipe books. It is therefore a key text, eminently suitable for comparative purposes with any other lesser known Italian texts, and also of value to those studying ‘books of secrets’ published elsewhere in Europe. This book alone has accounted for 1,714 recipe entries in the database.

The other texts entered so far are the anonymously published *Opera Nova Intitolata Dificio de Ricette* (1532); the *Tesoro di varii secreti naturali. Tratta da diversi Autori famossissimi* also by an unknown author (1600); and the *Centuria di Secreti Politici, Cimichi, e Naturali* by Francesco Scarioni da Parma (1626). The first of these was selected because it was the first Italian book of secrets to be published, and was also very popular. The other two are less well known and much shorter texts, as a result they were cheaper to buy. They have been selected because of the immediate comparison they afford with the bigger, more expensively bound *Secreti del Reverendo Dono Alessio Piemontese*.

So far the database contains the records for 1,950 recipes in total. The Recipe table is in a sense the ‘lead’ table, since it gives information on the recipe’s title, the ailment it is intended for, and how the remedy is to be given to the patient.

The majority of the recipes in these household books are connected to the body, whether as medicines or cosmetics or as domestic cleaning products. There are nonetheless a great many which have no such link, and were intended for example to instruct people in how to undertake certain crafts activities, such as preparing paints, dyes, inks, gildings or falsifying jewellery. In these cases Dr Storey has entered the name and location of the recipe, but not transcribed the details.
When pertaining to the body, all the information from each recipe has been entered into the database, although there is no attempt at word-for-word transcription. Information on ingredients and quantities is in individual cells. This will allow for searches and queries to be run on each specific ingredient, and for detailed comparisons to be made between recipes. The description of the method remains as passages of text, abbreviated and summarised from the original. However, there are cells in which interesting phrases, expressions or comments are recorded ad verbatim.

The glossary of ingredients has become an important part of the database and now contains 1,721 ingredients. There is a column in this table in which other terms for an ingredient are stored, one for the English translation and another which denotes whether the ingredient is animal, vegetable or mineral.

Dr Storey has also started work on constructing some smaller glossaries, which may be on a site linked to the database, containing commonly occurring words in the texts relating to illness, implements and quantities.

A short presentation on the uses of foods in these recipes was given in February 2007 at the Midlands Food Group workshop.

**Staff Research Activity**

**David Gentilcore**

Following the publication of his monograph, *Medical charlatanism in early modern Italy* (OUP), in September of 2006, Professor Gentilcore continued working on his history of the tomato in Italy. The book is now part of a larger project. Funded by a Leverhulme Trust major research award (three years), ‘New World plants in Italy, from observation to assimilation (1500-1850)’. It is a study of the impact that the arrival of newly discovered plants from the New World had on Renaissance, early modern, and modern Italy. The project has two approaches: theoretical and practical. In terms of the former, it will explore the changing ways in which these foodstuffs and drugs were considered in treatises on health, as well as works of natural philosophy and cookery. To what extent did their novelty pose a problem to the traditional mental categories? In terms of the latter approach, practice, it will look at actual changes in diet and agricultural practices, at all levels of society, in response to cultural, political and economic considerations, making use of the substantial holdings in Italian archives.

Gentilcore organised a second meeting of the ‘Midlands Food Group’, which took place in Marc Fitch House, the graduate centre of Leicester’s School of Historical Studies.

**Publications**

Guest editor, along with Sandra Cavallo, of a special issue of *Renaissance Studies*, ‘Spaces, objects, identities in early modern Italian medicine’, 21 (2007), no. 4 (with a co-authored introduction). The collection, which will also appear in book form, contains articles by Elizabeth Cohen, Filippo de Vivo, Lucia Dacome, Silvia de Renzi and Gianna Pomata.

**Conference presentations**

‘“Licopersico di Galeno” o “pomo di Perù”? Saperi botanici e le piante americane durante la seconda metà del Cinquecento’, conference on ‘Saperi a confronto nell’Europa moderna, secoli XIV-XIX’, Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa, Italy (December 2006)

‘The Renaissance tomato, from curiosity to condiment’, given at seminars at the Department of History, University of Wales at Aberystwyth (October 2006), the Department of History and Philosophy of Science, Cambridge (October 2006), the Institute for Historical Research, London (November 2006), and at a conference in honour of Professor Peter Burke, Cambridge (May 2007)

**Public outreach**

Article focusing on the life experiences of one Italian medical charlatan, ‘Ricostruire le identità nel Mediterraneo, ovvero vivere tra due culture’, for the magazine *Melissi: le culture popolari*, no. 12/13 (2006), 57-60
**Tessa Storey**

Dr Storey’s broad research interest is in social and cultural history of early modern Europe, particularly Italy, with special reference to gender and the history of the body. Her forthcoming book, *Carnal Commerce in Counter-Reformation Rome* (Cambridge University Press, in press), considers both social and cultural issues surrounding prostitution, drawing on popular literature, imagery, legislation as well as many archival sources.

In June 2007 Dr Storey spent several weeks in the archives and libraries in Rome looking for material for her proposed article, to be concerned with the ‘popular’ transmission and use of medical knowledge and cultures, in relation to books of secrets, in early modern Rome. This was prompted, on the one hand, by the lack of more material linked specifically to syphilis, and, on the other, by the exciting discovery of two trials which relate directly to the broader theme. Both trials give direct evidence of the uses and availability of medicinal and alchemical knowledge amongst common people in Rome and can be hypothetically linked to the dissemination of popular printed medical materials.

**Publications**


**Conference presentation**

‘The response to syphilis in early modern Rome’, University of Norwich (March 2007).

**CHM Advisory Board**

The Centre’s Advisory Board met on two occasions, 18 October 2006 and 7 March 2007. Business included working towards a second Strategic Award application, agreeing the new Mission Statement and Constitution for the Centre, and nominating new external members. The Mission Statement of the Centre and membership of the Advisory Board appear as Appendix F.
Appendix A: Staff Research Activity

Jane Adams

Jane Adams continued to work on the project ‘Healing Cultures, Medicine and the Therapeutic Uses of Water in the English Midlands, 1840-1948’ with Hilary Marland, carrying out research in a number of local archives, the British Library and Wellcome Library. She gave several conference and seminar papers arising from this research. Adams also supervised History student Elizabeth Simpson, who conducted research on ‘Bathing for Health and Pleasure: The Turkish Bath at Leamington Spa, 1860-1970’ (see Undergraduate Scholarship Scheme, above).

Conference and seminar presentations


Publications

David Arnold

David Arnold is Professor of Global History in the Department of History. He joined the Department of History in October 2006 and is an active member of the Centre. He has made several presentations at Centre workshops since his arrival, including papers on ‘Feeding India’ and ‘Colonialism and Medicine’. He has also participated in a discussion of medicism and classicism held in Oxford, and gave a paper to the Centre seminar on poisons, botany and medical jurisprudence in 19th-century India.

In 2006 David published The Tropics and the Travelling Gaze: India, Landscape and Science, 1800-1856 (Seattle: University of Washington Press). He is currently working on a revised version of a paper on medicine, health and tropical governance in monsoon Asia. His current research also includes an ESRC-funded project, ‘Everyday Technology in Monsoon Asia, 1880-1960’, which will run until 2010 and entail a major international conference at Warwick.

Publications


Presentations
‘Food and Health in Indian History’, keynote address to the 3rd Conference of the Asian Society for the History of Medicine, Delhi, 2-4 November 2006.

‘Feeding South Asia: Science, Empire and Consumption’, workshop on ‘Food and Hunger’, University of Warwick, December 2006.

‘Can the Body still be Colonized?’, lunchtime seminar, Centre for the History of Medicine, University of Warwick, 19 January 2007


‘What’s so global about Indian Cities?’, ‘India: The Global City’, one-day workshop at University of Warwick, 11 May 2007.


Michael Bevan
In 2006-07, Michael Bevan collaborated with Dr Rodger Charlton of Warwick Medical School on a history of palliative care education and delivery in Birmingham 1930-1970. He is currently working with Leamington Spa Art Gallery and Museum on an oral history of spa practices and experiences at the Royal Pump Rooms, Leamington Spa, during the late twentieth century. Material from the project will be deposited at the museum and will be used as part of future exhibitions at the museum and in scholarly publications. He has also taught on the History MA course.

David Hardiman
During 2006-07, besides his teaching in the History Department, David Hardiman worked on his ESRC-funded project on ‘Healing, Medical Power and the Poor: Contests in Tribal India’. This was undertaken with Dr Gauri Raje, Research Assistant on the project. Focussing on the interrelationship between doctors, healers and the sick in tribal India, this project examines the ways in which the social power of dominant groups has been built, maintained and extended through providing medical services and other remedies. Patient narratives of healing have been constructed, and various forms of therapy studied, ranging from that of indigenous healers, to medical missionaries, nationalistic doctors, government health workers and Christian faith-healers, bringing out the ways in which their contests at times cause deep social divisions.

During the year, Hardiman and Raje were responsible for organising and conducting a conference jointly organised with the Centre for Social Studies, Surat, held at Surat from 21-23 March 2007. A wide range of academics from many different disciplines attended, as well as practising doctors. Professor Jan Breman of Amsterdam gave the keynote address. Hardiman presented a paper at this conference titled ‘Healing through Science, Healing though Faith: Christian Therapies for Tribal Gujarat’.

Publications

Presentations
‘Technologies of the Subaltern Self: A Christian Ethos for an Indigenous Community,’ paper given at conference on ‘Subaltern Citizens and their Histories,’ at Emory University, Atlanta, USA, 13-14 October 2006. By invitation, with all expenses paid by organisers.

‘Medical Missions in an Age of Decolonization: a Mission Hospital in Western India, 1940-1964.’ Paper given to the Imperial history seminar, University of London, at the Institute of Historical Research, Senate House, 23 October 2006.

‘The Invention of Ayurvedic Medicine,’ Workshop on Classicism and Traditionalism in Medical Systems, University of Oxford, 17 May 2007

‘Healing through Science, Healing though Faith: Christian Therapies for Tribal Gujarat’, conference on ‘Healing, Medical Power and the Poor in Tribal India’, organised by the Centre for the History of Medicine, University of Warwick, and the Centre for Social Studies, Surat; Surat, India, 21-23 March 2007.

Sarah Hodges
During 2006-07, Sarah Hodges completed work on her monograph Contraception, Colonialism and Commerce: Birth Control in South India, 1920-1940 (Ashgate, in press). She also delivered a paper based on part of this work, ‘Sex and the City: Contraceptive Commerce in Madras’, at the Centre for the History of Science, Technology and Medicine Seminar, University of Manchester, April 2007.

Hodges continued work on her new project, biotrash, on the contemporary cultural history of medical garbage in Chennai (formerly Madras), India. In connection with this work, she spent two weeks conducting fieldwork in Chennai. She also delivered ‘Biotrash: The Global Traffic in Medical Garbage in a Post-Genomic Age’ in the History in Public Health Seminar, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, April 2007 and a paper of the same title at the April Cafe Scientifique in Leamington Spa. Hodges also organized and ran a one-day international workshop funded jointly by the Centre for the History of Medicine and the Centre for the Study of Globalisation and Regionalisation at Warwick, entitled: ‘Health, Governance and the Global: Cultural Histories and Contemporary Practices’, March 2007 at which she presented her biotrash talk.

Publications

Presentations
‘Sex and the City: Contraceptive Commerce in Madras’, Centre for the History of Science, Technology and Medicine Seminar, University of Manchester, April 2007.

‘Biotrash: The Global Traffic in Medical Garbage in a Post-Genomic Age’, History in Public Health Seminar, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, April 2007.


Elaine Leong

Elaine Leong joined the Centre for the History of Medicine in May 2007 as a Leverhulme Early Career Fellow. During 2006-07, Elaine was a temporary lecturer in History of Medicine in the Department of the History and Philosophy of Science at the University of Cambridge and continued to work on her project titled *Reading for Cures: Texts, Readers and Lay Medical Practice in Early Modern England*. As part of her project, she spent the summer in Washington, D.C., taking up a short-term research fellowship at the Folger Shakespeare Library.

Publications


Presentations

Leong, E., ‘Cordial waters, Copper pots and Closets: Medicines in the Early Modern Household’, seminar presentation, the Centre for the History of Medicine, University of Warwick, February 2007.

Vicky Long

Throughout 2006-07, Vicky Long focussed on her research for the Wellcome Trust-funded project, ‘The Politics and Practices of Health in Work’. Findings from this research project were presented at seminars in Warwick and Dublin and at a conference in Birmingham. A British Academy Overseas Conference Grant enabled Vicky to present research from the project at the Annual Meeting of the American Association for the History of Medicine while a conference in London offered Vicky the opportunity to revisit themes from her doctoral research.

Alongside her research commitments, Vicky contributed to the teaching offered by the History Department, working as a seminar tutor on the undergraduate module, ‘Making of the Modern World’. Work continues apace on the drafting of a manuscript and articles which draw on the research findings from the project.

Presentations


‘“For his Physical Defects the Worker is in Some Measure Responsible”: Workers’ Environment, Lead Poisoning and the Politics of Industrial Health Education in Britain 1924-1938’, conference ‘The History of Work, Environment and Health’, Centre for the History of Medicine, University of Birmingham, April 2007.


Hilary Marland

In September 2006 Hilary Marland again took up the role of Director of the Centre following a year’s study leave. During 2006-07 she continued to research her project on the health of adolescent girls, 1880-1930, and presented papers on this theme in Manchester, Cambridge and Montreal. She continued to contribute to the projects on ‘The Politics and Practices of Health in Work in Britain, 1915-1951’ (with Dr Vicky Long and Dr Mathew Thomson), and ‘Healing Cultures, Medicine and the Therapeutic Uses of Water in the English Midlands, 1840-1948’ (with Dr Jane Adams). The latter project has resulted in two articles authored with Jane Adams, the first on the domestic use of the water cure forthcoming in the Bulletin of the History of Medicine and the second on work and water cure.

Hilary presented a paper and coordinated the panel ‘Beyond the Politics of Motherhood: Women’s Health in the Early Twentieth Century’ at the American Association for the History of Medicine conference in Montreal in May 2007 (an all-Warwick panel with Susan Aspinall and Vicky Long). She delivered the Cambridge Wellcome Lecture in the History of Medicine at the Department of History and Philosophy of Science in November 2006, and in April 2007 was Guest Lecturer at the launch of University College Dublin’s Centre for the History of Medicine.

In December 2006 Hilary co-organised a workshop ‘Psychiatric Science and Lay Perspectives’ with Cecilia Riving, who was visiting the CHM from the University of Lund in the autumn term. She also organised a two-day workshop with Jane Adams at the Palazzo Pesaro Papafava in Venice in March 2007 on the theme ‘Kill or Cure: Water and Health in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries’. Again working closely with Jane Adams, she developed a successful Project Grant application to carry out an oral history project with collaborators at the Royal Pump Rooms and Museum, Leamington Spa; Dr Michael Bevan is RA on the project. Other bids are being developed on infanticide in Ireland and the health of children in English and Irish institutions, with Professor Maria Luddy at Warwick and Dr Catherine Cox at University College Dublin. Much of the summer was devoted to shaping the Preliminary Application for the Centre’s next Strategic Award bid.

Hilary continued to serve as a member of the Wellcome Trust History of Medicine Funding Panel, as member of the AHRC Peer Review College and completed her final year of service as External Examiner at the University of Birmingham, MPhil(B), History of Medicine. She is also on the Editorial Boards of Social History of Medicine and History of Psychiatry.

In 2006-07 Hilary taught her Advanced Option ‘Madness and Society’ and continued to supervise and co-supervise seven PhD students; two students submitted in the course of the year and one has successfully passed through her viva.

Publications


Presentations


‘Doctors, Motherhood and Insanity of Childbirth in Victorian Britain’, Second Cambridge Wellcome Lecture in the History of Medicine, Department of History and Philosophy of Science, University of Cambridge, 23 November 2006.


“That I May Rest Here Till my Shattered Nerves have Recovered”: Locating the Patient in Nineteenth-Century Psychiatric Practice’, Invited Guest Lecture, Centre for the History of Medicine, University College Dublin, 19 April 2007.

‘Shaping the “New Girl” in Health Advice Literature in Britain, c.1900’, panel ‘Beyond the Politics of Motherhood: Women’s Health in the Early Twentieth Century’, Annual Conference of the American Association for the History of Medicine, Montreal May 2007 (and Panel Coordinator).

‘Fragile Adolescence?: Girls, Health and Medical Advice in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries’, conference ‘Re-imagining Paediatrics: Writing the History of Paediatric’, Centre for the History of Science, Technology and Medicine, University of Manchester, 18 May 2007.

‘“Hysterical, Low and in Despair”: The Patient’s View of Puerperal Insanity in the Nineteenth Century’, Qualitative Inquiry Cymru: Patient Perspectives in Health: Qualitative Research in the Social Sciences & Humanities, University of Swansea, 8 June 2007.

Caroline Proctor
In the course of the academic year 2006-7, Caroline taught both medieval and medical history in the Department of History. She was also Research Assistant to Sarah Hodges on the Biotrash project. Over the summer she worked with Molly Rogers and Hilary Marland to produce history of medicine modules for GCSE students for the Coventry Education and Business Partnership Centre for Health and Social Care. 2007 saw the publication of an article on Robert the Bruce’s physician in *Scottish Historical Review* (a paper on Scottish medieval medicine was also given at the University of Nottingham) and *Medieval Sexuality: A Casebook* (Routledge).

Publications


Gauri Raje
Gauri Raje continued to work with David Hardiman on the ESRC-funded research project on ‘Healing, Medical Power and the Poor: Contests in Tribal India’ throughout this year. She was involved in organising a workshop at the Centre for Social Studies in Surat, India, in March 2007, to disseminate the findings of the project. Academics and health workers from all over India attended to discuss the initial findings of the project and also contribute their own papers. The local press took a keen interest in this conference, and the discussion of the conference continued in newspapers for several days, as it was seen to have raised some challenging questions about health provision in tribal areas in Gujarat and elsewhere in India.

A six-month extension was granted by the ESRC from April to the end of September 2007, enabling Gauri to continue her full-time employment on the project while she completed a range of articles on key topics. This she did, and in most cases these have
been submitted for publication. During this period, she also made a selection of materials from the field data (including tapes of interviews and transcripts), prepared it (including making extensive transcripts), and submitted it to the data archive in Essex in August 2007. By the close of the period of funding and the extension, a considerable body of material had been prepared for publication.

Claudia Stein

For her Wellcome Lectureship Award project Claudia Stein is analyzing the private lives and professional careers of medical practitioners attached to the court of the absolutist Electors of Bavaria, the most powerful Catholic rulers in early modern Germany. Over the last year her project has slightly changed in focus (see Ongoing Projects, above). Although the electoral court in Munich is still at the centre, the project now concentrates on one particular physician Johann Anton von Wolter (1711-1778) and explores his thoughts and medical practices in more detail. Von Wolter served the Elector Maximilian III Joseph for over five decades holding the most powerful medical positions in the country. As the elector’s personal physician responsible for the well-being of the entire ruling family, his political influence at court was unrivalled. Moreover, as the prolemedicus of Bavaria, von Wolter was able to shape medical practice and its organisation according to his enlightened beliefs. Of particular interest to Stein are his activities in the areas of midwifery and military medicine. Von Wolter’s strategies of professional self-fashioning offer an exciting insight into the ideas and practices of Enlightenment science and medicine in an absolutist AND deeply Catholic country, a still very much neglected topic in the history of medicine.

In 2006-07 Stein finished the translation of her German monograph (2003) which will be published by Ashgate in 2008 under the title, Negotiating the French Pox in Early Modern Germany. She also continued to work on her joint-project with Roger Cooter, Biopublics and the Politics of the Visual – German and British Projects in the Century of the Eye.

Publications


Presentations


Ingrid Sykes

In May 2007 Ingrid Sykes published her monograph *Women, Science and Sound in Nineteenth-Century France* (Peter Lang, Frankfurt am Main). She continues to work on her Wellcome Trust-funded Research Fellowship on ‘Blindness, Sound, and the Development of Medical Acoustics in Nineteenth-Century France’. She undertook a major research trip to Paris in May 2007, where she consulted archives at Quinze-Vingts, Centre Hospitalier National d’Ophtalmologie. The results of this research are being prepared for publication in an article to be submitted to Social History of Medicine in early 2008.

**Publications**

*Women, Science and Sound in Nineteenth-Century France* (Peter Lang, Frankfurt am Main, 2007).

Mathew Thomson

Mathew Thomson was on leave in the first half of the academic year 2006-07. During this period he developed his research on the landscape of the child in twentieth-century Britain. Investigating such a topic was especially timely in the context of the UNESCO report identifying British children as being among the least happy in the world and as particularly marked by a series of psycho-social problems. His research began with examining the impact of the Second World War on thinking about the psycho-social health of the child, and in particular the issues of evacuation, the blitz and the bombsite, children’s homes, the psychological idealisation of the family home, and British interest in the mental health of children in wartime and post-war Europe. He then examined the development of these concerns in relation to post-war debates up until the 1970s about children and television, playgrounds, traffic, sexual abuse, and photography. He presented a paper arising from this research, looking at the Aberfan disaster and childhood trauma, at a meeting on Human Values and Medicine at the University of Cardiff.

Thomson was involved in a number of events and activities arising out of the publication of his *Psychological Subjects: Identity, Health, and Culture in Twentieth-Century Britain* (Oxford University Press, 2006). He gave a seminar paper on this project at the University of California, Berkeley. He participated in a symposium on the book organised by the History and Philosophy section of the British Psychological Society at their Annual Conference at Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford. He wrote an author’s response as part of a review symposium on the book in the *History of the Human Sciences*. He was a discussant at the Annual Conference of CHEIRON at University College, Dublin. And he has been invited to submit *Psychological Subjects* to be considered for the British Psychological Society’s Annual Book Award.

Thomson also returned to his earlier work on eugenics and psychiatry, participating in a workshop at the Commonwealth Institute in London on revisiting and internationalising the history of eugenics. He will develop his paper on the international history of eugenics,
psychiatry, and disability for a resulting new world history of eugenics to be published by Oxford University Press.

Thomson has remained active in developing research links with other disciplines. In collaboration with Professor Simon Williams (Sociology), Thomson developed a research project proposal on the history of sleep and national efficiency in Britain between 1880 and 1945, submitted to the Wellcome Trust in August. And in collaboration with the locally-based Triangle Theatre Company, he developed a research and public engagement project on medicine and execution in Britain. The Wellcome Trust has agreed to fund this for twelve months from January 2008, and this will bring Dr Norwood Andrews, our former Research Fellow from the University of Austin, Texas, back to the Centre as Research Assistant on the project. Thomson is also involved in several interdisciplinary networks recently established within the University. The first is a group looking to bring together researchers in childhood studies, history, and psychiatry on the history of children, mental health, and happiness. The second focuses on ‘Neuroscience and Society’ and brings together neuroscientists, psychologists, psychiatrists, sociologists, and historians. The third aims to bring outstanding international scholars to Warwick to discuss the challenges of bringing together the social and the biological in the research of the future. He was also involved in several collaborative enterprises with the Warwick Medical School. He advised Dr Rodger Charlton on his research on the history of Palliative Medicine and was a participant in one-day workshop arising from his Wellcome-funded project. He was involved in the development of collaborative research schemes in the area of ethnicity and health. Finally, he was a participant in a workshop organised by the Medical School on ‘Values Based Medicine’ and has been in discussion with Professor Bill Fulford about the role of history in this area of ongoing development.

Within the Centre for the History of Medicine, Thomson worked with Vicky Long and Hilary Marland on the Wellcome-funded project ‘The Politics and Practices of Health in Work in Britain’. He acted as an advisor to Jonathan Toms, who began his Wellcome-funded Research Fellowship on child guidance, psychiatric social work, and therapeutic communities for children in twentieth-century Britain. He supervised a number of the Centre’s Ph.D. students. During the year, these students worked on topics that included: food refusal in the asylum, the home, and the hunger-strike in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century Britain; corsets, exercise, war-work, and the physiology of breathing in British women in the same period; and psychological theory and lone motherhood in post-war Britain. He organised the visit of Professor James Vernon from the University of California Berkeley and the associated ‘Histories of Hunger’ workshop. Finally, he took a lead with Professor Marland in developing the application for a new Wellcome Strategic Award on the theme of ‘Situating Medicine’.

Publications


Presentations

‘Writing the History of the Psychological Subject in Modern Britain’, Centre for Modern British Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 19 September 2006


Participant in Symposium on Psychological Subjects at the History and Philosophy Section of the British Psychological Society Annual Conference, Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, 5 April 2007


Jonathan Toms
During the year 2006-07, Jonathan Toms commenced research on his Wellcome Trust-funded Fellowship, ‘Relationship Versus Authority: Psychiatric Social Work, Therapeutic Communities, and the Subjectivity of the Child, c1930–c1970’. In May he gave a paper entitled, ‘Authority and Relationship: Notions of Freedom in Mid-Twentieth Century Psychiatric Social Work’ at a post-doc seminar at the University of Warwick. He also gave a paper entitled, ‘The Concept of “Maladjustment” in Postwar Child Guidance and Psychiatric Social Work’, at a conference on ‘Children, Disability and Community Care, from 1850 to the Present Day’. This conference was sponsored by the Society for the Social History of Medicine and held at the University of Swansea in October 2007.

He has recently been appointed a Fellow of the newly inaugurated Institute for the History and Work of Therapeutic Environments.

Presentations

### Appendix B: Funding Applications and Ongoing Awards

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<th>Title</th>
<th>Principal Researcher</th>
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<td>Hilary Marland</td>
<td>Conference</td>
<td>Wellcome Trust</td>
<td>20 NOV 06</td>
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<td>Pulling the Plug?: An Oral History of Spa Practices and Experiences at the Royal Pump Rooms</td>
<td>Michael Bevan</td>
<td>Small Project</td>
<td>Wellcome Trust</td>
<td>26 FEB 07</td>
<td>YES</td>
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<td>Transplant</td>
<td>Phillip Warnell</td>
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<td>Wellcome Trust</td>
<td>27 APR 07</td>
<td>YES</td>
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<td>Rest and Restitution: Nervous Patients and Convalescence in Interwar England</td>
<td>Stephen Soanes</td>
<td>PhD</td>
<td>Wellcome Trust</td>
<td>1 MAY 07</td>
<td>YES</td>
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<td>Subject to the Care of the State</td>
<td>Ashley Mathiesen</td>
<td>PhD</td>
<td>Wellcome Trust</td>
<td>1 MAY 07</td>
<td>No</td>
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<td>Martin Lister</td>
<td>David Beck</td>
<td>PhD</td>
<td>Wellcome Trust</td>
<td>1 MAY 07</td>
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<td>The Education Business Partnership Centre in Health and Social Care (co-applicant)</td>
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<td>A Comparative History of Beriberi and Diabetes in India, 1880-1960</td>
<td>David Arnold</td>
<td>Project</td>
<td>Wellcome Trust</td>
<td>1 AUG 07</td>
<td>Resubmit</td>
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<td>The Medical History of Sleep, Sleepiness and Sleeplessness in Britain, c. 1880 – c. 1945</td>
<td>Mathew Thomson</td>
<td>Project</td>
<td>Wellcome Trust</td>
<td>1 AUG 07</td>
<td>Resubmit</td>
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<td>Medical History, Immersive Museum Theatre, and ‘The Last Women’</td>
<td>Norwood Andrews</td>
<td>Small Project</td>
<td>Wellcome Trust</td>
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<th>Duration</th>
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<td>Claudia Stein</td>
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<td>01-JAN-04</td>
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<td>Blindness, Sound and the Development of Medical Acoustics in Nineteenth-Century France</td>
<td>Ingrid Sykes</td>
<td>Fellowship</td>
<td>Wellcome Trust</td>
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<td>01-JAN-05</td>
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<td>Politics and Practices of Health in Work in Britain, 1915-1974</td>
<td>Vicky Long</td>
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<td>Wellcome Trust</td>
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<td>01-JAN-05</td>
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<td>Healing Cultures, Medicine and the Therapeutic Uses of Water in the English Midlands, 1840-1948</td>
<td>Jane Adams</td>
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<td>Wellcome Trust</td>
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<td>01-MAR-05</td>
<td>30 AUG 08</td>
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Appendix C: Seminar Series 2006-2007

Spring Term 2007

24 January 2007
Kiheung Kim (Department of Chemical Engineering, Imperial College London; Wellcome Trust Centre for the History of Medicine at UCL)
How Controversy Ends: Scrapie Research in the 1960s

7 February 2007
Vicky Long (Centre for the History of Medicine, University of Warwick)
Taking Responsibility: Trade Unions and the Politics of Health and Work in Interwar Britain

21 February 2007
Elaine Leong (Cambridge)
Cordial Waters, Copper Pots and Closets: Medicines in the Early Modern Household

7 March 2007
Nick Hopwood (Department of the History and Philosophy of Science, University of Cambridge)
Constructing Identities for Embryologists and Embryos: A Sculptural Portrait from 1900

Autumn Term 2006

18 October 2006
Hans Pols (Unit for History and Philosophy of Science, University of Sydney)
Psychology as Politics: Colonial Psychiatry and Indigenous Physicians in the Former Dutch East Indies

1 November 2006
Gauri Raje (Centre for the History of Medicine, University of Warwick)
The Modernising Bhagat: Adaptations to Traditional Healing Practices in Western India

15 November 2006
Hera Cook (Department of History, University of Birmingham)
The Expression of Emotion in Mid-Twentieth-Century England

29 November 2006
Simon Chaplin (Hunterian Museum, London)
Appendix D: Current PhD Topics

Current PhD Students
Susan Aspinall
*Medicine, Physiology and Gender: The Healthy Female Body and the Corset, 1880-1960*

Katherine Foxhall
*Cholera: Medical Policy, Experience and Perception of Migrants from Britain and Ireland, 1815 – 1870*

Lisa Grant
*The Development of Pediatrics in France and England, 1760-1883*

Judith Lockhart
*‘Truly a Hospital for Women’: The Birmingham and Midland Hospital for Women, 1871-1948*

Kathryn Miele
*Representing Empathy: The Defence of Vulnerable Bodies in Victorian Medical Culture*

Gabrielle Robilliard
*Midwives and Identity in Early Modern Germany*

Julia Smith
*The Rise of the Slimmers’ Disease: A History of Eating Disorders in Britain, 1900-2000*

Brooke Whitelaw
*Industry and the Interior Life: Industrial ‘Experts’ and the Mental World of Workers in Twentieth Century Britain, 1900-1970*
Appendix E: Mission Statement and Advisory Board Membership

Mission Statement
The Centre for the History of Medicine at the University of Warwick is an active group of scholars teaching and researching in the history of medicine. As a group, the Centre aims:

- To attract scholars of the highest standing to contribute to and participate in the Centre's programmes, and provide them with a stimulating and supportive environment in which to develop professionally;
- To raise further the profile of the Centre and its activities both within the University and across the history of medicine communities in the UK and abroad;
- To engage the local community and the public at large with the history of medicine as a discipline relevant to contemporary concerns, and to do so in creative and innovative ways;
- To conduct teaching and research in the history of medicine of the highest calibre, and particularly to address issues that are significant to vital or emerging debates within the discipline.

Membership
The Advisory Board shall comprise the following:

The Director of the Centre
Professor Hilary Marland (Chair)

Two members of teaching staff currently attached to the Centre
Professor David Arnold
Professor David Hardiman

One member of contract research staff currently attached to the Centre
Dr Vicky Long

One student in the history of medicine
Katherine Foxhall

Members of the History Department
Dr Anne Gerritsen
Dr Maria Luddy
Professor Margot Finn (Head of Department)

Members of other departments within the University
Dr Rodger Charlton (Medical School)
Professor Andrew Easton (Biological Sciences)
Professor Nick Spencer (Postgraduate Medical Education)
Professor Simon Williams (Sociology)

Members of external organisations
Dr Leslie Dunn (Retired Consultant Psychiatrist)
Dr David Gentilcore (Department of History, University of Leicester)
Dr Jonathan Reinarz (Centre for the History of Medicine, University of Birmingham)
Dr Len Smith (Centre for the History of Medicine, University of Birmingham)
Mrs Nicky McIntosh (Leamington Spa Art Gallery and Museum)
Dr Greg Wells (Director of Public Health for Warwickshire)

The Administrator of the Centre shall act as Secretary, and the Advisory Board would normally require external members to be quorate.