Introduction

1. Poovey, Making a Social Body 99.
2. Foucault, Discipline and Punish.
3. Childers, Novel Possibilities 89.
4. Childers, Novel Possibilities 73. Of course, Childers does argue that the Sanitary Report borrows “representational strategies” from the Victorian novel, so while aesthetic forms are not his primary interest the formal conventions of fiction are implicit in his discussion of Chadwick.
5. Levine, Teukolsky.
8. Corbin 5.
11. Classen et al. 82.
12. Trotter 38.
15. Eagleton 42–43.
17. See Cohen’s fascinating “Locating Filth,” the introduction to his edited collection of essays, Filth: Dirt, Disgust and Modern Life; see also Allen, Cleansing the City.
18. Carlisle 16.
19. Quoted in Wohl 101; also quoted in Schama 416.
20. The term “self-organizing” is a familiar one in both biology and economics, explored most thoroughly by bioethicist Henri Atlan in his 1998 article “Intentional Self-Organization.”
22. See Ward, The Medea Hypothesis, for a particularly grim look at self-organization in the ecosystem. In economics, Krugman’s The Self-Organizing Economy entertains the notion of the ambivalent and not necessarily moral effects of free markets: self-organization is “something we observe, not necessarily something we want” (6).
23. Douglas 104.
24. While Carlisle argues that novels of the 1860s reflect a more highly refined sensitivity to the subtle aromas of class difference than the putrid, noxious, and poisonous smells of the 1840s could stimulate (Carlisle 17), the sluggish pace of the sanitary revolution allows me to focus more broadly on novels that span several decades and are much less subtly offended by dirt and disease.
25. Goodlad discusses waning interest in the Sanitary Idea (87), as does Allen (Cleansing the City 174).

Chapter 1

3. See Poovey, Making a Social Body; Childers, Novel Possibilities.
5. Carroll 59.
6. It is important to note what Ruskin himself clarified in the first pages of Modern Painters: “Speaking generally of the Elder Masters, I refer only to Claude, Gaspar Poussin, Salvator Rosa, Cuyp, Berghem, Both, Ruysdael, Hobbima, Teniers (in his landscapes), P. Potter, Canaletto, and those various Van somethings and Back somethings, more especially and malignantly those who have libelled the sea” (Ruskin, Modern Painters I, 48).
7. Ruskin, Modern Painters III, 241. This realization appears to have comforted Ruskin, who, by the time the third volume of Modern Painters was published, was agonizing over John Milton’s use of the color brown to describe the air and water in Paradise Lost. In the 1860 Elements of Drawing, Ruskin would warn novice artists against the use of not only browns, but “dirty yellowish greens,” comparing such pigments to a form of refuse deplored by sanitarians: “a decaying heap of vegetables” (III, 235).
8. Lindsay 108. Lindsay also notes that Gilpin had disparaged the Isle of Wight for the chalkiness of its coast; and though at times he found a small area of white acceptable, he and [Uvedale] Price both rated it a glaring hue that should be avoided” (108).
9. In the third volume of Modern Painters, Ruskin impatiently addresses the “careless readers” who need to ask such a question: such readers inquire “‘Turner cannot draw, Turner is generalizing, vague, and visionary; and the Pre-Raphaelites are hard and distinct. How can anyone like both?’” Ruskin responds: “But I never said that he was vague or visionary. What I said was that nobody had ever drawn so well: that nobody was so certain, so unvisionary; that nobody had ever given so many hard and downright facts” (Ruskin, “Of the Use of Pictures,” Modern Painters III, 356-57).
11. Teukolsky 5.
12. Ruskin, “Preface” I, xxxviii, li. All further citations of the preface to Modern Painters will refer to this 1844 edition, rather than the 1842 edition that was reissued in 2000.
13. For these definitions, see Fairholt 217, or Spooner xxviii.
15. Nightingale 91.
18. Ruskin, “The Relation of Art to Use” 73.
25. Lindsay 191.
29. Ruskin, Modern Painters IV, 429–30. Ruskin locates the purer elements of sublimity in Turner’s landscapes, of course; for Ruskin, sublimity is sanitized only when the artist can enter into full “communion of heart” with his subjects. There is no beauty or delight to be found in Turner’s contemplation of decay, only pride, purpose and “largeness of sympathy” (429).
30. Punch 3.
31. For more information about Eastlake’s career at the National Gallery, see Robertson.
32. Moore 16.
33. Coningham.
34. Reports from the Select Committee on Fine Arts and on the National Gallery 6.
35. Leslie 216.
36. Waagen, “Thoughts on the New Building to be Erected for the National Gallery of England” 121.
38. “The Pictures’ Petition”.
39. McClintock includes an interesting chapter on racism, imperialism and the commodification of hygiene (207–31).
40. In “The Cestus of Aglaia” (1866) Ruskin rather insensitively compares the fight for freedom from the art preferences of the past to the struggle for black emancipation currently underway in America. “Perhaps a little white emancipation on this side of the water might be still more desirable, and more easily and guiltlessly won. . . . Of all the sheepish notions on our English public ‘mind,’ I think the simplest is that slavery is neutralized when you are well paid for it!” (494).
41. Mogford 7.
42. Protest and Counter-Statement against the Report of the Select Committee 90.
45. Redgrave 4.
47. Waagen, “The National Gallery.”
48. “Picture Cleaning in the National Gallery.”
49. Waagen, “The National Gallery.”
50. “Bravo, Boxall!”
51. Henry Merritt 3.
52. Collins, A Rogue’s Life 68.
53. Thackeray 198.
54. Ritchie.
55. Clarke 213.
57. Lysaght.
58. Douglas writes, “In these cases the articulate, conscious points in the social structure are armed with articulate, conscious powers to protect the system; the inarticulate, unstructured areas emanate unconscious powers to provoke others to demand that ambiguity be reduced. When such unhappy or angry interstitial persons are accused of witchcraft it is like a warning to bring their rebellious feelings into line with their correct situation. . . . Witchcraft, then, is found in the non-structure” (Douglas 102).
59. Ruskin, Lectures on Landscape 20
60. Hunt 57.
61. Bate 7.

Chapter 2

1. Ruskin, Unto This Last 156.
2. Eliot, Middlemarch 369–70. All further references will be found within the body of the text.
3. See Poovey and Childers, but also the fascinating discussion of Dickens’s Our Mutual Friend in Gilbert 86. Gilbert explores the moral meanings of epidemic diseases, as well as the sanitary work of the reform novel.
4. Chadwick’s famous concept of the “fever nest” was usefully explored in Stallybrass and White and extended in more specific geographical meaning by many other critics, including Gilbert and also Allen, Cleansing the City.
5. For a discussion of the literature that considers the picturesque to be a largely pre-Victorian concept, see Copley and Garside. For an excellent discussion of the ideological function of the picturesque within Romantic and Regency debates about agriculture and enclosure, see Bermingham.
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22. Edmund Burke, quoted in Eagleton 52.
23. Arnold 409.
25. Beaumont 133.
26. A similar argument is made in Tomes.
27. On the conservative impact of sanitation reform, see the excellent Childers, “Observation and Representation”; more recently, Allen, *Cleansing the City*, provides an interesting and useful analysis of the sanitary and social regulation of the Victorian working classes.
31. Robins.
32. Richardson, “Woman as a Sanitary Reformer” 178.
34. Tomes, Bashford.
35. Yonge, *Astray*.
38. Arnold 419.
39. Levine 647.

Chapter 3

2. Smiles 263.
3. Stallybrass and White 129–30. Pamela K. Gilbert and Michelle Allen have followed Stallybrass and White’s lead, in their own geographically interested research on sanitation reform: see Gilbert’s “Medical Mapping,” and Allen’s *Cleansing the City*.
4. See Armstrong; Gallagher; Poovey, *Uneven Developments*.
5. Flint 42.
6. Day.
7. Carpenter 228.
8. White, “Undrained London.”
10. Bayliss 241
11. Richardson, *Hygeia*.
15. Broughton 60.
18. Yonge, *The Pillars of the House* I, 302. Edgar’s dirty propensities in art are matched by an equally decadent moral philosophy, and negative reviews of his painting *Brynhild* at the
Royal Academy exhibition send him into a downward spiral of degradation; he eventually runs away to the American West, where he dies an appropriately horrible death at the hands of Indians.

22. Murphy 8.
23. Smith and Young 127.
24. Garrett and Garrett 89.
27. Gilman 5.
29. Marcus 94.
30. Tyndall 18.
31. Richardson, Diseases of Modern Life 55.
32. Bardwell ii.
34. Murdock 131.
36. Panton 12.
37. Hardy 64.
38. Benjamin Richardson, qtd. in Fletcher 177.
41. E. W. Godwin, qtd. in Kinchen 106.
42. Kinchen 106.
43. Martineau 463.
44. Prettejohn 6.
45. Chesterton 7.
46. Hitchens 27.

Chapter 4

2. Bourdieu, qtd. in Eagleton 196.
3. Broughton 60.
4. Pease, Modernism 88.
5. Foucault, The Birth of the Clinic 155.
7. Richards 147.
9. Snow discusses this assumption about the morality of painless surgery in Blessed Days of Anaesthesia 157. The argument was at times made by B. W. Richardson, himself a proponent of animal experimentation.
15. Twain.
16. Bernard, An Introduction to the Study of Experimental Medicine 103
17. Holmes-Forbes 162.
19. Leach 44.
21. Meeghan Kennedy has also noted that a concept of “medicine as an art” challenged the more mechanical, objectivist discourse of clinical medicine during the Victorian period, but she describes medical aesthetics as a form of human insight that surfaces “in case histories coded variously as sensibility, sentiment, sympathy, and even speculation” (Kennedy 5).
30. Berdoe 8, 147.
32. Wootton 184.
33. Carpenter, Civilisation 19.
34. Wootton 213, Bashford 64.
35. Shaw, “What Is to Be Done with the Doctors?” 42.
38. Osler 186.
41. Shaw, qtd. in Boxhill 62.
42. Pearson, George Bernard Shaw 311.
44. Yonge, The Long Vacation 183.
46. Charles Reade’s Foul Play (1877), for example, features a sanitary clergyman, Robert Penfold, who falls in love on the high seas with Hazel, a beautiful, dying consumptive. Penfold is infuriated when Hazel’s physician allows her to eat sweets, and he convinces her to come under his medical care instead. “Disease of the lungs is curable, but not by drugs and unwholesome food” (43) he insists, but his remedies seem dubious until the ship is scuttled by pirates, and Penfold and Hazel are stranded on a sunny island paradise. Fed on turtles and their eggs, Hazel’s health improves so miraculously that she is eventually able to commandeer a passing sailboat, repair it, and sail around the island by herself while chased by sharks.
47. Collins, Heart and Science. Benjulia’s bold assertion that he practices vivisection primarily because he likes it epitomizes the Victorian anxiety about surgical aesthesis: “Knowl-
edge for its own sake is the one true god I worship. . . . Knowledge sanctifies cruelty. . . . In that sacred cause, if I could steal a living man without being found out, I would tie him on my table, and grasp my grand discovery in days, instead of months” (157).

48. Ouida 42.

Chapter 5

1. For a helpful discussion of the influence of germ theory on sanitation reform see Mort 26–33.
2. Tyndall 20, 41.
3. Budd, quoted in Tyndall 42–43.
4. Pelling 29.
5. Allen, At Market Value.
10. This is discussed in Mangum 198.
11. Masterman 5.
12. Mort 27.
13. White, Efficiency and Empire 99.
14. Shee 797.
15. Ellis, Eugenics Made Plain 1.
18. Richardson, “Salutland” 34.
19. Richardson, “Storage of Life as a Sanitary Study.”
21. Richardson, Love and Eugenics in the Late-Nineteenth Century 8.
22. Reynolds.
23. Koch’s use of seed imagery in his discussions of anthrax and its isolation in 1876 is discussed in Tomes (36).
24. Tomes 38.
26. Eagleton 43.
27. Simon 477.
28. Bond 144.
29. Ellis, The Dance of Life 265.

Chapter 6

5. Lehmann 188.
7. Spencer 41.
8. Saleeby 33.
9. Rentoul 104.
10. Solomon 208.
13. Advertisement for Helen Baker’s *Race Improvement, or Eugenics*.
15. Shee 804.
16. Saleeby 32.
18. Ellis, *Eugenics Made Plain* 39. As Ivan Crozier points out, Ellis’s own philosophy of sex, race, and art often follows “a Nietzschean line, which can first be detected in an article he published in the decadent Savoy magazine in 1896” 189.
23. Cobbe, *The Peak in Darien* 89.
27. Fry, “Art and Science” 81.
30. Lange.
31. Mangum 19, 218.
32. Sutton-Ramspeck.
34. MacColl 43.
35. Nordau.

Coda

1. Lange 338.