

EH411**Epidemics and Economic and Social History:
From the Black Death to the Present****Scope**

This course analyses the impact of epidemic disease on human societies and economies from the Black Death to the present day. It examines arguments and evidence about epidemics' relationship to economic, social, demographic and political change and the development and implementation of medical, scientific and social responses. Case studies will focus on epidemics in Europe, Central America, and Asia, but reference may also be made to the experience of other regions, in order to achieve a more global picture.

The course will explore a range of issues in the history of epidemics from the fourteenth century to the present day. Themes considered will include: the extent to which epidemics act as agents of social, economic, religious and political change; the role of epidemics in demographic change and its political and economic consequences, particularly the Columbian exchange and the 'epidemiological transition'. Aspects of responses to epidemics will include: the significance of epidemics in the development of public health; popular resistance to public health; epidemics, empire and colonialism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; the construction of scientific and medical understandings of epidemic diseases; medical responses, including inoculation, vaccination and policies of herd immunity; language, stigma and policies towards epidemic disease. Epidemic diseases discussed in the course will include plague, smallpox, cholera, and AIDS, and others as required; endemic diseases and endemic forms of epidemics will also be considered as appropriate.

Structure**Michaelmas Term: Disaster and Response in Europe, 1300-1880**

This term we examine the history of epidemic diseases in the West before the discovery of germs. The term focuses on the three epidemic diseases that presented the most serious threat between the fourteenth and the nineteenth centuries: plague, smallpox and cholera. Case-studies are drawn from Europe, with some reference to colonial America; where possible students will use a mix of primary and secondary sources. After an introduction to pre-modern disease concepts and the long-run demography of the period, particularly the decline of epidemics, the course seeks to explore three core themes in the history of disease and public health. First, the social and economic impact of epidemic disease, particularly patterns of response and the relationship between risk, mortality and factors such as wealth, status, geography and gender. Second, the creation of state institutions to address epidemic disease, specifically public health systems against epidemics during plague, and their transformation in the eighteenth and nineteenth century to deal with smallpox and cholera. Third, the development of technical solutions to epidemics, the social framing of their application, and the reception they elicited, through the case of smallpox and inoculation and vaccination. Through the term, students will be expected to develop an understanding of the long-run patterns of the impact of and response to disease in the West.

Lent Term: Between Empire and AIDS, 1880-2000

This term we examine the history of epidemic disease in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The term focuses on three themes. First, the relationship between epidemic diseases and imperial and colonial regimes. We begin by stepping back chronologically to examine one of the key concepts in globalisation: the spread of disease and its role in European expansion. We then consider how the organisation of colonial regimes affected the spread, impact and response to epidemic diseases, first through a comparative examination of several examples, then in a specific case (plague in 19th and early 20th century India). Second, the development of responses to epidemic diseases in the West and their successes, costs and failures. As in the first term, the relationship between policy and social, economic and cultural factors will play a central part in discussions. The case studies here include: immigration policy; disease eradication campaigns; the impact and costs of the 1918 Influenza Pandemic; and the early twentieth century campaign against Venereal Disease. Third, the history of AIDS and its economic and social impact. Through the term,

students are expected to take a comparative and global approach to the social and economic history of epidemics.

Course Organisation

This course will be taught by weekly seminars, from 10.00 to 12.00 on Fridays in room V308. The course begins with a lecture; nineteen seminars take up the remainder of MT and LT; there will be at least one revision class in the ST. All students should complete the core readings for each week given in the list below.

Please note that the questions given for each week are **issues to consider while reading; they are not a set agenda for each session.** A suggested essay question is also given.

Summary of Written Work

All students are required to produce three papers. Two of these are circulated to the seminar; a third is submitted for formal Assessment. Titles must be approved in advance.

Seminar Papers

In addition to the assessed essay, you are required to write two seminar papers, one each term. Papers must be submitted *in advance* of the seminar to which they relate. Topics will be selected at the second lecture, and should not normally be changed thereafter. Questions are suggested for each week, but alternative titles are acceptable if agreed in advance.

Every paper must address a question. You will find suggested questions at the top of the reading list for each topic. *Papers should be of 3000 words and typed (single-spaced). Be sure to give references, in footnotes. Please list the sources you have used at the end of the essay.* References and bibliography do not count towards the word-limit.

It is important to note that a decent essay is likely to require *at least six to eight readings*. For each topic a selection of initial readings are given; further readings are available in the supplemental reading list or through your own research. Please tell me of any readings which you find particularly helpful or unhelpful.

What we are looking for in a seminar paper is your analysis of the matter: a systematic, reasoned discussion of the theoretical and empirical issues. Your conclusions do not have to be original but they do need to be the product of your own critical examination of the material available to you. The questions are largely open to a variety of approaches; good answers will engage in a rigorous way with the issue and concepts involved.

When you have finished your paper, you should send it by e-mail attachment to all members of the group (including me: p.h.wallis@lse.ac.uk). This must be by noon the day before the seminar, to give everyone time to read it in advance. The previous Friday is better still!

I will return these papers with detailed comments and a grade for your information (it will not count in the assessment of the degree). Providing the paper comes in on time, I will usually be able to give it back to you at the end of the seminar to which it relates. Once you have read my comments you are welcome to see me individually to discuss the paper and the course as a whole.

Discussants of Papers

In weeks where papers are submitted, another student will be responsible for giving a short commentary on the paper (a maximum of 8 minutes). Respondents must therefore be familiar with the material.

Assessment

An assessed essay to be handed in during the year the course is taken counts for 30% of the marks. It must be not more than 3,000 words (excluding references and bibliography). The remaining 70% of the marks are accounted for by a three-hour written examination in summer term.

Additional resources

Nearly all of the readings are available at the **Wellcome Library** for the History of Medicine, at 210 Euston Road, London NW1 2BE (nearest tubes: Euston Road, Euston, Warren Street). This very comfortable library contains a massive number of works relevant to the course. Its collections will be almost essential for preparing essays, in particular. You are all strongly advised to visit it and get a readers ticket (open to all) as soon as possible. Details are available at: <http://library.wellcome.ac.uk/>

Many others are available at the library of the **London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine** which is nearby on Keppel Street, London WC1E 7HT. Their website is <http://www.lshtm.ac.uk/> for further details.

You may wish to consider buying Slack and Ranger, *Epidemics and Ideas*.

Individual consultation: To see me individually, either speak to me at the end of the seminar, e-mail me (p.h.wallis@lse.ac.uk), or come to my office (room C.319: tel. 020 7955 7074). During the Michaelmas and Lent Terms my 'office hours' will be given on my office door. I will give advance notice of any variations on these times in class and on my door.

General readings:

In addition to the specific works given for each topic, and the general theoretical works and introductions listed for lectures 1 and 2, these books may provide a useful background and general introduction:

M. Harrison, *Disease and the Modern World: 1500 to the present*.

J.N. Hays *The Burdens of Disease: Epidemics and Human Response in Western History* (1998)

J. Diamond, *Guns, germs and steel* (1997)

S. Watts, *Epidemics and History: Disease, power and imperialism* (1997)

R. Porter, *The Greatest Benefit to Mankind: a medical history of humanity* (1997)

I. Loudon (ed.), *Western Medicine: an Illustrated History* (1997)

K. Kiple (ed.), *The Cambridge world history of human disease* (1993)

Bynum & Porter (ed) *Companion Encyclopedia of the history of medicine* (1993)

M. Worboys, *Spreading Germs: Disease, Theories, and Medical Practice in Britain, 1865-1900* (Cambridge, 2000)

N. Tomes, *The Gospel Of Germs: Men, Women And The Microbe In American Life*

For further information on modern understandings of disease:

Anderson & May, *Infectious Diseases of Humans* (1991)

The US Centers for Disease Control website also provides useful background information on many diseases (www.cdc.gov)

If you are considering taking a broader analysis of an epidemic as a research project, you may be interested in these studies of the impact of epidemics on growth (see also seminars 4 and 19):

E. Brainerd and M. Siegler, 'The Economic Effects of the 1918 Influenza Epidemic', *CEPR Discussion Paper No. 3791* (2003).

J. Fisher, 'Influenza and inflation in Tudor England', *ECHR* (1957) (nb: see Moore article in *ECHR* 1993 plus Zell and Moore's comments in *ECHR* 1994)

Lee, Jong-Wha and McKibbin, Warwick J. 'Estimating the global economic costs of SARS', *Asian Economic Papers* (MIT 2004) [and in *Learning from SARS*]

N. Crafts & M. Haacker, 'Welfare Implications of AIDS', IMF Working Paper, No. 03/118 (<http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/cat/longres.cfm?sk=16567.0>)

For a mix of relaxation and reference you may enjoy some 'epidemic' novels, such as:
Albert Camus, *La Peste/The Plague*

Gabriel Garcia Marquez, *Love in the Time of Cholera*

Geraldine Brooks, *Year of Wonders*

1. Introduction/Lecture: Health, disease and history

Part 1: Themes

The course
The issues etc.

Part 2: Ideas of epidemics

What were epidemics understood to be caused by before germ theory?
What is a miasma?
What is contagion? How does it change over time?

Sources:

Richard Mead, *A Short Discourse concerning Pestilential Contagion* (London, 1720), part 1.

Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, Book 2, chapter VII, section on the Athenian plague
<http://classics.mit.edu/Thucydides/pelopwar.2.second.html>

Further Reading

M. Pelling, 'Contagion/Germ Theory/Specificity' in *Companion Encyclopedia of the history of medicine* (1993), reprinted in A. Bashford & C. Hooker (ed.), *Contagion: historical and cultural studies* (2001)

V. Nutton, 'The Seeds of Disease: An Explanation of Contagion and Infection from the Greeks to the Renaissance', *Medical History*, 27 (1983), pp. 1-34. **EJ**

M. Worboys, *Spreading Germs: Disease, Theories, and Medical Practice in Britain, 1865-1900* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 20-42. on germ theory

2. Disease and Development in the long run

How does health change over the very long-run of human history?
What is the relationship between economic growth and disease?
What part do epidemics play in this?

Question:

Is economic growth a cause or a consequence of improvements in health?

Core:

Diamond, J. M., *Guns, Germs and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies* (New York ; London, 1997), ch. 11.

Steckel, R. H. 'Health and Nutrition in the Preindustrial Era: Insights from a Millennium of Average Heights in Northern Europe', in R. C. Allen, T. Bengtsson and M. Dribe eds., *Living Standards in the Past: New Perspectives on Well-Being in Asia and Europe*, (Oxford, 2005), pp. 227-253. **Online via Steckel's CV at: <http://web.econ.ohio-state.edu/rsteckel/VITA/2005%20health%20and%20nutrition%20in%20the%20pre-industrial...pdf>**

Fogel, R. W. 'Health, Nutrition, and Economic Growth', *Economic Development and Cultural Change*. 52 (2004), pp. 643-658. **EJ**

Further

Crosby Alfred, W., *Ecological Imperialism : The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900*, *Studies in Environment and History* (Cambridge, 1986), ch.11.

Easterlin, R. A. "The Worldwide Standard of Living since 1800", *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 14, no. 1 (2000), pp. 7-26.

Easterlin, R. A. 'Industrial Revolution and Mortality Revolution: Two of a Kind?' *Journal of Evolutionary Economics* 5, no. 4 (1995), pp. 393-408.

Steckel, R. H. and Floud, R., *Health and Welfare During Industrialization* (Chicago, Ill., 1997).

Steckel, R. H. and Rose, J. C., *The Backbone of History : Health and Nutrition in the Western Hemisphere* (Cambridge, 2002).

Leunig, T. and Voth, H.-J. 'Smallpox Did Reduce Height: A Reply to Our Critics', *Economic History Review* 51, no. 2 (1998), pp. 372-381. and associated essays

Strauss, J. and Thomas, D. 'Health, Nutrition, and Economic Development', *Journal of Economic Literature* 36, no. 2 (1998), pp. 766-817.

3. The scale of the problem: the decline of mortality

General Themes:

In what ways did the effect of epidemics on mortality change during the eighteenth century?

What factors explain these changes?

Do social and economic factors offer a sufficient explanation for the reduction in vulnerability to crisis?

What patterns are apparent in mortality over the nineteenth century?

What is McKeown's explanation for these changes?

What are the problems with this model?

Assess the value of alternative explanations in demographic change.

Question:

How well can changes in mortality be explained through environmental variation or human action?

To what extent does economic growth serve as an explanation for mortality decline?

Core:

Schofield and Reher, 'The decline of mortality in Europe', in Schofield, Reher and Bideau, eds. *The Decline Of Mortality In Europe* (1991), 1-18

S. J. Kunitz, 'Speculations on the European mortality decline' *EcHR* 36 (1983): 349-64. **EJ**

Easterlin, R. A. 'How Beneficent Is the Market? A Look at the Modern History of Mortality', *European Review of Economic History* 3, no. 3 (1999), pp. 257-294. **EJ**

Further:

Thomas McKeown, *The modern rise of population* (1976), pp. 151-63.

Bell, F. and Millward, R. 'Public Health Expenditures and Mortality in England and Wales, 1870-1914', *Continuity and Change* 13, no. 2 (1998), pp. 221-250.

M. W. Flinn, *The European Demographic System, 1500-1820* (Brighton, 1981), ch. 4. **OR:** M W Flinn, 'The stabilization of mortality in pre-industrial Europe', *J Eur Ec H*, 3 1974

J. Post, 'Famine, Mortality and epidemic disease in the process of modernization', *EcHR* 39/1 (1976): 14-37 **OR** J. Post, *Food shortage, climactic variability and epidemic disease in preindustrial Europe: the mortality peak in the early 1740s* (1985), ch.8.

A. Perrenoud, 'The Attenuation of Mortality Crises and the Decline of Mortality', in R. Schofield, D. Reher, and A. Bideau (ed.), *The Decline of Mortality in Europe* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 18-37.

M. Dobson, *Contours of Death and Disease in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1997), ch. 8

Simon Szeter, 'The importance of social intervention in Britain's mortality decline, c.1850-1914: a reinterpretation of the role of public health', *Social History of Medicine*, 1 (1988), 1-39

Sumit Guha, 'The importance of social intervention in England's mortality decline: the evidence revisited', *Social History of Medicine*, 7 (1994), 89-113 – see also Szreter's reply.

R. A. Easterlin, *Growth Triumphant: The Twenty-First Century in Historical Perspective* (1996), ch. 6.

Hardy, Anne. *The Epidemic Streets: Infectious Disease and the Rise of Preventive Medicine, 1856-1900* (1993), concluding chapter

R. Woods, *The Demography of Victorian England and Wales* (2000), Ch. 8

4. Epidemics and Growth: the Black Death.

General themes:

Analyse the methodological and theoretical differences in approaches to the economic impact of the epidemic.

In what ways did the epidemic affect the economy in the short, medium and long-term?

Questions:

To what extent was the black death a period of 'creative destruction'?

Core:

Bell, C. and Lewis, M. 'The Economic Implications of Epidemics Old and New', *World Economics* 5 (2004), pp. 137-174.

S. R. Epstein, *Freedom and Growth: The Rise of States and Markets in Europe, 1300-1750* (2000), ch. 3

J. Hatcher, 'England in the Aftermath of the Black Death', *Past and Present*, 144 (1994), pp. 3-25. **EJ**

Contemporary account

Boccaccio, *Decameron*, First Day, Introduction.

Accessible at 'Decameron web' at Brown University. The section to read is from the start to note 049 in the online version; this is the point where Boccaccio turns from discussing the epidemic to the gathering of seven young ladies at Santa Maria Novella.

<http://www.stg.brown.edu/projects/decameron/engDecShowText.php?myID=d01intro&expand=day01>

Further:

D. Herlihy *The Black Death and the Transformation of the West* (1997), ch. 3.

M. Dols, 'The comparative communal response to Black Death in Muslim and Christian societies', *Viator*, 5 (1974) **EJ**

M. Bailey, "Demographic Decline in Late Medieval England: some Thoughts on Recent Research." *EcHR* 49.1 (1996): 1-19. **EJ**

W. Bean 'The Black Death: the crisis and its social and economic consequences', in D. Williman (ed.), *The Black Death: the Impact of the Fourteenth-century Plague* (1982)

O. Benedictow *The Black Death 1346-1353: The Complete History* (2004)

A. R. Bridbury, 'The Black Death' *EcHR*, 26/4 (1973), 577-92 **EJ**

'The arrival of the plague', 'The arrival of the plague in Florence', 'The arrival of the plague in Padua' in R. Horrox ed. *The Black Death* (1994), pp. 14-35.

F. M. Getz, 'Death and the Silver Lining: Meaning, Continuity, and Revolutionary Change in Histories of Medieval Plague', *Journal of the History of Biology*, 24 (1991), pp. 265-89.

5. States and Disease: Plague and Public Health

General themes:

Who is responsible for health?

Why were political responses to plague created at different times by cities and states from the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries in Europe?

Was state intervention in public health inevitable in early modern Europe?

What was the relationship between vulnerability, social status and state intervention?

What purposes did memory have for contemporaries?

Do such patterns persist in the modern historiography of plague?

Question:

Why did towns and countries adopt different policies against plague?

Core:

P. Slack, 'Responses to plague in early modern Europe: the implications of public health', *Social Research*, 55/3 (1988), 433-53 **EJ**

B. Pullan 'Plague and the perception of the poor in early modern Italy' in Ranger & Slack, *Epidemics and Ideas* (1992) pp. 101-24

Contemporary Account

D. Defoe, *Journal of the Plague Year* (1722). Read pages 192-198 of the Perseus online edition (this is 143-147 of the Norton edition).

The Perseus edition can be found in the 'London' section of the Persues Digital Library (<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/>).

Further:

A. Carmichael, 'Contagion theory and contagion practice in 15th-century Milan', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 44 (1991) **EJ**

M. Jenner, 'The Great Dog Massacre', in W. G. Naphy and P. Roberts (ed.), *Fear in Early Modern Society* (Manchester, 1997), pp. 44-61.

C. Jones, 'Plague and its metaphors in early modern France', *Representations*, 53 (1996) **EJ**

L. Brockliss and C. Jones, *The Medical World of Early Modern France* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 347-56

A. G. Carmichael, 'The Last Past Plague: The Uses of Memory in Renaissance Epidemics', *Journal of the History of Medicine*, 53 (1998), pp. 132-60.

6. Technical Change and Mortality: Smallpox inoculation

General Themes

Does inoculation have a significant effect on smallpox mortality in the 18c?

How is knowledge of inoculation constructed and transmitted?

What factors explain variations in attitudes to inoculation?

Consider Mokyr's approach to innovation: does it apply here?

Question:

How and why did smallpox inoculation spread? Answer with reference to at least TWO countries.

Core

May, M. "Inoculating the Urban Poor in the Late Eighteenth Century." *British Journal for the History of Science* 30, no. 106 (1997): 291-306. **EJ**

A. Wilson, 'The Politics of Medical Improvement in Early Hanoverian London', in A. Cunningham and H. R. French (ed.), *The Medical Enlightenment of the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 4-39 (just the smallpox section!).

Mokyr, J. 'Induced Technical Innovation and Medical History: An Evolutionary Approach', *Journal of Evolutionary Economics* 8, no. 2 (1998), pp. 119-138.

Contemporary accounts

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689-1762): Smallpox Vaccination in Turkey, 1717
<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/montagu-smallpox.html>

Z. Boylston, *An account of the smallpox inoculated* (London, 1726), preface.

Further:

P. E. Razzell, *The Conquest of Smallpox: The Impact of Inoculation on Smallpox Mortality in Eighteenth Century Britain*, 2nd edn. (London, 2003).

Lobo, 'John Haygarth, Smallpox and Religious Dissent in Eighteenth-Century England', in A. Cunningham and H. R. French (ed.), *The Medical Enlightenment of the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 217-53.

D. Brunton, 'Smallpox Inoculation and Demographic Trends in Eighteenth Century Scotland', *Medical History*, 36 (1992), pp. 403-29.

E. W. Herbert, 'Smallpox inoculation in Africa', *Journal of African History* 16 (1975), 539-59. **EJ**

M. Vaughan, 'Slavery, smallpox and revolution: 1792 in Ile de France (Mauritius)', *Social History of Medicine* 13 (2000), 1-28

7. Resistance is futile? Smallpox and Vaccination:

General Themes

Why did countries pursue different policies on vaccination?

What accounts for resistance to vaccination?

How can we assess for the benefits of vaccination?

Question

What parts of society opposed vaccination? Why did resistance vary across society? Answer with reference to at least TWO countries.

Core

D. Porter and R. Porter, 'The Politics of Prevention: Anti-Vaccinationism and Public Health in Nineteenth-Century England', *Medical History*, 32 (1988), pp. 231-52. **EJ**

E. P. Hennock, 'Vaccination Policy against Smallpox, 1835-1914: A Comparison of England with Prussia and Imperial Germany', *Social History of Medicine*, 11 (1998).

Bloom, D. E., Canning, D. and Weston, M. 'The Value of Vaccination', *World Economics* 6 (2005), pp. 15-40.

Further

N. Durbach, '"They Might as Well Brand Us": Working-Class Resistance to Compulsory Vaccination in Victorian England', *Social History of Medicine*, 13 (2000), pp. 45-62.

C. Huerkamp, 'The History of Smallpox Vaccination in Germany: A First Step in the Medicalization of the General Public', *Journal of contemporary history*, 20 (1985), pp. 618-19. **EJ**

P. Baldwin, *Contagion and the State in Europe, 1830-1930* (Cambridge, 1999), ch. 4

Deborah Brunton, 'The problems of implementation: The failure and success of public vaccination against smallpox in Ireland, 1840-1873', in Greta Jones and Elizabeth Malcolm (eds), *Medicine, disease and the state in Ireland, 1650-1940* (1999), pp. 138-57

'The Origins of Vaccinia Virus', comments and rejoinders in *Social History of Medicine* 12 (1999), 139-141.

Hardy, Anne. *The Epidemic Streets: Infectious Disease and the Rise of Preventive Medicine, 1856-1900* (1993), pp. 110-50.

Arnold, David. *Colonizing the Body: State Medicine and Epidemic Disease in Nineteenth-Century India*. (1993), ch. 3

S. Bhattacharya, 'Re-Devising Jennerian Vaccines? European Technologies, Indian Innovation and the Control of Smallpox in South Asia, 1850-1950', in B. Pati and M. Harrison (ed.), *Health, Medicine and Empire: Perspectives on Colonial India* (Hyderabad, 2001), pp. 217-69.

A possible account of resistance

B. Wynne, 'Public uptake of science', *Public Understanding of Science* 2 (1993), 321-337.

Another Economic evaluation

Jefferson, T., Demicheli, V., Brodtkin, H., Gandjour, A., Meltzer, M. I., Bridges, C. B., Lee, P. Y. and Peterson, E. D. 'Economic Analysis of Influenza Vaccination and Treatment', *Annals of Internal Medicine* 138, no. 7 (2003), pp. 607-608.

8. The social impact of disease: Cholera

General Themes

What impact did cholera have?

Did cholera heighten social tension?

What characteristics marked the immediate and medium-term social impact of cholera?

Was cholera a 'shock' that exposed the basic elements of social organisation?

Are there archetypal patterns in psychological responses to epidemics?

How were different explanations (religious, political, class) of cholera deployed?

Question

Is disease ever responsible for disorder? Answer with reference to cholera?

Core

C. E. Rosenberg, *Explaining Epidemics and Other Studies in the History of Medicine* (Cambridge, 1992), ch. 13

Richard J Evans, 'Epidemics and revolutions: cholera in nineteenth-century Europe', *Past and Present*, no. 120 (1988), 123-46 **EJ**

Kudlick, Catherine J. "Giving Is Deceiving: Cholera, Charity and the Quest for Authority in 1832." *French Historical Studies* 18, no. 2 (1993): 457-81. **EJ**

Contemporary Account

Thomas Shapter, *The History of the Cholera in Exeter 1832*, Selected Extract from Chapter XIV
<http://www.ex.ac.uk/Affiliate/stloyes/graeme/shaptinc.htm>

Further:

P. Strong, 'Epidemic Psychology: A Model', *Sociology of Health and Illness*, 12 (1990), pp. 249-59. an alternative model to Rosenberg

C. J. Kudlick, *Cholera in Post-Revolutionary Paris: A Cultural History* (1996), ch. 1

Durey, Michael. *The Return of the Plague: British Society and the Cholera, 1831-32* (1979), ch. 6, 8.

Rosenberg, Charles E. *The Cholera Years: The United States in 1832, 1849, and 1866* (1962), pp. 13-101

Delaporte, Francois. *Disease and Civilization: The Cholera in Paris, 1832*. Cambridge MA.: MIT Press, 1986.

Hamlin, Christopher. *Public Health and Social Justice in the Age of Chadwick: Britain, 1800-1854*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Kearns, Gerry. "Private Property and Public Health Reform in England, 1830-1870." *Social science and medicine* 26, no. 1 (1988).

Pelling, Margaret. *Cholera, Fever and English Medicine, 1825-1865, Oxford Historical Monographs* (Oxford, 1978).

Richardson, Ruth. *Death, Dissection and the Destitute* (London, 1987).

9. Disease and the State (again): the politics of cholera and public health

General Themes

- Do interpretations and responses to epidemics correlate with national political cultures?
- What role did cholera have in developing public health?
- Why has Ackerknecht's argument been so successful?
- Did cholera present a problem for sanitationists?
- Is this a period of 'modernization' in public health?

Question:

Do political analyses of public health possess any validity in understanding responses to cholera?

Core

E. H. Ackerknecht, 'Anticontagionism between 1821 and 1867', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 22 (1948), pp. 562-93. **EJ**

Peter Baldwin, *Contagion and the state in Europe, 1830-1930* (1999), chapters 2-3

Further:

Markel, Howard. "'Knocking out the Cholera": Cholera, Class and Quarantines in New York City, 1892." *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 69 (1995): 420-57. **EJ**

Richard Evans, *Death in Hamburg: Society and Politics in the Cholera Years, 1830-1910* (1987), esp. pp. 226-84, 474-90

M. Pelling, *Cholera, Fever and English Medicine, 1825-1865* (1978), ch.1-2, conclusion.

R. Cooter, 'Anticontagionism and History's Medical Record', in P. Wright and A. Treacher (ed.), *The Problem of Medical Knowledge: Examining the Social Construction of Medicine* (Edinburgh, 1982), pp. 87-108.

On 18c developments in public health

G. Rosen, *From Medical Police to Social Medicine*, pp. 120-158.

M. Ramsey, 'Public health in France', in D. Porter (ed.), *The history of public health and the modern state* (1994), pp. 45-69

M. Foucault, 'The politics of health in the Eighteenth Century' in Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge*, ed. C. Gordon (1988), pp. 166-182.

10. Knowledge and Action? Tuberculosis.

1. Analyse the impact of tuberculosis in any TWO countries.
2. In what senses was tuberculosis a 'white plague'?
3. What effect does Koch's discovery of the bacillus have on attitudes to TB?
4. How can we explain similarities and differences between individual, communal and state responses to TB in Britain, France and the US?

Question:

How important was Koch's discovery in responses to TB by individuals and states? Consider at least two countries.

Core

L. Bryder *Below the Magic Mountain: A Social History of Tuberculosis in 19th-century Britain* (Oxford 1988), chapter 1

A. Mitchell 'Obsessive questions and faint answers: the French response to tuberculosis in the belle époque', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 62/2 (1988), pp. 215-235.

K. Ott *Fevered Lives: TB in American Culture since 1870* (1996), chapters 3 AND 7 (short!)

Further

F.B. Smith *The Retreat of Tuberculosis, 1850-1950* (1988)

T. Dormandy *The White Death: A History of TB* (1999)

B. Bates *Bargaining for Life: A Social History of Tuberculosis, 1876-1938* (1992)

D. Barnes *The Making of a Social Disease: Tuberculosis in 19th-century France* (1995)

J.P. Bardet et al. *Peurs et terreurs face à la contagion. Choléra, tuberculose, syphilis, XIXe-XXe siècles* (1988)

M. Teller *The Tuberculosis Moment* (1985)

C. Gradmann 'Robert Koch and the pressures of scientific research: tuberculosis and tuberculin', *Med Hist* 45 (2001)

R. & J. Dubos *The White Plague: Tuberculosis, Man and Society* (1952)

R. Packard *White Plague, Black Labour: Tuberculosis and the Political Economy of Health and Disease in South Africa* (1989)

B.H. Lerner *Contagion and Confinement: Controlling Tuberculosis along the Skid Road* (1999)

S. Rothman, *Living in the shadow of death: tuberculosis and the social experience of illness in America* (1994), part IV

PART 2: Between Empire and AIDS, 1880-2000

Reading over Christmas:

'Introduction', Cunningham and Williams, *The Laboratory Revolution in Medicine* (Cambridge, 1992)

1 Globalisation, Empire and Disease

General themes:

Does the 15th and 16th centuries witness the 'globalisation' of disease?

What was the role of disease in the European conquest of America?

What is a 'virgin soil' epidemic? Did the contact between Europeans and Native Americans qualify?

Question

What problems remain with the smallpox hypothesis in New World Conquest?

Core:

W.H. McNeill, 'Transoceanic exchanges, 1500-1700' in id., *Plagues and Peoples* (1976)

F. Brooks, 'The Impact of Disease', in G. Raudzens (ed.), *Technology, Disease and Colonial Conquests, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries: Essays Reappraising the Guns and Germs Theories* (Leiden, 2001), pp. 127-66.

D.E. Stannard *American Holocaust: Columbus and the Conquest of the New World* (1992), ch. 3

Further:

Headrick, Daniel F. *The Tools of Empire: Technology and European Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century* (1981), ch. 3

Crosby, Alfred W. *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900, Studies in Environment and History* (Cambridge, 1986), ch. 9

N.D. Cook, *Born to Die: Disease and New World Conquest, 1492-1650* (1998), ch. 5

E. Le Roy Ladurie, 'A concept: the unification of the globe by disease (14th to 17th centuries)' in Ladurie, *The Mind and the Method of the Historian* (1981)

D.E. Stannard *American Holocaust: Columbus and the Conquest of the New World* (1992), ch. 3

R McCaa, 'Spanish and Nahuatt views on smallpox and demographic catastrophe in Mexico', *JIH* (1995)

Crosby, Alfred W. *Columbian Exchange, Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (London, 1973).

A.W. Crosby 'Hawaiian depopulation as a model for the Amerindian experience', in Slack & Ranger, *Epidemics and Ideas*

S.J. Kunitz *Disease and Social Diversity: the European Impact of the Health of Non-Europeans* (1994), ch. 3

Kiple Kenneth, F., and V. Beck Stephen (ed), *Biological Consequences of the European Expansion, 1450-1800* (Ashgate, 1997).

S. Watts, *Epidemics and History: Disease, power and imperialism* (1997), pp. 84-121.

2 The political economy of disease

General themes:

Did colonial regimes improve the health of the regions they governed?

What was the impact of segregation/urbanization/industrialization on epidemic disease incidence?
Was disease simply the price of development?

Question:

What effect did nineteenth-century Colonial governments have on the health of the populations they governed? Discuss examples from at least two different countries.

Core

Packard, Randall M. "Maize, Cattle and Mosquitoes: The Political Economy of Malaria Epidemics in Colonial Swaziland." *Journal of African History* 25 (1984): 189-212. **EJ**

Hewa, S. "The Hookworm Epidemic on the Plantations in Colonial Sri Lanka." *Medical History* 38, no. 1 (1994): 73. **EJ**

Further

Harrison, Mark. *Public Health in British India: Anglo-Indian Preventive Medicine, 1859-1914*. (1994), ch. 4.

M. Harrison, *Climates and Constitutions: Health, Race, Environment and British Imperialism in India, 1600-1850* (New Delhi, 1999), ch. 3

Curtin, Philip F. *Death by Migration: Europe's Encounter with the Tropical World in the Nineteenth Century* (1989), ch. 1-2.

D. Arnold, ed. *Imperial Medicine and Indigenous Societies* (1988), 'Introduction'.

A. Marcovich, 'French Colonial Medicine and Colonial Rule: Algeria and Indochina', in R. M. MacLeod (ed.), *Disease, Medicine and Empire: Perspectives on Western Medicine and the Experience of European Expansion* (London, 1988), pp. 103-18.

3 Colonial regimes, race and disease

General themes

- Was the epidemic an 'opportunity' for colonial public health?
- How did colonial and indigenous understandings of disease differ and interact?
- To what extent was medicine a tool for creating empire?
- Did a colonial context affect the understanding and discovery of plague?

Question

In what ways did racial and epidemiological knowledge interact in the plague epidemic?

Core

R. Chandavarkar, 'Plague Panic and Epidemic Politics in India, 1896-1914', in P. Slack and T. O. Ranger (ed.), *Epidemics and Ideas: Essays on the Historical Perception of Pestilence* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 175-202.

Swanson, Maynard W. 'The Sanitation Syndrome: Bubonic Plague and Urban Native Policy in the Cape Colony, 1900-1909.' *Journal of African History* 3 (1977): 387-410. **EJ**

G. B. Risse, "'A long pull, a strong pull, and all together": San Francisco and Bubonic Plague, 1907-1908', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 66, 2(1992), 260-86 **EJ**

Further:

Gamsa, Mark, 'The Epidemic of Pneumonic Plague in Manchuria 1910-1911', *Past and Present*, 190 (2006) **EJ**

Klein, Ira. "Urban Development and Death: Bombay City, 1870-1914." *Modern Asian Studies* 20 (1986): 725-54. **EJ**

M. Harrison, *Public Health in British India: Anglo-Indian Preventive Medicine, 1859-1914* (1994), pp. 134-58.

D. Arnold, 'Touching the body: perspectives on Indian plague, 1896-1900', *Subaltern Studies*, no. 5, ed. Ranajit Guha (Oxford, 1987), pp. 55-90. or Arnold, *Colonizing the Body* (Berkeley, 1993), ch. 5.

I. J. Catanach, 'Plague and the Tensions of Empire: India, 1896-1918', in D. Arnold (ed.), *Imperial Medicine and Indigenous Societies* (Manchester, 1988), pp. 149-71.

I. Klein, 'Plague, policy and popular unrest in British India', *Modern Asian Studies*, 22 (1988), 723-55. **EJ**

N. Shah, *Contagious divides* (2001), ch. 5

Barde, R. "Prelude to the Plague: Public Health and Politics at America's Pacific Gateway, 1899." *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 58, no. 2 (2003): 153-86.

A. Cunningham, 'Transforming Plague: The Laboratory and the Identity of Infectious Disease', in A. Cunningham and P. Williams (ed.), *The Laboratory Revolution in Medicine* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 209-44.

4 Quarantine: national and international public health controls

Themes

- Why and how do states seek to protect themselves against diseases?
- What effects do these rules have?
- What part did immigration have to disease incidence?
- What is the relationship between quarantine and nationalism?

Question;

To what extent have nationalist ideologies shaped the development of quarantine systems?

Core

Markel, H., and A. M. Stern. "The Foreignness of Germs: The Persistent Association of Immigrants and Disease in American Society." *Milbank Quarterly* 80, no. 4 (2002): 757-88. **EJ**

D Fidler, *SARS, Governance and the Globalization of Disease* (Basingstoke, 2004), ch. 3.

Harrison, Mark, 'Disease, diplomacy and international commerce: the origins of international sanitary regulation in the nineteenth century', *Journal of global history*, 1/2 (2006) **EJ**

Further

Cueto, Marcos. "Stigma and Blame During an Epidemic: Cholera in Peru, 1991." In *Disease in the History of Modern Latin America: From Malaria to Aids*, edited by Diego Armus, 269-89: Duke University Press, 2003.

Markel, H. "'the Eyes Have It': Trachoma, the Perception of Disease, the United States Public Health Service, and the American Jewish Immigration Experience, 1897-1924." *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 74, no. 3 (2000): 525-60.

Birn, A. E. "Six Seconds Per Eyelid: The Medical Inspection of Inmigrants at Ellis Island, 1892-1914." *Dynamis* 17 (1997): 281-316.

Leavitt, Judith Walzer. *Typhoid Mary: Captive to the Public's Health*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1996, ch. 1, or in *Isis*, 83/4 (1992), 608-29 **EJ**

Gallagher, Nancy Elizabeth. *Egypt's Other Wars : Epidemics and the Politics of Public Health, Contemporary Issues in the Middle East*. New York: Syracuse University Press, 1990, ch. 7-8 (cholera)

5 Eradication Policies

Themes

- Compare the smallpox and malaria eradication policies.
- Why did one succeed and the other fail?
- What are the social and economic costs of eradication?

Question:

Why did international Malaria eradication campaigns fail in the twentieth century

Core

Packard, R. M. "'No Other Logical Choice': Global Malaria Eradication and the Politics of International Health in the Post-War Era." *Parassitologia* 40, no. 1/2 (1998): 217-30.

Greenough, P. "Intimidation, Coercion and Resistance in the Final Stages of the South Asian Smallpox Eradication Campaign, 1973-1975." *Social Science and Medicine* 41, no. 5 (1995): 633. **EJ**

Further

Litsios, S, 'Malaria Control and the Future of Public Health', in Elizabeth Casman and Hadi Dowlatabadi (ed), *The Contextual Determinants of Malaria* (Washington DC, 2002),
- available online: http://www.litsios.com/socrates/ch17_watermarked.pdf

W F Bynum, 'An experiment that failed: Malaria control at Mian Mir', *Parassitologia*, 36 (1994), 107-120.

Watts, S. "British Development Policies and Malaria in India 1897-C.1929." *Past and Present*, no. 165 (1999): 141-81.

Jones, M. "The Ceylon Malaria Epidemic of 1934-35: A Case Study in Colonial Medicine." *Social History of Medicine* 13, no. 1 (2000): 87-110.

Perez Yekuteil, "Lessons from the big eradication Campaigns" *World Health Forum*, 1981, 2:465_490.

Jack Hopkins, "Eradication of Smallpox: Organizational learning and Innovation in International Health Administration," *The Journal of Developing Areas*, 1988, 22: 321-332.

Fenner, Frank, D. A. Henderson, I. Arita, Z. Jezek, and I.D. Ladnyi. *Smallpox and Its Eradication, History of International Public Health; No. 6.* (Geneva, 1988).
- available online: <http://whqlibdoc.who.int/smallpox/9241561106.pdf>

6 Global sickness: Influenza

Themes

- In what ways does influenza differ from other epidemic diseases?
- Why did public health measures against the flu fail?
- What were the economic costs of flu?
- Why was influenza 'forgotten'?

Question:

Why was the social and economic impact of the 1918-19 influenza epidemic so slight? Discuss with reference to at least three countries.

Core

Tomkins, S. M. "The Failure of Expertise: Public Health Policy in Britain During the 1918-19 Influenza Epidemic." *Social History of Medicine* 5, no. 3 (1992): 435.

E. Brainerd and M. Siegler, 'The Economic Effects of the 1918 Influenza Epidemic', *CEPR Discussion Paper No. 3791* (2003). **EJ**

Further

Tognotti, E. "Scientific Triumphalism and Learning from Facts: Bacteriology and the 'Spanish Flu' Challenge of 1918." *Social History of Medicine* 16, no. 1 (2003): 97-110. **EJ**

Mills, I.D., 'The 1918-19 Influenza epidemic: the Indian experience', *Indian economic and social history review*, 23 (1) (1988), 1-40.

Crosby, Alfred W. *America's Forgotten Pandemic: The Influenza of 1918* (Cambridge, 1989). This has also appeared under another title in a different edition; use either.

Johnson, N. P. A. S., and J. Mueller. "Updating the Accounts: Global Mortality of the 1918-1920 "Spanish" Influenza Pandemic." *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 76, no. 1 (2002): 105-20. **EJ**

Phillips, H., and David Killingray, 'Introduction', in Phillips and Killingray (ed) *The Spanish Influenza Pandemic of 1918-19* (London, 2003), see also: Rice, 'Japan and New Zealand', and Ramanna, 'Bombay' in this volume.

Johnson, N. *Britain and the 1918-19 Influenza Pandemic* (Routledge, 2006).

Killingray, D. "The Influenza Pandemic of 1918-1919 in the British Caribbean." *Social History of Medicine* 7, no. 1 (1994): 59.

Tomkins, S. M. "Howard Philips. "Black October": The Impact of the Spanish Influenza Epidemic of 1918 on South Africa." *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 27, no. 3 (1993): 510.

Meltzer, M. I. and et al. 'The Economic Impact of Pandemic Influenza in the United States: Priorities for Intervention', *Emerging Infectious Diseases* 5, no. 5 (1999), pp. 659-671.

7 Venereal Disease

General themes;

Does the construction of venereal disease reflect and reinforce society's basic assumptions and fears?

How have attitudes to sexuality affected efforts to control STDs?

Do associations between VD and marginal groups fit with Mary Douglas's arguments about the association of marginality, power and pollution?

Are epidemics of STDs somehow more socially constructed than other epidemics?

Question:

In what ways did the stigma surrounding venereal disease affect public health policies in TWO countries?

P. Baldwin, *Contagion and the State in Europe, 1830-1930* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 355-394

A. M. Brandt, *No Magic Bullet: A Social History of Venereal Disease in the United States since 1880* (Oxford, 1985), ch. 5

Further:

Philippa Levine, 'Law, Gender and Medicine', in P. Levine, *Prostitution, Race and Politics : Policing Venereal Disease in the British Empire* (London, 2003)

M. Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London, 1966), ch. 6.

Fee, E., 'Sin versus science: venereal disease in twentieth-century Baltimore', in Fee (ed) *AIDS: the burdens of history* (California, 1988), 121-46

M. Vaughan, 'Syphilis in Colonial East and Central Africa: The Social Construction of an Epidemic', in T. Ranger and P. Slack (ed.), *Epidemics and Ideas: Essays on the Historical Perception of Pestilence* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 269-302.

Smart, J. "Sex, the State, and the 'Scarlet Scourge': Gender, Citizenship and Venereal Diseases Regulation in Australia During the Great War." *Womens History Review* 7 (1998): 5-36.

Evans, D. "Tackling the 'Hideous Scourge': The Creation of the Venereal Disease Treatment Centres in Early Twentieth-Century Britain." *Social History of Medicine* 5/3 (1992): 413.

Peers, D. M. "Soldiers, Surgeons and the Campaigns to Combat Sexually Transmitted Diseases in Colonial India, 1805-1860." *Medical History* 42, no. 2 (1998): 137-60.

8 AIDS: the resurgence of epidemics:

General Themes:

Did AIDS represent a new paradigm of epidemic disease?

Why did policies to control AIDS differ from policies used against other epidemics?

What were the consequences of the focus of the disease being among marginal groups in the West?

Question:

How well does Berridge's contrast between emergency and normalisation explain shifts in policy and public responses to AIDS?

Core

Barnett, Tony, and Alan Whiteside. *Aids in the Twenty-First Century : Disease and Globalization*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002, ch. 4.

Stillwaggon, E., 'HIV Transmission in Latin America: Comparison with Africa and Policy Implications', *The South African Journal of Economics* 68/5 (2000), pp.444-454. **EJ**

Brandt, Allan M, 'AIDS: From Social History to Social Policy', in *AIDS: The Burdens of History*, edited by Elizabeth Fee and Daniel M. Fox (Berkeley, 1988), pp. 147-68.

Contemporary Accounts

R. Shilts *And the Band Played On* (1987), esp. part V.

Further

McGratha, J., Rwabukwalib, C B, et al, 'Anthropology and AIDS: the cultural context of sexual risk behaviour among urban Baganda women in Kampala, Uganda', *Social Science and Medicine*, 36/4 (1993), 429-39.

D. M. Fox, 'The politics of HIV infection: 1989-90 as years of change', in E. Fee & D. M. Fox (eds), *AIDS: the making of a chronic disease* (1992), pp. 125-142

V. Berridge 'The early years of AIDS in the UK: 1981-6: historical perspectives', in Ranger & Slack, *Epidemics and Ideas* (1992), 303-328.

S. Epstein *Impure Science: AIDS, Activism and the Politics of Knowledge* (1996), ch.5, 7

P. A. Treichler, *How to Have Theory in an Epidemic: Cultural Chronicles of Aids* (1999), ch. 5, 9.

EJ Stillwaggon, E., 'AIDS and the Ecology of Poverty: Environmental Determinants of Vulnerability', *International Journal of Environmental, Cultural, Economic and Social Sustainability* 1/2 (2005), pp. 23-28.

Stillwaggon, E., *Stunted lives, stagnant economies: poverty, disease, and underdevelopment* (1998).

9 AIDS, Epidemics and Growth

General Themes:

Why do views the macroeconomic impact of epidemics differ?
Do expectations about individual incentives operate comparably in AIDS and other epidemics?
How successfully can these approaches be applied to historical epidemics?
What role can the World Bank play in international health?

Question:

How well is the economic impact of AIDS outside the West captured in Posner's analysis?

Core

E. Gaffeo, 'The Economics of HIV/AIDS: A survey', *Development Policy Review* 21/1 (2003), 27-49. **EJ**

Joy A. de Beyer, Alexander S. Preker, and Richard G. A. Feachem, "The Role of the World Bank in International Health: Renewed Commitment and Partnership," *Social Science and Medicine*, Vol. 50, No. 2 (January 2000), 169-176. Read with the comments printed in the same issue. **EJ**

Further

Barnett, Tony, and Alan Whiteside. *Aids in the Twenty-First Century : Disease and Globalization*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002, ch. 11.

D. E. Bloom and P. Godwin (ed.), *The Economics of HIV and AIDS* (Delhi, 1997), ch. 2.

R. A. Posner, *Private Choices and Public Health* (Harvard, 1996), ch. 4

K. Christensen, 'Economics Without Money; Sex Without Gender: A Critique of Philipson and Posner's "Private Choices and Public Health: The AIDS Epidemic in an Economic Perspective', *Feminist Economics* 4/2 (1998), 1-24 **EJ**

T. J. Philipson and R. A. Posner, 'The Microeconomics of the Aids Epidemic in Africa', *Population and development review*, 21 (1995), pp. 835-48. **EJ**

Sudhir Anand and Kara Hansen, "Disability Adjusted Life Years: A Critical Perspective," *Journal of Health Economics*, Vol. 16 (1997), 685-702. **EJ**

10 International responses to AIDS and Emerging infectious disease

General Themes

Has AIDS changed Western attitudes to development?
Does the idea of show 'structural violence' capture the impact of AIDS outside the West?
Has AIDS changed international public health to a post-national form?
Compare the effect of epidemics with those of other disasters; how do social responses differ?

Question:

To what extent have recent epidemics driven an internationalisation of public health?

International public health

Randall Packard, 'Visions of Post-war Health and Development and Their Impact on Public Health Interventions in the Developing World.' in *International Development and the Social Sciences: Essays on the History and Politics of Knowledge*, eds. F Cooper and R Packard (1997), 93-118.

L. Garret, *Betrayal of Trust*, ch. 6.

N. B. King, 'Security, Disease, Commerce: Ideologies of Post-Colonial Global Health', *Social Studies of Science*, 32 (2002), pp. 763-90.

P. Farmer, *Infections and Inequalities* (Berkeley, 1999), chs. 2, 7, 9

Risk and Disaster

Fitzpatrick, Kevin, and Mark La Gory. *Unhealthy Places: The Ecology of Risk in the Urban Landscape*. New York ; London: Routledge, 2000., ch. 3

Klinenberg, E, *Heat wave: a social autopsy of disaster in Chicago* (Chicago, 2002), pp. 1-78