# ENVIRONMENT, HEALTH AND HISTORY



EDITED BY VIRGINIA BERRIDGE AND MARTIN GORSKY



## Environment, Health and History

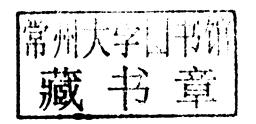
Edited by

Virginia Berridge

Professor of History, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, University of London, UK

Martin Gorsky

Senior Lecturer in the History of Public Health, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, University of London, UK







Editorial matter, selection and introduction © Virginia Berridge and Martin Gorsky 2012

Foreword © Andy Haines 2012

All remaining chapters © their respective authors 2012

All rights reserved. No reproduction, copy or transmission of this publication may be made without written permission.

No portion of this publication may be reproduced, copied or transmitted save with written permission or in accordance with the provisions of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988, or under the terms of any licence permitting limited copying issued by the Copyright Licensing Agency, Saffron House, 6–10 Kirby Street, London EC1N 8TS.

Any person who does any unauthorized act in relation to this publication may be liable to criminal prosecution and civil claims for damages.

The authors have asserted their rights to be identified as the authors of this work in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

First published 2012 by PALGRAVE MACMILLAN

Palgrave Macmillan in the UK is an imprint of Macmillan Publishers Limited, registered in England, company number 785998, of Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS.

Palgrave Macmillan in the US is a division of St Martin's Press LLC, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

Palgrave Macmillan is the global academic imprint of the above companies and has companies and representatives throughout the world.

Palgrave® and Macmillan® are registered trademarks in the United States, the United Kingdom, Europe and other countries.

ISBN 978-0-230-23311-9

This book is printed on paper suitable for recycling and made from fully managed and sustained forest sources. Logging, pulping and manufacturing processes are expected to conform to the environmental regulations of the country of origin.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data Environment, health, and history / edited by Virginia Berridge, Martin Gorsky.

p. cm.

Includes index.

ISBN 978-0-230-23311-9 (hardback)

 Environmental health. II. Berridge, Virginia. II. Gorsky, Martin, 1956– RA565.E473 2011
 362.196'98—dc23
 2011020967

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 21 20 19 18 17 16 15 14 13 12

Printed and bound in Great Britain by CPI Antony Rowe, Chippenham and Eastbourne Environment, Health and History

#### List of Illustrations

7.1	'Experimental huts at Magugu'; reproduced by kind permission of Kay S. Hocking	146
8.1	Oil-spraying operator. <i>Malaria</i> (1931/1941). Published courtesy of the DHVS-IRIST film collection, University of Strasbourg	160
8.2	Laboratory scientist of the Shell Corporation testing the quality of oil used for larviciding. <i>Malaria</i> (1931/1941). Published courtesy of the DHVS-IRIST film collection, University of Strasbourg	161
8.3	Animation explaining the practice of oil larviciding and the quantities of oil needed to treat a given water surface. <i>Oil Larviciding</i> (1943). Published courtesy of the National Library of Medicine	162
8.4	'Power oiling' using a boat to spray large water surfaces.  Oil Larviciding (1943). Published courtesy of the National Library of Medicine	163
8.5	Strategic map of house-block planning for a rat killing operation. <i>Practical Rat Control. Rat Killing</i> (1950). Published courtesy of the National Library of Medicine	165
8.6	Preparation of 'torpedoes' mixing food and rat poison as weapon against rat invasions. <i>Practical Rat Control. Rat Killing</i> (1950). Published courtesy of the National Library of Medicine	166
8.7	DDT landscape treatment by airplane in Greece. <i>The Good Life-Health Crusade</i> (1951). Published courtesy of the DHVS-IRIST film collection, University of Strasbourg	167
8.8	Final image of the film on rat control symbolising the opposition of traditional and modern housing solutions in urban environments. <i>Practical Rat Control. Rat Killing</i> (1950). Published courtesy of the National Library of Medicine	172
9.1	The El Paso smelter and vicinity c. 1889. Source: El Paso	190

## List of Figures

2.1	Causes of death (percentage distribution) in	
	seventeenth-century London. <i>Source</i> : John Graunt (1662). <i>Natural and political observations mentioned in a following</i> :	
	index, and made upon the bills of mortality (London);	
	T. Birch (ed.) (1759). A Collection of the Yearly Bills of	
	Mortality, from 1657 to 1758 inclusive (London).	30
9.1	Lead production trends by worldwide. International Historical Statistics (2007)	185
9.2	Lead production trends by nation. International Historical Statistics (2007)	186
9.3	Higher income families by census tract, 1970 in the El Paso area. <i>Data Source</i> : http://www.nhgis.org/ Map by Christopher Sellers	194
9.4	Idealised depiction on the EPA website, 2004. The factory and other sources of pollution lie across the river from all depicted residences. <i>Source</i> : http://www.epa.gov/indicate/roe/pdf/EPA_Draft_ROE.pdf	196
12.1	IPCC (2007) Global and continental temperature change	245
12.2	IPCC (2007) Examples of impacts associated with global average temperature change. (Impacts will vary by extent of adaptation, rate of temperature change and	
	socio-economic pathway)	248

### List of Tables

4.1	Table of contents of <i>Handbuch der Hygiene</i> volumes 1–10	72
4.2	Table of contents of Handbuch der Hygiene supplementary	
	volumes	76
4.3	Professional background of Handbuch contributors	81
4.4	Residence of <i>Handbuch</i> contributors	81

#### Foreword

Prof. Sir Andy Haines
London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine

This book, which resulted from papers given at a landmark conference held at the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, provides a wide-ranging and authoritative overview of the evolution of our understanding of the interlinkages between environment and human health. While the relationship between the environment in which people live and their health has been known since the dawn of medicine it has often been consigned to the sidelines, particularly in relation to the contemporary emphasis on bio-medicine which focuses on individual relationships between health professionals and patients. Although this approach has resulted in substantial advances in the treatment and prevention of diseases, environmental factors currently play a major role in determining health, particularly in low-income countries. According to World Health Organisation estimates approximately one quarter of the global disease burden, and more than one third of the burden among children, is due to modifiable environmental factors.

Much of the earlier knowledge about environmental exposure and ill health arose from very high occupational exposures of workers in different industries to a range of chemical agents, and the subsequent development and application of epidemiological techniques to assess their impacts on health. With increasing regulation in the developed countries much of the industrial production which has the potential to result in such exposures has been moved to middle, and increasingly low-income countries with low health and safety standards. Likewise, partly because of the relative success of clean air legislation in developed countries, poor nations currently bear the brunt of indoor and outdoor air pollution, which are responsible for around 1.6 million and 800,000 annual deaths respectively. Increasingly therefore concerns about inequities in health and the influence of social determinants in maintaining such inequities are converging with the environmental health agenda.

There are also 'unfinished agendas' remaining from past ideological conflicts, such as the large numbers of nuclear weapons remaining from the Cold War. The failure to abolish nuclear weapons is fuelling nuclear proliferation as more nations perceive the political advantages to be

gained from possessing weapons of mass destruction. The detonation of even a small proportion of existing nuclear weapons could create global environmental havoc, threatening crop production around the world as a result of the transport of large amounts of dust into the atmosphere which in turn would block sunlight from the Earth's surface and raises the potential spectre of mass starvation.

Although from our contemporary vantage point it may seem obvious that the existence and continued survival of humanity is dependent on the integrity of the planet's 'life-support' systems, including ecosystems that underpin food production and biodiversity and the availability of fresh water in the face of growing demands, this perspective has only recently begun to make its mark on academic discourse and public policy. Just as public health researchers and research funders have paid too little attention to the environmental determinants of health, environmental researchers, activists and policy makers have, all too often, been seemingly unaware of or indifferent to the interwoven relationships which bind together human health and environmental integrity. Increasingly it has become imperative to address these epistemological discontinuities to create genuinely transdisciplinary collaborative working which will illuminate our understanding of these complex relations and strengthen the evidence base for policies to provide the conditions for healthy living for a world population of 9 billion or more by the midcentury. Failure to do so, against a background of multiple challenges for humanity, including climate change, ocean acidification, depletion of fresh water resources, deforestation (especially of tropical forests), dramatic loss of species and burgeoning population growth (particularly in sub-Saharan Africa), will result in much of humanity being excluded from the health dividends arising from the dramatic social progress of recent decades. At the same time these challenges also pose wider questions for 'developed' societies whose trajectories of economic growth have been based on the unsustainable exploitation of affordable fossil fuels and other resources. This path of development will be increasingly denied to many 'developing' countries at a time when they are also suffering disproportionately from the impacts of global environmental change to which they have contributed little.

This book provides a range of invaluable perspectives on how the knowledge of the environmental influences on human health has developed over time. It illuminates the strengths and weaknesses of previous attempts to advance knowledge and the successes and failures of policies arising from environment and health research. It will prove a seminal guide to all those with an interest in this growing field of research.

### Acknowledgements

This book began life as the 2007 conference of the European Association for the History of Medicine and Health held at the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine. We are grateful to the Scientific Board of the Association for their support. We are also grateful for financial support from the Wellcome Trust, the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, and the Society for the Social History of Medicine. Colleagues at the School helped with organisation: Rachel Herring, Ingrid James, Alex Mold and Suzanne Taylor. In the production of this book, our thanks are due to Ingrid James for editorial support, to the anonymous referees who reviewed our proposal, and to Ruth Ireland and Michael Strang for support from Palgrave Macmillan. We are grateful to Diana LeCore for compiling the index.

We are grateful to Dr K. S. Hocking for permission to reproduce the photograph in Chapter 7. Images in Chapter 8 are published courtesy of the University of Strasbourg and of the National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, US. The photo of the El Paso smelter in Chapter 9 is courtesy of El Paso Public Library. This chapter is a shortened version of a paper in *Medical History* in 2010.

#### Notes on Contributors

Jane M. Adams completed her PhD in 2004 since when she has worked as a research fellow at the Centre for the History of Medicine at the University of Warwick. She is completing a manuscript provisionally titled 'Healing Waters: Spas and the Water Cure in Modern England' based on research funded by the Wellcome Trust. Her current research interests are alternative medical practice and the organisation of health services in nineteenth and twentieth-century Britain.

Virginia Berridge is Professor of History and Head of the Centre for History in Public Health at the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, University of London. She was president of the European Association for the History of Medicine and Health in 2007 and one of the organisers of the conference on the environment and health. Her published work is on substance use, HIV/AIDS, evidence and policy and post-war public health. Her most recent book is *Voluntary Action and Illegal Drugs* 2010 Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan (joint with Alex Mold) and she is currently working on an oral history of responses to swine flu.

Christian Bonah is Professor of the History of Medical and Health Sciences at the University of Strasbourg and currently holds a research professorship at the Institut Universitaire de France. He has worked on comparative history of medical education, the history of medicines and vaccines, as well as the history of human experimentation. Recent work includes research on risk perception and management in drug scandals and courtroom trials as well as studies on medical film.

Simon Carter is a lecturer in the Department of Sociology at the Open University. He has a particular interest in science and technology studies, especially as applied to issues of health and medicine. He has recently completed an historical study examining the cultural turn towards the sun and sunlight in early twentieth-century Europe and this research provides an analysis of the roles that sunlight played in the mediation of such notions as health, pleasure, the body, gender and class. He has also conducted research into critical approaches to the public understanding of science as applied to health issues.

Sabine Clarke is a Wellcome Trust Research Fellow and Lecturer in Modern History at the University of York. She is currently writing a book about the relationship between scientific research into industrial and medical uses of cane sugar and economic development plans for the British West Indies after 1940.

Martin Gorsky is senior lecturer in the contemporary history of public health and health systems in the Centre for History in Public Health at the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, University of London. His most recent book was *Mutualism and Health Care: British Hospital Contributory Scheme in the Twentieth Century* (Manchester University Press, 2006) (with John Mohan). His current research includes projects on the public health poster in Poland, the history of management in the NHS and the derivation of morbidity trends from sickness insurance records.

Andy Haines was Dean (subsequently Director) of the London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine between 2001 and 2010. In that role he was responsible for the management of over 1000 staff and 3700 postgraduate students. He was previously an inner-city GP in London and professor of primary health care at University College London. He is currently Professor of Public Health and Primary Care at the London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine.

Christopher Hamlin is Professor of History and of History and Philosophy of Science at the University of Notre Dame and Honorary Professor of Public Health and policy at the London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine. His most recent book is *Cholera: The Biography* (Oxford, 2009). Current projects include a history of fever, and studies of local nuisances administration and of disinfection policies.

Vanessa Harding is Professor of London History at Birkbeck College, University of London. She is interested in the interactions between people and the built environment, and has co-directed several related research projects on family, household, housing and health in early modern London. Her book *The Dead and the Living in Paris and London, 1500–1670* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, appeared in 2002.

**Ingar Palmlund** is an independent scholar. After holding senior positions in the Swedish civil service, her academic affiliations have included Clark University, Tufts University, and the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy in the US, Linköping University and the Karolinska Institute in Sweden and the Wellcome Trust Centre for the History of Medicine at University College London in the United Kingdom. Her research concerns politics over the risks to human health and environment.

Lisa Rumiel is a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council post-doctoral fellow at McMaster University in Hamilton, Ontario. Her research focuses on the intersection of health, the environment, nuclear technology, American militarism and social activism in historical context. She is currently working on transforming her dissertation -'Random Murder by Technology: The Role of Physicians and Scientists in the Anti-Nuclear Movement, 1969-1992' - into a book and has begun research on a project about the role of University of Washington ecologists and biologists in the Pacific Proving Ground.

Dieter Schott is Professor of Modern History at the Technische Universitaet Darmstadt, Germany. His special fields of interest are the history of urban infrastructures and urban environmental history, particularly city-river relations. His publications include Networking the City. Municipal Energy Policies, Public Transport and the Production; of the Modern City. Darmstadt Mannheim Mainz 1880-1918 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 1999) and Resources of the City. Contributions to an Environmental History of Modern Europe, edited with Bill Luckin and Geneviève Massard-Guilbaud (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005).

Christopher Sellers is an Associate Professor of History at Stony Brook University. He is the author of Hazards of the Job (University of North Carolina Press, 1997), as well as a forthcoming 'eco-cultural' history of post-World War II suburbanisation in the United States. He is currently studying the history of industrial hazards in the US compared to Mexico

Christian Warren is Associate Professor of History at Brooklyn College. He is the author of Brush with Death: A Social History of Lead Poisoning (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), and co-editor of Silent Victories: The History and Practice of Public Health in Twentieth Century America (Oxford University Press, 2006). His next two books will explore why, how, and at what costs people have spent more and more time indoors.

Paul Wilkinson is Reader in Environmental Epidemiology, London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine. He trained in medicine and public health in Oxford and London, UK, and began epidemiological research at the National Heart & Lung Institute before moving to the London School in 1994. His principal research interests are climate and health; the health consequences of environmental change; and methods for assessing environmental hazards to health. He is a co-director of the London School's World Health Organisation Collaborating Centre on Global Change and Health.

#### List of Abbreviations

AEC Atomic Energy Commission

AHRC Arts and Humanities Research Council
BEIR Biological Effects of Ionising Radiation

BHC Benzene Hydrochloride

BHRA British Health Resorts Association

BMA British Medical Association

BSF British Spa Federation

CEDR Comprehensive Epidemiologic Data Resource

CFC Chlorofluorocarbon

CH<sub>4</sub> Methane

CDW Colonial Development and Welfare
CIC Colonial Insecticides Committee

CO<sub>2</sub> Carbon Dioxide

CTB Comprehensive Test Ban

DDT Dichlorodiphenyltrichloroethane

DOE Department of Energy

DSIR Department of Scientific and Industrial Research

EMB Empire Marketing Board

EPA Environmental Protection Agency FAO Food and Agriculture Organisation

GHG Greenhouse gas

HHS Health and Human Services

HVAC Heating, ventilation and air-conditioning

IEER Institute for Energy and Environmental Research
IPCC Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change

ICRP International Commission on Radiological Protection

ICSU International Council for Science (formely International

Council of Scientific Unions)

ILO International Labour Organisation

INC International Negotiation Committee

IPPNW International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear

War

ISMH International Society of Medical Hydrology

ITC International Tuberculosis Campaign

LSHTM London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine

MAC Maximum allowable concentration

MH Ministry of Health

NEJM New England Journal of Medicine

NHI National Health Insurance NHS National Health Service

NRC Nuclear Regulatory Commission

ppm Parts per million

PSR Physicians for Social Responsibility

SCOPE Scientific Committee on Problems in the Environment SPEERA Secretarial Panel for the Evaluation of Epidemiological

Research Activities

UFA Universal Film Aktiengesellschaft

UN United Nations

UNESCO United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural

Organisation

UNEP United Nations Environment Program

UNFCCC United Nations Framework Convention on Climate

Change

USIS United States Information Service
USPHS United States Public Health Service

WHO World Health Organization

WMO World Meteorological Organization

## Contents

List	of Illustrations	V11
List	of Figures	viii
List	of Tables	ix
Fore	eword by Prof. Sir Andy Haines	X
Ack	nowledgements	xii
Not	es on the Contributors	xiii
List	of Abbreviations	xvi
1	Introduction: Environment, Health and History Virginia Berridge and Martin Gorsky	1
2	Housing and Health in Early Modern London  Vanessa Harding	23
3	Environment and Disease in Ireland Christopher Hamlin	45
4	The <i>Handbuch der Hygiene</i> : A Manual of Proto-Environmental Science in Germany of 1900? <i>Dieter Schott</i>	69
5	Leagues of Sunshine: Sunlight, Health and the Environment Simon Carter	94
6	Healthy Places and Healthy Regimens: British Spas 1918–50 <i>Jane M. Adams</i>	113
7	Rethinking the Post-War Hegemony of DDT: Insecticides Research and the British Colonial Empire Sabine Clarke	133
8	'Health Crusades': Environmental Approaches as Public Health Strategies against Infections in Sanitary Propaganda Films, 1930–60 Christian Bonah	154
9	Cross-Nationalising the History of Industrial Hazard  Christopher C. Sellers	178

#### vi Contents

10	The Gardener in the Machine: Biotechnological Adaptation for Life Indoors <i>Christian Warren</i>	206
11	Exposing the Cold War Legacy: The Activist Work of Physicians for Social Responsibility and International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, 1986 and 1992 Lisa Rumiel	224
12	The Impacts on Human Health and Environment of Global Climate Change: A Review of International Politics  Ingar Palmlund	244
13	Epilogue: The Co-Benefits for Health of Meeting Global Environmental Challenges Paul Wilkinson	270
Ind	ex	274