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America's Shadow: Americanization of Food and Therapeutic Diets in Victorian London

*Takahiro UEYAMA**

INTRODUCTION

Food can stand as a symbol for our lifestyles, our behaviors, and our beliefs about how we want to live. The kind of foods we choose and are allowed to eat in a society can represent our group identity. Even when the selection of diet is left to individual preference, what we eat still largely communicates collective similarity, familiarity, and intimacy. We may say that through agreement about the "right" foods a community is able to demonstrate a cohesive sense of itself. In this essay, by focusing on patent medicines, health-related foods, and therapeutic regimes that were widely commercialized in late Victorian London, I provide a glimpse of how British society began to be infiltrated by America in the form of heavy advertising, market-oriented entrepreneurship, and therapeutic ideology.

Discussing Americanization in fin-de-siècle Britain may sound strange. "Americanization" as a term has tended to be associated with the distinct presence of the United States after World War II. We can easily recognize America's overpowering influence at that time, not only in the economic and political spheres of Europe, but also in popular cultures, such as food, jazz music, cinema, and the other ways that the American

*Professor, Sophia University

lifestyle imposed itself all over the world. To envision Americanization in the Victorian period in London, however, it is good to start with the situation in Britain in the 1880s and '90s, when urban life was entering a stage of hypercommercialized hypercapitalism with captivating advertising and rough-and-tumble business competition. At the same time, modern market mechanisms were beginning to be influential. Like the megacities that were emerging rapidly and widely in the United States, Victorian London was also one of the most advanced cities in the world.

Specifically, medicine and therapeutics emerged as an arena in which entrepreneurs joined in integrated corporate entities to seek dominance in enlarging markets. Behind this phenomenon was a growing health culture and burgeoning popular interest in having healthy bodies and minds. Late Victorian society witnessed a dramatic increase in neurotic complaints such as neurasthenia and nervous prostration both in men and women. The commercialization and industrialization of society threw people into stressful workplaces, while at the same time the decline of Britain's hegemony in the world economy, because of emerging countries like Germany and the United States, led to a fear that the British population was degenerating with mental and nervous disorders. The proliferating medical literature of the time focused on various forms of nervous debility and the neurotic diminishment of mental and physical energies. New types of urban white-collar labor and deskwork exposed more people to competition, stress, and other emotional anguish that led them to search for quasimedical release.

In the 1880s and '90s, this trend toward market capitalism in the field of health was often decried as "Americanization"—an intrusion of a particularly American brand of commercialism. Despite Britons' traditional aversion to open competition and the overt pursuit of private benefit, this nineteenth-century version of American-style globalization penetrated deeply into Londoners' lives. When discussing early Americanization in the form of health culture, it is important to explore the consumer movement of therapeutics in the historical context of Victorian society. However, for want of space, this essay can only be suggestive rather than comprehensive on the subject of these movements.[1]

In this article, I first discuss the marketing strategy of late Victorian British advertising agencies, whose business style was influenced by American practices. Second, I look at the desire for therapeutic commodities in London. Third, I cover the globalization of health-related entrepreneurship. And, finally, I examine the therapeutic ideology of

having a robust body and perfect health, also a result of the influence of American health culture.

ADVERTISING STRATEGIES AND MODERN CONSUMERISM

The proprietary medicine trade around the turn of the century was unprecedented. It was said that the market had as many as ten thousand vendors employing at least nineteen thousand people.[2] Sales of patent medicines in Britain rose from £600,000 in 1860 to £3 million in 1891 and £5 million by 1914.[3] A. J. White Ltd. sold its famous Mother Siegel's Syrup. Coleman & Co. was the proprietor of the blood-enriching wine, Wincarnis. Hall's Wine, Daisy Powders, and Dr. Willam's Pink Pill for Pale People were other widely known patent medicines. Blood purifiers; nerve tonics; and pills and wafers for indigestion, dyspepsia, and biliousness were extensively advertised. Indeed, proprietary medicine was appropriating an ever larger share of the market for medical products.

The ways in which late Victorian Londoners sought these patent medicines and therapeutic commodities mirror what was happening in America. Before discussing that further, however, I would like to first note that the marketing strategies of drug manufacturers were influenced by the first advertising agencies, which were developing in large cities in the United States.

The advertising strategy of proprietary traders of patent medicines was very striking. The famous Victorian quack pill vendor, Thomas Holloway, who founded the Royal Holloway College for women with the proceeds from his vastly profitable patent medicine business, had a genius for recognizing the potential of advertising.[4] His expenditure on advertising his pills rose steadily from £5,000 a year in 1842 to over £50,000 by the time of his death. An enormous amount of this money was spent on inserting advertisements for patent medicines in newspapers and periodicals and for pushing promotional pamphlets, diaries, and almanacs under the front doors of homes. Similarly, the comparatively small-time proprietors of Daisy Powders spent £3,000 a year during this period on advertising, while the much larger Coleman & Co. had an annual advertising budget of £50,000, which enabled them to employ thirty to forty people in its advertising department.[5] Indeed, in Britain the total annual expenditure of all patent medicine companies on advertising was estimated to be as much as £2,000,000.[6]

Another notable example of advertising as a market strategy was the notorious patent medicine dealer, Thomas Beecham, who invested a considerable amount of money in advertising his laxative pills in newspapers and other venues under the popular slogan "worth a guinea a box." His son, Joseph Beecham, went on to build a business empire through his innovative advertising strategies, which included buying advertising space on billboards and railway fences. It was said that the younger Beecham spent as much as £100,000 on advertising Beecham's pill in 1912.[7] It soon became impossible to travel in either Britain or the United States without seeing Beecham's advertisements along roads and railways. Beecham's advertising method was very audacious: the advertisement often contained his own picture, a strong reliable face with side whiskers, accompanied by a bold statement such as "*THE WORLD'S FAMILY MEDICINE*. A family Medicine is a necessity. The human body is an intricate piece of machinery which is easily put out of order." He even exploited hymn books by circulating them at low prices to working-class families before Christmas, perhaps in the hope that congregations might sing the advertised words of celebration for Beecham's pills: "Hark! the herald angels sing, Beecham's pills are just the thing. Peace on earth and mercy mild. Two for man and one for child."[8]

The advertising of these manufacturers was genuinely revolutionary, and it is important to stress that behind their activities, the strong influence of the style of marketing already developed in America is clear. In the early 1800s, there were very few daily newspapers in London. Each newspaper only ran one or two advertisements, which, in turn, were not freely printed because of restrictions ranging from censorship to stamp taxes and paper duties. Even well into the middle of the nineteenth century, advertisements were printed in black and white with no pictorial illustrations. It is perhaps better to characterize these advertisements as printed announcements about certain products that were presented with simple repetition, basic headlines, and small emblems. Even though there were a few advertising agencies, they were little more than intermediaries between mercantile clients and printing presses, with their work being mainly that of placing announcements with a newspaper or magazine publisher. The merchant himself or his clerks generally prepared the actual advertising copy with little thought given to catchphrases or other such hallmarks of modern advertising.

From the mid-1880s, however, old-style advertisements using a few lines of "copy" in narrow columns began to be replaced by bombastic

pictorial advertising with attractive illustrations, used in part to overcome consumers' skepticism, indifference, prejudice, and procrastination.[9] Soon advertisements stopped being merely misguided sensationalism, as professional advertising agencies rapidly emerged. Beginning in the 1870s, men with expert knowledge of the media began to recruit educated people to form the respectable profession of advertising.[10] According to social historians Dianna and Geoffrey Hindley, the development of these agencies was a part of the Americanization of English society. Traditionally, British businessmen regarded advertising as undignified and a waste of money, but a new "scientific" style of sales promotion and advertising came from the United States, where full-service agencies, such as N. W. Ayer in Philadelphia, began large-scale advertisement campaigns on a national basis. British agencies were eager to learn new techniques from the American advertising industry, hoping to establish their own professional identities as advertisers.

Many large agencies, such as Smith's Manual Advertising Agency and T. B. Browne, Ltd., with their offices in central London, began to copy the modern American style of advertising, using technically advanced pictorial illustrations and photographs, producing serial pamphlets or handbills, and employing psychological consultants. Their companies comprised many specialized divisions, such as design departments that employed numerous artists to create the pictures to be printed in advertisements; in some cases, they hired psychologists to make their catchphrases more persuasive. The *Graphic* and the *Illustrated London News* were representative of periodicals that had copious advertising that used innovative drawing and painting. But even smaller publications began to include many illustrated advertisements. According to the list where Smith's agency advertised, there were about seventeen weekly and biweekly periodicals published in London. Established in 1891, *Science Shifting*, for example, was a chatty journal about scientific inventions and discoveries, and health. It sold 32,000 copies a day. *Mechanical World*, which provided practical information to users of machinery and electricity, was established in 1876 and had a circulation of 22,000. Another journal dealing with mechanics was *English Mechanic*, which was established in 1895 and sold 20,000 copies per week.[11] Represented by the popular agency, Moody's Printing, these advertising agencies often bought bulk page space from the media at discount prices and then resold the divided space to clients at the standard rate. They even published their own pamphlets, full-scale annual handbooks, and regular circulars.

Initially, pictorial illustrations for advertising were mainly run in inexpensive papers and journals whose readers were mostly of the working class. Illustrated advertisements were slower to make their way into publications directed at the middle-class because of the long-standing belief that such advertisements consisted of fraudulent statements to promote products of poor quality. The middle-class publishers feared that such graphic advertising would disturb the respectable tone of their publications. But by the 1880s even the most respectable publishers had begun to insert some form of elegantly captioned illustrations. "Pictorial advertising is the most popular form of advertisement," William Stead at T. B. Browne advertising agency wrote in *The Art of Advertising* in 1899. "A picture appeals to all classes of the community, whether educated or uneducated. Anyone can understand a picture."[12] Meanwhile, a professional standard of advertising was gradually established and accepted in late Victorian society. The respectable publishers came to admit that advertising pictures, even though exaggerated, conveyed indispensable information about products, a commercial message to the public, and the possibility that one could benefit from using the advertised products. In a sense, advertisements gradually changed from being mere descriptions of goods for sale to providing the fantasy and entertainment associated with the commodities themselves.

Furthermore, advertising agencies' tactics of "attractive display or illustration, especially the latter, if apt and *à propos*, by gratifying the eye and pleasing the mind" were not intended merely to manipulate consumers' minds; their deeper purpose was to cultivate their hedonistic desires.[13] New-style advertisements were said to have the most effect, "not by what they say, but what they imply or leave to be inferred. Advertisements of this nature skillfully drawn often lead a reader to view the article advertised in a more favourable light than that in which even the advertiser himself could portray it in actual words." As Smith's advertising agency commented, "The mind of the reader has unconsciously assimilated the things implied over and beyond the things said and as the power of imagination is great, the result conduces to the advertiser's interest."[14] Consumer desire, agencies clearly understood, was not a preexisting emotion to be exposed, but rather was constructed in the exchange between consumers' imaginations and the realities they encountered. Therefore, it was along the interstices between fantasy and reality that agencies sought to locate their advertising to inculcate favorable impressions toward the commodities they marketed.

Advertising agencies were fully aware of and often stressed their profession's development as "a new method of a Democratic age."[15] William Stead wrote that the advertising agent "gauges the taste of the public he has to address, and then chooses his means in accordance with what he knows will be the best way to interest it." In response to the steady change from political democracy to material democracy, Stead emphasized that advertising also needed to be a consumer-oriented business. "The Advertising Agent is the nerve-centre of modern industry," he went on to say. "He is the first to feel every influence which affects industry, whether for good or ill. He keeps, as it were, his finger upon the commercial pulse of the world, counts his beats, and adjusts the method and quantity of advertising accordingly."[16] To that end, professional knowledge, marketing research on public psychology, and long experience were definitely requirements for the successful advertising agent. Phillip Smith, head of another big agency, emphatically warned advertisers not to return to the outmoded excessive approach, writing that "the day of successful claptrap and vulgarity, still more the day of exaggeration and deceptive misrepresentation, is quickly passing away."[17] "The truth should look like truth," Smith added. "An advertisement should look to be so genuine that there is no need to make any special claim of genuineness . . . the whole truth, and nothing but the truth; and that is frankness."[18] Advertising agencies frequently recommended to advertisers that "one of the great essentials of security is that you should endeavour to give as much as you possibly can to your customers" to gain their support.[19]

Overall, however, advertising and marketing strategy were considered to be un-British. The new managerial style of advertisements, the marketing business appealing to the masses, and the market-oriented approach to selling health-related regimens were novel in Britain. The British apparently learned these new methods from the United States.

QUEST FOR THERAPEUTIC COMMODITIES AND THE "AMERICAN DISEASE" IN LONDON

Patent medicines in late Victorian society became a genuinely big business. What did people expect to get when they bought patent medicines? And what was the main public role that these health-related preparations played? Proprietary drugs were, of course, sold for medicinal purposes. In reality, however, as the form and language of patent

medicine advertisements show, consumers saw patent medicines first and foremost as commodities, rather than as purely remedial medications.

My examination suggests that purely medicinal preparations were frequently not advertised. For example, in the "Patent Medicine" boxes of the John Johnson Collection at the Bodleian Library (a magnificent collection of printed ephemera, handbills, and newspaper cuttings) cancer remedies and consumption cures only accounted for 1.7 percent of all advertisements.[20] What indeed did people expect when they bought patent medicines? What was the main public role played by these health-inducing preparations? As far as the listed medicinal virtues in the advertisements are concerned, these "drugs" were demanded as pleasures and accessories for everyday life. Sagacious consumers of patent medicines very likely understood the underlying message behind the medicinal announcements. In 1900 Andrew Wilson, a doctor of preventative medicine, observed that "this is a pill-swallowing age and a potion-loving generation."[21] The public bought patent medicines, not because they were actually sick, but because pills and portions were sold as therapeutic commodities.

Manufacturers of patent medicines targeted people who had physical or psychic loss of energy, nervous prostration, loss of appetite, irritability, nausea, palpitations, weakness, and so on. Voguish words like "nervous," "lost energy," and "impure blood" in the advertisements aroused consumer interest by associating products with imaginary states of well-being and fueled desires for the more animated life required by a rapidly industrializing society, which seemed to demand more energy than urban constitutions were able to supply. These complaints were often regarded as symptoms of the "American disease," which was prevalent in the highly advanced technological and industrial cities in the United States.

"It is not a question of absolute illness," Andrew Wilson wrote, "but rather one of 'little health.' We are not exactly ill, and we are not precisely well." He went on to highlight why the public needed these new types of medicines:

> Our brain-cells to-day are doing ten times the work of those which belonged to our forefathers, and as a result they rebel the sooner, and the more frequently against the stain to which they are subjected. The busy man or woman to-day is essentially a "neurotic" subject. I do not mean to imply that we are invalids, or even that we are incapacitated from duty, but we are certainly as

> a race more subject to nervous ills than were our parents, and the life of today has nothing at all in common with the slow, peaceful existence led by our grandparents.[22]

For this loss of nervous energy, there were many kinds of tablets and powders that were claimed to contain the "constituents of the Gastric or digestive juice."[23] In other words, patent medicine vendors were not exactly dealing in *materia medica* but rather were selling health enhancers. For example, Guy's Tonic, one of the more widely advertised pick-me-ups, proclaimed in its advertisements: "Good Appetite—Good Health!" With this tonic, the advertisements promised, "the digestive functions of the Stomach are so invigorated, their powers are so much amplified, and healthy peptones of good are formed, [which] penetrate through the walls of the Stomach and travel by their own routes to the Blood."[24] Lactopeptine, which claimed to provide "much additional gastric juice," was recommended for the "Common-sense Management of the Stomach."[25] The three ingredients of Lactopeptine were advertised as ptyalin for dissolving the starchy matters, pepsin for fleshy matters, and pancreatine for fatty matters. "It is really absurd nowadays to let *indigestion* terrorise you and shut you out from the good things of the table. Instead of surrendering to it, fight it, fight it with Lactopeptine."[26]

It is hard to classify these preparations as medicines at all. Pepsalia was advertised as a cure for indigestion and called itself "not a medicine, but a Table Condiment. A pleasant, appetising, and agreeable substitute for Table Salt."[27] Hood's Sarsaparilla, which was claimed to be extracted from sarsaparilla root, was similarly advertised.

> AFTER DINNER
> To prevent that feeling of fullness and
> distress, aid digestion and assimilation
> of food, cure headache and biliousness
> TAKE HOOD'S PILLS[28]

These sound like medicinally tinctured "pick-me-ups" to be taken daily in order to feel better. Consumers were free to choose from numerous preparations whose slogans promised the same effects for disorders such as indigestion: Cooper's Tonic & Pills, Beecham's Pills, Bile Beans for Biliousness, and Page Woodcock's Pills.

"Nerve tonic" was a favorite term used by patent medicine manufacturers. Patent medicine manufacturers were aware that nervous ailments such as nervous prostration and mental depression were socially created diseases for which doctors could not supply a remedy. Physicians generally recommended that patients take a vacation from work, perhaps following Silas Weir Mitchell's famous "rest cure." But the advice of professional doctors did not accord with the entrepreneurial business ideology of the day, which often emphasized a therapeutic ethos of energetic health. As an effective method to mitigate the stressful effects of modern urban life, neurologists and other doctors in this period tended to prescribe Mitchell's rest cure and suggested patients stay in bed with a fatty diet for several weeks to increase their body's supply of "fat and blood."

Silas Weir Mitchell was an American neurologist who focused on women's nervous diseases. He prescribed total isolation of patients, with bed rest and good diet. In his successful 1877 book *Fat and Blood: and How to Make Them*, Mitchell explained that successful treatment lay in "certain methods of renewing the vitality of feeble people by a combination of entire rest and of excessive feeding, made possible by passive exercise obtained through the steady use of massage and electricity."[29] He is probably best known today for the tragic result of his treating the American feminist Charlotte Perkins Gilman, who was psychologically torn between the still strong "domestic role" of Victorian women and her rejection of these values and who late killed herself. Mitchell recommended Gilman have total bed rest and isolation from her entire family and all social activities. Gilman's novel, *The Yellow Wallpape*r, published in the United States in 1877, was said to have been written to suggest to Mitchell that his therapy was trapped in the dominant gender morality of women's domestic and submissive role and that Gilman hoped Mitchell might change his method after reading it. Mitchell's book soon acquired in Britain and parts of continental Europe medical admirers who had treated, particularly in women patients, mental disorders with such symptoms as nervous exhaustion, hysteria, anemia, and extreme thinness, and so on.

The person who introduced Mitchell's treatment into Britain was William S. Playfair, a professor of obstetric medicine at King's College and an obstetric physician at King's College Hospital. By the 1880s, both American and British neurological writers began to identify neurotic women from their hysteric, restless, self-starved, and undernourished

conditions. By applying Mitchell's rest cure to his own patients, Playfair quickly became Mitchell's most enthusiastic and persistent promoter in Britain. In his 1883 book *The Systematic Treatment of Nerve Prostration and Hysteria*, Playfair found this new therapeutic technique, combined with massage and electrical stimulation, to be well adapted for treating the functional disorders of neurotic women.[30] His typical patient was "the worn and wasted, often bedridden woman, who has broken down, either from some sudden shock" or from some other cause, and who may have experienced "coincident with this . . . the total loss of appetite, the profound anaemia, and the consequent wasting of the tissues."[31]

Along with this "Mitchell-Playfair method" another important component of treating nervous maladies was the American neurologist George Beard's all-inclusive concept of neurasthenia.[32] Neurasthenia was not only a new name for nervous breakdown, collapse, and prostration, but also a new attempt by doctors in the early and mid-Victorian period to create a coherent contemporary medical terminology. Before the 1880s, a great number of dispersed terms, observations, and etiologies were given for widely known phenomena such as mental depression, loss of nervous energy, and other nervous disorders. Physical and mental symptoms earlier associated with melancholy, hysteria, and hypochondriasis had a variety of causal explanations in the past. From the eighteenth century through the middle of the nineteenth century, "hypochondria" (a term originating in ancient Greek medicine meaning "health phobia") described any nervous disorder involving loss of energy. Psychiatrists such as Henry Maudsley, one of the most famous "mad-doctors" in Victorian England, used terms like "exhaustion" or "prostration" to argue that a person's amount of nervous energy was supplied from the central nervous system, consumed in intellectual activities, and was of "a definite and not inexhaustible quantity."[33]

Given the past jumble of terms and ideas about mental disorder, the new diagnostic term of "neurasthenia" was welcomed by the British medical establishment as a more clinically specific term. Traditionalist authorities such as Sir Andrew Clark, a notable Scottish physician and pathologist, lamented the adoption of this new terminology, even accusing it of "violat[ing] a fundamental canon in the framing of a scientific nomenclature, and is, in the order of science, an unpardonable sin."[34] Nonetheless, "neurasthenia" was to be found in the headings of most books on nervous disorders from the 1880s until the early twentieth century.

The concept of neurasthenia was most applicable to the mental disorders of city dwellers. Beard's definition of neurasthenia as a "deficient quantity and impaired quality of nerve force" or as "the impoverishment of nervous force resulting from imperfect metamorphosis of nerve tissue" was actually based on the commonly shared notion among late nineteenth-century physicians that human nervous energy was limited and exhaustible.[35] The mental manifestations of neurasthenia, they believed, appeared when the consumption of the "nerve force" surpassed the supply from the central nervous system. Because nervous force was consumed not by physical exercise but by activities of the brain, neurasthenia was considered a disease of civilized rather than savage or backward people. Attributing its extrinsic cause to modern city life characterized by stressful and unremitting brain work and the forced repression of the emotions, Beard and other medical writers tended to root the appearance of neurasthenia in the forces of evolution.[36]

Moreover, Beard argued, "if we know what a nation eats, we know what a nation is or may become." Thus, in his view, people at the top of the hierarchy on human races should "diminish the quantity of cereals and fruits, which are far below him on the scale of evolution, and increase the quantity of animal food, which is nearly related to him in the scale of evolution."[37] Although Beard termed neurasthenia the "American Disease," signaling his view of American society as the most technologically evolved civilization, British doctors viewed the United States not so much as an evolutionary frontrunner but as a place where brutal competition existed in manufacturing and commercial circles. The "desire to 'get up higher,' not alone for their own sakes, but for one's descendants" and "the fear of political, financial, and commercial crises," German neurologist H. V. Ziemssen argued, was generating this disease nowhere "on so extensive a scale as in the United States."[38] Even in Europe, the nineteenth century was seen by the prominent British physician Thomas Cliford Allbutt as "a century of stress and of unsatisfied desires" in which "the struggle for life has revealed itself in naked and brutish forms."[39] Beard's characterization of the disorder as rooted in the most stressful and nervous aspects of the United States soon proved to apply to other countries. But it was Britain where this concept was most prevalent in the medical vocabulary, and late Victorian society was the place where it was most accepted.

THE SPREAD OF HEALTH-RELATED ENTREPRENEURSHIP

It is true that patent medicine flourished in late Victorian England, but it is important to realize that this was not simply a regional boom but a manifestation of entrepreneurial expansion, mainly in the Atlantic rim. Although there were many proprietary regimens advertised in Britain, many of the associated commodities were sold by American manufacturers or immigrant druggists from the United States. Since Victorian London was full of urban dwellers who were becoming very enthusiastic about "health culture," a considerable number of entrepreneurs from the new continent were eager to enter this market. During the 1880s the most promising opportunity for doing so was in connection with the International Health Exhibition held in London in 1884.

Reflecting Londoners' growing interest in positive health and nutritious foods, this exhibition attracted the public's enthusiastic attention.[40] Illustrating all the elements presumed to contribute to a healthy life, the exhibition provided a "Sanitary Show" of health commodities to the public.[41] In booth after booth in its Health Section, numerous foods, articles of clothing, a newly patented drainage system, and hygienic types of dwellings were vividly brought before the public eye. The exhibition provided various kinds of amusements to make it as popular an event as possible. Inside the exhibition hall, military bands performed daily, amusing "visitors whose desire to be entertained [was] greater than their interest in sanitary and hygiene questions."[42] But the primary purpose of the health exhibition was didactic. In a speech given on opening day, the Prince of Wales noted that "for scientific and educational purposes the public at large may derive even greater benefit from it than they can get by merely coming here to enjoy the Exhibition as a place of recreation."[43] The exhibition's Education Section highlighted recently invented educational tools, arts, and handicrafts. Given that "the public themselves should consider, much more than they do, the utility and the means of maintaining their own health," the exhibition was presented as a pedagogical place where all classes could gather and be immersed in the new health culture.[44]

By its very nature, however, the exhibition was doomed primarily to be a spectacular display of objects.[45] Even though the International Health Exhibition was intended to demonstrate a semiotic concept of health, such conceptualization was made possible only by displaying

commodities that were estimated to have value for a healthy life. For the exhibitors, who numbered more than three thousand, the exhibition was a golden opportunity to advertise their manufactured objects. Capitalistic interests inevitably permeated the organization and displays at the exhibition, where entrepreneurial manufacturers could demonstrate how to develop an ideal healthy body through use of their commodities.

All along the "great central avenue" of the exhibition was the Food Section. Collected from all around world, the health-giving foods in this part of the exhibition ranged from unprepared items like vegetables and fruits, which were displayed through paper and clay facsimiles, to a number of newly manufactured foods such as "compressed food," "regimen bread," liquid nutrition, and other artificial substances, which were said to have various medicinal virtues (figure 1). It is no small wonder that there arose a concern that in this main gallery "the commercial interest was mainly predominant."[46] Ernest Hart, a member of the Executive Council of the exhibition, was bewildered by his role as promoter of both the exhibition and patent medicines, because he, as an editor of the *British Medical Journal*, had been eager to campaign to restrict medicine-like patented foods. In a lecture before the Society of the Exhibition, Hart expressed his deep anxiety that consumers' high demand for cheap and simplified foods had promoted the "introduction of articles called 'substitutes'" by manufacturers. Afraid that the Health Exhibition might boost food adulteration, Hart could only have faith that the Health Exhibition's International Jury "has, we trust, done something towards putting a stop to a trade which, while it enriches the unscrupulous trade, places the honest manufacturer in an awkward position."[47]

After conducting "a considerable number of tests and analyses" the jurors awarded 200 diplomas of honor to selected exhibitors, 270 gold medals, 580 silver medals, 670 bronze medals, and 100 special letters of thanks.[48] But such awards were not entirely impartial. Jurors had been selected with the "most scrupulous care to meet the view of the Exhibitors themselves." Although the Executive Council actually selected the jury, the exhibitors were requested to list their preferences as to the "three gentlemen to be recommended as Jurors." To select the final jurors from the list, the Council "endeavoured to give full weight to the opinions expressed by Exhibitors" so that "awards will be satisfactory alike to the Exhibitors and public."[49] Despite council member Hart's concerns, manufacturers had a strong hand in the awards process, and their participation in the exhibition turned out to be a boon to themselves in terms of advertising.

INTERNATIONAL HEALTH EXHIBITION,

LONDON, 1884.

NO. 40, SOUTH GALLERY.

PEEK, FREAN & CO.,

BISCUIT MANUFACTURERS, LONDON.

PRIZE MEDALS AT EIGHT EXHIBITIONS.

GOLD MEDAL

Awarded by the National Academy of Agriculture, Manufactures, and Commerce, Paris, 1874.

GOLD MEDAL, PARIS, 1878.

By Appointment to H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES, the COURT OF BELGIUM, and COURT OF ITALY.

FANCY BISCUITS, in about 250 varieties.

CAKES of all descriptions.

These celebrated Biscuits may be obtained from the leading Dealers in Town, Country, and on the Continent, also in various Foreign and Colonial Markets throughout the World.

Speciality for the present Season—the "HEALTH" Biscuit, a choice delicacy of extraordinary lightness. Packed in square Tins, holding about 4 lbs., and in special sized 2 lb. Tins.

Figure 1 The International Health Exhibition, London, 1884
The Illustrated London News, June 28, 1884

Patent foods claiming to have medicinal effects jostled with one another in the displays along the central avenue of the exhibition. For example, an American manufacturer, Murdock Liquid Food Company, displayed "a raw extract of beef, mutton, and fruits, condensed manifold," which was said to be used in American hospitals for men and women with chronic illnesses.[50] Mellins, which was most frequently advertised as an artificial food for infants and invalids, claimed to have a "high degree of alkalinity, in order to neutralise the acidity of cow's milk and that of the cereals." Its inventor, G. Mellin, also displayed his Lacto-Glycose, "a substitute for the natural food of very young children."[51] Many other substitutes were also exhibited, such as Crawford's "amylaceous food," Mottershead's "peptonised food," and Benger's "liquor pancreaticus." There was also Dr. Druitt's remedy for nervous exhaustion, as well as Loeflund's Pure Hordeum and Barf & Wire's Krechyle, which were respectively displayed as medicinal beef and malt extracts.[52]

Turning our eyes to the market in general, about half of the patent medicines colorfully advertised called themselves patent foods, nutritious substitutes, medicinal drinks, or meat or vegetable extracts. Cod liver oil was a frequently promoted natural regimen. In the early 1870s, Dr. de Jongh's Light-Brown Cod Liver Oil was put on the market for "prostration and emaciation, where the vital forces are reduced, and where life appears to be even at its lowest ebb."[53] Similarly, Allen & Hanbury first became world famous for its successful sale of BYNIN, a mixture of malt extract and cod liver oil. The company also sold, as "a Specific for NEURALGIA" or "TONGA," a medicinal fluid extracted from the "Barkes, Roots, and Leaves of several plants."[54] Cod liver oil was often sold as an emulsion. "Scott's Emulsion," one advertisement proclaimed, "is a NET GAIN. In thousands of cases, ordinary food, even if digested, is not enough to meet the demands upon it [the body]. The vital spark burns low in consequence, and there is constant danger."[55]

Though Mellins was no doubt an artificial food, there were also on the market many other foodstuffs that were "already cooked requiring neither boiling nor straining."[56] Artificial food became a mainstay for Allen & Hanbury's business. "No Better Foods Exist," the company boasted, than "a nourishment peculiarly adapted to the digestive organs of Infants and Young."[57] Dr. Ridge's Patent Cooked Food and Benger's Food, displayed at the exhibition, were other brands targeting infants and persons with digestive trouble.[58] The medicinal virtues of such daily foods and

drinks, often supported by doctors' recommendations and certificates, were distorted as advertising strategies for manufacturers. For example, cocoa manufacturers never failed to publicize their product's medicinal qualities. The earliest advertisements for Van Houten Cocoa and Cadbury's Cocoa always accentuated their product's nitrogenous, flesh-forming, and thus highly therapeutic virtues. Van Houten Cocoa, it was claimed, would "smooth the nerves and is . . . strengthening. . . . Its nourishing qualities enable the blood to build up, during sleep."[59]

Another interesting case showing the public's concern and demand for nutritious food was Hovis, the national brand maker of "brown bread" (figure 2). Launched in the 1880s as Smith's Old Patent Germ Bread at a time when white bread was already popular, Hovis sold its patented bread as the "Only Food that will Prevent or Cure Indigestion" because it returned wheat germ to white flour. Beginning in the 1890s, Hovis placed numerous advertisements in popular newspapers and magazines boasting of the bread's therapeutic effect of curing indigestion and building good bones, flesh, and muscles. Its advertisements illustrated the superior benefits of its "brown bread": "1 1/2 lbs. *Hovis* is more digestible and nourishing than 1 lb. of *white bread* and 1/2 lb. of *beef steak*."[60] Hovis also asserted that for the "formation of sound teeth, strong bones, vigorous constitution" Triticumina Bread was worth buying.[61] Some years later, in 1911, the *Daily Mail* began a campaign to make brown bread the "standard bread," insisting that consuming white bread was a serious factor in the deterioration of the nation's public health. The newspaper cited the work of Cambridge biochemist Frederick Gowland Hopkins, who did experiments that discovered nutritional elements that were later labeled "vitamins." The *Daily Mail*'s campaign highlighted the necessity of consuming important nutrients by returning to the traditional way of making bread. Although commercial bakers of bread made from refined flour spearheaded a boycott of the *Daily Mail* on account of its bread campaign, British consumers continued to view Hovis's brown bread as a nutritious product.[62]

Various kinds of medicinal extracts, such as Liebig's Extract of Meat and Coleman's Malt Wine, occupied a considerable share of the patent medicine market. The Maltine Company sold Carnrick's Beef Peptonids, "Concentrated Powdered Extract of Beef, Partially Digested and Combined with an Equal Portion of Gluten."[63] Lion Brand Essence of Beef was another extract for "invalids & Persons of Weak Digestion."[64] Gordon's Extract, sold as a pure vegetable essence and "the great

Figure 2 Hovis Form Blood Bone Brain Flesh and Muscle, *The Graphic*, Jan. 29, 1898

panacea," could "Cure Disordered Liver and Chronic Indigestion" and even "Cure those Discharged from Hospitals as Incurable."[65]

Today these various substitutes, extracts, and drinks would be categorized as food products, but in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries manufactures stressed the medicinal virtues of this panoply of products. In order to exploit people's obsession with health, manufacturers of patent medicines used advertising language that easily caught consumers' attention and encouraged them to imagine alternatives to professional medical treatment. The newly emerging health culture, partly cultivated by medical doctors, like the popularizer Andrew Wilson, opened up a Pandora's box, since doctors' medical services increasingly came to be replaced by use of medical commodities. And fin-de-siècle capitalists never overlooked the profit that could be gained through the commodification of this health culture.

A ROBUST BODY, PERFECT HEALTH, AND "PHYSICAL CULTURE"

Britons' growing desire to overcome nervous weakness and neurasthenia is further evidence of the cultural and entrepreneurial shadow cast by America. In the late nineteenth century, British urban dwellers began to see "health" not only as the condition of a properly functioning body but also as the achievement of untapped reservoirs of exuberant, abundant energy and the opening of a way to a richer, fuller life. In his writings, cultural historian Jackson Lears has shown Americans' obsession in the late nineteenth century for buying therapeutic commodities primarily to achieve a sense of "self-realization" through being healthy.[66] Similar to Americans who exposed themselves to highly industrialized and stressful working settings, Londoners wanted to be physically strong to face the business competition that was coming from North America. The advertising of medical commodities on both continents both produced and exploited this aspiration for abundant health. Key phrases that cropped up again and again in patent medicine advertisements were perfect condition, robust body, vital energy, supreme strength, invigorating health, robust masculinity, long life, and so on (figure 3).

Flawless health became the symbol of ultimate achievement. Many books gave instructions on how to gain perfection in life in the form of ideal health: *Perfect Health for Women and Children*; *The Modern Family Doctor*, *A Guide to Perfect Health*; *The Secret of Perfect Health;*

Figure 3 Frame Food Diet for Infants & Everybody,
The Illustrated London News, Nov. 26, 1898

The Key to Perfect Health and the Successful Application of Psycho-Therapeutics, and the like.[67] Perfect enjoyment of life was also pursued in physical beauty, which was associated specifically with health: "Perfect health is the foundation of all culture of physical beauty" and "We cannot add or take away one inch form our stature, but the well-knit, supple frame of perfect health does a great deal to atone for excess or surplus."[68] Advertising language no doubt reflected this perfectionist psychology. For example, Hood's Sarsaparilla promised "perfect health restored."[69] Other advertisements went so far as to dispense psychological advice along with a recipe for health: an advertisement for J. C. Eno, a brand of fruit salt supposedly salutary for health, preached that "Perfect Happiness lies First of All in Perfect Health, and does not Grieve for the things which we Have Not, but Rejoices for Those Which We Have."[70]

Furthermore, products sold for the health of the brain or nerves were often considered ideal for helping to acquire perfect health. There was Bromo-Phosph, which was sold as "Brain Food" and which was claimed to restore the energy and vital force of the entire body: "It prevents Decay of Nerve Force, adds zest and pleasure to life by invigorating the whole frame."[71] The promise of robust health called the public's attention to the ways in which medicine could help people achieve a fully prosperous and pleasant life. "Robust Health," Bile Beans proclaimed, "is the thing necessary to complete enjoyment of life," while another famous liver pill, Beecham's, offered "to build robust health."[72]

Advertisements also often highlighted virile masculinity as a symbol of a happy, healthy life. Many of the patent medicine advertisements focused on nervousness, debility, and weakness, all three of which were seen as typical of a woman's unhealthy state of being. Recovering strength and vitality, however, was often highlighted as a necessary condition for both men and women who had to survive stressful city lives. In the modern urban environment, masculinity itself was not simply a gendered connotation but rather became the embodiment of achievement for both sexes.

The emphasis on masculinity in consumer culture is another noticeable break from conventional British gender icons. Unlike cultural historian Lori Ann Loeb, who describes how "women-as-consumers" emasculated men by having them indulge in a lifestyle of luxury and prodigality, Jackson Lears says that the American model of consumers as the triumph of masculine materialism fits well with British images of

urban consumers of health. Lears, in his seminal work, *Fable of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America*, portrays the age of modern consumerism as one in which the Old World's conception of luxurious abundance, often associated with "women-as-fecund-earth" and feminine fertility, was passing away.[73] Lears argues quite convincingly that in the late nineteenth century, which witnessed an unparalleled explosion of mass production and mass consumption in America, there emerged a new style of consumerism that featured the "disembodiment of female icons of abundance."[74] Buying luxurious commodities had long been seen as perilous and was considered an exotic temptation toward a prodigal life. Modern consumerism, however, represented the victory of the rationalized factory system with its managerial efficiency of mass production and corporate culture. The advertisements in this new age, therefore, signaled not so much indulgence and "effeminate luxury" as masculine materialism and the "abundant" availability of plentiful commodities; advertisements reflected the images of factories rather than the goddess of land fertility, as they had in previous eras. Even when women appeared in these advertisements, Lears explains, they played a passive role as the "beneficiaries of the largesse generated by the male genius of mass production."[75]

In this context, advertising valorizing strong, vigorous health was the norm:

> HOOD'S SARSAPARILLA
> which makes rich, healthy
> blood and thus gives strength
> and elasticity to the muscles,
> vigor to the brain, and health
> and vitality to every part of
> the body. Hood's Sarsaparilla
> MAKES THE WEAK STRONG

Similarly, Guy's Tonic, promised to restore "Muscular Vitality" and was said to give its user "that Vigour and alertness that are signs of returning Health." Its advertisement depicts two men toasting and thanking the product for the vivacity and strength it has given them (figure 4).

What cultural meanings underlie these advertising phrases? In other words, what imaginary landscape was associated with what products when the public consumed them? The inextricable mesh of images these

Figure 4 Guy's Tonic for Vivacity and for Strength, JJC, The Bodleian Library

words conveyed to consumers can best be understood by looking at Britain's burgeoning "physical culture" boom and the way it identified muscular vitality with general health.

Small wonder, then, that this was a period in which gymnastics, body building, and all kinds of sports activities were introduced as health-related disciplines. For late Victorians, being healthy signified a vitality-acquiring process, and for that purpose, various kinds of physical exercises were recommended, along with dietary and other regimens. Archibald Maclaren, founder of the Oxford gymnasium and an apostle of physical education for schoolchildren, defined health as "that amount of vital capacity, which shall enable each man in his place to pursue his calling and work on in his working life."[76] Gymnastic exercises and training, Maclaren wrote, aimed to achieve "the strengthening, the developing of his body, muscle and joint, organ and limb; [to] make him a man,

and as a man give him power over himself."[77] As Bruce Haley has elegantly described in *The Healthy Body and Victorian Culture*, the years between the 1850s and 1880s saw the rise of a new mood in which various athletic sports became a national mania. All well-known modern sports, including football, hockey, croquet, lawn tennis, badminton, bicycling, boxing, wrestling, gymnastics, golf, and dumbbells, which once had been the object of ridicule by gentlemen, were developed into respectable educational disciplines during that period. It is significant that they were accepted and celebrated as a part of a physical education that would provide a healthy and vigorous life to young men.[78]

The development of a physical culture was first recognized by those upper-middle-class enthusiasts who saw a pedagogical role for sports in the fashioning of the true manly gentleman.[79] By the end of the century, however, physical culture expanded to become a predominant concern for a wide range of late Victorians who worshipped physical vigor and robust muscularity, sought out exercise, and bought various exercise machines. Tricycling was taken up as a bourgeois substitute for the aristocratic sport of horse-riding, while its shaking-the-liver movements were believed to help squeeze waste out of that organ.[80] To achieve similar purposes, Vigor & Co. extensively marketed such machines as Vigor's Home Rower as a perfect chest and muscle developer and Vigor's Horse-Action Saddle as a perfect substitute for a live horse (figure 5). The advertisement for this machine says, "It invigorates the system by bringing all the Vital Organs into Inspiriting Action. . . . It is a complete cure for Obesity, Hysteria, and Gout." Interestingly, the man riding this machine is a bearded aristocratic-looking gentleman. The advertising for the machine sought, however, to appeal to the lower middle class, by mimicking the exercising habits of the gentleman class.[81]

Physical culture was not only popularized but institutionalized. It was spotlighted as a military discipline in France and Germany. The gymnasium was introduced into late Victorian England as a means of providing health-enhancing exercises, and private gymnastics institutions soon becoming a preeminent manifestation of this physical culture. For example, the London Polytechnic Institute, founded by Eton graduate and later chairman of the East India Company, Quintin Hogg, and situated along fashionable Regent Street, was first intended to provide an educational site for working-class youths. However, it quickly grew to become a well-known social club for the lower-middle-class public with its numerous gymnastic machines, a swimming pool, and other exercise

Figure 5 Vigor's Horse-Action Saddle, *The Graphic*, Jan. 11, 1896

facilities (figure 6).[82] Quintin Hogg in 1865 opened a school on York Street for the philanthropic purpose of helping boys on the lowest rung of the social ladder. By not only providing lodging to homeless and destitute boys but also nurturing them with religious education and practical and technical lectures, including mathematics, mechanical engineering, elementary chemistry, mining, glass cutting, and clock making, Hogg aimed to build up a generation of good Christian youths. His pedagogical method was to develop these youths' spiritual welfare through athletic exercise as well as through religious and educational instruction. In 1881 he took over the Polytechnic Institute, which has previously been a place for exhibiting technological innovations. In its new guise as a modern gymnasium, the Polytechnic Institute gained great popularity, with membership exceeding more than three thousand in 1882.[83]

Under the aegis of trained gymnasts, Hogg's Polytechnic Institute offered many classes using dumbbells and barbells, rowing exercises, parallel bars, flying rings, high jumping, a vaulting horse, and a trapeze.[84] The Polytechnic Institute, appealing to people's quest for physically

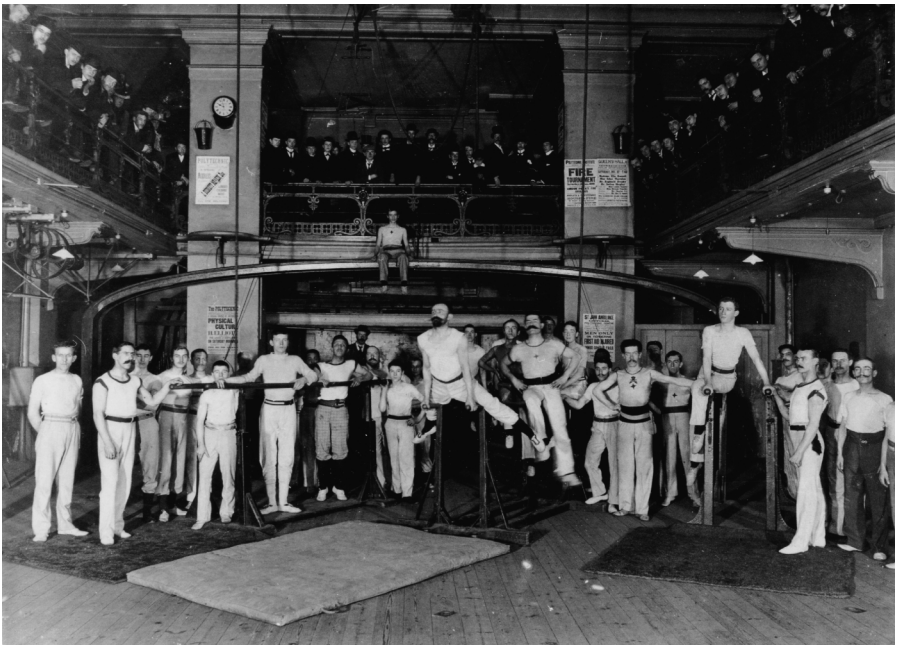

Figure 6 Gymnasium at London Polytechnic Institute, University of Westminster Archives, London

developed and muscular health, often advertised its gymnastic facilities in health-related journals as a way of curing back pain, rheumatism, and stomach troubles. Where physical sports had once been solely the domain of the well-to-do, Hogg's institute offered a more democratic vision of health: the gymnasium and other facilities at the institute were open to any member of the public who bought tickets at three shillings per annum in addition to the member's regular subscription (figure 6).

Another health discipline, body building, emerged out of this physical culture and eventually achieved a toehold in late Victorian society. That the best-selling British health manual of body building, William Blaikie's *How to Get Strong and How to Stay So*, appeared in numerous editions from its first publication in 1880 and acquired a wide range of readers both in the United States and Britain, attests to the transatlantic cultural atmosphere in which health was conceived of as an epiphenomenon of muscular vigor.[85]

"Never, since the world began," Blaikie wrote, "was the art of body-building so well understood as it is now. Your lacks; your weakness; your probable length of life, can be gauged with a certainty well-nigh unerring."[86] Observing that frequent complaints of the blockage of physical vitality were closely connected with mental strain, fret, anxiety, and depression, Blaikie stressed throughout the book the usefulness of body building or "vigorous muscular exercise for all parts of the body" in order to rescue people from both physical and mental "running down." Capitalizing on the extent to which sedentary occupations, such as teaching, office work, law, editing, and medicine had increased rapidly from the 1880s, he argued that a vigorous mind required a vigorous body. Moreover, he emphasized that these learned professions required greater physical endurance: "To win lasting distinction in sedentary, in-door occupations, which task the brain and the nervous system, extraordinary toughness of body must accompany extraordinary mental powers. . . . The sound body is at the bottom of all."[87] Blaikie's championing of exercising to gain "an unusual store of vitality," "the stout bodily frame," and "bodily stamina" eventually carried the day, with exercise coming to embody the entrepreneurial ideal in Victorian England.[88]

CONCLUSION

The proliferation of patent medicine businesses marked the beginning of a new cultural phenomenon in the late nineteenth century. The public, both working-class and middle-class consumers, began to see being healthy as a modernized manifestation of their individual desires, hopes, and aspirations. As advertising illusions began to infuse market capitalism into health culture through the media related to these commodities, the public enjoyed consuming a cultural imagination of "health" that could be purchased, stored, exchanged, and even achieved. In this milieu there are traces of the early Americanization of British society. In the realm of patent medicine and health-related foods, British society was becoming more and more "capitalistic," in the sense that a person's behaviors and allocation decisions were driven by market forces and for-profit activities. The permeation of market capitalism into the very private sphere of people's health signifies a departure from Britons' traditional way of life in an age of newly emerging globalization.

NOTES

[1] For a detailed discussion, see Takahiro Ueyama, *Health in the Marketplace: Professionalism, Therapeutic Desires, and Medical Commodification in Late Victorian London* (Palo Alto, CA: Society for the Promotion of Science and Scholarship, 2010).

[2] *Report from the Select Committee on Patent Medicines, together with Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, and Appendices*, Ordered by the House of Commons, 1914 (London: Wyman and Sons, 1914) 501, xiii–xiv. E. S. Turner, *The Shocking History of Advertising* (London: Michael Joseph, 1953).

[3] S. W. F. Holloway, *Royal Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain 1841–1991: A Political and Social History* (London: Pharmaceutical Press, 1991), 308.

[4] W. H. Helfand, "James Morrison and His Pills," *Transactions of the British Society of the History of Pharmacy* 1 (1974): 101–35.

[5] *Parliamentary Papers (1914) IX: Select Committee on Patent Medicines*, published as *Report from the Select Committee on Patent Medicines, together with Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, and Appendices*, Ordered by the House of Commons, 1914 (London: Wyman and Sons, 1914), 501.

[6] Ibid., x.

[7] For the business history of the Beecham Company, see H. G. Lazell, *From Pills to Penicillin: The Beecham Story* (London: Heinemann, 1975); Anne Francis, *A Guinea a Box: A Biography* (London: Robert Hale, 1968).

[8] "Sir Joseph Beecham Found Dead in Home—By the Sale of His Pills He Had Become the Third Richest Man in England," *New York Times*, October 24, 1919.

[9] In the *Illustrated London News*, for example, the first printing of pictorial advertisements was in 1888.

[10] Diana Hindley and Geoffrey Hindley, *Advertising in Victorian England, 1837–1901* (London: Wayland, 1972).

[11] Smith's Advertising Agency *Successful Advertising: Its Secrets Explained,* 21st ed., (London: Smith's Advertising Agency, 1885), 295. Listed papers are: *The Capitalists* (est. 1885); *Commercial Intelligence* (1898); *Electrical Engineer* (1883); *Electricity and Electrical Engineering* (est. 1890); *Family Doctor* (1895); *The Hospital* (1886); *Insurance Post and Remembrancer* (1879); *Insurance Record* (1863); *Insurance World and Monetary Record* (1879); *London Commercial Records* (1876); *Medical Press and Circular* (1825); *Newspaper Owner & Modern Printer* (1898); *Polytechnic Magazine* (1879); and *Vegetarian* (1888).

[12] William Stead, Jr., *The Art of Advertising: Its Theory and Practice Fully Described* (London: T. B. Browne, 1899), 97.

[13] *Successful Advertising: Its Secrets Explained*, 67.

[14] Ibid., 68.

[15] Stead, *Art of Advertising*, 12.

[16] Ibid., 42.

[17] Phillip Smith, *Successful Advertising: Its Secret Explained*, 24th ed. (London: Smith's Advertising Agency, 1909), 19.

[18] Ibid., 45

[19] Ibid., 11.

[20] Although I have not yet made a statistical examination of the advertisements that appeared in the *Illustrated London News*, the *Graphic*, and *Health*, I did review the advertisements from 1870 to 1910 and found no advertisements employing bombastic illustrations until the mid-1880s.

[21] Andrew Wilson, *Brain and Body: the Nervous System in Social Life* (London: James Bowden, 1900), 12.
[22] Wilson, *Brain and Body*, 10–11.
[23] *Illustrated London News*, November 5, 1898, 988.
[24] *Illustrated London News*, February 5, 1898, 197.
[25] *Illustrated London News*, September 14, 1901, 401.
[26] *Illustrated London News*, February 16, 1901, 249.
[27] *Graphic*, January 9, 1892, 55.
[28] "Hood's Sarsaparilla (blood purifier)" in the John Johnson Collection at the Bodleian Library [hereinafter JJC], Patent Medicine box, miscellaneous patent medicines.
[29] Weir Mitchell, *Fat and Blood: and How to Make Them* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1877); Weir Mitchell, *Fat and Blood: An Essay on the Treatment of Certain Forms of Neurasthenia and Hysteria* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1898).
[30] W. S. Playfair, *The Systematic Treatment of Nerve Prostration and Hysteria* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1883).
[31] Ibid., 72.
[32] Cliford Allbutt, "Neurasthenia" in Cliford Allbutt and Humphry Davy Rolleston, eds., *A System of Medicin*e, vol. 8, (London: Macmillan, 1910), 778. Allbut used the "Mitchell-Playfair method" combining it with the new terminology of neurasthenia.
[33] See Janet Oppenheim, "*Shattered Nerves": Doctors, Patients, and Depression in Victorian England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), esp. chap. 3.
[34] Andrew Clark, "Some Observations Concerning What Is Called Neurasthenia," *Lancet* 2 (1882): 1–2.
[35] George M. Beard, *Sexual Neurasthenia (Nervous Exhaustion): Its Hygiene, Causes, Symptoms, and Treatment, with a Chapter on Diet for the Nervous* (New York: T.B. Treat, 1884), 36.
[36] George M. Beard, *American Nervousness: Its Causes and Consequences, a Supplement to Nervous Exhaustion (Neurasthenia)* (New York: G. P. Putman & Son., 1880).
[37] Ibid.
[38] H. von Ziemssen, "Clinical Lectures on Neurasthenia and its Treatment," trans. Edmond J. McWeeney, in *Clinical Lectures on Subjects Connected with Medicine and Surgery*, 3rd. ed., by various German authors (London: New Sydenham Society, 1894), 57.
[39] Clifford Allbutt, "Nervous Diseases and Modern Life," *Contemporary Review* 67 (1895): 210–31.
[40] Many newspapers and periodicals welcomed this exhibition and carried articles on its purpose and with illustrations. See, for example, the articles in *Illustrated London News*, 1884.
[41] For spectacular scenes from the proliferating exhibitions of the nineteenth century, see Richard D. Altick, *Shows of London* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1978).
[42] "International Health Exhibition," *Health*, May 9, 1884, iv.
[43] *The Health Exhibition Literature*, vol. 8, printed and published for the Executive Council of the International Health Exhibition and for the Council of the Society of Arts (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1884), 4.
[44] *Health Exhibition Literature*, 24–25.
[45] Thomas Richards begins his narrative with the Great Exhibition of 1851, exploring the ways in which the burgeoning commodity culture and advertisements emerged as a

theatrical spectacle in bourgeois society. *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851–1914* (London: Verso, 1991).

[46] Ernest Hart, *The International Health Exhibition: Its Influence and Possible Sequels, A Paper read before the Society of Arts*, November 26, 1884 (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1885), 11. Also see his report on the exhibition, "Abstract of a Lecture on the International Health Exhibition of 1884: Its Influence and Possible Sequels," *British Medical Journal* 2 (December 6, 1884): 1115–22.

[47] Ibid., 12.

[48] Ibid., 14.

[49] "The International Health Exhibition," *Health*, May 9, 1884, iv.

[50] "International Health Exhibition Supplement," second notice, *Health*, May 16, 1884, iv.

[51] "International Health Exhibition Supplement," third notice, *Health*, May 23, 1884, iii. This series went to fourth and fifth notices: May 30, 1884, iii–vi; June 6, 1884, iii–vi.

[52] Ibid., *Health*, May 23, 1884, iv–v.

[53] Dr. de Jongh's Light-Brown Cod Liver Oil, *Illustrated London News*, 1872, December 21, 1884, August 30, 1884, and in JJC, Well-Known Patent Medicines, box 6.

[54] Allen & Hanbury's ad for "Bynin" and "Tonga," in JJC, Patent Medicine, box 1.

[55] Scott's Emulsion, *Graphic*, January 1, 1898, 26.

[56] Mellins' Foods were extensively advertised in many journals. See, for example, *Health*, March 29, 1889, and March 10, 1893.

[57] Allen & Hanbury's Infants Food, *Illustrated London News*, January 13, 1894, 64.

[58] "Ridge's Food Is Enjoyed by All the Young Masters," *Health*, February 10, 1893; Benger's Food, *Graphic*, April 7, 1906.

[59] Van Houten Cocoa, *Graphic*, March, 29, 1902, 439; Cadbury's Cocoa, for example, *Health*, February 15, 1889.

[60] "The Hovis, at One Third the Cost," *Health*, June 16, 1893, 2.

[61] "Triticumina Bread: Entire Wheatmeal Malt Bread," *Health*, January 13, 1893.

[62] For the *Daily Mail*'s campaign for brown bread as standard bread, see Mark Weatherall, "Bread and Newspapers: The Making of 'A Revolution in the Science of Food,'" in *Science and Culture of Nutrition, 1840–1940, ed.* Harmke Kamminga and Andrew Cunningham (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1995).

[63] Carnick's Beef Peptonoids, *Health*, April 13, 1883.

[64] Lion Brand Essence Beef, *Health*, July 17, 1885.

[65] Gordon's Extract, *Health*, August 28, 1885.

[66] Jackson Lears argues that consumers' desire for self-realization promoted the proliferation of consumption culture in the United States. See his "From Salvation to Self-Realization: Advertising and the Therapeutic Roots of the Consumer Culture," in *The Culture of Consumption: Critical Essays in American History, 1880–1980, ed.* Jackson Lears, T. J. Jackson, and Richard Wightman Fox (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983). Also see Jackson Lears, *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1994).

[67] Elizabeth Sloan Chester, *Perfect Health for Women and Children* (London: Methuen & Co., 1912); *The Modern Family Doctor: A Guide to Perfect Health* (London: T. C. & E. Jack, 1914); Walter S. Moon, *The Secret of Perfect Health: Disease Rendered Preventible and Removable by Washing its Germs out of the Body* (London: Offices of Sanitary Engineering, 1890); and Arthur Hallum, *The Key to Perfect Health and the Successful Application of Psycho-Therapeutics: A Practical Guide to both Operator and Patient* (London: St. Clements Press, 1912).

[68] *Modern Family Doctor*, 262.
[69] Hood's Sarsaparilla, in JJC, Well-Known Patent Medicines, outsized material.
[70] Eno's Fruit Salt, *Graphic*, April 2, 1900, 73.
[71] Bromo-Phosph or Brain Food, in JJC, Patent Medicine, box 1.
[72] Bile Beans and Beecham's Pills, both in JJC, Well—Known Patent Medicines, box 5.
[73] Lori Anne Loeb, *Consuming Angels: Advertising and Victorian Women* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); Lears, *Fables of Abundance*.
[74] Ibid., 109.
[75] Ibid., 120.
[76] Archbold Maclaren, *A System of Physical Education, Theoretical and Practical* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1885), 24.
[77] Ibid., 91.
[78] Bruce Haley, "Growing Up Healthy: Images of Boyhood," in his book, *The Healthy Body and Victorian Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 141–60.
[79] Bruce Haley, "Anarchy and Physical Culture," in *Healthy Body and Victorian Culture*, 161–79.
[80] "The Tricycle and its Relations to Health," *Health,* June 20, 1884, 162–64.
[81] "Vigor's Home Rower: A Perfect Chest and Muscle Developer," *Illustrated London News*, February 1, 1896, 152; "Horse Exercise at Home, Vigor's Horse-Action Saddle," *Illustrated London News*, March 16, 1895, 336; "Live Your Life Healthy," *Graphic* January 11, 1896, 55.
[82] The records of the London Polytechnic Institute are at the University of Westminster Archives. See for example, *The Polytechnic: (The Pioneer Institute for Technical Education), Its Genesis and Present Status* (London: The Polytechnic, 1892); Fred A. McKenzie, "The Regent Street Polytechnic: England's Largest Educational Institute," *Winsor Magazine* 8 (October 1898).
[83] See Gerard Van de Linde, "Mr. Quintin Hogg and the London Polytechnic," *Clerks' Journal*, October 1, 1888, 3–4; Sarah A. Tooley, "The Polytechnic Movement: An Interview with Mr. Quintin Hogg," *The Young Man: A Monthly Journal and Review* 101 (May 1895): 145–50. Both journals are at the University Westminster Archives.
[84] Wilson's journal, *Health*, carried an introductory article on Hogg's gymnastic facility. See "Gymnastics at the London Polytechnic," *Health*, November 14, 1884, 106–8.
[85] William Blaikie, *How to Get Strong and How to Stay So* (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Company, 1899).
[86] Ibid., 466.
[87] Ibid., 62.
[88] Ibid., 466, 467, 470.