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The Soul-Crafted Interior

Foucault's historical method persuades us to conceptualise, describe and historicise the conditions that allow us to understand the domestic interior as a site of changing ideas and practices. Therefore, this paper identifies and describes a historically contingent understanding of the interior that positioned it as a setting and medium for the religious pursuit of 'soul-craft'. This was a 'surface of emergence', in which contemporary efforts to make oneself 'better' – more whole or fulfilled – by designing the home, perhaps unexpectedly find origins.

Soul-craft, a term this research borrows from religious discourse, was a life-long daily quest for self-improvement. It positioned the home as a technology through which ideological systems designed to salve the depravity of the human soul were observable through its manipulation in the early to mid-nineteenth century. Using this historical study to draw a relation to the present highlights transformed relations to institutional powers and positions of expertise – namely religion and the clergy – that once had a bearing on the imagination, manipulation and control of domestic space. Significantly, their influence will be shown to have contributed to the spatial ideals of secular interiors of the nineteenth century, a notion destabilising to the understanding of a continuing authority of practitioners engaged in the design disciplines today.

This paper aims to show how the domestic interior functioned as a technology of the self through the pursuit of 'soul-crafting'. This life-long quest from the deliverance from sin positioned the interior as an instrument through which a belief system designed to salve the depravity of the human soul was observable through its manipulation. This involved a mode of inhabitation made possible by, and dependent on, the socio-historical conditions of the early to mid-nineteenth century. These conditions will be explored to show how the soul-crafted home could be conceived as 'a ticket to heaven' – an understanding of the interior that is unimaginable today, in more secular times. Additionally, the directive role the clergy played in this materialisation will be identified and described. This is a notion destabilising to the perception of an ongoing authority of practitioners engaged in the disciplines of Architecture and Interior Architecture today. Most significantly, this paper will show how contemporary efforts to make oneself 'better' – more complete, whole or fulfilled – by designing the home, perhaps unexpectedly find origins in the soul-crafted interior of the nineteenth century.

A number of Foucault's histories explore transforming appearances of what is understood to be true in relation to a particular social understanding. They do this by describing and historicising changes in knowledge and power about, for example, medicalised, rationalised and sexualised' bodies that have a bearing on the way the domestic interior can be evaluated in terms of its appearance and the standardised modes of behaviour particular to it. Inspired by these histories, this paper will adopt and adapt the same methodological approach by looking into the genealogy of the contemporary interior. This will contribute to the understanding of how the interior, as a means by which we improve and shape ourselves, has come to exist through its "historical derivation and constitution".²

Forming this relation to the present requires a search for the material evidence of understandings that needed to be historically eliminated in order for the contemporary interior to be created. This involves delving archaeologically into the contents of history for an alternate "surface of emergence" as Foucault describes them in his methodological handbook.³ Key archival evidence will be shown to produce a discourse that acts on the material substrate of domestic space: its architecture, furnishing and objects. This evidence, some of which is contained in literary texts, has been analysed against religious doctrines in an attempt to convincingly illuminate these relations. In doing so, this paper adopts and adapts methodologies that similarly employ literary evidence to describe conceptions of architecture and social mores, as a centralised⁴ or contributing resource.⁵

'Soul-craft' is a term adopted from priestly dialogue in Samuel Butler's novel *The Way of All Flesh* (1903)⁶ (written 1873-84 and set from 1807-82), however, it is an idea that materialises across a range of discursive sites. It implies that the soul was malleable, that it could be manipulated in a way that fulfilled religious ideals resulting in its improvement. An article in the 1871 edition of the religious periodical *The Quiver* sought to elucidate the Christian perception of soul as the domain of God by referring to the spiritual allegory of "Mansoul" contained in John Bunyan's novel *The Holy War* (1682). The article's summary of the work

nominates that “The town of Mansoul is God’s building; it belonged to God; it was God’s dwelling place, his habitation. The citadel of Mansoul is the heart, the walls are the flesh, the gates are the senses. God’s throne is either set up there or it is cast down; and God is either honoured or dishonoured in the soul. The inhabitants of the town are the understanding, the conscience, the will, the hopes, the joys, the thoughts, the experiences.”⁷ God’s experience in Mansoul was therefore a matter of individual control. The passage implies that actions of the body and experiences of the soul could affect the nature of God’s inhabitation, being either set up in ‘morality’ and ‘honour’ or cast down in ‘sin’ and ‘dishonour’. In a further demonstration of the soul, *The Quiver* article refers its readers to Frances Quarles’ book, *Emblems Divine and Moral* (1635), with emphasis drawn to the illustrations contained in book iii.⁸

The idea that the soul could be controlled and shaped to produce a particular effect is exemplified through Quarles’ fifth illustration, where the soul “is represented as the clay in the hands of the potter, who is framing and fashioning it”.⁹ This image makes a tangible analogy to the metaphysical idea of soul-craft that this paper will show was mechanised through the behaviours and appearances of the domestic interior in the early to mid-nineteenth century.

The contextual landscape that enabled and necessitated this task of the home is described in George P. Landow’s *Victorian Types, Victorian Shadows* (1980). The focus of the book is a form of biblical symbolism prevalent in Victorian art and literature called Typology, which is a mode of Christian interpretation that assumes God’s anticipation of the coming of Christ in the “laws, events, and people of the old testament”.¹⁰ The relevance of Landow’s work to this paper arises through the social value attributed to biblical understanding, the same value that provided the means for typological allusions to proliferate in secular contexts. It was a time when irregular attendance at the “House of Prayer” could “prove injurious” to personal character, or so the clergy thought.¹¹ Religious ideologies about how to lead a moral life were sermonised from the pulpit, while more intimate forms of clerical guidance encouraged the understanding of scriptures through catechesis and private reading, a practice to which Christians were duty bound.¹²

These activities could be undertaken at home or Sunday school, and the naturalisation of the practice produced an expectation that educated Victorian audiences held a working knowledge of typological references to the old testament.¹³ Landow’s point is that such a detailed understanding of the bible is unrecognisable to the majority of contemporary audiences, rendering allusions to it undervalued or completely missed in the interpretation of artistic and literary texts of the Victorian period.¹⁴ He claims that “When we modern readers fail to recognise allusions to such typology, we deprive many Victorian works of a large part of their context.”¹⁵ This has an effect of misconstruing the interpretive possibilities of artistic works, but also impoverishes the significant role religion played in nineteenth-century society, especially as these typological allusions infiltrated secular and naturalised thought.¹⁶

To be clear, it is not the project of this paper to further Landow’s line of typological inquiry,

but rather to use the significance of his identifications to reinforce the normalised concern for religion in the Victorian conscious. This is an idea salient to the consideration of another concept at the fore of the Victorian psyche – the domestic interior. Landow’s interest to appropriately contextualise the interpretation of Victorian artistic works and literary texts will therefore be extended to the understanding of the nineteenth-century interior.

The explanatory value of this idea is maximised by focussing on godly households that strictly adhered to a belief system, which prescribed the means to salve the self from an inclination toward immorality and vice, a weakness conceived as inherently human. Knowing the self by recognising the depravity of one’s own soul, provided the key to salvation and presented the overarching objective of soul-craft. This was a concept often supported with reference to the epic biblical poem concerning the fall of man, *Paradise Lost* (1667), by “Our admirable” John Milton, who “has touched on this point with his infinite wisdom”.¹⁷

Till, warned, or by experience taught, she learn
That not to know at large of things remote
From use, obscure and subtle, but to know
That which before us lies in daily life,
Is the prime wisdom:¹⁸

The ‘prime wisdom’ according to Milton was in the minutiae of daily life, which unsuspectingly positioned the domestic interior as the principal terrain of self-knowledge. Lord Bishop J. C. Ryle, in his major work *Knots Untied* (1877), similarly locates soul-craft in the tasks and habits of the everyday. Soul-crafting, which evidenced the grace of God in the life of man “will always make itself manifest in the conduct, behaviour, tastes, ways, choices, and habits of him who has it”.¹⁹ This idea makes explicit that religious devotion was not limited to the temporal and spatial boundary of church services, as the notion of Christian worship is largely conceived today, but was centred in everyday life. Significantly, the term ‘taste’, one of Ryle’s markers, had “come to function primarily in the context of domestic decoration and ornament” in the Victorian era.²⁰ This semantic understanding positions soul-craft squarely in the realm of the interior, simultaneously conveying the perception that the behaviours, arrangements, ornaments and decor of the home could have an effect on the soul.

Butler’s semi-autobiographical novel, *The Way of All Flesh*, presents a portrait that has come to typify perceptions of Evangelicalism as a “dour, inhumanly restrictive force on English life”.²¹ This is a conception largely attributed to the doctrinal requirement that individuals must understand Christ’s crucifixion through the recognition of their own sins, and salving themselves through the imaginative experience of his suffering.²² One way to reproduce the effect of Christ’s suffering was through the practice of ‘asceticism’, a Christian form of personal separation or abstinence from situations and pleasures that might induce sinful behaviour. The ascetic ideal that characterises but is not exclusive to Evangelicalism is prescribed in Ryle’s doctrinal advocations of “self-denial” and “separation from the world”, and was intended to be practised consistently.²³ Partial adherence presented nothing more than a delusional “‘show of wisdom’ and may satisfy silly young women and brainless young

men, who like to compound for races and balls one part of their week, by asceticism and will-worship at another”.²⁴ For God fearing Evangelists, the transformative task of soul-craft was a full time undertaking and the pursuit of orthodoxy was fastidious. Butler trivialises this notion through his protagonist’s deliberation over his most self-indulgent daily vice, tobacco. “We can conceive of St Paul or even our Lord Himself as drinking a cup of tea, but we cannot imagine either of them as smoking a cigarette ...”²⁵ As a supplement to this idea Ryle states, “We dread fostering man’s favourite notion that a little church-going and sacrament-receiving, – a little patching, and mending, and whitewashing, and gilding, and polishing, and varnishing, and painting the outside, – is all that his case requires. Hence we protest with all our heart against formalism, sacramentalism, and every species of mere external or vicarious Christianity.”²⁶

It is poignant to note Ryle’s spatial analogy for false virtue as a facade of repaired architectural surfaces. In making this claim, he implies by inverse that the crafting/care/manipulation of the spatial interior, as the sanctum of private appearances intended solely for the nurturing of the family and salvation of the self, was essential to this articulation.

Catherine Hall makes a valuable acknowledgement of the centralised role the “household” played for Evangelicals but also their predecessors, the Puritans, in their pursuit of theological reform.²⁷ She writes that “Evangelicals saw the family as central to their struggle to reform manners and morals. Families could be the ‘little church’ which the Puritans had dreamt of, the ‘little state’ subject to its master and able to pursue truly Christian practices, whatever was occurring in the world around it”.²⁸ However, likening ‘the family’ to the ‘little church’ makes a point more analogous to ideological than spatial associations.

It seems salient then to extend Hall’s point so that in the case of the Evangelicals, the spatial entity of home becomes the ‘little church’, and the family more representative of its congregation. Then the evangelical conception of home as a departure from the Puritan ideal positions the soul-crafted interior a new and particular historical emergence that contributed to the developing sense of domestic interiority in the nineteenth century. When the home is then described in secular discourse as “a sacred place, a vestal temple, a temple of the hearth watched over by Household Gods” this conception of the domestic interior as a spiritual place is crystallised.²⁹

It was the role of the clergy to guide the development of self-knowledge and character through a process of “moral transformation”.³⁰ This was a task which infused an individual’s “*whole* character; and not their devotions and offices of religion only”.³¹ The idea that soul transformation performed a curative function enabled the role of the priest to compare to the physician’s. This is an idea recalled in *The Quiver*, through Quarles’ third manifestation of the soul where “The Soul is sin stricken and sin-sick upon its couch. Christ, as the Physician, sits beside the bed, with his healing hand on the aching head of the sorrowful one”.³²

This idea took on a provocative meaning in its nineteenth-century context, given the institutional battle playing out in France (and concurrently Britain) identified by Donzelot,

between the divergent social aims of religion and medicine, which “occupied two clearly separate registers” – one concerning morals, the other hygiene.³³ This battle is poignant to the directive role the clergy played in the manipulation of the soul-crafted interior, which preceded the hygienic hold of the medical profession later in the century identified by Annmarie Adams in her book *Architecture in the Family Way: Doctors, Houses, and Women, 1870-1900* (2001).³⁴ Significantly, in the case of the soul-crafted home, as in Adam’s hygienic home, the role of the architect is subordinate. Nonetheless, man’s inherent depravity³⁵ was conceived as a “mighty spiritual disease ... [one which] requires a mighty spiritual medicine for its cure”.³⁶ Therefore, soul-healing presented a form of care that required close and ongoing clerical management.

Sunday at home

Evangelical newspapers and periodicals published weekly such as the *British Standard*, *Record*, *Watchman*, *The Ecclesiastical Gazette*³⁷ and *The Quiver*, among others, contained overtly religious content written by members of the clergy, and provided a means of priestly instruction to infiltrate and guide practices at home. One series in *The Quiver*, “Religion in the Home”, contained an article titled “Home Government”, which presented advice for parents to best nurture the moral and devotional development of their children.³⁸ This prescriptive example was not unique, and was a dutiful task understood to be “accomplished mainly at home”, outweighing the significance attributed to either church attendance or school in the management of soul-craft.³⁹ From a doctrinal standpoint, “the utmost importance” was attached to the practice of devotional techniques at home, “to private prayer, private Bible-reading, and private communion with God”.⁴⁰

For Evangelical households, Sunday was a day for strict Sabbath observance, which often left Butler’s Pontifex children suffering from a kind of ‘*home-sickness*’.⁴¹ However, the requirement for moral behaviour extended to the surrounding environment in which non-conforming patterns functioned as “contaminating influences”.⁴² This concern is identified at several moments in *The Way of All Flesh*, but arises most strongly through the theologically governed ideal of chastity,⁴³ which was exemplified by the remedial expulsion of the Pontifex’s housemaid, Ellen.

... when it was discovered that in three or four months more Ellen would become a mother, Christina’s natural good nature would have prompted her to deal as leniently with the case as she could, if she had not been panic-stricken lest any mercy on her and Theobold’s part should be construed into toleration, however partial, of so great a sin; hereon she dashed off into the conviction that the only thing to do was to pay Ellen her wages, and pack her off on the instant bag and baggage out of the house which purity had more especially and particularly singled out for its abiding city. When she thought of the fearful contamination which Ellen’s continued presence even for a week would occasion, she could not hesitate.⁴⁴

Another potential threat to the sanctity of domestic space, however this time more affective of its decorative form, came through the Evangelical conviction that “we cannot serve God and Mammon”.⁴⁵ This concept highlights the incompatibility between spiritual ideals on the one hand, and luxury, material wealth and possessions on the other. This was an idea discordant to the burgeoning industrialisation of Britain, which had made a pivotal impact on the forms and availability of ornamental objects and furniture.⁴⁶

There were further implications for the artistic concerns of ecclesiastic space that provided the spatial model for the domestic interior. Excessive ornament and theatricality of external display were seen as a distraction to the ‘inward’ spirituality of the congregation. In a statement that sought to defend a notion of aesthetic impoverishment that accompanied this ideal, Ryle states that

Evangelical Religion does not object to handsome churches, good ecclesiastical architecture, a well-ordered ceremonial, and a well-conducted service ... We like handsome, well-arranged places of worship, when we can get them. We abhor slovenliness and disorder in God’s service, as much as any. We would have all things done “decently and in order.” (1 Cor. xiv. 40.)

But we steadily maintain that simplicity should be the grand characteristic of Christian worship. We hold that human nature is so easily led astray, and so thoroughly inclined to idolatry, that ornament in Christian worship should be used with a very sparing hand ... We hold above all that the inward and spiritual character of the congregation is of far more importance than the architecture and adornments of the church.⁴⁷

Ryle’s defensive stance is a likely response to the destabilising influences of the Oxford Movement (from 1833), and Cambridge Camden Society (from 1839), in their dissent from the ideals of Evangelicalism, and which affected the procedures of church services and the layout, furniture, and ornament of ecclesiastic space to accommodate these changes.⁴⁸ However, his statement clarifies that ornamentation and religious theatre could have a detrimental effect on the pursuit of soul-craft, an idea that naturally extended to the home. Ryle’s aversions are reflected in his derision toward “ostentatious” religious observance in social life, which were not consistent with the behaviours and spatial appearances of private life.⁴⁹

While these ideals of behavioural modesty and ornamental simplicity are clear, descriptions of interior settings expressive of ascetic restraint are notably deficient in *The Way of All Flesh*, especially given the concern with decoration that pervaded the period in which it was written and read. However, this lack of emphasis is perhaps an assertion in itself, particularly when compared to the detailed descriptions of decorative excess in non-Godly households, contained within other novels of the same period.

A constructive example analysed through the lens of excess by Thad Logan is found in W. M. Thackeray’s *The History of Pendennis* (1848-50). Logan identifies Thackeray’s equation

between “excessive decoration” and “unrestrained sexuality”⁵⁰ which she argues is revealed through an ironic use of the term “chastity”.⁵¹ It is useful to reposition and build on this focus, to illustrate the perception that chastity, a form of ascetic restraint, was an essential part of the secular interior; and secondly, that excessive decoration, even when comprised of ‘churchly goods’, presented a rupture from Evangelical ideals.

As in Logan’s analysis, the spatial ideal of moral virtue is activated by contrast to the sensual and excessive decoration of Lady Clavering’s drawing room, which could not have been “fitted up with a more consummate chastity.”⁵² Lady Clavering’s guests

admired the dining-room with fitting compliments, and pronounced it “very chaste,” that being the proper phrase. There were, indeed, high-backed Dutch chairs of the seventeenth century; there was a sculptured carved buffet of the sixteenth; there was a sideboard robbed out of the carved work of a church in the Low Countries, and a large brass cathedral lamp over the round oak table; there were old family portraits from Wardour Street and tapestry from France, ... – nothing, in a word, could be chaster ...

But what could equal the chaste splendour of the drawing-rooms? – the carpets were so magnificently fluffy that your foot made no more noise on them than your shadow: on their white ground bloomed roses and tulips as big as warming-pans: about the room were high chairs and low chairs, bandy-legged chairs, chairs so attenuated that it was a wonder any but a sylph could sit upon them, marquetterie-tables covered with marvellous gimcracks, china ornaments of all ages and countries, bronzes, gilt daggers, Books of Beauty, yataghans, Turkish papooshes and boxes of Parisian bonbons. ... there were nymphs by Boucher, and shepherdesses by Greuze, very chaste indeed ... – there was, in a word, everything that comfort could desire, and the most elegant taste devise.⁵³

The drawing room evidences the Foucauldian notion of contradictory subjectivity,⁵⁴ with Thackeray’s incessant reminder to serve God functioning alongside Lady Clavering’s conflicting adoration of Mamman. The objects and ornaments of the home embody the decorative ideals of the mid-century Victorian parlour and locate it and her firmly within the secular ideal of the ‘worldly’. The contents reveal items of historical value, educative value, connoisseurship, collection and exotic travel that represent the individuality and good breeding of its inhabitant. The ‘very chaste’ furniture of the dining room, which included items made from churchly material and ornaments, suggest the “ostentatious” externalisation of religious devotion and idolatry that Ryle derided, and their inclusion is not to be confused with the notion of soul-crafted space.⁵⁵ However, their appearance as objects of secular taste was produced partly by means of this discourse. The concern to apply the forms and decorations of ancient monastic architecture to dwelling space in the first half of the century is captured in John Britton’s analysis of the English mansions of Toddington, which

evidenced a disciplinary understanding separable from soul-crafting, but inseparable from 'taste'.⁵⁶

Some of the examples analysed by Britton were deemed more successful than others especially when the churchly ornamentation was less elaborate, taking into account the "wear and tear, and every-day occupancy of a dwelling-house".⁵⁷ This ideal of simplicity contrasts the appearance of Lady Clavering's drawing room, producing a conceptual and gendered departure whereby the feminine ornamentation of the interior stands distinct from the 'great architecture' of male practitioners. Its description emulates the Neo-Rococo or 'Louis Quinze' style, which had gained the widest acceptance of those in use throughout Europe from the 1830s until "almost the end of the century".⁵⁸ By the 1840s, Neo-Rococo was firmly accepted as a 'feminine style' usually appearing in the gendered spaces of the drawing room and boudoir.⁵⁹ The requirement for chastity in this feminine space reflects and reinforces established gender roles.

A value is brought to this analysis when Thackeray's portrait of licentiousness is compared to Butler's painting, *Family Prayers* (1864). The painting provides a pictorial insight to the soul-crafted home that is revealing of the requisite simplicity, behavioural restraint, lowered eyes, grey walls and sombre tones of monastic space. The positioning of the paintings on the wall imply but do not flagrantly replicate crucifixial form. The decorative objects and elements are sparse and essential. Deborah Cohen emphasises the symbolic value of the clock, reflective of the efficiency prescribed in Evangelical teachings.⁶⁰ Emerging through the comparison are two spatial extremes that existed in mutual exclusion: while *Family Prayers* represents the spatial rationalisation of Evangelical orthodoxy, Lady Clavering's drawing room is irreligious and hedonistic. Secondly, *Family Prayers* represents in spatial form the 'chastity' to which Thackeray repeatedly refers and positions as an ideal trait of the domestic interior, but which is completely absent from Lady Clavering's drawing room. This produces a heterotopian relation in that they each "'suspend, neutralise, or invert' the set of relationships designed, reflected, or mirrored" by the other.⁶¹

A significant point arises through Mario Praz's discussion of *Family Prayers* in his classic *Illustrated History of Interior Decoration* (1964). The book dedicates a section to 'The Styleless Interior', in which *Family Prayers* is categorised according to its divergence from the interior's conventional appearance. Praz considers Butler's interior to be the type of room that is "representative of a period, and of an atmosphere, but they give a generic, reduced, blunted idea of them, like statistics or the 'other distinguishing marks' on a passport".⁶² The image is inconsistent, it does not conform to his 'history', and he analogises it to a quantitative kind of information not ordinarily associated with the interior. This idea gains buoyancy when considered in light of Foucault's conception of "subjugated knowledge", an understanding Praz's insight foreshadows and can be used to frame.⁶³

Family Prayers' departure from the dominant representations of the period contained in Praz's 'illustrated history' is suggestive of the kind of spatial appearance which has been subjugated, that is concealed in or unrecognised by the visual or conceptual lexicon that

characterises the governing appearance of domestic space. However, what this analysis has shown – which is where this research finds significance – is how this architectural ‘statistic’ of *Family Prayers*, this “nonconceptual knowledge” that demarcates the soul-crafted interior,⁶⁴ is in fact translated into the design of the bourgeois or secular interior in a way that Landow similarly finds origins of literary and artistic discourse in biblical exegesis. When the soul-crafted interior is considered in the context of the interior’s traditional or “total history” as Foucault describes it,⁶⁵ which is something Praz attempts to do, the significant role religion played is concealed within its dominating form, its “face”,⁶⁶ leaving it passed off as an anomalous appearance. This analysis shows that the soul-crafted interior, iconicised in the image of *Family Prayers*, was however critical to the way this normalised bourgeois appearance came into being. While Lady Clavering’s ‘Neo-rococo’ interior forms the conventional historical thread to the contemporary domestic interior, this paper has shown that genealogical origins are found in the soul-crafted interior of the nineteenth century.

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- 1 For example, see Michel Foucault, *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception* (London: Routledge, 1986); Michel Foucault, *Madness and Civilisation*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Random House, 1988); Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Volume 1: An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Random House, 1990).
 - 2 Herman Nilson, *Michel Foucault and the Games of Truth*, trans. Rachel Clark (London: Macmillan Press, 1998), 72.
 - 3 Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith (London: Routledge, 2002), 45.
 - 4 See, for example, Sharon Marcus, *Apartment Stories: City and Home in Nineteenth-Century Paris and London* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999); Philippa Tristram, *Living Space in Fact and Fiction* (London: Routledge, 1989); Emily Apter, “Cabinet Secrets: Fetishism, Prostitution, and the Fin De Siècle Interior,” *Assemblage* 9 (1989); Alain Corbin, *Women for Hire: Prostitution and Sexuality in France after 1850* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990).
 - 5 See, for example, Charles Rice, *The Emergence of the Interior* (New York: Routledge, 2007); Thad Logan, *The Victorian Parlour* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
 - 6 Samuel Butler, *The Way of All Flesh* (London: Marshall Cavendish, 1987).
 - 7 Robert Maguire, “Illustrations of the Soul,” *The Quiver* 7, no. 317 (1871): 22.
 - 8 Maguire, “Illustrations of the Soul,” 23.
 - 9 Maguire, “Illustrations of the Soul,” 24.
 - 10 George P. Landow, *Victorian Types, Victorian Shadows* (Boston, Mass.: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980), ix.
 - 11 “On Regularity of Attendance at the House of Prayer: In a Letter to a Friend,” *The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine* 22 (February 1843): 128.
 - 12 William Hinson, “On the Duty of Christians to ‘Give Attendance to Reading,’” *The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine* 2 (February 1823).
 - 13 Landow, *Victorian Types, Victorian Shadows*.
 - 14 Landow, *Victorian Types, Victorian Shadows*, 3.
 - 15 Landow, *Victorian Types, Victorian Shadows*, 3.
 - 16 Landow, *Victorian Types, Victorian Shadows*.
 - 17 R. Warner et al., “Considerations on the Doctrines of the Evangelical Clergy; and on the Probable Effects of Evangelical Preaching: A Sermon, Preached at Frome, Somersetshire, on Monday June 2d, 1817, at the Visitation of the Rev. Charles Sandiford, Archdeacon of Wells,” *The Gentleman’s Magazine: And Historical Chronicle* (August 1817): Note A 48.

- 18 Warner et al., "Considerations on the Doctrines of the Evangelical Clergy," Note A 48. Part of this quotation also serves as an epigraph to Hannah More's *Coelebs in Search of a Wife, comprehending of domestic habits and manners, religion and morals*, 9th ed. (London: T. Cadell and E. Davies, 1809). Catherine Hall, "The Sweet Delights of Home," in *A History of Private Life: From the Fires of Revolution to the Great War*, ed. Michelle Perrot (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1990), Note 3, 675.
- 19 John Charles Ryle, *Knots Untied: Being Plain Statements on Disputed Points in Religion from the Standpoint of an Evangelical Churchman*, 10th ed. (London: William Hunt and Company, 1885), 7.
- 20 Logan, *The Victorian Parlour*, 81.
- 21 Landow, *Victorian Types, Victorian Shadows*, 19.
- 22 Landow, *Victorian Types, Victorian Shadows*, 16-17.
- 23 Ryle, *Knots Untied*, 14.
- 24 Ryle, *Knots Untied*, 14.
- 25 Butler, *The Way of All Flesh*, 250.
- 26 Ryle, *Knots Untied*, 5.
- 27 Hall, "The Sweet Delights of Home," 55.
- 28 Hall, "The Sweet Delights of Home," 55.
- 29 John Ruskin, *Sesame and Lillies*, The Silver Series of English and American Classics (New York: Silver, Burdett and Company, 1900), 85, Section 68, line 6-7.
- 30 John Caird, "Art. Viii.-1. Religion in Common Life: A Sermon," *London Quarterly Review* (April 1856): 165.
- 31 Caird, "Art. Viii.-1. Religion in Common Life," 167 [emphasis in original].
- 32 Maguire, "Illustrations of the Soul," 23.
- 33 Jacques Donzelot, *The Policing of Families* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1979), 171.
- 34 Annmarie Adams, *Architecture in the Family Way: Doctors, Houses and Women, 1870-1900* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001).
- 35 Landow, *Victorian Types, Victorian Shadows*, 17; Ryle, *Knots Untied*, 4.
- 36 Ryle, *Knots Untied*, 5.
- 37 Refer to Alvar Ellegård's article on the readership of the periodical press in mid-Victorian Britain: Alvar Ellegård, "The Readership of the Periodical Press in Mid-Victorian Britain: II. Directory," *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter* 13 (September 1971): 3-22.
- 38 W. B. Mackenzie, "Religion in the Home," *The Quiver* 3, no. 143 (1868): 613.
- 39 Mackenzie, "Religion in the Home," 614.
- 40 Ryle, *Knots Untied*, 14.
- 41 Butler, *The Way of All Flesh*, 125 [emphasis in original].
- 42 Butler, *The Way of All Flesh*, 300.
- 43 "The priest managed sexuality from the angle of family morality"; Donzelot, *The Policing of Families*, 171.
- 44 Butler, *The Way of All Flesh*, 183, 185.
- 45 Butler, *The Way of All Flesh*, 98.
- 46 Deborah Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and Their Possessions* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 12.
- 47 Ryle, *Knots Untied*, 13.
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