

**Proselytising Public Health Reform in *Punch*
1841 – 1858**

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Abstract

It is the purpose of this thesis, by analysing the context of public health reform in the nineteenth century, to reconsider the methods, both verbal and visual, by which *Punch* proselytised reform. Drawing on a range of primary data, this thesis uses a thematic case study to undertake a systematic re-examination of *Punch*'s distinctive stylistic form from 1841 to 1858. This will also assist in identifying how the 'character' of the magazine evolved. Case study chapters will focus specifically on the campaigns surrounding the removal of Smithfield Market and the amelioration of the polluted River Thames, providing a point of comparison from which to study the growth of a range of shared motifs developed for discussing reform and social change. Taking a chronological approach, it will be argued that from the close of the 1840s there was a simultaneous shift in both the organisation of the *Punch* 'brotherhood' and in scientific understandings of the cause of disease and pollution. From 1849 the problems of how to communicate the need for reform begin to be resolved due to the increased profile the topic of public health received in the public sphere, particularly through periodicals like *Punch*. This change is evident from an analysis of the references logged in the *Punch Database on Public Health* (Appendix Two).

Developing a methodology which examines the full range of visual materials relating to the chosen case studies of reform, this thesis advances the argument that *Punch* should not be used selectively as primary material. An understanding of how both visual and verbal motifs emerged, those that endured and those that were supplanted, provides a means by which to identify with whom the magazine was in dialogue and, consequently, who its perceived readers may have been. A specific approach to how text and image are working in *Punch* is developed through an examination of the magazine's distinct verbal visual dynamics. The phrase "verbal visual" is used to examine how text and image work both interactively and independently within the magazine, being different from "verbal-visual" which suggests a solely dependant and co-existent relationship and "verbal/visual" which suggests that there is no relationship and only one or the other is dominant at any one time. In the absence of extensive archival material or a comprehensive index on how *Punch* was organised, the *Punch Database on Public Health* facilitates a systematic analysis of the magazine itself by providing full references for all images and text, from the one line quips to the well-known and frequently referenced main cuts. It will be concluded that the character of *Punch*, gradual in its formation, had finally been established by the close of the 1850s.

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Finally, I close in the words of my father, to whom I dedicate this work, "never forget the discovery of the eel in the Thames drinking water!"

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PART ONE

Introduction

Punch and the Development of Social Medicine

The main cuts of *Punch* or *The London Charivari* are iconographic symbols of the Victorian era. Frequently though they are employed by cultural historians or commentators without acknowledging how *Punch* achieved its cultural resonance. First published in 1841 *Punch* was released into a vibrant and competitive popular periodical market. Outliving many of its contemporaries, its success endured until the end of the twentieth century. *Punch* is a particularly rich source for studying mid-Victorian life and urban change, the main cuts providing striking visual representation of current news and affairs.¹ This is confirmed by the decades of scholars who have used the larger cartoons from *Punch* to provide a visual counterpart, or support, to their argument. However, the main cuts are only a small percentage of the contribution that the magazine has to make. The evolution of recurrent motifs and tropes created an extended narrative beyond the main cuts which the selective use of *Punch* has not demonstrated. Drawing on the rhetoric of a variety of discourses, the magazine developed a stylistic form that was more accessible to a broad spectrum of readers. *Punch's* response to public health questions from 1841 – 1858 is indicative of how the magazine was distinct from its contemporaries. Though only one example of the range of campaigns *Punch* became involved in, a study of the magazine's campaign for public health reform most explicitly demonstrates how the character of *Punch* was created.

The language that *Punch* used was colloquial, verbal, rather than formal official written language. *Punch* drew upon the quotidian language that interested parties used to propose reform both inside and outside official arenas for debate. This verbal style was married with visual representation to create a unique connection which afforded increasing power to the visual through shared motifs and emblems. Such verbal and visual metaphors produced a common language through which people could start to imagine and debate the nature and practicalities of change. The improvements in public health which were realised during the nineteenth century necessitated the contribution of diverse groups of the middle and upper class who had to resolve financial investment, legal and institutional frameworks and changes in social attitude, technology, science

¹ Richard D. Altick calls the periodical a "journalistic witness of history", *Punch: The Lively Youth of a British Institution 1841 – 1851* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1997), p.xxi.

and medicine. An understanding of how this verbal visual relationship evolved is crucial for examining *Punch's* enduring popularity and provides a model for understanding other areas of popular debate.

This chapter establishes a methodology for evaluating *Punch's* representation of the metropolis and its preoccupation with implementing an effective urban sanitary system in the mid-nineteenth century. The *Punch Database on Public Health* which accompanies this thesis provides the references which will enable a more systematic analysis of the magazine's contributions to public health debates.² The range of material included in the database is testimony to the character of the magazine which this chapter will contextualise through a study of the *Punch* staff. An examination of the social networks in which the staff moved provides a foundation for understanding the informed position from which they advocated reform. The medical training many of the staff had undertaken previous to working for *Punch* was evident in the conviction with which they embraced the social benefits of sanitary reform. There were two distinct eras of health reform, 1841 – 1848 and 1849 – 1858. The close of this chapter will evaluate the changes in each era and demonstrate how the shift to a more social form of medicine was achieved.

The Victorian periodical press enabled contemporary readers to access the 'code' by which people made sense of the reality of urban living. However, with rapid growth and urbanization came new hazards and competing bodies of knowledge.³ This was particularly evident within the field of public health, as different diseases emerged requiring regulation. Periodicals, amongst other media, were actively engaged in proselytising for reform throughout the 1840s and 1850s. Whilst some directly advocated specific solutions, others, especially *Punch*, sought to present their readers with a variety of responses, leaving scientists and 'experts' to find the remedies. In so doing *Punch* drew on a varied vocabulary taken from across journalistic, social, scientific and fictional discourses. This diversity underpinned the verbal visual allusions with which it responded. The distinct character of the magazine was evident

² Sample searches, alongside a copy of the complete database and an explication document, are included in appendices 1 – 5.

³ Christopher A. Kent, "The Construction of Victorian Reality" in J. Donn Vann and R. T. Van Arsdel (eds.), *Victorian Periodicals: A Guide to Research Volume Two* (New York: MLA, 1989), p.5.

from the increasingly authoritative voice of Mr. Punch and through the range of personified motifs which emerged, including the Smithfield Bull and Father Thames. In 1849 there was a cultural shift in the ways in which reform was debated and represented across popular culture and this change is clearly discernible in the pages of *Punch*.

Adopting a chronological framework, this thesis will examine the origins of *Punch*'s verbal visual style and the changing context of sanitary reform in order to understand why 1849 was a significant moment for both the magazine and public health campaigners. Part One (Chapters 1 – 2), which this chapter introduces, provides a framework for understanding the two phases of public health reform, 1841 – 1848 and 1849 – 1858. Chapter One examines the popularity of *Punch*, contextualising its origins and evolution as a cultural institution. Chapter Two outlines an applied reading of the verbal visual style which made *Punch* so distinctive. Parts Two and Three of the thesis analyse thematic case studies at the heart of the public health movement; the campaigns for the purification of the Thames and the removal of Smithfield Market. Part Two (Chapters 3 and 4) focuses on the formative years 1841 – 1848, tracing the iconography that continued to be associated with *Punch* into the twentieth century. From 1849, both within the field of public health and through *Punch*'s diverse range of motifs, a shared matrix of cultural references was clearly emerging. The first case study, focusing on representations of the pollution of the River Thames and the provision of potable water to the Metropolis, introduces the range of sanitary problems that were exacerbated by the condition of the Thames. The second case study, concentrating on the campaign for the removal of Smithfield Market, analyses the language of reform in *Punch* and in contemporary pamphlets and reports. Part Three (Chapters 5 and 6) compares *Punch*'s coverage of the Thames and Smithfield Market between 1849 and 1857 with its earlier portrayals. It identifies the motifs that endured and were to characterise the second phase of reform and the increasing popularity of *Punch*. The concluding chapter (Chapter 7), which opens Part Four, focuses on the Great Stink of 1858 and examines the uniting of approaches to reform and the cohesion of the *Punch* brotherhood. By 1858 *Punch* had outlived many of its contemporaries in the same genre and had established itself as a pillar of Victorian popular culture.

Despite *Punch* being a ubiquitous source of contemporary humour and social commentary, the magazine has attracted little detailed research. Since Spielmann's

groundbreaking and rigorous analysis of *Punch* in 1895,⁴ studies have looked at the work of a specific contributor, illustrator or editor.⁵ Asa and Susan Briggs' *Cap and Bell: Punch's Chronicle of English History in the Making 1841 – 1861* (1972) saw a return to the more encompassing focus of Spielmann's work, though their work focuses predominantly on a selection of main cuts. *Cap and Bell* emphasised the need for broader consideration of *Punch*'s subject matter than earlier hagiographic accounts had achieved. Few detailed texts emerged until Richard D. Altick's extensive volume, *Punch: The Lively Youth of a British Institution 1841 – 1851* (1997).⁶ Altick demonstrated the wealth of information *Punch* has to convey about the Victorian period but due to the breadth of material considered, his analysis only covers the years 1841 - 1851. Although this was a critical period in the development of *Punch*'s distinctive approach to reform, it was not, I argue, the most significant era. Altick's work though confirms the necessity of understanding the magazine within the environment in which it was produced as Chapters One and Two will develop, focusing specifically on health reform. Before this approach can be undertaken though, a method for creating a more systematic and in-depth scrutiny of *Punch* is required.

The *Punch* Database on Public Health

Contextualising *Punch*'s growth and popularity is difficult as there are few indices, letters, ledgers or journals which chart its success. There are also a limited number of libraries holding complete runs of the magazine. Initiatives in on-line and electronic scholarship have started to address the scholarly and pedagogic implications of such problems, for example NCSE (Nineteenth-Century Serials Edition), a working group within the NINES (Nineteenth-Century Studies Online) project.⁷ Given the range of material on public health reform generated by *Punch* across the seventeen years studied by this thesis, a method for mapping this data is also clearly required. The *Punch Database on Public Health* has been compiled to facilitate a comparative

⁴ M. H. Spielmann, *The History of 'Punch'* (London: Cassell and Co., 1895).

⁵ See for example, Arthur A. Adrian, *Mark Lemon: First Editor of Punch* (London: OUP, 1966); Arthur William á Beckett, *The á Becketts of Punch: Memories of Father and Sons* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1903); Michael Slater, *Douglas Jerrold 1803 – 1857* (London: Duckworth, 2002).

⁶ There have also been comparatively few dissertations undertaken on *Punch*, particularly looking at the early period examined in this thesis. Therie Hendrey-Seabrook's DPhil of September 2005, *Unpacking Punch: Textual and Visual Mediation of Victorian Discourses into the Popular Consciousness 1850 – 1880* begins where Altick's work ends and is similar in its contextual approach to the periodical. However, I would argue that the essence of *Punch*'s character begins in the formative years 1841 – 1848 and these years should be studied as a point of comparison in order to comprehend *Punch*'s cultural appeal.

⁷ Suzanne Paylor, "Ma(r)king the Text? The Nineteenth Century Serials Edition (NCSE) and the role of humanities scholars in the digitization of print archives", <www.ncse.kcl.ac.uk> [accessed June 2004].

examination of the range of contributions *Punch* made. Taking guidance from existing digital initiatives in the field of Victorian periodical research such as SciPer (Science in the Nineteenth-Century Periodical), NINEs and NCSE, the database is more than just a catalogue of entries pertaining to public health reform: it is a referencing tool to encourage scholars to research beyond the main cuts. With only 549 pieces logged, this project is a fraction of the size of SciPer's 14000 entries, but it provides a model with potential for undertaking research on *Punch* on a much larger and more systematic scale.⁸ The database can be searched by year, volume, title, image or text as well as by keyword. Within the return for each search a further filtered selection can be undertaken as Appendix One highlights. This enables the correlation of shared themes and motifs and identification of significant developments in the organisation of the magazine.

The *Punch Database on Public Health* provides references for the magazine's coverage of public health between 1841 and 1858, from major cuts to one line quips and social cuts.⁹ Despite the extensive work of archivists, particularly those at the *Punch* Library in London, there is no central point of reference or thematic index to accompany a study of *Punch*.¹⁰ The archivists have indexed general thematic strands such as "Smithfield", cataloguing references pertaining to the main cuts that address that topic. However line by line analysis of the same volume reveals that in many cases the main cut made only a small contribution to the overall output on any subject. Referencing the full range of entries on public health in the *Punch Database on Public Health* provides access to a collection of pieces beyond those that Victorian scholars are already familiar with. To collate this empirical research, however, requires a more flexible and accessible medium than a traditional 'hard copy' approach, for as Jerome McGann acknowledges "the computerized edition can store vastly greater quantities of documentary materials, and it can be built to organize, access, and analyze those materials not only more quickly and easily, but at depths no paper-based edition could

⁸ "Introduction", SciPer, <www.sciper.org> [accessed June 2004].

⁹ A 'social cut' being "a small non-political cut". Frankie Morris, *Artist of Wonderland: the Life, Political Cartoons and Illustrations of Tenniel* (Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press, 2005), p.61.

¹⁰ The *Punch* collection was held in the Harrods offices from 1996 when the magazine was bought by Mohamed Al Fayed. The collection was managed by a group of archivists who catalogued the archive and answered reference queries for researchers. However, the entire archive, including the *Punch* mahogany table used at the *Punch* dinners, was sold to the British Library in 2004, where it is in the process of being re-catalogued by the curator Michael St. John McAllister.

hope to achieve”.¹¹ A relational database provides one such method for improving the organization of indices for *Punch*.

During the course of my research further advances have been made in the field of Victorian periodical research, and specifically *Punch*, with the launch of *Nineteenth Century UK Periodicals Online* by Thomson Gale in 2007. However, Gale’s project has revealed the limitations of current technology for ‘reading’ images.¹² In compiling the *Punch Database on Public Health Reform* it was clear that despite working with the raw data, the researcher was still responsible for making a number of crucial decisions which affected how results were recorded and subsequently how the magazine was read. This was particularly true when working with the visual material. The *Database* uses the language of the text to identify the narrative of reform used in the images in an attempt to unlock the relationship with the verbal, as well as establishing the purpose of the visual image in its own right.¹³ However, compiling a keyword index is in itself relatively subjective, particularly where allusions are more nuanced and indirect. Often the images in *Punch* work independently of the narrative necessitating a separate vocabulary for analysis. As new initiatives in digitisation encourage researchers to return to studying Victorian periodicals it must be acknowledged that indices and databases cannot be used without a knowledge of the cultural context in which magazines like *Punch* were produced and consumed.¹⁴ Therefore this thesis is structured in such a way as to be able to appreciate this symbiotic relationship. Part One establishes the cultural context and methods for approach, whilst Parts Two and Three exemplify how specific references can be used in an applied analysis of *Punch*’s representations of sanitary debates. In understanding the production of *Punch* and its subsequent success, an awareness of its staff organisation is also essential.

¹¹ Jerome McGann, “The Rationale of HyperText”,
<<http://jefferson.village.virginia.edu/public/jjm2f/rationale.html>> [accessed June 2004].

¹² See Clare Horrocks “Digitisation and the Victorian Periodical Press” and Mark Holland, “*Nineteenth Century UK Periodicals* and Other Online Resources from Gale” *Journal of Popular Narrative Media* 2:1 (Spring 2009), pp.97-103. (See Appendix Eleven).

¹³ This method demonstrates the extra labour that is involved in addressing the limitations of OCR software which only recognises text within an image, not shared symbolism or motifs which are so crucial to understanding the character of *Punch*’s satire. However, this approach is still selective depending how the image is read and the choice of keyword that is used.

¹⁴ I have worked as an academic advisor for Thomson Gale and it is interesting to note that their forthcoming digitisation of *The Illustrated London News* is to be accompanied by a databank of contextual information and working examples of how to use the database. This is a significant development from the first phase of the project that was launched which included *Punch*.

The *Punch* Brotherhood

Research on the contributor ledgers for the magazine is a vital starting point for identifying the character and nature of the collective *Punch* ‘brotherhood’. However, the ledgers also reveal the confusion over ownership and staffing often discussed in critical works looking at the origins of *Punch*.¹⁵ From the outset *Punch* faced financial hardships and fluctuations in staffing and consequently style.¹⁶ Contributors were divided over whether the tone of the magazine should be one advocating progress and reform or one focusing on the fripperies and privileges concomitant with social change and advancement.¹⁷ In its opening years *Punch* was kept solvent by proceeds from Mark Lemon’s plays.¹⁸ Only in December 1842, when Bradbury and Evans became sole owners of the magazine, was a level of financial stability attained. However, this stability was not reflected in the staffing and distribution of responsibility amongst the *Punch* men, as the ledgers demonstrate. Upon their takeover Bradbury and Evans reorganized the staff, making Mark Lemon sole editor of the magazine and Henry Mayhew “suggestor-in-chief”; a decision that was not well received by Mayhew who left the magazine early in 1845.¹⁹ Another fundamental change introduced by Lemon and supported by Bradbury and Evans was that the magazine would pay contributors a weekly salary, allotting them columns to fill. Their contributions, with details of the title and length, were then recorded in the ledgers, listing the entries of all salaried staff.

Despite the existence of the ledgers as a resource, there has been confusion over who was actually working for *Punch*. For example, Arthur Adrian asserts that the first contributors approached by the magazine were W. H. Wills, Douglas Jerrold, Gilbert á Beckett, Percival Leigh, Archibald Henning, Birket Foster and John Leech.²⁰ This cannot be corroborated from the ledgers which only list salaried staff that were contracted to write each month, with illustrators catalogued separately. According to the ledgers, the first salaried staff from March 11th 1843 were Douglas Jerrold, Albert

¹⁵ The problem with using contributor ledgers is that there was no consistent format across different publishing houses. One may contain dates, another the number of impressions, another the fee that was paid for each contribution, so there are limitations to this approach. For further discussion of working with publishing records see *The Weedon Guide to Research in Victorian Publishing Records* <<http://victorianresearch.org/weedonguide.pdf>> [accessed July 2009].

¹⁶ For further discussion of *Punch*’s financial status, see Spielmann, op. cit., pp.29-36.

¹⁷ Celina Fox, *Graphic Journalism in England During the 1830s and 1840s* (New York: Garland, 1988), p.226.

¹⁸ Adrian, op. cit., p.33.

¹⁹ *ibid.*, p.34.

²⁰ *ibid.*, p.30.

Smith, Percival Leigh and Gilbert á Beckett.²¹ Each issue of the magazine was indexed on a single page of the ledger, listing all articles by salaried writers, long and short, with two rows detailing column contributions and the size of the piece. Where no column details were attributed to a single article due to the length of the contribution, a number of articles were grouped together and their column inches recorded as a collated total. This was most often true of the shorter articles and one line quips. These entries are vital for identifying the role of each contributor on the salaried staff and the range of different pieces they were involved in writing. Often specific writers would work on a particular style of narrative, such as the one-line quips, whilst others were more involved in writing longer narrative poems. This devolution of duties is significant for revealing how the *Punch* brotherhood was organised and how the character of the magazine evolved.

Illustration is vital to *Punch*, its relationship to the text even more so and yet this dynamic is not apparent in the ledgers. In the first volume of the ledgers, 1843 – 1848,²² there was an additional entry at the bottom of the page with the title of the main cut and the artist who completed it; on a selection of these entries the ‘suggestors’ for the theme of the cut were also included.²³ However, from 1849 the format of the ledgers changed to list the writers and not the artists. This limitation is further compounded by the actual arrangement of each of the volumes. The first volume of ledgers is erratic in its chronological ordering of the entries, possibly as a result of poor record keeping, or, more recently, as a result of rebinding. Problems with the chronology of contributions continue throughout the first three books. The third volume, covering 1855 – 1862, is the most erratically organised with years and entries changing every few pages in some instances.²⁴ By 1850, as Celina Fox argues, “*Punch*’s monopoly was proven” and the ledgers have a clear value in revealing how this was achieved through a detailed record of the salaried staff’s role and subsequently the organisation of the magazine as a whole.²⁵

²¹ Punch Collection, British Library, PUN/A/BRAD/AB 01

²² Punch Collection, British Library, PUN/A/BRAD/AB 01

²³ The relationship between the suggestor and the artist is the subject of John Bush Jones and Priscilla Shaw’s article “Artists and ‘Suggestors’ : The Punch Cartoons 1843 – 1848” *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter* 11 (1978), pp.3 – 14. It is one of the few academic pieces to draw extensively on the ledgers.

²⁴ Punch Collection, British Library, PUN/A/BRAD/AB 03

²⁵ Fox, op. cit., p.263.

1844, when the ledgers yield the most information, was a turning point in the organisation of *Punch*'s staff. It is manifest in the magazine itself with the emergence of a more recognised format and social voice. Whilst 1843 saw the creation of the main cut, or the cartoon, with John Leech's "Substance and Shadow", the ledgers recorded a number of key changes in staff. From February 1844, Albert Smith no longer worked as a salaried member of staff, dismissed for plagiarising French satires.²⁶ In the same year, Thackeray completed his first contribution for the *Almanack* and subsequently submitted humorous verses and short pieces before working on his own illustrations, from initial letters to cartoons.²⁷ Tom Taylor's first entry was recorded on Oct 19th 1844, filling three quarters of a page. He became a prolific contributor for *Punch* for over thirty-six years, in the last six as "commander-in-chief".²⁸ As can be seen from Table 1, Taylor's submissions on health were significantly fewer than those of Percival Leigh and Gilbert á Beckett, but longer; as Table 2 demonstrates, his overall contribution was substantial and is testimony to his commitment to engage at length with the topic of public health.²⁹

Table 1 – Number and Size of Contributions on Health by 5 Key Contributors (1843 – 1858)

Writer	Contributions on Health	Shorter Pieces ³⁰	Shorter Pieces as % of Total Contributions on Health
Percival Leigh	95	42	44.2
Gilbert á Beckett	69	27	39.1
Tom Taylor	42	12	28.5
Douglas Jerrold	29	10	34.4
Horace Mayhew	32	20	62.2

²⁶ Adrian, op. cit., p.37.

²⁷ John Buchanan-Brown, *The Illustrations of William Makepeace Thackeray* (Newton Abbot: David Charles, 1979), p.17.

²⁸ Spielmann, op. cit., p.338.

²⁹ Taylor's commitment to writing on matters relating to public health reform is confirmed in a letter by Charles Kingsley, November 1st 1849, "I like Charles Mansfield's notion of a Sanitary League. It will act like a wedge . . . I enclose a list of people to whom to send the pamphlet, to those marked * I will write also. I have written to S. G. O. for a *Times* letter. Tom Taylor may help us in *Punch*". Fanny Kingsley (ed.), *Charles Kingsley: His Letters and Memories of his Life* (London: Macmillan, 1895), p.218.

³⁰ Those pieces that are less than a column in size.

Table 2 – Total Page-Equivalent Contributions by 5 Key Contributors (1843 – 1858)

Writer	Page-Equivalent Totals
Percival Leigh	27.25
Gilbert á Beckett	19.00
Tom Taylor	23.50
Douglas Jerrold	9.25
Horace Mayhew	8.25

Whilst a writer like Thackeray,³¹ as a literary writer, may be notable for introducing European, and specifically French, influences to the magazine, Taylor, as a University Professor and salaried member of staff, brought knowledge of emerging policy and debate on issues of public health. Taylor was made assistant secretary of the Board of Health in 1850 and, upon its reorganization in 1854, was appointed secretary.³² At this time Taylor was introduced to the eminent Medical Officer of Health for the City, John Simon.³³ As early as November 1849, Taylor’s association with Simon was informing his work for *Punch* with the publication of “Simon Summed Up”³⁴; a satirical verse that assumed the authorial voice of Simon as Medical Officer of Health to justify petitioning for public health reform.³⁵ Although comparatively little is known of Tom Taylor’s early work, his entries on public health dominated his output for *Punch* in the period 1844 - 1858.³⁶ The significance of Taylor’s contribution to the magazine was acknowledged in Lemon’s letter of 1851, requesting that Bradbury and Evans increase Taylor’s pay to £5.50 for “he works very earnestly”.³⁷

³¹ Whilst Thackeray is listed as a salaried member of staff in the ledgers, his contributions are comparatively few. Cross-referencing the pieces identified in the *Database* with the Ledgers, Thackeray does not appear to have made any submission on the topic of public health; hence his omission from Tables One and Two.

³² Craig Howes, ‘Taylor Tom (1817-1880)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, May 2006

<<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27090>> [accessed 28 May 2006].

³³ In his *Personal Recollections* Simon notes that “it was in 1852 that I made acquaintance with Tom Taylor, at first superficially through Ward; but the relations soon became deeper and stronger when we began to co-operate under the General Board of Health; and it rapidly grew into life-long friendship for my wife and myself”. Sir John Simon KCB, *Personal Recollections* (London: Spottiswoode and Co., 1897), p.18.

³⁴ *Punch* 17 (1849), p.195.

³⁵ For further discussion on the rhetoric of public health reform, see Chapter Two.

³⁶ The two key areas that critics tend to focus on is either Taylor’s work as a dramatist, or to consider the later years when he was actually editor of *Punch*, 1874 – 1880.

³⁷ *Punch* Collection, British Library, Mark Lemon Contributor File

Using the ledgers to identify individual submissions establishes the key contributors to the magazine and, consequently, demonstrates how their different social and occupational backgrounds informed their knowledge and experience of sanitary reform. However, to isolate one contributor for recognition and scrutiny is to fail to acknowledge the collective ethos of *Punch* and its editorial team. As Adrian notes, “they were a cohesive brotherhood, solidly behind their paper and their editor. ‘The key to the success of *Punch* is sociability’”.³⁸ A study of the contributor ledgers confirms this ‘cohesive brotherhood’, though there were many writers and artists working for *Punch* who were not listed as salaried staff. Despite different backgrounds and levels of education, the brotherhood shared a fundamental concern for the health of the Metropolis and its people. The writers identified in Tables 1 and 2 were most frequently the authors of the pieces referenced in the *Punch Database on Public Health* (Appendix Two). Other salaried contributors wrote on the theme of public health, particularly from the 1850s when Brooks and Silver joined the staff. However, this thesis largely focuses on the work of the five writers in Table 1 whose contributions spanned the 1840s and 1850s. All five men were trained in either the law or medicine and an acknowledgement of their lives and careers contributes to an understanding of the rhetoric their articles drew upon, which in turn influenced other unidentified contributors to the magazine.

Fellow writers and artists, including Albert Smith and John Leech,³⁹ had also been medical students; and Percival Leigh, though working in a distinctively different area of medicine, surgery, also made considerable contributions to articles on public health reform.⁴⁰ The importance of the staff’s medical training was evident in the main cuts “Splendid Opening for a Young Medical Man” (1848)⁴¹ and “The Alderman and the Apothecary” (1848),⁴² both pencilled by Leech. In the accompanying text for each of these cartoons, the poor pay and working conditions endured by many doctors was reinforced, particularly those who sought to undertake work for the parish; a form of medical police examined in Chapter Five. It is significant that several medical men like Leech and Leigh withdrew from medical practice in order to proselytise social medicine

³⁸ Adrian, op. cit., p.89.

³⁹ Arthur Prager, *The Mahogany Tree: An Informal History of Punch* (New York: Hawthorn Books: 1979), p.83.

⁴⁰ For further discussion of Leigh and the training of other *Punch* staff, see Arthur William á Beckett, op. cit., p.86.

⁴¹ *Punch* 14 (1848), p.59.

⁴² *Punch* 15 (1848), p.172.

in the popular press.⁴³ This form of medicine prioritised the welfare of the patient over the economic cost of their illness, conjoining moral improvement with advancements in sanitation. The periodical press played a prominent role in the development of a more public form of medicine, establishing vital networks of communication between different interest groups.

The personal and professional arenas in which *Punch* and its staff were circulating resulted in a variety of discourses employed by the magazine. Collectively they provide an intertextual register from which to understand *Punch*'s distinctive and multi-focused engagement with the public health campaigns of the 1840s and 1850s. In his influential study *The London Journal 1845 – 83: Periodicals, Production and Gender* Andrew King moves beyond 'dry' statistics, facts and figures about "who produced, sold and bought, what, when, where and for how much" in order to concentrate on "the 'social relation' between producer and consumer, or indeed between that pair and the social totality".⁴⁴ This thesis focuses on the knowledge and expertise which each of the *Punch* staff brought to their work as evidence of the importance of 'social networks' in the magazine's success.⁴⁵ In the context of mid-Victorian change King defines systems of networks as "a social configuration in which some but not all component units, maintain relations with another, in an organisation with a centre and a periphery but without a clear-cut common boundary".⁴⁶ On the theme of public health reform not all 'component units' were in communication at the same time, but relations were continually maintained, as discourses engaged and intertwined. There was no one dominant perspective; it was a discursive matrix that drew on the arts, fiction, investigative journalism, sermons and surveys. The writers, artists and reformers referenced in this thesis were not the only figures that existed in the cultural framework which influenced *Punch*'s work. However, they were all prominent individuals in the campaign for sanitary reform who can be seen to have most influenced the manner in which the need for change was proselytised in *Punch*. The case studies and supporting

⁴³ This was an increasing trend across the periodical press as a whole. For example, Henry Morley was a prolific writer on matters of public health for Charles Dickens in *Household Words*.

⁴⁴ Andrew King, *The London Journal 1845 – 83: Periodicals, Production and Gender* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2004), p.4.

⁴⁵ King identifies 8 key areas of research for single periodical studies: genre, as a set of practices; title, the 'branding' of a product; space, the publication's place in the cultural field; social network, how the periodical is both the product and consolidation of a network of producers; cultural numerology, collecting 'hard' data; circulation, pertaining to audience and readers; demographics, being a consideration of regulation, sales and distribution; debits and credits, the cost of production weighed against incoming finance.

⁴⁶ *ibid.*, p.4.

pieces identified in this thesis exemplify the variety of social networks in which the *Punch* staff worked and moved. Locating the core principles that informed this system provides the researcher with a method for identifying the recurring motifs that were so characteristic of *Punch*.

The cohesiveness of the magazine's approach is evident through the issues selected for coverage, the shared and established rhetoric that the *Punch* staff repeatedly drew on and the motifs that became increasingly familiar to their readers. As Price notes "much of the pleasure that the reader was intended to gain from the social cuts was recognition, not surprise".⁴⁷ Both occasional and regular followers of *Punch* could identify with different verbal and visual pieces through the recurrence of key themes and associated symbols. The subject of the main cuts and the magazine's overall form was discussed at weekly *Punch* dinners. Present at the dinners were regular contributors, as well as those who were not on the salaried staff, and occasionally fellow novelists and writers. The *Punch* club which grew out of these meetings could include, as Spielmann records: "Mr. Grieve the scene painter, Mr. Henry Baylis, Mr. Tully the composer, Mr. Joseph Allen the artist and I have seen in addition Mr Charles Dickens, Mr Stanfield, Mr Frank Stone, Mr. Landseer, and other celebrities, in that little snug and comfortable room."⁴⁸ Such a list demonstrates the rapport between the *Punch* brotherhood and their contemporaries and indicates the number of people involved, directly and indirectly, in influencing the decision making process by which topics were selected week by week. The Diary of the *Punch* dinners, recorded by Henry Silver from 1857, reveals the growing popularity of the magazine and the range of guests who were invited to attend the weekly event. By this time it is clear that the social networks in which the *Punch* staff were operating had considerably expanded, facilitating a more informed scrutiny of the public health campaign as a whole. More fundamentally, the Diary shows a shift in how *Punch* was organised and the structure of the *Punch* brotherhood into the 1860s.⁴⁹

The Character of *Punch*

When *Punch* was first published there was a sharp divide between the respectable world of newspapers and magazines like the *Morning Post* and the

⁴⁷ R. G. G. Price, *A History of Punch* (London: Collins, 1957), pp.64-65.

⁴⁸ Spielmann, op. cit., p.93.

⁴⁹ For further information on the *Punch* dinners, see Patrick Leary, *Table Talk and Print Culture in Mid-Victorian London: The Punch Circle 1858 – 74* forthcoming from the British Library 2010/2011.

Edinburgh Review and those publications which Price characterises as “a proliferating underworld of scurrilous, near-pornographic, hysterically abusive papers that fought savagely in party warfare or private feuds”.⁵⁰ The audience that Price ascribes to *Punch* is a family one which suggests that the magazine was able to communicate to a variety of different interest groups across age and gender and to some extent class. Unlike earlier ‘scurrilous’ periodicals, *Punch*’s humour was palatable and not intended to cause offence. The magazine had a self-appointed duty to play in relieving social tensions during the unstable years of the ‘hungry forties’. Price explains that “there was a good deal of hysteria in the Forties. One vent for hysteria is a Cause, another is humour. In its early days *Punch* provided both.”⁵¹ The spread of disease and the pollution of the city’s increasingly busy streets in the 1840s provided both a cause and an object of satire. However, this did not cease in the 1850s as the magazine’s response to the Great Stink of 1858 demonstrated.

Punch was not alone in using the Great Stink to highlight the urgency of the city’s problems, but through its combination of verbal visual representation the magazine was able to address a range of readers.⁵² This approach involved repetition and reinforcement of key tropes and motifs, building up a readership that could share the references and humour consistently deployed across a variety of verbal and visual forms, whether they read the magazine weekly, monthly or even annually, for “by the third or fourth reference, even if only a single line to fill a column, the reader felt a cosy intimacy between the paper and himself. He had become one of the Club.”⁵³ Analysis of pieces on public health for 1858 demonstrates the unity not only of the *Punch* contributors but also of the rhetoric they had developed for their readers. It is clear that by the close of the period *Punch* had established its character and assumed role in the popular imagination. It was able to interpellate occasional readers by drawing upon shared cultural references meaningful for different strata of society, as well as rewarding ardent followers with familiar symbols and emblems.

The recurring motifs that emerged from the magazine’s campaign for public health reform were testimony to the growing cohesion of the *Punch* brotherhood through the formative decades of the 1840s and 1850s. However, these symbols were

⁵⁰ Price, op. cit., p.20.

⁵¹ *ibid.*, p.31.

⁵² For further discussion, see Chapter Seven.

⁵³ Price, op. cit., p.23.

both verbal and visual, making *Punch's* treatment of public health distinct from that of its contemporaries. There was a consistency to the verbal visual narratives regardless of the individual author of the piece. Whilst the creators of main cuts could sometimes be distinguished by monograms, many of the authors of smaller images and initial letters could not. The success of *Punch* therefore cannot be attributed to any one illustrator or writer. To do so would be to undermine the power of the *Punch* brotherhood. Though critics do acknowledge a shift in style from the 1850s, this has been largely credited to the work of John Tenniel who joined the staff at the close of 1850 after the sudden resignation of Richard 'Dicky' Doyle. Tenniel certainly formed a unique partnership with Leech and was the creator of motifs which are now commonly associated directly with *Punch*, for example the British Lion first published in 1852.⁵⁴ However, an analysis of the figure of Father Thames reveals an iconographic image as popular as the British Lion which was used from its first appearance by Landells in 1842 right through into the twentieth century by a variety of writers and artists, named and unnamed. It was this consistency of approach which contributed to the character of *Punch*.

A New Era of Reform: the Rhetoric of 'Social Medicine'

The range of the magazine's content mapped by the *Punch Database on Public Health* highlights the multiple responses to public health reform that existed and were interconnected. A study of the database's index of keywords demonstrates the regular use of place, or 'medical topography',⁵⁵ to locate and articulate fears about the cause of disease, including representations of courtyards and lodging houses that were the subject of main cuts such as "A Court for King Cholera" (1852) analysed in Chapter Two.⁵⁶ Other concerns included air pollution which was a constant target, with campaigns on smoke pollution of all varieties, personal and industrial, and for the removal of the Window Tax.⁵⁷ Though these topics are not the focus of this thesis, their inclusion in the *Database* highlights the range of issues that *Punch* sought to address in their call for a new and more comprehensive approach to reform.

Punch's response to sanitary reform was informed by the increasingly popular rhetoric of 'social medicine'. In "The Birth of Social Medicine" Foucault suggests that the evolution of this rhetoric originated from France and Germany, as well as England.

⁵⁴ Spielmann, op. cit., p.470.

⁵⁵ Christopher Hamlin, *Public Health and Social Justice in the Age of Chadwick: Britain 1800-1854* (Cambridge: CUP, 1998), p.2.

⁵⁶ *Punch Database on Public Health*, keywords: Dwellings, Health of Towns, Over Crowding.

⁵⁷ *Punch Database on Public Health*, keywords: Windows, Smokey, Smoke Bills, Atmosphere, Miasma

The principal methods by which each country sought to understand and regulate disease were on the basis of collective rather than individual action.⁵⁸ By focusing on individual cases of disease and illness, reformers were distracted from identifying the actual cause of the disease and its potential to spread. Europe was experiencing considerable industrial and urban expansion and the problems of health each country faced were not dissimilar. Foucault examines these changes and the different solutions each country proposed in order to demonstrate how the imperative for a social system of medicine was established. The cameralist system of governance in Germany is contrasted with the 'urban medicine' of France and the 'labor force medicine' of England.⁵⁹ Foucault contends that policy in Germany was governed by principles of state, in France by urban experience and responses to industrialisation and in England more from a concern for the welfare of the population, specifically the labouring classes and the poor. However, the rhetoric of social medicine cannot solely be couched in such terms for, as Foucault acknowledges, the three models were superimposed and co-existed.⁶⁰ This three tiered approach to health reform provides a model for analysing *Punch's* multiple and sometimes contradictory representations of debates on public health reform.

The context of 'urban medicine' and the French approach to social reform is important for understanding *Punch's* perspective, particularly given the European roots of its satire, examined in Chapter One. At the heart of *Punch's* satire was a critique of the Corporation of London and its inability to coordinate health reform. Fragmented and ad-hoc reform from different civic monopolies resulted, *Punch* claimed, in the further spread of disease. Urban medicine was also informed by the language of city governance, seeking unity and organisation by a single well-regulated authority.⁶¹ The principles of urban medicine underpinned *Punch's* examination of the sites and objects that generated and propagated epidemic: specifically the graveyards and slaughterhouses that reformers sought to have removed from the middle of the metropolis.⁶² Another principle of this approach was the control of circulation not just "the circulation of individuals but of things and elements, mainly water and air".⁶³

⁵⁸ Michel Foucault, "The Birth of Social Medicine" in Michel Foucault *Power: Essential Works of Foucault 1954 – 1984 Vol. 3*, ed. James D. Faubion (London: Penguin, 1984), p.136.

⁵⁹ *ibid.*, p.137. Cameralism here refers to the science of government and how local cities should be organised.

⁶⁰ *ibid.*, p.156.

⁶¹ *ibid.*, p.143.

⁶² *ibid.*, p.146.

⁶³ *ibid.*, p.148.

Concerns about the water supply were at the centre of many of *Punch's* articles too, as Chapters Three and Six demonstrate. Yet whatever the topic *Punch* always continued to expose the social cost of poor sanitation.

Whilst the magazine continued to advocate a humanitarian response to reform, the contributors did acknowledge that one of the methods for accomplishing this must be a civic one, achieved through the systematic regulation and policing of the city. Through the supervision of appointed inspectors, the city could be compartmentalized and controlled. In this way the rhetoric of quarantine which informed the philosophy of urban medicine remains pertinent to understanding *Punch's* satire. It was a model that *Punch* frequently examined in pieces like "A Sanitary Police" (1848) discussed in Chapter Two. A similar rhetoric of surveillance was also at the core of the German concept of medical police which underpinned the cameralist rhetoric of governance. The assumption was that disease was spread via direct contagion, which, if appropriately monitored, could be contained. However, the controversy that this perspective generated is debated across the periodical press throughout the 1840s and 1850s, as Dr. W. A. Guy's article for *Fraser's Magazine* on "Quarantine" illustrates.⁶⁴ Published in January 1853 as another cholera epidemic was imminent, it reviewed the 1849 Report on Quarantine conducted by the General Board of Health for presentation to the Houses of Parliament. The 'contagionist' theory, that disease was transmitted through physical contact, originated from the period of the bubonic plague in the Middle Ages. However, in contrast, cholera was scattered across different districts of the Metropolis, rich and poor, and this cast doubt on the theories of the contagionists. Anti-contagionists located the origin of disease in the atmosphere, carried by poisonous vapours or miasma.⁶⁵ It was a hypothesis which led reformers like Edwin Chadwick, author of the 1842 *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population*, to make fatal errors, significantly supporting the evacuation of sewage into the Thames to prevent miasma, which actually spread infection through the water.⁶⁶ Such confusion and anxiety about the propagation of disease is evident from the range of perspectives *Punch* represented, particularly from 1849.

⁶⁴ "Quarantine" *Fraser's Magazine* 47 (1853), pp.74 – 83.

⁶⁵ A. Susan Williams, *The Rich Man and the Diseased Poor in Early Victorian Literature* (London: Macmillan, 1987), pp.1-43.

⁶⁶ *ibid.*, p.31.

As reformers debated these different approaches, it became apparent that there was no clear distinction between the two schools and the doctrines of contagion and miasma were actually fused. It was not until the work of Koch in 1883 when the cholera bacillus was discovered, that direct advances could be made in implementing a specific system of prevention against the disease.⁶⁷ Social medicine during the period which this thesis examines was united by the conviction “that it was possible to reduce the extent of suffering from pestilence – whether by reducing filth, by lessening poverty or by a combination of methods”.⁶⁸ Whilst the more specialised pieces written by medical men such as Dr. Guy may have sought to persuade readers of the benefit of one approach over another, many popular cultural forms, and especially *Punch*, chose to present ‘a combination of methods’ from which to understand the intricacy of public health strategies and the urgent need for direct action. Collectively, they drew upon a rhetoric of humanitarianism that was informed by a concern for the poverty in which many victims of disease existed, moving from a more depersonalised form of urban medicine to establish the tenets of social medicine. The rise of the middle class professional in the early to mid-nineteenth century resulted in increased scrutiny of how cities were run. Informed by cameralist principles of governance, where accountability was a driving motivator for reform, a change in education for professionals was clearly required. Central to the development of this rhetoric in England was the research conducted at the University of Edinburgh.

The correlation of poverty and disease in England was first identified from within the Scottish field of Public Health. William Pulteney Allison was Professor of the Practice of Medicine at the University of Edinburgh and author of *Observations on the Management of the Poor in Scotland and its Effects on the Health of Great Towns*, published in 1840 a year before the creation of *Punch*. Dr. Allison rejected the theory of pythogenics, that disease was spontaneously generated from filth, focusing instead on poverty as an interrelated factor.⁶⁹ Whilst this approach failed to address contraction of cholera by those who did not live in poverty, his publication demonstrated a commitment to establishing a system for the study of disease and sanitary reform. English social medicine was influenced by the principles of the French system, but it was the German system of ‘medical police’ which was most clearly discernible in the rhetoric of the 1840s and 1850s across specialist and popular forms of communication.

⁶⁷ R. J. Morris, *Cholera 1832: The Social Response to An Epidemic* (London: Croom Helm, 1976), p.14.

⁶⁸ Williams, op. cit., p.38.

⁶⁹ *ibid.*, p.37.

Though the organisation of ‘medical police’ was particular to the ideological and administrative structure of Germany at the end of the eighteenth century, the basic principle of health education found support across Europe. It became clear that education needed to be both formal and informal and, in the arena of popular culture, *Punch* considered itself as serving a particular educative purpose. The magazine maintained a vigilant watch on the condition of the Metropolis in order to raise the awareness of its readers. Within the medical profession there was a parallel realisation that doctors should not only treat the sick but supervise the health of the population more generally. As Rosen claims, it was found necessary “to enact a medical police ordinance which [would] regulate medical education, supervise apothecary shops and hospitals, prevent epidemics, combat quackery and make possible the enlightenment of the public”.⁷⁰ To implement this approach more widely a specific educational system was needed. In 1727 the King of Prussia had made provision for the appointment of two Chairs to teach ‘cameralism’ at the state university. By 1807, the same provision had been made at Edinburgh University with the appointment of the first British Chair of medical jurisprudence and medical police.⁷¹

Andrew Duncan had been teaching the principles of ‘medical police’ since 1795, but it was his 1798 medical jurisprudence lecture which raised the profile of the subject. In 1809 John Roberton, a graduate of the University, published the first treatise on “Medical Police: or, the Causes of Disease with the Means of Prevention: and Rules for Diet, Regimen, etc. adapted particularly to the Cities of London and Edinburgh, and generally to all large towns”.⁷² Roberton disseminated the principles of medical police in London where he practised between 1810 and 1821.⁷³ Early sanitary pioneers working in the 1830s included Dr Southwood Smith,⁷⁴ Dr James Phillips Kay (-Shuttleworth),⁷⁵ and Dr Allison. All were graduates from Edinburgh and despite the

⁷⁰ George Rosen, *From Medical Police to Social Medicine: Essays on the History of Health Care* (New York: Science History Publications, 1974), p.138.

⁷¹ Brenda M. White, “Medical Police: Politics and Police - the fate of John Roberton” *Medical History* 27:4 (1983), p.407.

⁷² Rosen, op. cit., p.153.

⁷³ White, op. cit., p.409.

⁷⁴ Dr. Smith’s most renowned work was his *Treatise on Fever* published in 1830, a text which set the agenda for Chadwick’s work in the 1840s. His theory that the poor were impoverished by fever and that fever was preventable signalled a move towards a more community orientated approach to social reform. See Anne Hardy, “The Medical Response to Epidemic Disease During the Long Eighteenth Century” in J. A. I. Champion (ed.), *Epidemic Disease in London* (Centre for Metropolitan History, Working Paper Series No 1; Leicestershire: Quorn Litho, 1993), pp.65-71.

⁷⁵ Dr. James Phillips Kay (-Shuttleworth) published *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes in the Cotton Manufacture in Manchester* in 1832 and is labelled as the first example of “early Victorian social discovery” by Christopher Hamlin, op. cit., p.76. In this pamphlet Kay suggests that

influence of their education in medical jurisprudence, their solutions and methods for improvement frequently differed. Southwood Smith, like Chadwick, saw the environment as an oppressive force, but Allison was renowned for his debates with Chadwick over the principles of miasmatic theory. At the centre of discussions within the medical profession was the question of whether charity was the solution to the nation's health problems or, as Chadwick advocated, whether it was necessary to establish a social machinery, a system of medical police, to instigate a discipline of change.⁷⁶ Incorporating the work of the statisticians who had dominated the field in the 1830s, Chadwick began to emphasise the need for 'atmospheric purity', with a more targeted focus "on the state of the streets where piles of animal and vegetable refuse putrefied and produced the miasma held responsible for physical disease and moral debility".⁷⁷ These streets were the object of *Punch's* scrutiny as the magazine aimed to educate its readers about the true state of the Metropolis and the need for direct, proactive intervention from everyone, regardless of class or status.

The Two Phases of Public Health Reform

A range of narrative frameworks for discussing sanitary reform evolved in the 1840s, including the verbal and visual rhetoric developed by *Punch*, which facilitated the move of social medicine into the public arena. Just as *Punch's* social voice developed, so too did the public health reform movement, resulting in two clearly discernible phases. Published a year after *Punch* began, Chadwick's 1842 *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain* heralded a sanitary revolution. Chadwick's Report marked the beginning of the first phase of reform. The second phase of sanitary reform from 1849 was characterised by a more systematic development of specific welfare services to promote health and prevent disease.⁷⁸ Though the first phase of reform's key principles are frequently associated with Chadwick, they were not so different from those theories about squalor and disease that had emerged in the 1830s. Despite being influenced by the work of Drs. Southwood Smith, Kay and Allison, Chadwick was not a medical man and worked hard to keep

cholera is the metaphor for all of society's problems, bringing together the issues of lack of education, poverty, lax morality and disease; in this way it sets the tone for how the 'Condition of England' debate was rhetorically framed in the 1840s. See Mary Poovey, *Making A Social Body: British Cultural Formation 1830 – 1864* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1995), pp.55-73.

⁷⁶ Dickens' early work can also be seen to have been influenced by the rhetoric of charity, specifically *Oliver Twist* which responded to the cultural climate of the 1830s. Later works returning to this subject included *Bleak House* in 1853.

⁷⁷ Eileen Janes Yeo, *The Context for Social Science: Relations and Representations of Gender and Class* (London: Rivers Oram Press, 1996), p.79.

⁷⁸ Rob Baggot, *Public Health: Policy and Politics* (Leicester: Palgrave, 2000), p.24.

medicine out of the economics of his report, marginalising the medical perspective through his use of statistics.⁷⁹ Southwood Smith was Chadwick's rival for the leadership of the sanitary movement and his doctrine, like that of 'urban medicine', was one that looked at places not persons. By contrast Chadwick embraced the cameralist ideology of building a 'machine' to instil 'normal' habits, or 'automatic systems of discipline' amongst the people.⁸⁰ However, it was not until the second era of reform, when the public was more informed, that such a system could begin to be implemented.

Underpinning the two phases of reform was the acknowledgement that routine inspection was central to the project of improving the social conditions of the poor.⁸¹ John Simon, a leading figure in the second phase of reform, brought the medical knowledge and rhetoric that was lacking in Chadwick's approach and the second phase of reform was characterised by a discourse of sanitary science that more systematically developed Chadwick's advocacy of sanitary engineering.⁸² In 1854 Chadwick left the General Board of Health and Simon established a medical "Commission for Scientific Inquiry" in which a new union was formed between medicine and public health.⁸³ This unification brought completion, with the ideologies of both approaches to reform being conjoined by the formation of the Association of Metropolitan Medical Officers of Health in 1856.⁸⁴ John Simon was first president of the Association and Southwood Smith and Chadwick became honorary members. However, the rhetoric of sanitary science can be traced back before this period to Simon's early research as first Medical Officer of Health for the City of London, captured by *Punch* in the satirical verse "Simon Summed Up" (1849).⁸⁵ His work developed that of the country's first medical officer of health, Dr Duncan, also a graduate from the University of Edinburgh, who was appointed by the city of Liverpool in 1847. Therefore Simon's first Medical Report on the City of London published in 1849, marked the beginning of the second phase of reform.

Publishing pamphlets and reports was not in itself a new phenomenon as Allison, Kay and Southwood Smith's work had demonstrated. However the culture in

⁷⁹ Hamlin, op. cit., p.99.

⁸⁰ *ibid.*, p.120.

⁸¹ Yeo, op. cit., p.96.

⁸² *ibid.*, p.95.

⁸³ *ibid.*, p.96.

⁸⁴ Society of Medical Officers of Health Collection 1856 – 1998, Wellcome Archive, SA/SMO/J1/1

⁸⁵ *Punch* 17 (1849), p.195.

which Simon's work was received in 1849 was considerably more informed, with a reading public more empowered to act upon and engage with sanitary knowledge. *Punch's* role in this cultural shift should not be underestimated. The means by which English doctors sought to implement a system of medical police through the 'enlightenment of the public' is most evident through their presence across the pages of the periodical press during the 1840s and 1850s. Doctors had begun to "acquire a veneer of culture and urbanity" in the late eighteenth century and, as Roy Porter notes, many went on to excel "as cultural leaders or literary lions"; Tobias Smollett and Oliver Goldsmith are examples of doctors whose literary careers outstripped their medical work.⁸⁶ However, rather than reject their training, the campaigning doctors of the 1840s and 1850s actively embedded it within their work and their methods for enlightenment drew on a range of rhetorical strategies by which they addressed a much broader audience. Certainly there were doctors like W. A. Guy who wrote comparatively specialised polemics for the niche audience of quarterlies like *Fraser's Magazine*, but it was the ability of doctors to utilise more popular cultural forms such as the increasingly successful weeklies like *Punch* and *Household Words* which characterised this new era of reform. Henry Morley and Frederick Leigh Hunt were appointed by Dickens to contribute articles on sanitary reform for his periodical *Household Words*, both men having had medical training.⁸⁷ Similarly, the influence of the trained medical men working on the staff of *Punch* is evident from the range of narratives advocating the need for public health reform. The resistance many doctors experienced to their efforts at practising a more social form of medicine was captured in fiction, from Allan Woodcourt in *Bleak House* to Tom Thurnall in Kingsley's *Two Years Ago*.⁸⁸ Read alongside magazines like *Punch*, a collective and distinctive response was becoming discernible as a shared and established rhetorical register was created to proselytise reform.

⁸⁶ Roy Porter, *Disease, Medicine and Society in England* (1987; 2nd ed., London: Macmillan, 1993), pp.35-36.

⁸⁷ It is also interesting to note that W. H. Wills wrote for *Punch* as well as working alongside Dickens, editing a number of his articles in *Household Words* on matters of public health and sanitary reform, such as "To Working Men" (1854) and "A Nightly Scene in London" (1856) – for further examples see Michael Slater (ed.), *Charles Dickens: Gone Astray and Other Papers from Household Words* (London: J. M. Dent, 1998).

⁸⁸ Charles Kingsley, *Two Years Ago* (1857; London: Macmillan, 1880).

As this chapter has demonstrated *Punch* has a distinct contribution to make to an understanding of both Victorian popular culture and changes in approaches to public health reform. The focus of this thesis is on the ways that the *Punch* staff came together to present a united and cohesive representation of the crisis in the Metropolis, simultaneously establishing a unique character for the magazine. The breadth of the social networks in which *Punch* and its staff operated is evident in the scope of the appeal that it continued to maintain. There can be no doubt that *Punch* was a cultural institution. How this came to be, the methods by which this was achieved and the discourses that it drew upon, can only be discovered by moving beyond the main cuts and to a study of the comparatively neglected marginalia and social cuts of the magazine itself (referenced in the *Punch Database on Public Health*).

Chapter One
Creation of a Readership for Reform

The 1840s was a formative decade for the evolution of 'graphic satire'. A variety of texts emerged during this period which sought to compete with journals like *Punch*, their publication validating the magazine's form and role within Victorian popular culture.¹ Together they confirmed the changing status of the verbal and visual in popular cultural forms; reading was no longer solely for entertainment but, it was perceived, could serve a wider educative purpose. The development of visual literacy was crucial to this transition. As Audrey Jaffe notes, an emphasis on visuality promotes spectatorship as a cultural activity.² The interchange of the verbal visual in *Punch* was underpinned by a desire to motivate readers to 'gaze' on their city in a new way, to acknowledge the poverty they saw yet chose to ignore, or never even thought to question, for "the use of images to elicit understanding was founded in the simple principle that people talk about what they know."³ By confronting its readers in this way *Punch* affirmed the educative purpose it had undertaken for itself from its very first piece, 'the Moral of *Punch*'.

If *Punch* was the "spokesman" for the "whole nation", as it represented itself to be, it is important to ascertain its audience and to ask how the readership was created by and responded to the verbal visual discourses of the magazine.⁴ *Punch* was a magazine that worked on more than one narrative level as its treatment of a variety of matters relating to public health demonstrates. Before outlining the narrative strands which comprised the discursive matrix on social reform which informed *Punch*'s treatment of public health, it is important to understand how the verbal visual form evolved and the traditions of satire that the magazine drew on. The researcher must seek to understand the cultural experience of reading in the nineteenth century to appreciate the intertextual

¹ Mark Bills notes the variety of periodicals that emerged and subsequently closed during the 1840s, with *Punch* outliving the majority - *The Squib* 1842, *Judy* 1842, *Cleave's Gallery of Comicalities* 1844, *Hood's Magazine and Comic, Miscellany* 1844 - 48, *Puck, a Journalette of Fun* 1844, *Joe Miller, the Younger* 1845, *The Man in the Moon* 1847- 1849, *Puck* 1848, *The Puppet Show* 1848 - 1849; see *The Art of Satire: London in Caricature* (London: Museum of London, 2006), pp.173-174.

² Audrey Jaffe, "Spectacular Sympathy, Visuality and Ideology in Dickens' 'A Christmas Carol'" in Carol T. Christ and John O'Jordan (eds.), *Victorian Literature and the Victorian Visual Imagination* (London: University of California Press, 1995), p.327.

³ David Byrne and Aidan Doyle, "The Visual and the Verbal: the Interaction of Images and Discussion in Exploring Cultural Change" in Caroline Knowles and Paul Sweetman (eds.), *Picturing the Social Landscape: Visual Methods and the Sociological Imagination* (London: Routledge, 2004), p.167.

⁴ Anon., *Punch: An interesting Talk about Himself and his renowned Contributors; his Jokes, Literary Articles, Illustrations and Cartoons: with many reproductions of the more famous of each of them* (London: 1910), p.1.

cultural references which formed the foundation for *Punch's* satire and humour and contributed to the magazine's popularity.

European Origins and the Rhetoric of the Verbal Visual

The range of rhetorical strategies present in *Punch's* satire and its variety of verbal and visual iconography can be traced through the rich and diverse history of print culture in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. However, the context of the term 'satire' is itself problematic as it encompasses both British and European traditions. A progressive relationship between satire, the mass media and the rise of popular culture across the long nineteenth century must be considered. According to Mark Bills graphic satire was essentially an urban phenomena, developed in London, combining the high art traditions of anatomy (guided rules and theories on drawing the human subject) and the lower art form of satire.⁵ From these origins came popular emblems and symbolic reference which continued to recur across the satirical mediums of the nineteenth century, including *Punch*. Such practices were well suited to reflect on the new identity and character of the Victorian towns and cities. *Punch* personalised the graphic satirical art form, with main cut sketches on topical issues which came to be coined "cartoons" in 1843. Unlike the comparatively short-lived success of many contemporary periodicals, *Punch* secured a niche in the burgeoning market of increasingly literate readers. For it was not just the main cuts that contributed to the character of *Punch*, but all of the regular features; the small cuts, the social cuts, the initial letters and the one line quips. *Punch* offered a familiarity of form and style in the breadth and range of its verbal visual iconography that distinguished the magazine from its contemporaries.

Though it has been acknowledged by scholars that *Punch* was inspired by the Parisian newspaper *Le Charivari* (1832 – 1937), edited by Charles Philipon, little attention is paid specifically to the form of that paper. The style and content of the French newspaper provides a key to locating the distinctive 'social voice' that *Punch* also wished to create. Whilst an illustrated press had existed in France before Philipon, his newspapers:

were the first into whose design the caricatures were fully integrated and in which they performed an essential function. The prints in his

⁵ Mark Bills, op. cit., p.13.

newspapers did not simply illustrate the articles, nor were the articles written simply to introduce or explain the prints; text and lithographs collaborated on a common project, sharing the aims and tactics imposed upon them by Philipon's active direction.⁶

Philipon's work demonstrates the changing relationship of verbal and visual rhetoric at the beginning of the nineteenth century which was further developed by *Punch*. It was a form of satire where the visual could exist independent of the verbal, whilst still 'sharing the aims and tactics' of the 'common project' chosen by the collective *Punch* brotherhood, particularly public health reform. The origins of the word "charivari" lie with the Italian artist Agostino Carracci (1557-1602) who drew "ritratti caricati"; absurd portraits and figures, or, literally translated, overloaded portraits.⁷ In the eighteenth century the word entered the French language to mean a loud and unmelodious cacophony; more specifically it was "a violent ceremony involving improvised music performed with household utensils capable of making the maximum amount of noise. It was originally given as a public expression of disapproval".⁸ *Punch* too became a household 'instrument' that made the 'maximum amount of noise' to protest, amongst other subjects, about the unsanitary condition of the streets of London, the greed of the Corporation of London and its Aldermen and other social nuisances.

Whilst the Parisian *Charivari* may have influenced Ebenezer Landells to form London's equivalent, it is important to note that Philipon was also editor of another illustrated newspaper, *La Caricature* (1830 – 1835). Like *Punch*, *La Caricature* was circulated weekly and maintained a strong political focus with the introduction of weekly reviews of the Parliamentary Session. Due to its weekly production *La Caricature* was able to be more current and topical than other periodicals. By contrast, *Le Charivari* frequently had to rely on a stockpile of prints published in advance, a problem that did not hinder production at the *Punch* offices.⁹ The editorial team of *Punch* were familiar with both papers as several of the staff lived and worked in France

⁶ David S. Kerr, *Caricature and French Political Culture 1830- 1848: Charles Philipon and the Illustrated Press* (Oxford: Clarendon Press: 2000), p.5.

⁷ "M. Daumier and his Lithographic Work", <www.daumier.org> [accessed July 2006].

⁸ "charivari" *The Oxford Companion to Music* Ed. Alison Latham. Oxford University Press, 2002. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press. Liverpool John Moores University. <<http://www.oxfordreference.com/views/Entry.html?subview=Main&entry=t114.e1304>> [accessed 18 July 2006].

⁹ Kerr, op. cit., p.27. I am also grateful to Ms Alison Smith, St. Cuthbert's RC High School, St Helens, for her assistance in translating a number of the documents that Kerr included in his study.

during the 1830s and holidayed there throughout the 1840s and 1850s.¹⁰ In contrast though, the success of Philipon's papers was comparatively limited for, "as satirical newspapers, they relied heavily on their readers' knowledge of the event and personalities they lampooned, knowledge best picked up by reading the serious press: Philipon's caricatures portrayed a world turned upside down, and they can have had little appeal to those with no knowledge of the world".¹¹ The effect of this reliance on specialist knowledge limited the readership for Philipon's papers. In contrast, *Punch's* success lay, as Hendrey-Seabrook acknowledges, in the balance of content that engaged with a range of contemporary issues "in such a way as to be consumable by the non-specialist public".¹² The magazine drew on English as well as European traditions enabling its staff to creatively adapt a variety of intertextual references from eighteenth century satire that were recognisable to both the occasional and the regular reader.

Traditions of Satire

The dynamic of *Punch's* verbal and visual representation owed much to the radical satire developed in the second half of the eighteenth century.¹³ Significantly, in the early 1760s John Wilkes and his radical supporters began to sponsor satirical prints. This development was important because Wilkes' prints revealed a relish for emblems, characteristic of the changing role and function of satire.¹⁴ Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth century the term 'emblem' had been applied to a variety of woodcuts or engravings which were accompanied by a motto and a short verse to explain its meaning (emblem books were particularly popular in Europe).¹⁵ The visual allegory and symbolic meaning generated by such prints created a shared framework of meaning which appeared across a variety of popular forms. *Punch's* style was influenced by this

¹⁰ For a discussion of William Thackeray's time studying in Paris from 1832 – 1833, see John Buchanan-Brown, *The Illustrations of William Makepeace Thackeray* (Newton Abbot: David Charles, 1979); on Leech's visits to France, see W. P. Frith, *John Leech: His Life and Work* (London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1891).

¹¹ Kerr, op. cit., p.124.

¹² Therie Hendrey-Seabrook, *Unpacking Punch: Textual and Visual Mediation of Victorian Discourses into the Popular Consciousness 1850 – 1880* Unpublished Thesis, DPhil, Sept 2005, University of Sussex, p.21.

¹³ Diana Donald, *The Age of Caricature: Satirical Prints in the Reign of George III* (London: Yale University Press, 1996); Marcus Wood, *Radical Satire and Print Culture 1790 – 1822* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994); Jon Klancher, *The Making of English Reading Audiences 1790 – 1832* (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin, 1987); Brian Maidment, *Reading Popular Prints 1790 – 1870* (Manchester: MUP, 1996).

¹⁴ Donald, op. cit., p.50.

¹⁵ "emblem" *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms*. Chris Baldick (ed.). Oxford University Press, 2008. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press. Liverpool John Moores University. <<http://www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t56.e373>> [accessed October 2007].

tradition with many of its main cuts being accompanied by a short verse either on the same page or on the preceding one. The magazine extended this style across its smaller illustrations and social cuts. Increasingly though these smaller cuts did not directly interact with the text and meaning was located in recognising the significance of the emblem in its own right.

Diana Donald has noted the importance of allegory and personification in graphic art:

these were personifications such as fortune and justice; rides to hell, devils and monsters; symbolic devourings and purges; animal allegories; processions and other figural friezes, mock triumphs, deathbeds and funerals, balances, ships and trees; social inversions (the topsy turvy world) and ritual humiliations of the great. The national emblems which gained an unprecedented popularity in the new age – Britannia and the symbols of other European countries, the British Lion, Magna Charta and the rest – were assimilated into these traditional schemata and composed in elaborate allegorical tableaux.¹⁶

The repetition of national, international and radical symbols constituted “a clever political strategy” which enabled its users to question potentially sensitive issues, including politics and policy.¹⁷ A skilled reader, literate in the nuances of these allusions was thus engaged. As graphic satire became more popular at the end of the eighteenth century a number of these motifs were used to investigate more social issues, such as health reform. Many of the figures identified by Donald featured in the pages of *Punch*, as well as appearing alongside its own inventions. These included the personified figure of Father Thames and the character of the outraged Smithfield Bull.

Acknowledging the use of this extended symbolism, however, does not take one much closer to the question of how readers actually consumed such images. Donald cautions against a form of ‘historical hermeneutics’ which runs “a risk of circularity and determinism, by which a particular political standpoint and ‘way of seeing’ are assumed to be coextensive”.¹⁸ The *Punch Database on Public Health* attempts to rectify this issue by systematically referencing every entry on public health reform in order to locate where and when recurring tropes and narrative patterns emerged, rather than imposing a preordained selection criterion. This is important because identifying the

¹⁶ Donald, op. cit., p.47.

¹⁷ *ibid.*, p.51.

¹⁸ *ibid.*, p.56.

language and iconography by which contemporary cultural concerns were articulated and recognised is difficult, particularly within the context of mapping the urban experience. Stein raises the question “how do we read cities?”, indeed, “can there be such a thing as ‘reading’ when the text itself is so problematic, so complex, so overlain with the multiple screens of our own perceptions?”.¹⁹ *Punch* too presents a similar level of complexity with the range of different perspectives that were represented. A return to the primary sources of the period itself is needed to enable a more empathetic and contextualised appreciation of the form and content of *Punch*. *Punch* was not the first publication to draw attention to metropolitan miseries of death and disease amongst the overcrowded streets of the city. Therefore, an awareness of the language of the magazine’s predecessors facilitates an understanding of the sophisticated rhetoric of humanism which characterised *Punch’s* attitude to social reform in the 1840s and 1850s.

Of the variety of different satirical forms that emerged in the eighteenth century, it is the work of Hogarth and Gillray that is the most beneficial for understanding *Punch’s* cultural heritage. Hogarth’s work engaged with the progressive culture of the 1760s in much the same way that *Punch* did in the 1840s. His sketches neither accepted nor wholly rejected the emblematic tradition of early radical prints, which contributed to the breadth of his appeal. His legacy was a dissolution of distinctions between high and low culture;²⁰ a fundamental change that is central to understanding how the term ‘popular’ came to be used in the mid-nineteenth century. Building on the work of his predecessors, Hogarth extended “the vocabulary of graphic satire combining the old methods of emblemization and symbolization with social description, sequential narrative and caricature. He produced prints which worked on a number of narrative levels and were designed for extended circulation”.²¹ As a ‘mass culture’ evolved and new systems of ‘mass communication’ were established in the nineteenth century, *Punch* too sought to attract a breadth of readers through a similar familiarisation of style and form. The appeal not only involved drawing on the narrative tropes of Hogarth’s work, but also “the play of wit, based on parody and burlesque” recognisable from Gillray’s work of the 1780s and 1790s.²² Gillray enhanced the vocabulary of satirical rhetoric and further characterised the changing relationship between text and image at

¹⁹ Robert L. Stein, “Street Figures: Victorian Urban Iconography” in Carol T. Christ and John O’Jordan (eds.), op. cit., p.246.

²⁰ Donald, op. cit., p.1.

²¹ Wood, op. cit., p.41.

²² Donald, op. cit., p.39.

this time by his use of speech bubbles. The bitter polemic of the early 1760s can be seen to have “given way to entertainment as a persuasive device, and the audience’s consciousness of being sufficiently well informed to appreciate the wit must surely have augmented the effect.”²³ Just as Hogarth broadened the appeal of contemporary satire, commenting on the social as well as the political, so Gillray extended the readership and popularity of the printed image and the written word in a style which anticipated the verbal and visual narratives of *Punch* over fifty years later. Social and political change was mediated and made visible through the changing form and function of satire, providing a language for mapping change.

Satire is central to a consideration of how Victorians negotiated social and cultural change. Tracing the evolution of ‘graphic satire’ in the nineteenth century, it is clear that ‘satire’ in its more general sense, “provided a comic journey through London that revealed a wide variety of urban life.”²⁴ There were new technologies and bodies of knowledge which altered how the public responded to the call for social reform. The formative period for understanding this change and the shift to a more graphic style of satire came in the years directly preceding *Punch*’s first appearance in 1841; located by John Marriott to be the period 1815 – 1845. At this time Marriott identifies the character of this early form of popular literary modernism in the writings of Charles Dickens, Henry Mayhew and their successors which was also present in popular Victorian theatre and graphic illustration.²⁵ However, as Diana Donald notes, following Peterloo in 1819 “even a simple visual image could, when mediated by words, attain an immediacy and symbolic force denied to the printed word alone”.²⁶ Satire had extended the tradition of visual intervention which broadened its audience, representing the significance of local events such as Peterloo on a national level. From this time a more intricate relationship between the verbal and visual evolved as satirists made extensive use of a variety of popular cultural forms to create accessible meaning for their audience. Marcus Wood identifies a multiplicity of familiar (rather than classical) forms which drew on the rhetoric of “sacred texts, almanacs, press advertisements, chapbooks, children’s books, nursery rhymes, games, poems, songs, last wills, dying confessions, playbills and showman’s notices.”²⁷ Similarly, *Punch*’s satire captured a

²³ *ibid.*, p.66.

²⁴ Bills, *op. cit.*, p.37.

²⁵ John Marriott (ed.), *Early Modernist Visions of the Metropolis 1815 – 1845 Volume I* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2000), p.xv.

²⁶ Donald, *op. cit.*, p.185.

²⁷ Wood, *op. cit.*, p.3.

comparative degree of breadth incorporating the language of sermons, investigative journalism, social surveys, literature and melodrama, doctor's reports and Royal Commissions, as Chapter Two demonstrates. Contributing to this shift, as Wood has suggested, was the new iconographic register of advertising which "popularised, appropriated and imitated different writing styles and systems of iconography".²⁸

Wood points to the astrologer's almanac as one of the most popular types of advertising, a form that should be particularly familiar to scholars of *Punch*, for it was the "almanack" which saved the fortune of the paper in 1842. With the success of its first Almanack, Lemon recognized the visual appeal of the paper which encouraged him to make greater use of his artists.²⁹ Once again, *Punch* demonstrated its unique adaptation of traditional formats as can be seen in the contrast between Figure One and Figure Two.

Fig. 1 (1842)³⁰



Fig. 2 (1844)³¹



Figure One, taken from the first Almanack [sic] is predominantly text-orientated and the illustrations which frame the side of the text are generic shadow images, few with discernible facial features. In contrast, Figure Two is taken from Volume Six and the magazine's shift of style following the introduction of the main cut in Volume Five is clearly discernible with the images working within the text, dominating the centre and top of the page. The features of those portrayed are individually discernible rather than

²⁸ *ibid.*, p.4.

²⁹ Richard D. Altick, *Punch: The Lively Youth of a British Institution 1841 – 1851* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1997), pp. 154-155.

³⁰ *Punch* 2 (1842), p.11.

³¹ *Punch* 6 (1844), p.11.

generic and in this particular example the figures are identifiable as Gog and Magog who were part of an emblematic tradition which *Punch* developed to symbolise the greed of the City of London.³² By 1850 when the magazine was firmly established as a cultural institution, the sophisticated and personalised verbal and visual iconography that *Punch* had popularised is clearly visible in “Sanitary and Insanitary Matters”, discussed in Chapter Six. The traditional dated format of the almanac of 1842 was replaced by a more dominant visual iconography which was replicated in the form of the weekly magazine, drawing on the shared cultural reference points and personified figures which the reader could immediately recognise. It was such embedded narratives and intertextual references which added to the rich complexity of the magazine but at the same time could potentially have disrupted the reading experience. For, whilst repetition of form and symbol enhanced the reading experience of the consistent reader, it is not easy to chart the experience of the occasional reader. It is clear though, as Wood has outlined, that the almanac is vital for locating the traditions and language from which graphic satire evolved. Indeed, the introduction of the Almanack was part of the first phase of *Punch*’s move to acquiring a new social voice through a mediation of the verbal visual.³³

Punch’s first main cut in 1843, “Substance and Shadow” clearly engaged with the visual traditions of its predecessors, specifically Pierce Egan’s *Life in London* (1821), illustrated by I. R. and G. Cruickshank. Both Leech and Cruickshank sought to depict a sense of panorama, a kaleidoscope of experiences, “for what emerged in the early decades of the nineteenth century was a new observer, operating in a range of social and artistic practices, and scientific and philosophical domains of knowledge, who attempted to appropriate the dislocating experiences of urban environments”.³⁴ *Life in London*, in a style not too dissimilar to its successor, *Punch*, explores the “plurality of metropolitan life” through a mixture of narrative, verse, ballad, letters, music, illustrations (large and small), with footnotes which read like asides.³⁵ Topics included gambling, cock fighting, society balls, Vauxhall and operas. Cruickshank’s “A Shilling Well Laid Out” (Figure 3) anticipated the style and form which Leech’s cartoon, “Substance and Shadow” (Figure 4) in 1843 so poignantly adapted.

³² For further discussion see Chapter Four on Smithfield Market.

³³ For further discussion on the origins of the Almanack and *Punch*’s contribution to the tradition, see Jill Allaway, “Paper Ghosts: the Almanack and Year Book 1790 – 1860” Unpublished Thesis, PhD, 2004, University of Huddersfield.

³⁴ Marriott, op. cit., p.xxiii.

³⁵ *ibid.*, p.xxiii.

Fig. 3³⁶



A SHILLING WELL LAID OUT. Tom and Jerry at the Exhibition of Pictures at the Royal Academy.

Fig. 4³⁷



SUBSTANCE AND SHADOW.

However whilst the traditions of eighteenth-century satire do provide a context from which to begin to read the city, a comparison of these two images reveals a change of form in the composition of each piece. Leech's main cut characterised the 'new

³⁶ Pierce Egan, *Life in London* in Marriott, op. cit., Vol. 2.

³⁷ Reprinted from Altick, op. cit., p.191.

observers' of the city, representing a very different class of people seeking to understand cultural change than those that Cruikshank had depicted.

The ragged figures depicted in "Substance and Shadow" are disconcertingly familiar, a sight to be seen everyday on the streets of London, and yet are made strange by their location, occupying a space in which they seem not to belong. Such an approach commanded a more introspective view from readers, to reflect on their own 'place' in society. Casteras notes "the latent voyeurism of artistic 'gazing' into the face of the city and its denizens, especially how Victorian art often erected invisible barriers between personages of different classes, reveals the complex, underlying attitudes of many middle class viewers towards urban subject matter".³⁸ The increasing power of the visual was not solely reserved for art but was also manifest in a range of popular cultural forms, ultimately *Punch*. A transition of role and purpose is reflected in *Punch*. The magazine's narrative codes were informed by this shift of gaze as well as drawing upon the influence of the other popular cultural forms with which it was in dialogue. The cultural context of the 1840s created new reading experiences and audiences who were able to respond to the verbal visual depictions of poverty in a way that was distinctively different to their predecessors in the eighteenth century. Improved literacy across all social groups was a contributory factor in this shift. Casteras goes further and suggests that the blending of an underclass with middle-class personages made for compelling pictorial results.³⁹ *Punch* lampooned a cross-section of society; crossing sweepers were depicted alongside politicians and members of the middle class. However, it was the deliberate tensions in such representations which *Punch* made distinctive. More importantly the magazine developed the satirical potential of graphic satire by constructing for its middle-class audience a representation of the elite by using the viewpoint of the imagined masses. *Punch* took the familiar, the London streets and theatres, and made them unfamiliar, blurring the commonly accepted boundaries of propriety. *Punch* succeeded when other periodicals did not because of the range of traditions and customs the writers and artists brought to their work, building, what Brian Maidment has described as, "long-term proto-narratives out of their cartoons".⁴⁰ However, quantifying this popularity is not so easily achieved.

³⁸ Susan P. Casteras, "Seeing the Unseen Pictorial Problematics and Victorian Images of Class, Poverty and Urban Life", in Carol T. Christ and John O'Jordan (eds.), op. cit., p.264.

³⁹ *ibid.*, p.164.

⁴⁰ Brian Maidment, "Cartoons", in Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor (eds.), *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism (DNCJ)* (Gent: Academia Press and The British Library, 2009), p.100.

Punch's Circulation Figures

The importance of circulation figures in verifying consumption trends and audience composition is an essential starting point for researchers of Victorian periodicals yet the data on *Punch* remains limited.⁴¹ Indeed, few of the copies it published were for the stamped edition (printed on paper on which tax had been paid and circulated by post) which sold for 4d as opposed to the usual 3d. Though there are not regular returns in the Bradbury and Evans ledgers at the *Punch* archive, sample figures from 1857 do indeed confirm this, recording a marked difference since there were 1,128,983 copies in stock and only 171,785 stamped editions (forming 13% of the total stock).⁴² A lack of correspondence from and about readers in the *Punch* archives also hinders the search for 'real' readers which may otherwise be found in diaries, letters and other autobiographical sources.⁴³ For Anderson, who studied the *Penny Magazine*, the *London Journal*, *Reynolds Miscellany* and *Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper*, readership patterns were ascertainable from contemporary observers or editorial correspondence.⁴⁴ The same results cannot be gained when studying *Punch*. The form and content of *Punch* further contributes to the problem of identifying its readership, for whilst there may have been readers who diligently pored over each page, every week, every month, there would also have been those who only occasionally dipped into the paper.⁴⁵

Records in the *Punch* Archive confirm that no detailed figures for the magazine's circulation are recorded for the period 1841 – 1858.⁴⁶ The *Punch* offices only have consistent circulation figures from 1914 in the diaries of the publisher Andrew Agnew.⁴⁷ Scholars have identified few methods for locating the elusive figures and looking at the stamp returns remains the most popular starting point for understanding circulation trends. Joel Wiener's work for the Research Society for Victorian Periodicals provides a methodology for accessing this data through compiling

⁴¹ See the work of the Research Society for Victorian Periodicals and specifically Joel H. Wiener, "Circulation and the Stamp Tax" in J. Don Vann and R. T. Van Arsdel (eds.) *Victorian Periodicals: A Guide to Research Volume One* (New York: MLA, 1978), pp.151-162.

⁴² PUN/A/Brad/BM/03 1853 – 1863.

⁴³ Stephen Colclough, "Readers and Readership: Real or Historical Readers" in *DNCJ*, op. cit., p.530.

⁴⁴ Patricia Anderson, *The Printed Image and the Transformation of Popular Culture 1790 – 1860* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p.138.

⁴⁵ This selective reading practice is also mirrored in the way many Victorian scholars focus on single cuts or illustrators to the exclusion of wider discursive patterns.

⁴⁶ The only figures that remain are incidental ones, such as those recorded by M. H. Spielmann, *The History of 'Punch'* (London: Cassell and Co., 1895).

⁴⁷ I am grateful to Helen Walasek at the Punch Library (then at Harrods) for personal, telephone and e-mail support to queries both large and small over the years.

a list of Stamp Duty Returns. In an Appendix to his article, he gives a sample of circulation figures for a range of periodicals, including an entry for *Punch*:

PUNCH (London Weekly)

1845 8,600

1850 6,600

1854 8,200⁴⁸

A study of the graph in Figure Five, based on a complete series of stamp duty returns which I have compiled, confirms these figures and completes the entries for the previously unrecorded years. The height of circulation for *Punch*, according to Figure Five, came in the 1840s.

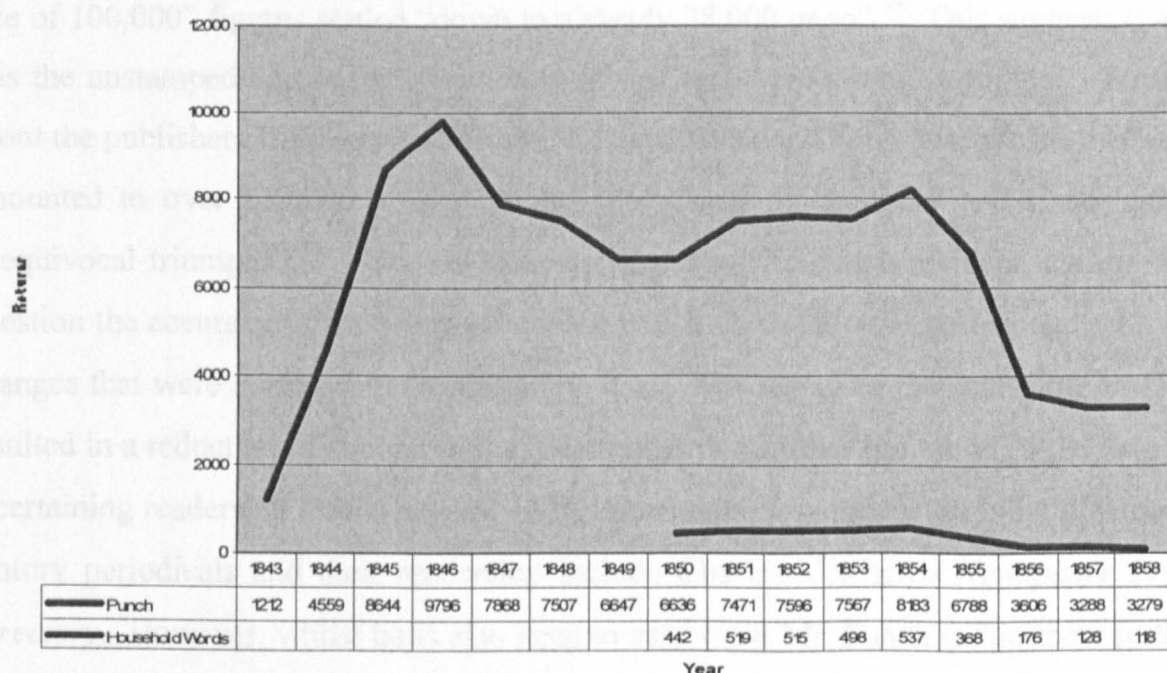


Fig. 5 – Average Weekly Stamp Returns recorded for *Punch* and *Household Words* 1843 – 1858⁴⁹

From the creation of the main cut in 1843, the figures trebled the following year. As has been discussed in the Introduction, 1844 was the year that *Punch*'s focused more on specific social problems, coinciding with the appointment of a number of new members of staff and the decision to redesign the opening cover of the magazine,⁵⁰ the effects of this can be seen by the doubling of returns for 1845. The figures recorded for the late 1840s however does not seem to concur with the consistency of approach that *Punch* had attained and the esteem that the magazine was held in by other institutions such as

⁴⁸ "Appendix" in J. Don Vann and R. T. Arsdel (eds.), op. cit., p.172.

⁴⁹ Collated from a range of reports in the *Irish University Press Series of British Parliamentary Papers* (Shannon: IUP, 1970) with special thanks to Lisa Griffiths, Senior Librarian at Manchester Central Library for her assistance in using the IUP index of Parliamentary Papers.

⁵⁰ Rodney Egen, *Richard Doyle* (Stroud: Catalpa Press Ltd., 1983), p.48.

The Times.⁵¹ The apparently declining circulation level does not directly correlate with changes that can be mapped across each of the respective volumes, including the decision for Doyle to redesign the opening cover of the magazine in 1849.⁵²

In order to contextualise the figures, the entries for *Punch* are mapped against those for *Household Words*, a periodical which has received comparatively more critical analysis.⁵³ Both magazines were published by Bradbury and Evans and the social networks in which they operated were extremely influential on which topics they wrote about, as Chapter Two outlines.⁵⁴ For the directly comparable years of 1851 onwards, *Punch* appears to have a much higher return level, though my figures for *Household Words* do not corroborate existing scholarship which maintains that “after an opening sale of 100,000” figures settled “down to a steady 38,000 or so”.⁵⁵ This suggests that it was the unstamped editions of *Household Words* that were the most popular. Writing about the publishers Bradbury and Evans, Adelene Buckland notes “the profits of *Punch* amounted to over £10,000 a year by the 1860s, one of Bradbury and Evans’ most unequivocal triumphs”.⁵⁶ *Punch*’s commercial success is clearly evident, calling into question the accuracy of the returns recorded which do not always correspond with the changes that were apparent in the magazine itself. The repeal of the stamp tax in 1855 resulted in a reduction of stamp returns; this results in a further limitation of the data for ascertaining readership trends beyond 1855. Alternative sources for studying nineteenth century periodicals and their readership include Charles Mitchell’s *Newspaper Press Directory*. However, whilst he is also keen to assert that Mr. Punch is “no mere jester” Mitchell also fails to go any further in revealing the potential circulation and distribution of the magazine.⁵⁷ In his observation that there is “no discredit even in

⁵¹ On all matters, not just public health, *The Times* would either replicate material directly from *Punch* (“Inspection of Field Marshals” *The Times* Friday, November 02, 1855; pg.10; Issue 22201; col. C) or directly engage with the opinions of Mr. Punch (“To the Editor of the Times” *The Times*, Saturday, March 29, 1856; pg. 9; Issue 22328; col. B).

⁵² Egen, op. cit., p.48 – it can be argued that the redesigning of the cover for the magazine was symbolic of the new era that *Punch* was entering into, having established a more consistent character and social voice by 1849.

⁵³ Though the figures do not concur with Altick, a selection of them are corroborated by Andrew King, *The London Journal 1845 – 83; Periodicals, Production and Gender* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2004), p.86.

⁵⁴ William Bradbury and Frederick Mullet Evans set up business in 1830, originally as a printing firm, only moving into publishing in the 1840s. Going on to print Dickens’ novels from 1848, both men were at the heart of the social networks which introduced Dickens to the *Punch* circle and a variety of other artists and writers. R. Patten, “Dickens and His Publishers” in Paul Schlicke (ed.), *Oxford Reader’s Companion to Dickens* (Oxford: OUP, 1999), p.54.

⁵⁵ John Drew, “*Household Words*” in *DNCJ*, op. cit., p.292. For further discussion of the limitations of stamp returns and ratios for increasing this figure, see Altick (1997), op. cit., pp.35-41.

⁵⁶ Adelene Buckland, “Bradbury and Evans (1830 – 1865)” in *DNCJ*, op. cit., p.171.

⁵⁷ Charles Mitchell, *Newspaper Press Directory* (London: Mitchell, 1846), p.85.

learned or grave people to be seen occasionally whiling away half an hour on *Punch*” there is an indication that the magazine’s audience was predominantly middle-class, though no further detail is given.⁵⁸ It is clear, as Andrew King has demonstrated in his survey of *The London Journal*, that ‘cultural numerology’ and hard data analysis is frequently not enough when considering many of the illustrated periodicals of the period and alternative methods for ascertaining popularity and readership must be sought.⁵⁹

Problematizing ‘the popular’

The question of *Punch*’s popularity can be addressed through an understanding of how mass culture is defined. Alan Swingewood has pointed to two contrary aspects of ‘mass culture’. It is simultaneously about standardisation, conservatism and manipulation as well as about education and narratives of humanism. This latter aspect is a ‘progressive evolutionist’ view which conforms with the concept of the popular.⁶⁰ *Punch*’s consistently humanitarian approach and range of motifs used to examine public health debates however suggest that the two elements were much more interrelated than Swingewood implies. Emerging from a shift to ‘mass culture’ were systems of ‘mass communication’ and subsequently, by the close of the nineteenth century, the creation of a ‘mass media’. However, as Raymond Williams notes:

Mass Communication and the mass media are by comparison with all previous systems not directed at masses (persons assembled) but at numerically very large yet in individual homes relatively isolated members of audiences. Several senses are fused but also confused: the large numbers reached (*the many-headed multitude or the majority of the people*); the mode adopted (*manipulative or popular*); the assumed taste (*vulgar or ordinary*); the resulting relationship (*alienated and abstract or a new kind of social communication*).⁶¹

As Figure Five suggests *Punch* was reaching a relatively large readership but in comparison with other weeklies of the period it was in no way reaching either a majority or indeed a multitude. Whilst audiences may have been divided over whether the magazine’s humour was ‘vulgar’ or ‘ordinary’, the mode was certainly ‘popular’ in

⁵⁸ *ibid.*, p.85.

⁵⁹ King, *op. cit.*, pp.81-98.

⁶⁰ Alan Swingewood, *The Myth of Mass Culture* (London: Macmillan, 1977), p.94.

⁶¹ Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (1976; reprint, London: Fontana, 1988), p.196.

terms of Williams' definition of being "well-liked".⁶² Merging public and private opinion, 'a new kind of social communication' was created by *Punch* which evades traditional definitions of the popular.

The popularisation of the periodical press in the 1840s, as King and Plunkett state, was due to the social conditions which enabled technology to fulfil its potential.⁶³ This is not to advocate a technologically determinist perspective. Crucial to changes in the 1840s was the rise in literacy amongst poorer social groups facilitated by an adjustment in the standard of living and a rise in wages which enabled the purchase of more luxury items including reading matter.⁶⁴ The subsequent rapid growth of the popular publishing industry in England transformed and expanded popular culture catering for newly literate readers, as the publication of periodicals and magazines like *Punch* demonstrates.⁶⁵ Who such emerging readers were and what exactly was meant by 'popular' is more difficult to establish. J. Malcolm Rymer, a renowned author of the period, considered the same question in his article on "Popular Writing" in *Queen's Magazine: A Monthly Miscellany of Literature and Art*.⁶⁶ Writing in 1842 at the beginning of *Punch*'s circulation, Rymer defined popular "to mean the greatest number of readers".⁶⁷ By this definition *Punch* had to be accessible even though the complexity of its verbal visual dynamic was an essential part of its character. *Punch* certainly did not conform to the conventions of the penny journals and priced at 3 ½d it had a very different target audience. It was not traditional in the form that Rymer outlines, comprising fiction and serial narratives as magazines like *Household Words* had done; and yet, as Figure Five suggests, such magazines were not as popular as *Punch* by the 1850s.

The most significant aspect of the new mass culture in which *Punch* was published was its social diversity. As Anderson has argued:

such a culture was never exclusively the experience of any one group or class, and for this reason 'mass' must be understood to designate multiple social layers. Finally, also significantly, the concept of 'mass'

⁶² *ibid.*, p.237.

⁶³ Andrew King and John Plunkett (eds.), *Victorian Print Media: A Reader* (Oxford: OUP, 2005), p.166.

⁶⁴ *ibid.*, p.166. See also Ian Haywood *The Revolution in Popular Literature: Print, Politics and the People, 1790 – 1860* (2004; reprint, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

⁶⁵ Anderson, *op. cit.*, p.2.

⁶⁶ King and Plunkett, *op. cit.*, pp.170-176.

⁶⁷ *ibid.*, p.175.

carries with it a historical perception of unprecedentedness . . . there was among both the producers and consumers of the emerging culture a shared consciousness that they were participating in a fundamental and far-reaching change in the structure of knowledge and communication.⁶⁸

From Volume One *Punch* declared that it was to be “a weekly sheet of pleasant instruction”, aiming at “a higher object”⁶⁹, affirming the unique contribution the magazine had to make to Victorian culture. In the Preface to Volume Five *Punch* claimed to be “above the meanness of such felonious bashfulness, and throws down a new volume on the counter of the world, as he would lay down a fifty pound note, rustling in all its virgin silveriness from the bank. With every new *tome*, PUNCH feels that he presents a new pleasure to mankind; and therefore, with a pardonable gesture of triumph, twitches his waistband, and looks smiling about him with the sparkling eye of a benefactor!”⁷⁰ The plea to ‘mankind’ denotes a conviction in the magazine’s appeal and the role that it had to play, to “cultivate humility, though like asparagus, at this festive season, he is obliged to force it”.⁷¹ Despite the reluctance of readers to respond to the need for reform, a desire for ‘far reaching change’ is emphasised in *Punch*’s advice on how to ensure “the proper enjoyment of this volume”; that its content should “be comprehended and acted upon by every reader”.⁷² Action was as important as thinking. Thus, *Punch*’s ‘higher object’ was clearly an educative one, to “make you all grow fatter – wiser”⁷³.

Who exactly did *Punch* seek to educate? The all encompassing phrase of ‘mankind’ is ambitious and yet ambiguous. The accompanying illustrations to the Prologue of Volume Five substantiate the claims of the verse whilst also establishing their own narrative level. Text and pictorial representation work independently as well as interdependently. From Figure Six, a variety of readers can be identified by the visual depictions which frame the page, from jovial gentlemen, to the working man in his garret; from ladies in their parlours, to leaders of the world. These figures are all positioned in groups and it is clear that whilst reading may have been an individual experience, *Punch* intended it to be collective; that readers should talk about what they read and saw. In the textual narratives were shared jokes and references from a variety

⁶⁸ Anderson, op. cit., p.11.

⁶⁹ *Punch* 1 (1841), p.1.

⁷⁰ *Punch* 5 (1843), p.iii.

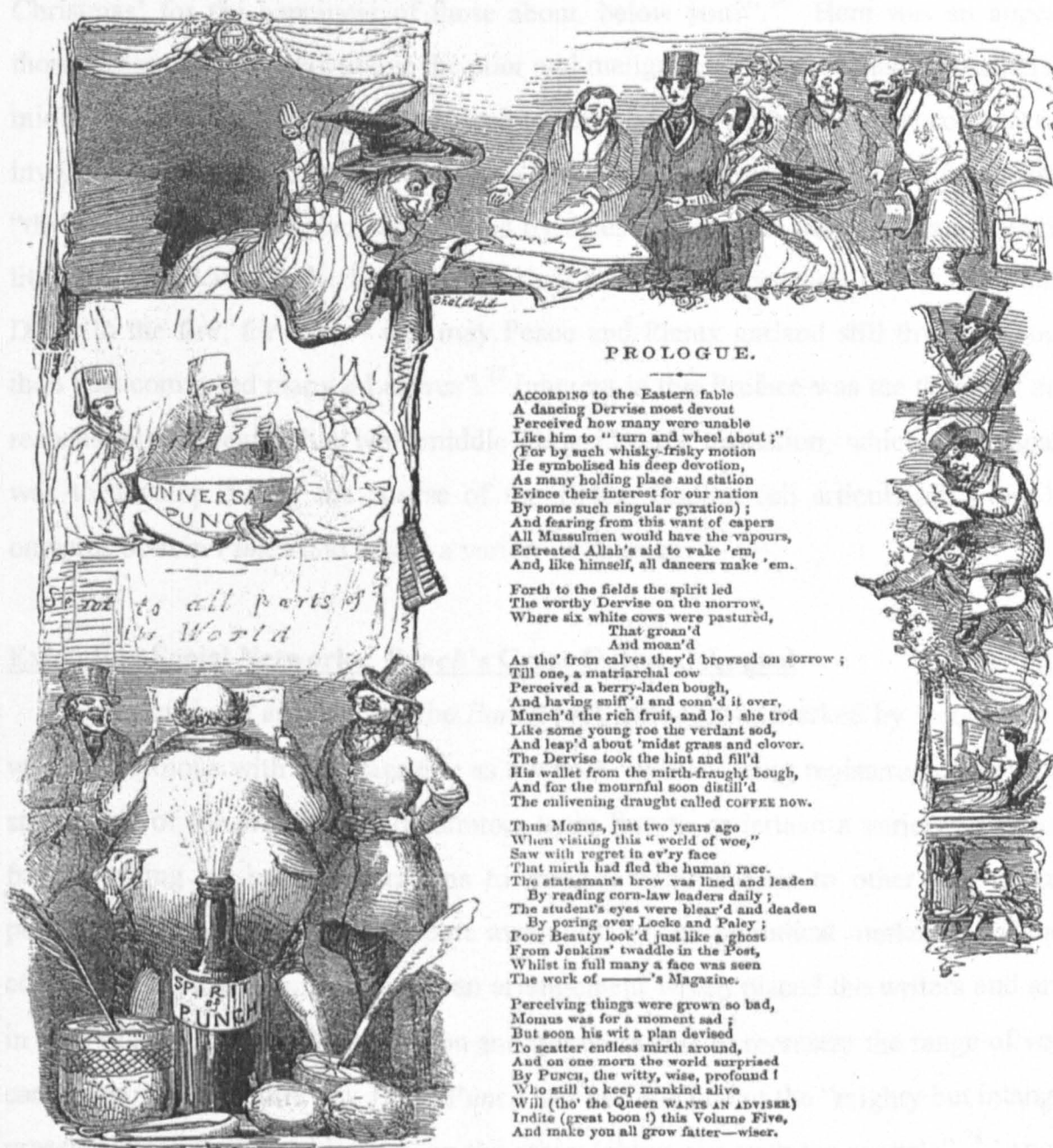
⁷¹ *ibid.*, p.iii.

⁷² *ibid.*, p.iv.

⁷³ *ibid.*, “Prologue” p.1.

of sources, not just those that *Punch* was creating, thus formulating a complex discursive matrix which makes it difficult to isolate any one consistent reader. However, the Prologue of 1843 clearly establishes *Punch*'s desire for a readership across 'multiple social layers', confirming Anderson's claim that a new mass culture was emerging and, simultaneously, a middle class rhetoric of moral leadership.

Fig. 6⁷⁴



PROLOGUE.

ACCORDING to the Eastern fable
A dancing Dervise most devout
Perceived how many were unable
Like him to "turn and wheel about;"
(For by such whisky-frisky motion
He symbolised his deep devotion,
As many holding place and station
Evince their interest for our nation
By some such singular gyration);
And fearing from this want of capers
All Mussulmen would have the vapours,
Entreated Allah's aid to wake 'em,
And, like himself, all dancers make 'em.

Forth to the fields the spirit led
The worthy Dervise on the morrow,
Where six white cows were pastured,
That groan'd
And moan'd
As tho' from calves they'd browsed on sorrow;
Till one, a matriarchal cow
Perceived a berry-laden bough,
And having sniff'd and con'd it over,
Munch'd the rich fruit, and lo! she trod
Like some young roe the verdant sod,
And leap'd about 'midst grass and clover.
The Dervise took the hint and fill'd
His wallet from the mirth-fraught bough,
And for the mournful soon distill'd
The enlivening draught called COFFEE now.

Thus Momus, just two years ago
When visiting this "world of woe,"
Saw with regret in ev'ry face
That mirth had fled the human race.
The statesman's brow was lined and leaden
By reading corn-law leaders daily;
The student's eyes were blear'd and deaden
By poring over Locke and Paley;
Poor Beauty look'd just like a ghost
From Jenkins' twaddle in the Post,
Whilst in full many a face was seen
The work of ———'s Magazine.

Perceiving things were grown so bad,
Momus was for a moment sad;
But soon his wit a plan devised
To scatter endless mirth around,
And on one morn the world surprised
By PUNCH, the witty, wise, profound!
Who still to keep mankind alive
Will (tho' the Queen WANTS AN ADVISER)
Indite (great boon!) this Volume Five,
And make you all grow fatter—wiser.

Much of what is to be gleaned about readership patterns and trends can only be understood from within the pages of the magazine itself: the relationships it sought to acknowledge and foreground through the call for a humanitarian response to poverty and social reform. Those in a position to respond to this appeal were the new middle

⁷⁴ *ibid.*, "Prologue" p.1

classes who were at the heart of redefining the popular and at the forefront of a revolution in mass culture, creating new structures of knowledge and communication. As Swingewood notes “the new popular culture which developed during the nineteenth century was never intended solely for the working class . . . but a new stratum of white-collar workers, both clerical and professional . . . the literate skilled manual worker and this emerging middle class”.⁷⁵ *Punch* stirred the consciousness of its new readership at the close of the Preface for Volume Five, asking “What have you done, this ‘merry Christmas’ for the happiness of those about, below you?”.⁷⁶ Here was an appeal to those classes immediately above the poor and maligned, the skilled manual workers and middle classes. Such groups were depicted as being in a position to become actively involved in the battle against poverty, to show benevolence to those less fortunate, for “thy poorer neighbours, fed and solaced by thee, thou mayest eat snap-dragon with thy little ones; and whilst the lurid flames shall rise about thee, thou needst not think of Dives in the fire; for thou – and may Peace and Plenty garland still thy door-posts – thou hast comforted many a Lazarus”.⁷⁷ Inherent in this Preface was the theme of social responsibility, identifiable with middle class identity formation, which the magazine was to develop during the course of the 1840s, finding full articulation from 1849 onwards both in *Punch* and across a variety of sources.

Extending Social Networks: *Punch*'s Cross Cultural Appeal

As has been ascertained, the *Punch* brotherhood was marked by a cohesion that was synonymous with the magazine as a whole. Whilst being registered on the *Punch* staff many of the writers and illustrators were free to undertake a variety of projects, from working on book illustrations to making contributions to other contemporary periodicals. The result was an acute awareness of the periodical market and *Punch*'s competitors. However, it was also an arrangement which placed the writers and artists in a privileged and informed position and therefore able to represent the range of voices campaigning for reform. By 1849, *Punch* had become one of the “mighty but intangible presences, now on one side, now on the other, taking part with the mortals”.⁷⁸ Another fellow writer of the period who shared *Punch*'s concern for ‘the mortals’ and was instrumental in opening up the social networks in which the *Punch* men circulated was

⁷⁵ Swingewood, op. cit., p.106.

⁷⁶ *Punch* 5 (1843), p.iv.

⁷⁷ *ibid.*, p.iv.

⁷⁸ Ann Ritchie (ed.), *The Biographical Edition of the Works of William Makepeace Thackeray: Vol. VI Contributions to 'Punch' etc.* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1898), p.xvii.

Charles Dickens. His work was the source of many of the intertextual allusions that appeared in *Punch*, including direct satirical references to a number of his novels.

Dickens' collaboration with *Punch* artists began in 1843 with the first in his series of Christmas Books, *A Christmas Carol*. *A Christmas Carol* was the only one of the five Christmas Books illustrated solely by John Leech and he was also the only artist to contribute to all five books.⁷⁹ Fellow *Punch* artist Richard Doyle undertook work on *The Chimes* in 1844, *The Cricket on the Hearth* in 1845 and *The Battle of Life* in 1846.⁸⁰ He was replaced on the fifth book, as he was to be on the *Punch* staff, by John Tenniel who illustrated *The Haunted Man* in 1848.⁸¹ At the 'christening' party for *The Haunted Man* in January 1849 Tenniel was first introduced to the *Punch* social circle. Other guests included Mark Lemon and the *Punch* proprietors William Bradbury and Frederick Mullett Evans.⁸² The Christmas Books also played a role in bringing together Mark Lemon and Dickens, with Lemon dramatising *The Chimes*, along with Gilbert á Beckett, in 1844 and writing his own stage adaptation of *The Haunted Man* in 1848.⁸³ Albert Smith too had been instrumental in moving *The Cricket on the Hearth* onto the stage in 1845.⁸⁴ Further collaborations which demonstrated the continued bond between Dickens and the *Punch* staff included Tom Taylor's adaptation of *A Tale of Two Cities* for the Lyceum Theatre in January 1860.⁸⁵

The theatrical collaborations of the *Punch* brotherhood opened up the social networks in which they mixed. In 1845 Dickens established a theatrical group to raise funds for the dramatist Laman Blanchard's family following his suicide.⁸⁶ This theatrical group consisted largely of members of the *Punch* staff with Mark Lemon, John Leech, Henry Mayhew, Douglas Jerrold and Gilbert á Beckett in the cast of the first production, an adaptation of Ben Jonson's *Every Man in His Humour*.⁸⁷ So successful was the play, that the group made plans to move North with the intention that their repertoire of farces would be performed in Manchester and Liverpool in the

⁷⁹ Michael Patrick Hearn (ed.), *The Annotated Christmas Carol by Charles Dickens* (1976; London: W. M. Norton and Company Inc., 2004), p.xiv.

⁸⁰ Rodney Egen, op. cit., pp.62-63.

⁸¹ Frankie Morris, *Artist of Wonderland: The Life, Political Cartoons, and Illustrations of Tenniel* (Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press, 2005), p.42 and p.124.

⁸² *ibid.*, p.43.

⁸³ Arthur A. Adrian, *Mark Lemon: First Editor of Punch* (London: OUP, 1966), pp.110-111.

⁸⁴ J. W. T. Ley, *The Dickens Circle* (1918; 2nd ed., London: Chapman and Hall, 1919), p.245.

⁸⁵ Peter Ackroyd, *Charles Dickens* (London: Sinclair-Stevenson Ltd., 1990), p.868.

⁸⁶ *ibid.*, p.611.

⁸⁷ *ibid.*, p.470.

summer of 1847,⁸⁸ thus widening their collective influence beyond the immediate confines of the Metropolis. More importantly though, the proceeds of *Every Man in His Humour* were donated to Dr. Southwood Smith's nursing home in London,⁸⁹ establishing a crucial interconnection between health, medicine and the arts which endured and prospered in the 1850s. The artistic groups which Dickens drew together "generated a certain kind of radicalism" that was distinctive of the period.⁹⁰ In the late 1840s there was a growing campaign for reform of the New Poor Law and the repeal of the Corn Laws.⁹¹ The new social network of campaigners sought to radicalise how fiction and art could be used to proselytise for a variety of social reforms and public health was at the core of many of their concerns.⁹²

The success of the 1845 theatrical group resulted in Dickens creating a more permanent organisation, writing a prospectus for a "Provident Union of Literature, Science and Art" in 1847.⁹³ Though nothing came of the project at this time, its intentions exemplify the change of spirit inspired by the need for a collective response to reform which was more discernible from 1849. In its mandate there was a clear desire for uniting the seemingly disparate discursive strands of science and the arts providing further evidence of the wider dialogue that Dickens and the *Punch* brotherhood felt was necessary to promote a more active form of social responsibility in their readers. A part of this vision was met in 1850 with the creation of the Guild of Literature and Art.⁹⁴ Fund raising for the Guild began in 1851 with a specially commissioned play written by Bulwer-Lytton.⁹⁵ New members of the theatrical group included John Tenniel.⁹⁶ Amongst the illustrious list of members were many other eminent Victorian artists and writers including John Forster, G. H. Lewis, Frank Stone, Augustus Egg and others.⁹⁷ Together this group symbolized a wider move towards a new era in the power of culture, specifically fiction and the periodical press, to reach a broader audience. This was crucial in spreading the message of reform and was a

⁸⁸ Adrian, op. cit., p.122.

⁸⁹ *ibid.*, p.122.

⁹⁰ Ackroyd, op. cit., p.471.

⁹¹ *ibid.*, p.472.

⁹² See also the work of Charles Dickens for the Metropolitan Sanitary Association detailed in K. J. Fielding (ed.), *The Speeches of Charles Dickens* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960).

⁹³ Ackroyd, op. cit., p.611.

⁹⁴ The conjoining of Science and the Arts came with the formation of the Social Science Association in 1857 – see Chapter Seven for more details.

⁹⁵ Adrian, op. cit., p.127.

⁹⁶ Morris, op. cit., p.53.

⁹⁷ W. P. Frith, op. cit., p.63.

fundamental contributor in the advancement of public health awareness from 1849, as Chapter Two will highlight.

The 1840s and 1850s were characterised by a distinct shift in the medium as well as content of its satirical works, for “until the mid-nineteenth century Londoners predominantly bought individual images of satire from the print shops and stalls”.⁹⁸ In the early nineteenth century the development of illustrated newspapers and pictorial journals became the main medium for satire, resulting in a wider distribution and “the consumption amongst the metropolis reached a staggering size.”⁹⁹ This fundamental change can be seen in the returns of the *Punch Database on Public Health*. As a new mass culture evolved, the function and contribution of the periodical press came to be as significant and characteristic of the Victorian period as the work of the printmakers had been in the eighteenth century. The early Victorian period in which *Punch* was established was a decisive period in terms of the periodical press and the emergence of new forms of social journalism. A study of *Punch* and its social context during the years 1841-1858 provides a means by which to consider how the cultural diversity of modernity was mediated for mass consumption. As the century progressed images were rarely independent of a book or journal and caricature print shops were rapidly replaced by bookshops and newsstands.¹⁰⁰ This new market required a different kind of reader, literate in verbal and visual allusion.

As a result of the change in form and purpose, the spirit of ‘satire’ became less radical in the nineteenth century. The social purpose of the verbal and the visual was underpinned by a more persuasive rhetoric. With the proliferation of images came a “new conscience, with an almost journalistic and investigative zeal”,¹⁰¹ one of the central discursive strands identifiable in the pages of *Punch*. By 1849 a common language for discussing change was in formation influenced by the medical reports of John Simon, Henry Mayhew’s *Chronicles of the London Poor*, the novels, letters, sermons and lectures of eminent writers such as Charles Kingsley and Charles Dickens. The ‘social voice’ of both *Punch* and the writings that emerged after this period were a direct response to the mediation and debate which existed throughout the 1840s, *Punch*

⁹⁸ Bills, op. cit., p.28.

⁹⁹ *ibid.*, p.28.

¹⁰⁰ *ibid.*, p.33.

¹⁰¹ *ibid.*, p.170.

continuously striving to find the most suitable means by which to proselytise public health reform. By the 1850s the whole tempo of journalism had accelerated sharply, as a direct result of such debates and competition for supremacy.¹⁰²

An understanding of how the culture of satire was created, reformed and adapted allows the reader to move some way towards understanding the complex matrix of discourses utilised by *Punch*. At the same time as the magazine sought to address new 'social structures' it was working within a tradition that had spanned centuries, creating what Crary has described as "a reorganization of vision"¹⁰³. The relationship between text and image that had been important in early satires found an equally important, albeit very different relationship in the nineteenth century. A specific methodology is needed to unlock these texts, incorporating the strategies of verbal and visual interpretation, in order to understand how the interaction between picture and word produced meaning within a network of cultural discourses, for, "representation - whether verbal or visual - is best understood as a social relationship in which various forms of power, knowledge and desire are enacted and disseminated. The marriage of image and text operates within this kind of social structure."¹⁰⁴ By 1849 *Punch* had come together as a cohesive social brotherhood, outliving many of its rivals. In this way it set the 'model and mark' for satirical periodicals.¹⁰⁵ It is only by establishing a method for locating the distinctive features of *Punch*'s verbal visual satire that the modern researcher can move beyond the limitations of quantitative returns and selective reading practices and come to identify with the contemporary Victorian reader whose enjoyment of the magazine made it an enduring cultural institution.

¹⁰² John Gross, *The Rise and Fall of the Man of Letters: Aspects of English Literary Life Since 1800* (London: Weidenfield and Nicolson, 1969), p.62.

¹⁰³ Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992), pp.1-25.

¹⁰⁴ Lorraine Janzen Kooistra, *The Artist as Critic: Bitextuality in Fin-de-Siecle Illustrated Books* (1995; reprint, Hants.: Scolar Press, 1997), p.5.

¹⁰⁵ Bills, op. cit., p.175.

Chapter Two

The Verbal and Visual Dynamics of *Punch*

The power of the verbal visual relationship which *Punch* created was a fundamental part of the character of the magazine. However, images in general have too often been seen as playing a supplementary role to the narrative of a given text, an approach which has originated from studies of book illustration. This is the limitation of traditional illustration for fiction which magazines like *Punch* transcended. As Brian Maidment affirms “there is no such thing as a simple image”.¹ As this chapter will develop, *Punch* was increasingly able to draw on a broad cultural network of interests in public health issues, creating a visual language specific to these concerns. Adapting such debates into a verbal visual form made the topic accessible to a wider audience as an examination of recurring motifs and tropes will demonstrate. The growing popularity of the cartoon, or main cut, from 1843 resulted in a resurgence of interest in the power of the image and a new rhetorical register evolved with the creation of iconic figures like Gog and Magog and Father Thames. This was crucial in ensuring the magazine’s popularity.

As John Buchanan-Brown notes, audiences in the early Victorian period were not “accustomed to creating the mental image from the printed word”; being influenced by the traditions of Hogarth they “were closely attuned to the pictorial symbol”.² From the late 1700s reading was taught through pictures with the growth of alphabet books and even crudely illustrated chapbooks which provided moral and religious instruction.³ The satirical illustrations of *Punch* extended this legacy, developing the narrative(s) of the visual itself. There was a parallel change in how both *Punch* and different networks of reformers were approaching public health campaigns from 1849 which is evident from the returns of the *Punch Database on Public Health*. There are 78 references for 1849, a rise of 41 since the previous year and a dramatic increase of 72 since the reorganisation of the magazine’s staff in 1844. Cholera’s return in 1849 challenged existing beliefs about the transmission of disease that had continued to circulate since

¹ Brian Maidment, *Reading Popular Prints 1790 – 1870* (Manchester: MUP, 1996), p.14.

² John Buchanan-Brown, *Early Victorian Illustrated Books: Britain, France and Germany 1820 – 1860* (London: The British Library, 2005), p.190. See also Q. D. Leavis, “The Dickens Illustrations: Their Function” in F. R. and Q. D. Leavis, *Dickens the Novelist* (1970; Pelican reprint, London: Penguin, 1972), pp.429-479.

³ R. Patten, “Illustrators and Book Illustration” in Paul Schlicke (ed.), *Oxford Reader's Companion to Dickens* (Oxford: OUP, 1999), p.288.

the first epidemic of 1832. The tone and fervour of articles advocating reform acquired new urgency and conviction after this time. *Punch's* approach was distinctive in presenting the reader with information by which to make their own decisions, satirising all schools of thought equally. "Britannia's Thanksgiving Day Dream" (1849) by Tom Taylor and Richard Doyle brought together the variety of themes that the magazine had addressed under the umbrella of public health reform, typifying the form and style that was to become indicative of the magazine.⁴ Doyle's main cut is important because it was using imagery that was distinct and independent from Taylor's narrative poem. Such images present a whole new range of different interpretations about how public health reform was addressed and provide a context for understanding the evolution of social medicine and the duties of social responsibility which *Punch* was advocating.

"Britannia's Thanksgiving Day Dream" (1849)

On November 6th 1849 Queen Victoria proclaimed November 15th a day of Thanksgiving to commemorate the respite of the cholera epidemic.⁵ The day was one of a number of days of thanksgiving that Queen Victoria declared during her reign, usually to acknowledge the end of war or relief from disease.⁶ The public response to her announcement in 1849 was documented across the pages of the periodical press and newspapers. Whilst there was a sense of national relief at the passing of the cholera, there was a renewed conviction that more needed to be achieved, with *The Times* declaring that "unless we steadily set to work, to mend this state of things, then – the truth must be spoken – our prayers will only be vain repetitions and we shall offer what is 'an abomination to the Lord,' viz, 'the sacrifice of fools'".⁷ *Punch* was at the forefront of calling for increased vigilance and the need for continuous action.

After "three sad months" of the horrors of a cholera epidemic, Doyle and Taylor's "Britannia's Thanksgiving Day Dream" encapsulated the variety of discourses with which *Punch* actively engaged and that informed the magazine's treatment of both the debates on the condition of the Thames and the campaign for the removal of Smithfield Market (Figure One). Doyle's main cut was particularly important though as

⁴ *Punch* 17 (1849), pp.206-207.

⁵ *The Times*, Wednesday, November 07, 1849; pg.4; Issue 20327; col. C.

⁶ I am grateful to the Victoria on-line discussion list for their information on the theme of Thanksgiving, particularly Heather Evans, Queen's University Canada, Denis Paz, University of North Texas and Eileen Curran, Colby (enquiry at 17 January 2009). A full archive of all VICTORIA discussion threads are available at <<https://listserv.indiana.edu/>> [accessed July 2009].

⁷ *The Times*, Wednesday, November 07, 1849; pg.4; Issue 20327; col. C.

it featured a number of the recurring motifs that had become synonymous with the magazine since its creation; from Britannia to the Smithfield Bull. *Punch's* combined use of image and text made the piece accessible for those readers already familiar with the magazine's form, as well as more occasional readers whose information on the topic had been gleaned from other contemporary periodicals and newspapers. In this way, the two pieces provide a template for understanding the dynamics of verbal visual representation which contributed to *Punch's* growing cultural appeal.

Fig. 1⁸



BRITANNIA'S THANKSGIVING DAY DREAM.

Independently, each sketch within the main cut developed a sustained rhetoric that had evolved over the eight years since the magazine was first published. Identifying this rhetoric required visual as well as verbal literacy, as the variety of images used did not always find correlation or explanation in the accompanying verse. Recognition was also underpinned by a broader cultural understanding of public health reform with many of the individual sketches within the main cut being informed by wider debates waged in contemporary pamphlets, literature, journalism, lectures and sermons. Intertwined with the visual were textual signifiers in the form of placards and signs which gave an immediate narrative to the individual sketches. A “cheap clothier”

⁸ *Punch* 17 (1849), p.207.

sign served as a reminder of *Punch*'s repeated denunciation of sweated labour following its publication of Thomas Hood's "Song of the Shirt" in 1843.⁹ The sign above the door, "workhouse", made clear the target of the polemic: the officials of the city who placed their "vested right" before the health of the people. Signs for "knackers", "slaughter house" and "Rubbish", identified industries which polluted the air and the water supply and were recurrent images across the magazine's campaign for the removal of Smithfield Market.¹⁰

Just as significant, there were figures in "Britannia's Thanksgiving Day Dream" which derived their meaning predominantly from an intertextual knowledge of *Punch*. The slumped body and tiny children depicted to the left of the image were at the mouth of a sewer, an open drain running down the street. This scene had also been used in *Punch*'s representations highlighting the poor condition of the metropolis' water supply, as Chapters Three and Six discuss. Simultaneously, as this chapter argues, *Punch* engaged with the discourse of social responsibility and concern for the 'innocent' victims of disease. Stephen Inwood states that "infant mortality is a sensitive index of overcrowding, poverty, malnutrition, lack of hygiene, parental ignorance and neglect, and inadequate medical care, and in London's poorest areas, where these conditions prevailed, infant death rates were appalling".¹¹ *Punch* foregrounds this as requiring reform. It was the duty of those in a position to campaign for change, to protect the 'innocents', as Charles Kingsley was to label them in his lecture of 1859 "The Massacre of the Innocents"; the future generations of the metropolis.¹² Mourning for "her children night and day", Britannia, the personified voice of *Punch*, poignantly captured the futility of death as a result of poor sanitation, simultaneously establishing a theme that many of its articles on public health reform were to adopt.

There were also less immediately apparent visual reference points that demonstrate how *Punch* sustained its rhetoric and register of signification. In the top centre of Doyle's main cut, the cattle and drovers were figures used to symbolise concerns surrounding Smithfield Market, though this is not necessarily immediately

⁹ *Punch* 5 (1843), p.260.

¹⁰ All of these topics had been featured extensively across a variety of cultural forms, particularly *The Times* and so spoke through a recognised language and iconography of reform.

¹¹ Stephen Inwood, *A History of London* (1998; Papermac reprint, London: Macmillan, 2000), pp.418-419.

¹² Charles Kingsley, "The Massacre of the Innocents" in *Sanitary and Social Lectures, and Essays* (1880; London: Macmillan, 1895), pp.257-268. For further cultural references on the theme of 'the innocents' see Charles Dickens, *Hard Times* (1854), Chapter Two 'Murdering the Innocents'.

apparent. The images of the graves to the right of Britannia were open to a number of possible interpretations. They could be read more generally as being a symbol of the lives lost during the cholera epidemic, though equally they responded to contemporary fears about overcrowding in the city graveyards, resulting in the pollution of the water supply.¹³ From this variety of readings it is clear that the narrative of the visual image was not fixed. There were a variety of levels on which Doyle's main cut offered meaning, both independently of the text and in an illustrative role to accompany the verse of the same title.

The language of 'thanksgiving' was one that was deployed by a number of other contemporary writers and reformers including Charles Kingsley who wrote a sermon for his parish church in Eversley, Hampshire, entitled "On the Day of Thanksgiving".¹⁴ Kingsley utilised a rhetoric underpinned by a strong moral conviction that sanitary reform must precede all other types of reform. His account of reform was specifically informed by the principles of Christian Socialism which castigated those who worshipped the false idol of Mammon. Instead the Christian Socialists promoted a 'social' and humanitarian response to poverty, both central tenets of social medicine and a sentiment shared by many other writers including Reverend Thomas Beames, Elizabeth Gaskell and Charles Dickens. Though not overtly supporting any one form of religious discipline, *Punch* can most closely be associated with the work of the Christian Socialists. R. G. G. Price notes that "In ecclesiastical affairs *Punch* was Erastian, not because it particularly liked the state but because it mistrusted the church".¹⁵ The influence of Christian Socialism is evident in the personified admonishments of 'Death' in Taylor's verse which preceded the main cut of "Britannia's Thanksgiving Day Dream":

And turning in their trouble unto their God and Lord,
They saw Death sit on Mammon's throne – 'twas Death that they adored.

.....

"What can one day of prayer avail, if from the church ye go

¹³ The *Punch Database on Public Health* demonstrates the range of articles and images that were produced examining this issue (Keywords: Burial Grounds, Church Yards, Graveyards, Sanitary Reform, Undertakers).

¹⁴ Charles Kingsley, "On the Day of Thanksgiving" in *Sermons on National Subjects* (1860; reprint, London: Macmillan, 1880), pp.164-174. The sermon followed three earlier sermons which he had preached at the height of the epidemic and which he was to publish collectively under the title "Who Causes Pestilence?" in 1854 when the 'plague' returned to London once again.

¹⁵ R. G. G. Price, *A History of Punch* (London: Collins, 1957), p.82. An Erastian was one who supported the belief that the church should be governed by the state. This perspective supports the cameralist beliefs of the German system that this chapter will go on to examine.

To your homes unswept, ungarnished, to your world of wealth and wo?
Pray as you will, my stronghold's still in every ditch and drain;
Though now my servants hide their heads, they will come forth again . . .”¹⁶

The worship of false idols and money at a human cost was foregrounded in Taylor's narrative. No one social group was exempt from the attack for disease had affected all from 'the hovel' to the 'hall'. Along with the Christian Socialists, Taylor targeted the short-sighted people who uttered false praise and thanksgiving for deliverance from the epidemic whilst the conditions which contributed to the spread of disease still prevailed. The foreboding words at the close of the stanza promise, "they will come forth again", implying the need for a more preventative response to demands for reform was required, not a reactive one. Such a view rejected mercantilist principles of civil governance in favour of a variant similar to that of cameralism practiced in the German states.

According to the economic historian George Southgate, in order to maintain the working of the city "one of the essentials of power was the maintenance of a large and healthy generation".¹⁷ In addition to the immediate economic imperative there was a fundamental need for social regulation and control. How this was to be achieved was at the heart of debates surrounding public health reform in the mid-nineteenth century and was evident from changes in the style and content of articles on the same subject in *Punch* from 1849. As the introduction to this thesis has outlined, a central principle of cameralism was the concept of 'policing' public health and it was this discourse which informed the change of perspective on reform in Britain.¹⁸ Though predominantly concerned with the administration and centralization of change, the theories of cameralism were underpinned by a belief that if the welfare of society was maintained, this would in turn conserve the state.¹⁹ A healthy and able-bodied population was needed to contribute to the national economy through labour and consumption. However, a variety of reports on London's population in the 1840s revealed a malnourished nation, unfit for labour and the future growth of the economy. Such

¹⁶ *Punch* 17 (1849), p.206.

¹⁷ George W. Southgate *English Economic History* (1934; reprint, London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1960), p.69.

¹⁸ These principles were most clearly articulated in Johann Frank's five volume work on the Prussian states, *A System of Complete Medical Police*, published between 1779 and 1827. See Erna Lesky (ed.), *A System of Complete Medical Police - Selections from Johann Peter Frank* (Maryland: John Hopkins University Press, 1976).

¹⁹ George Rosen, *From Medical Police to Social Medicine: Essays on the History of Health Care* (New York: Science History Publications, 1974), p.122.

concerns for the future of the country resulted in the humanitarian calls for reforms emerging in many novels and magazines of the period, particularly *Punch*.

In addressing fears for the city's future, the rhetoric of social responsibility²⁰ was deployed by many reformers as well as *Punch*, to unite men in a "bond of brotherhood", urging them to learn from the epidemic and "to find in common grief the seeds of common good".²¹ In the personified hope of Britannia, *Punch* constructed a vision of nationhood which united rich and poor, North and South in the shared rhetoric of sanitary reform. Even for those reading outside of the metropolis, a verbal and visual iconography associated with the topic had been established, one that could be shared and experienced by a nation living with the same sanitary problems of poor water and overcrowded streets. The reading public were being called to unite, to "unlearn that sinful selfishness" and come together to aid in the policing of reform. The belief that knowledge afforded people the power to control their own fate influenced many of the middle class writers and reformers in Britain during the 1840s and 1850s.²² As *Punch* asserted, ignorance lay behind death and disease and mankind must move on to "Build homes for toil where toil may live in decency and health./ Let ignorance and want have tithe of knowledge and of wealth".²³

A comprehensive system of medical police still continued to be hindered by a lack of understanding about the cause of disease. Acknowledgement of the resulting public confusion remained at the core of *Punch's* satire from the late 1840s as "Medicine, helpless, groped and guessed, and tried all arts to save,/But the dead carried with them their secret to the grave".²⁴ In fiction and the periodical press writers and artists drew on the language of both contagionist and anti-contagionist schools of thought, unsure of the resolution to the pervasive social crisis surrounding public health. However, one conclusion that came to unite many reformers by 1849 was that the physical environment had an effect on the spread of disease, a belief propagated by *Punch* in Taylor's verse as the character of Death admonished the population of the

²⁰ The rhetoric of 'social responsibility' can be seen as an extension of the principles of German paternalism which were brought to London from Edinburgh by the graduates educated in the field of medical jurisprudence, see the introduction for further detail.

²¹ *Punch* 17 (1849), p.206.

²² Writers such as Charles Kingsley and Elizabeth Gaskell published *Yeast* and *Mary Barton* in 1848. These novels not only gave articulation to rural problems, but also represented the corresponding problems experienced in the North and the South.

²³ *Punch* 17 (1849), p.206.

²⁴ *ibid.*, p.206.

metropolis for “feed[ing] his hoard” in the “foul sty where sire and son, mother and maiden slept”.²⁵ In its outrage against the conditions in which the poor lived and worked, *Punch*’s response was part of a collective move to proselytise the need for a more cohesive system of reform and social responsibility facilitated by a growth of public knowledge and education.

Protecting ‘the Innocents’: the Rhetoric of Cameralism

The underlying aim of cameralism can be defined as the protection of those who suffered as a result of bureaucratic decision making. This principle was shared by many of the metropolis’ sanitarians in the 1840s and 1850s whose work was marked by mounting criticism over the “confusion of jurisdictions” amongst London’s administrative government.²⁶ There was a wide-spread belief across the popular press that the monopoly of the Corporation and the protection of vested interests hindered a systematic approach to reform. This problem was nowhere more apparent than in *Punch*’s increasingly unsympathetic representations of the corpulent Aldermen who governed the City’s square mile.²⁷ The resolution for some reformers was centralisation, whilst other popular authors vehemently opposed it, fearing the growth of an even larger bureaucracy. In contrast, *Punch*’s response was not to advocate a solution but rather to satirise the cause of the debate: the City of London Aldermen, their familiarly corpulent figure replicated in the centre of Doyle’s cartoon. Vested interests in the Corporation of London obstructed the complete implementation of the cameralist ideal for over fifty years, resulting in a lack of unity across the campaign as a whole.²⁸ However, it was not the science of administration which concerned popular writers and illustrators of the mid-nineteenth century, but rather the effect that the absence of organised social reform had on the victims of disease and poverty, the ‘innocents’.

The cultural pervasiveness of this approach was manifest in a variety of ways in *Punch*. One method was to respond to and engage with contemporary texts that were identified as sharing similar concerns; those texts that provided a commentary on the same problems observed by the *Punch* staff and their readers alike. *Punch* would

²⁵ *ibid.*, p.206.

²⁶ Linda Nead, *Victorian Babylon: People, Streets and Images in Nineteenth Century London* (Reprint, London: Yale University Press, 2005), p.17.

²⁷ See Chapter Four.

²⁸ Nead, *op. cit.*, p.17. Such examples include the parishes, vestries and boroughs that were responsible for the running and governing of the city.

affiliate itself with the sentiments of a range of novels, artworks and poetry of the period, particularly the work of the writers and artists that the staff were involved with on a range of other projects. A particularly influential figure who enjoyed a unique relationship with the *Punch* staff, as outlined in Chapter One, was Charles Dickens. His novel *Dombey and Son*, published in twenty monthly parts from 1846 to 1848, was widely acclaimed. It marked the distinct shift in the rhetoric of change which *Punch* had also sought to capture in the development of its verbal visual representation of current themes and topics. Significantly, it was also the first novel published by Bradbury and Evans, reinforcing the important contribution that the publishing house played in the changing character of reform at this time.²⁹ Dickens' novel embraced cameralist ideals in its examination of the destructive qualities of man being driven solely by economic imperatives and advocated a more humanitarian approach to life and work. In this aim Dickens shared a very particular passion with many of the *Punch* brotherhood.³⁰ 'Dombeyism', as it was coined by the critic Edgar Johnson,³¹ raised the wider question of how to reconcile a singular vision motivated by economics with an awareness of social consequence, for "one of the main tendencies of Dombeyism, [was] the readiness to reduce human beings to an economic function".³² In his 'servile worship' of money, and his preoccupation with the firm of Dombey and Son, Mr Dombey had become a 'prisoner to one idea'; that of his own success.³³ The victims were his children, Florence and Paul who both suffered from their lack of childhood.³⁴

Dickens' novels reveal a close relationship between the author and the illustrator. However, Phiz's illustrations for *Dombey and Son* began to challenge the actual role of the image in relation to the text (Figure Two). This paralleled the changes

²⁹ Dickens signed a contract for *The Chimes* with Bradbury and Evans on 1 June 1844. A celebratory dinner ratifying the association included many of the foremost *Punch* contributors who were to become Dickens' friends and fellow thespians over the next few years. R. Patten, "Bradbury and Evans" in Schlicke (ed.), op. cit., p.54.

³⁰ Dickens' work on this novel interrupted the series of Christmas Books he was collaborating on with the *Punch* illustrators, the final book *The Haunted Man* not being published until 1848.

³¹ Edgar Johnson, *Charles Dickens: His Tragedy and Triumph Vol. 2* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1952), p.635.

³² Hillel Matthew Daleski, *Dickens and the Art of Analogy* (London: Faber and Faber, 1970), p.127.

³³ A greed for 'money' and pecuniary advancement was commonly represented through the figure of Mammon, most notably, in Carlyle's *Past and Present* (1843) and frequently characterised in *Punch*, references to which are also included in "Britannia's Thanksgiving Day Dream", see above.

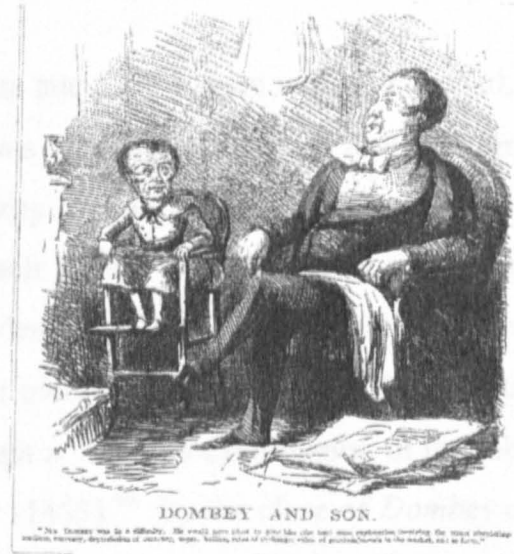
³⁴ For further discussion of the definition and representation of childhood both in Dickens' novels and during the Victorian period, see Malcolm Andrews, *Dickens and the Grown-Up Child* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1994); Laura C. Berry, *The Child, the State and the Victorian Novel* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2000) and W. S. Jacobson (ed.), *Dickens and the Children of Empire* (London: Palgrave, 2000).

that were occurring in *Punch*'s verbal visual dynamic. In 1847 Leech parodied one of Phiz's illustrations for Dickens' *Dombey and Son* (Figure Three).

FIG. 2³⁵



FIG. 3³⁶



His choice of image is significant for it was over the illustration of Mrs. Pipchin that Dickens and 'Phiz' had disagreed. In a letter to Forster, Dickens lamented the illustration's deviation from the text, though he had to admit that independent of the text, it was still able to convey the same message albeit in a different mode.

I can't say what pain and vexation it is to be so utterly misrepresented. I would cheerfully have given a hundred pounds to have kept this illustration out of the book. He never could have got that idea of Mrs Pipchin if he had attended to the text. Indeed, I think he does it better without the text; for then the notion is made easy to him in short description, and he can't help taking it in.³⁷

Just as this misunderstanding between Dickens and 'Phiz' marked a distinct turn in their relationship, it also demonstrated that illustration was gaining independence from the text. Leech marked this change by further adapting the image, replacing Mrs. Pipchin with the figure of Dombey himself, the embodiment of 'Dombeyism'. Though the actual theme of the cartoon was Russell's succession from Peel, the main cut demonstrated the prominence of shared cultural references informed by cameralist concerns about governance, for whoever was to succeed had to take on this mantle and advance the cause of sanitary reform.³⁸ However, the choice of image that Leech used

³⁵ Charles Dickens, *Dombey and Son* (1848; London: Penguin, 1970), p.165.

³⁶ *Punch* 13 (1847), p.75.

³⁷ Leavis, *ibid.*, p.454.

³⁸ The image of Paul Dombey was used to parody John Russell who was frequently represented as a small boy and the figure of Dombey had the features of Peel. For further discussion of this and other Dickens

for this parody made a statement about the authority and changing role of the artist from 1849. The image was becoming liberated from the text making it the most accessible and flexible form to represent the range of different perspectives on public health reform that needed to be addressed.

As the cultural climate in which Dickens and *Punch* were writing changed, so too did public responses to reform. There was a collective move towards direct intervention and away from mere acts of charity. From the beginning *Punch* had recognised the need for a more active approach to the demand for social reform; however for writers like Dickens, this acknowledgment came later. It was only in *Dombey and Son* that he “achieved his first clear picture of the workings of a monetary society” which he then went on to develop through a “detailed examination of the rotten workings of the social system”³⁹ in *Bleak House* (1853).⁴⁰ By the close of *Dombey and Son*, Dickens, like *Punch*, was foregrounding a parallel concern for the all-consuming power of money and the ignorance and lack of awareness that it generated. However, it was only in *Bleak House* that he truly identified the depth of these problems and the actual victims of Dombeyism; the working classes and ‘innocents’ that *Punch* had been striving to depict since Leech’s main cut “Substance and Shadow” (1843). Dickens’ work further exemplifies the shift of spirit and rhetoric that was discernible from 1849.⁴¹ Writing in 1852 following the second major cholera outbreak, the subject matter of *Bleak House* clearly focused on the principles of social medicine and cameralism. It revealed more explicitly the proximity of disease to all classes, warning of the imminent dangers of swaddling such issues in “Red Tape”.⁴²

The vested interests of the Corporation that *Punch* had been depicting were also mirrored by Dickens in *Bleak House* through the vices of Chancery and the protracted case of Jarndyce and Jarndyce. However, the enduring symbol of poverty in the novel

parodies see Richard D. Altick, *Punch: The Lively Youth of a British Institution 1841 – 1851* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1997), pp.106-111.

³⁹ Johnson, op. cit., p.801.

⁴⁰ Charles Dickens, *Bleak House* (1853; reprint, London: Penguin Classics, 1996)

⁴¹ The Tooting disaster of January 1849 was a contributory factor in Dickens’ heightened indignation at the social cost of cholera and poor sanitation. One hundred and fifty helpless pauper children were killed at a commercial baby farm, despite warnings from inspectors, which reinforced people’s awareness of the vulnerability of innocent children and babies. Norris Pope, “Public Health, Sanitation and Housing” in Paul Schlicke (ed.), op. cit., p.472.

⁴² “Red Tape” was the title and focus of a discursive piece on sanitary reform which Dickens wrote for his weekly periodical *Household Words* 2:47 (February 15 1851) which established the themes he was to develop in his later novels like *Bleak House* (1853) and *Our Mutual Friend* (1865).

is Jo, the crossing sweeper, for “what Jo epitomizes is helplessness”.⁴³ In this representation Dickens captured the rhetoric of the innocents that *Punch* too had depicted in the small children playing at the mouth of the open drain in “Britannia’s Thanksgiving Daydream”. Jo is described by Dickens as being “dirty, ugly, disagreeable to all the senses, in body a common creature of the common streets, only in soul a heathen. Homely filth begrimes him, homely parasites devour him, homely sores are in him, homely rags are on him: native ignorance, the growth of English soil and climate, sinks his immortal nature lower than the beasts that perish”.⁴⁴ The repetition of the word ‘homely’ clearly located blame with ministers and reformers who busied themselves with affairs abroad when much work was still to be achieved in England. However, the degraded image that Dickens portrayed through this emotive rhetoric was not so easily discernible in the image of Jo that Phiz sketched for the frontispiece of the novel (Figure 4).

Fig. 4⁴⁵



Fig. 5⁴⁶



Contrasting Phiz’s representation of Jo with the figure of the crossing-sweeper foregrounded at the centre of *Punch*’s main cut, “A Court for King Cholera” (Figure 5), published in the same year that *Bleak House* was first serialised, demonstrates the increasingly authoritative role that the visual had come to hold in highlighting the social cost of poor sanitation. In the novel, the illustration has become ‘divorced’ from the

⁴³ Nicola Bradbury, “Introduction” to Dickens, *BH*, op. cit., p.xxv.

⁴⁴ Dickens, *BH*, *ibid.*, p.724.

⁴⁵ *ibid.*, p.3.

⁴⁶ *Punch* 23 (1852), p.139 (detail).

actual rhetoric of the text Dickens had created, whilst the figure in *Punch* had the potential to create a closer empathy with the reality it depicted.

The crossing sweeper was a figure who stood on the margins of society, one who transgressed social boundaries.⁴⁷ His move to being the subject of scrutiny served to educate readers and responded to the need for understanding who exactly the victims of poor sanitation were. In *Punch*'s full main cut (Figure 6) he was at the centre watching on, with a pensive and wistful look on his face, his belly swollen with malnutrition. His gaze drew the reader to a group of children playing with a rat, traditionally a symbol associated with squalor, at home in this image with the filth and the mire in which they squatted.

Fig. 6⁴⁸



A COURT FOR KING CHOLERA.

Another group of children were 'playing' on a dunghill to the bottom left of the image, visually reinforcing the references alluded to in the verse of "Britannia's Thanksgiving Day Dream" three years earlier. The innocent victims of disease were foregrounded at the centre of the crowded image. Children of all ages are depicted, with four being carried, three, including a small infant, playing on the floor and ten 'gazing' on the sight

⁴⁷ Suzanne Nunn, "A Court for King Cholera" in Clare Horrocks (ed.), *Journal of Popular Narrative Media* 2:1 (Spring 2009), pp.5-22. (See Appendix Eleven).

⁴⁸ *Punch* 23 (1852), p.139.

before them, directing the reader's gaze to the sights that *Punch* wishes readers to observe and acknowledge. The poignancy of the scene was reinforced through the smiling faces of the children in the far left of the image, adjacent to the dunghill; they innocently play on, not realising, like the young ones at the centre of the image, that they are literally 'playing' with death. An infant size coffin in the middle right of the image represented the fate reserved for many of the young at this time. To the rear of the image the crowded buildings and lodging houses drew attention to the 'dark' streets and alleyways also present in the sketch of Tom-all-Alones portrayed by Phiz in *Bleak House* (Figure 7).

Fig. 7⁴⁹



However, in Phiz's illustration the darkness consumes and hides the secrets that lie behind the ugly facades of the building, the only discernible feature being the pawnbroker's sign in the centre of the image; a symbol of the impoverished cycle of destitution in which the inhabitants existed. *Punch's* representation brought a more personalised tone to the scene, presenting instantly recognisable images of people

⁴⁹ Dickens, *BH*, op. cit., p.709.

identifiable from within *Punch* (in the initial letters, the major and social cuts), as well as from the streets their readers traversed. The wretchedness of the woman depicted immediately in front of the child's coffin suggests that she is a woman who has fallen from station, the hair and necklace the only remaining symbols of what she once had, rags now barely covering her ample bosom as she suckles her child. Clearly poverty and disease presented a very proximate threat to all of society, not just its labouring population.

Rhetorically the title of *Punch's* main cut played on the illusions of grandeur generally concomitant with the term "Court" which was sharply contrasted with the reality that the image conveyed. Within the context of the magazine's targets of criticism, there were parallels to be drawn with the 'courts' held by the various governing monopolies of the Corporation of London. However, the reference was anchored by the text which accompanied the image, though it had a separate title: "King Cholera to his Liege Friends in England".⁵⁰ As with many of the lead pieces on health reform, the verse was written by Tom Taylor; the 'court' hosting the faithful followers of their 'King' who reigned over them, sharing personified similarities with the figure of "Death" that had been used to admonish readers in "Britannia's Thanksgiving Day Dream". The changing interaction of the verbal visual was emphasised in this text, for the verse preceded the image and did not directly serve to illuminate the illustration. Though they shared the same theme each piece could exist independently of the other. Indeed, the complex variety of narratives embedded in the main cut most immediately conveyed the extent of the social problems that were generated by poor sanitation, particularly for those too young to control their own fate.

Taylor's narrative poem directly responded to the imminent threat of a third cholera epidemic. As King Cholera "girds up his loins for his struggle", stanza seven would appear to suggest that progress had been made in the battle against disease and epidemic.⁵¹ However, this illusion was shattered in stanzas eight, nine and ten where it was evident that little had been achieved in practice, though the principles may have seemed attainable. The cameralist ideals of systematic administration had clearly not been achieved and *Punch* had no hesitation in laying the blame at the doors of those who sought to retain their monopolies in the face of the advancement and amelioration

⁵⁰ *Punch* 23 (1852), p.138.

⁵¹ *ibid.*, p.138.

of the administrative system: “Old friends, still be sturdy and mulish:/On self-government stand,/And let him sweep the land,/And be still penny-wise and pound-foolish!”.⁵² As resistance persisted, *Punch*’s premonition that ‘King Cholera’ would once again take England in the “grip of his blue five fingers” came true in 1854, demonstrating once again that much still remained to be achieved in the campaign for public health reform.⁵³

Contemporary cultural concerns for the future generations of the metropolis being born in the hotbeds of fever and contagion were shared by journalists and writers like Mayhew and Kingsley. Both men had close connections with the *Punch* brotherhood, Mayhew being one of the founding figures of the magazine.⁵⁴ After leaving *Punch* in 1845 he extended his work for the *Morning Chronicle*, writing a series of articles “on that part of London life which was almost as foreign to the well-to-do citizens of Mayfair and Belgravia and the genteel suburbs as life in the most remote provinces of China . . . the day-to-day existence of the poor”.⁵⁵ Written in 1849, the articles were collected and published in two volumes entitled *London Labour and the London Poor* in 1851.⁵⁶ Together they captured and contributed to the changing vocabulary for understanding poverty and disease. This was nowhere more apparent than in Mayhew’s feature of 24 September 1849, “A Visit to the Cholera Districts of Bermondsey”.⁵⁷ The area of Jacob’s Island, located on the banks of the Thames, had been the site where the cholera epidemic began in 1832 and it had returned there in the epidemic of 1848-49. As early as 1837 Charles Dickens had attempted to capture the poverty and destitution of the area in his novel *Oliver Twist*, utilising the image of the innocent child to reinforce the poignancy of the scene in a way which writers and illustrators were to more consistently replicate in the 1840s and 1850s.

⁵² *ibid.*, p.138.

⁵³ *ibid.*, p.138.

⁵⁴ In *Charles Kingsley: His Letters and Memories of his Life* (edited by his wife, Fanny Kingsley) (London: Macmillan, 1895) Kingsley makes numerous references to the progress that he and Tom Taylor were making in the advancement of sanitary knowledge, commenting specifically on Taylor’s role on the *Punch* staff. He also went on to enjoy professional relationships with John Tenniel and Linley Sambourne who was to illustrate *The Water Babies* in 1865.

⁵⁵ Christopher Hibbert (ed.), *London Characters and Crooks* by Henry Mayhew (1996; Third Printing, London: The Folio Society, 1999), p.xii.

⁵⁶ A third volume was later published in 1861 and a fourth in 1862, for further details see Hibbert’s introduction to *London Characters and Crooks*.

⁵⁷ Henry Mayhew, “A Visit to the Cholera Districts of Bermondsey”, (ed. Humphreys, A.) *Voices of the Poor: Selections From the Morning Chronicle: ‘Labour and the Poor’ (1849-1850)* (London: Caliban Books, 1980), pp.3-5.

Three significant writers who returned to examine the subject of Jacob's Island in 1849 were Mayhew, the Reverend Thomas Beames in his social investigation entitled *The Rookeries of London: Past, Present, and Prospective*, and Charles Kingsley in his novel *Alton Locke*. Both Mayhew and Beames revealed the suffering of small children and babies, reinforcing a consistent adherence and commitment to the cameralist ideal of protecting the health of future generations. The topic of the condition of Jacob's Island fed into contemporary debates about the polluted water from the Thames, the descriptions of the crowded banks echoing the consistent backdrop that *Punch's* main cuts on Father Thames depicted.⁵⁸ In one particular scene Mayhew targeted his disgust at the conditions which meant people had to drink from the same water that slops were emptied into. The inhumanity of the situation was highlighted through his observation of a young girl:

As we passed along the reeking banks of the sewer the sun shone upon a narrow slip of the water. In the bright light it appeared the colour of strong green tea, and positively looked as solid as black marble in the shadow - indeed it was more like watery mud than muddy water; and yet we were assured this was the only water the wretched inhabitants had to drink. . . . And yet, as we stood doubting the fearful statement, we saw a little child, from one of the galleries opposite, lower a tin can with a rope to fill a large bucket that stood beside her . . . As the little thing dangled her tin cup as gently as possible into the stream, a bucket of night-soil was poured down from the next gallery.⁵⁹

Repetition of the word 'little' emphasised the 'innocence' and vulnerability of those born into a world that continued to struggle with the extensive problems generated by poor sanitation. The word 'gently' suggested a care that small children should not have had to consider, for one can imagine that drawing water was a skilful job, having to be careful not to stir up an excess of sediment.⁶⁰ There was also the contrast between the small child and the large bucket emphasising the enormity of the task she was faced with. A similar image was captured by *Punch* in 1851 as part of its review of Session (Figure 8).⁶¹ The figure of the child sifting at the mouth of an open drain while others stood by and watched continued to reinforce the social cost of delaying reform through the more accessible medium of the image and its immediately recognisable iconography.

⁵⁸ For specific examples see Chapters Three, Six and Seven.

⁵⁹ Henry Mayhew, "A Visit to the Cholera Districts of Bermondsey", op. cit., p.37.

⁶⁰ For further discussion of this problem see the documentary *The Great Stink* (Uden Associates, 2002) Channel Five.

⁶¹ *Punch* 21 (1851), p.84.



Fig. 8⁶²

Kingsley's response to the "untold horrors" of Jacob's Island revealed in Mayhew's work was to begin an active campaign for the provision of drinking water to the district. Susan Chitty argues that his second novel *Alton Locke* (1850) played a major part of this campaign.⁶³ Many of the passages echoed Mayhew's concerns, especially the isolation of the island, separated from the Metropolis by the low wooden-bridges as though the island were in quarantine. The "rickety bridges" and balconies were depicted throughout *Alton Locke* particularly in the scene where the character Downes threw himself from the balcony overlooking the river into the mire that ran below his window. In this scene Kingsley sought to draw attention to the cause of the pollution, the decay that caused the water to lie "olive-green" below the balcony; the "oily ripples" from local industry, the "lumps of offal" from local markets and abattoirs and "the bloated carcasses of dogs" which had suffered a horrendous death from inhaling the "hot breaths of miasma". This scene was not a new revelation though, for the problems Kingsley highlighted were already being discussed in periodicals and newspapers. *Punch* had started to capture the same image, with corresponding detail, in its main cut of 1848 "Dirty Father Thames". Such imagery was further developed in 1850, the year that *Alton Locke* was published, with the Almanack illustration entitled "Sanitary and Insanitary Matters".⁶⁴ Kingsley's novel can be understood as exemplifying the collective shift to a humanitarian approach to reform. Proselytising

⁶² *ibid.*, p.84.

⁶³ Susan Chitty, *Charles Kingsley's Landscape* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1976), p.45.

⁶⁴ For further discussion of representations of Father Thames and debates about the supply of water to the Metropolis, see Chapters Three, Six and Seven.

cameralist principles of prevention and the need for a systematic response to matters of public health it conjoined with the campaign that *Punch* had started in the 1840s. The widening scrutiny that the topic received across fiction and other cultural forms facilitated *Punch* to move on and develop a more distinctive response through its verbal visual representation.

'Policing' Reform: the Rhetoric of Social Responsibility

Reviewing Chadwick's 1842 Report as the preliminary Bill which was to become the 1848 Public Health Act, the *Westminster Review* published an important piece entitled "The Medical Police of the United Kingdom" in 1846.⁶⁵ It identified five functions of the medical police, "1. Medical economy, or government; 2. Medical education; 3. Forensic Medicine; 4. Eleemosynary medicine;⁶⁶ 5. Medical (or, more properly, health) police."⁶⁷ Underpinning all five functions was an imperative for education and organization and this was especially important for the implementation of 'medical police'. As Ludmilla Jordanova notes "education and knowledge were the keys to self-improvement".⁶⁸ As a new, more social, form of medicine evolved, this information was increasingly available from fiction and the periodical press. Mr. Punch himself featured in a range of pieces as the authoritative voice calling for reform, monitoring the condition of the Metropolis as Chapter Five will demonstrate. Fellow writer Dickens was also prominent in debates about medical police addressing readers' fears of social proximity in an attempt to encourage change as an analysis of his articles in *Household Words* demonstrates. As Stone states in his introduction to *The Uncollected Writings of Charles Dickens*, "whatever the reform, whether it be of prisons, schools, working conditions or bureaucracies, the means of achieving it [for Dickens] was always the same: group action and individual involvement".⁶⁹ In this approach Dickens shared the sentiments which were so prominent in *Punch*.

The rhetoric of policing and social responsibility developed by Dickens and other writers cohered in 1848 in *Punch*'s report on "A Sanitary Police" (Figure 9). Though Friedrich Engels had referred to the need for a 'sanitary police' to monitor the

⁶⁵ "The Medical Police of the United Kingdom" *Westminster Review* LXXXIX (1846), pp.56-88.

⁶⁶ Eleemosynary, or charitable, medicine, extended and developed the rhetoric that the New Poor Law can be seen to have embraced and which Chadwick developed in his 1842 Report.

⁶⁷ *Westminster Review*, op. cit., pp.58-59.

⁶⁸ Ludmilla J. Jordanova, "Medical Police and Public Health: Problems of Practice and Ideology" *Bulletin (Society for the Social History of Medicine)* 27 (1980), p.16.

⁶⁹ Harry Stone (ed.), *The Uncollected Writings of Charles Dickens: Household Words 1850-1859* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1968), p.55.

metropolis in 1845 in *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*, the English translation was not released in London until 1891. Engels' work was informed by the German principles of social medicine which were becoming well known in the early Victorian period. *Punch* was the first magazine in England to use the alternative title 'sanitary police', instead of the more frequently used phrase, 'medical police'. The popularisation of the term and its principles influenced the later work of professionals like Dr. Robert Druitt and the social investigator George Godwin in *London Shadows: a Glance at the Homes of Thousands* (1854). *London Shadows* was a collection of Godwin's writings for *The Builder* on slum over crowding and the need for sanitary reform and was a testimony to the increased profile that the subject of public health received from 1849.

"A Sanitary Police" (1848) filled one full column of *Punch*, interweaving the verbal and visual narrative down the length of one half of the page. The images ran sequentially with the first presenting 'a discovery' which required removal by 'Dusty Bob' who waited in the rear of the image;⁷⁰ the second, 'an inspection', also engaged with contemporary debates about food adulteration and contamination;⁷¹ the third, 'the effect' of contamination, responded to the anti-contagionist rhetoric that filth spontaneously produced miasma, or odours, which carried disease; the final image, 'the remedy', suggested methods for cleansing, the 'VR' regal crest on the box implying that the 'sanitary police' were agents of the state, anchoring the allusion within the German principles of cameralism outlined earlier. Though the text supplemented the narrative sequence of the visual imagery, it was in no way essential for understanding the message; that vigilance and observation were a fundamental element of implementing a complete system of medical police. Indeed, so crucial was this principle that Mr. Punch himself went on to become an active agent of policing, monitoring the welfare of the city. Protests against such a system on the grounds of cost were mocked by *Punch*, suggesting such expenses would only consist of the investment in "a shovel and a box of disinfecting agents". The text itself raised further questions of what exactly was meant by 'crime' and how far the duties of the 'police' should be extended. Drawing on the vocabulary of common street crime, talking of 'thieves', of 'moving on' nuisances, the text suggested that poor sanitation and the conditions of poverty were themselves

⁷⁰ For further discussion of representations of 'dustmen' and the figure of 'Dusty Bob' in the graphic press, see Brian Maidment, *Dusty Bob: A Cultural History of Dustmen, 1780 – 1870* (Manchester: MUP, 2007).

⁷¹ For further examples see Anthony Wohl, *Endangered Lives: Public Health in Victorian and Edwardian England* (London: J. M. Dent, 1983).

'criminal' and that 'crime' required redefinition if a system of policing was to be effective.

Fig. 9⁷²

A SANITARY POLICE.



The noble art of Self-Defence was never more nobly put into practice than it is at present, being brought into operation against those inveterate foes to the human race—Filth and Malaria. We should, however, suggest that, to facilitate the arrangements of the General Board of Health, a Sanitary Police Force should be at once organised. This corps might be empowered to order the stagnant pool to move on, and in case of unlawful assemblages of large vegetable bodies, the sanitary policeman should have instructions to take them up at once without any other warrant.

We are great enemies to anything decidedly inquisitorial, but we think it would not be altogether unconstitutional to allow a right of search into any receptacle for hot pies where the inmates are suspected to be in bad odour.



Large crowds of persons in small houses or single rooms might be declared illegal, and power should be given to the sanitary police to call upon them to disperse, while the law of arrest should at once be put in force against anything in the shape of a pestilential vapour. Open drains, in a state of open defiance, under the very nose of the authorities, ought at once to be subjected to close confinement, and the policeman should at once rush upon the offensive grating, however grating it might prove to his own nasal feelings. Every offensive sty

should be got out of the public eye, and care should be taken to prevent unlawful assemblages of the swinish multitude in thickly-populated neighbourhoods.

The necessary accoutrements for such a Force as we suggest would be in the first instance somewhat costly, consisting, as they should do, of a shovel and a box of disinfecting agents; but we are quite sure that such a police would protect us against the most formidable class of thieves, namely, those that come to rob us of our health, which we all know is more valuable to us than our very best set of albatra spoons, for the protection of which we have paid in police-rate nearly nine times their original cost, and are still paying twice their value per annum.



This theme was developed by Dr. Robert Druitt in "Short Notes on Some of the Details of Sanitary Police" (1855) in the *Journal of Public Health and Sanitary Review*, where he stated:

⁷² *Punch* 15 (1848), p.207.

It cannot therefore be a perfect system of police, under which masses of a town population can be allowed to grow up in ignorance, idleness, and vice, ready to prey like vermin on the industrious and frugal . . .⁷³

Once again the need to conquer ‘ignorance’ was foregrounded, acknowledging the role that education must take in creating a social ‘revolution’ of thought and action which would facilitate the implementation of ‘a sanitary police’. It is in this desire for a ‘social revolution’, for a more proactive and systematic response to reform, that *Punch*’s purpose can be identified.

In March 1850 Dickens advertised his new periodical *Household Words* as a journal that “was to help in the discussion of the most important social questions of the time”.⁷⁴ *Punch*’s popularisation of the discourse of surveillance and policing, discussed further in Chapter Five, is evident in Dickens’ series of ‘detective’ stories that appeared in *Household Words* from 1850 to 1853.⁷⁵ It is clear that one of the essential “social questions” that Dickens wished to address was the topic of sanitary reform; how disease could be ‘detected’, controlled and essentially eradicated. Many of the lead articles for the magazine were written by Dickens and demonstrated his continued interest in ‘policing’ the sanitary condition of the Metropolis. This concern was shared by the mutual publishers of *Punch* and *Household Words*, Bradbury and Evans. Unlike contemporary publishers Parker and Son who withdrew the third volume of Charles Kingsley’s *Yeast* in 1848 because of its potentially subversive content, Bradbury and Evans continued to support the work of the *Punch* brotherhood and their fellow writers. In his new periodical Dickens sought to make ‘important social questions of the time’ more accessible by combining methods of “Instruction and Entertainment”; the blend of ‘fancy’ with ‘fact’ was to play a major role in the success of the magazine, building on the tradition of earlier weeklies like *Punch*. Dickens took the audience of *Household Words* on a journey through the streets of the Metropolis, the same streets and alleys that *Punch* had been satirizing for over a decade. In *Household Words* the opening of “A Nightly Scene in London” published in 1856 depicted the dens of vice and disease, the rookeries and courtyards of the poor, suggesting that they were not really that far

⁷³ Robert Druitt, “Short Notes on Some of the Details of Sanitary Police” *Journal of Public Health and Sanitary Review* 1 (1855), p.16.

⁷⁴ Anne Lohrli, *Household Words: Table of Contents and List of Contributors and Their Contributions* (Canada: University of Toronto Press, 1973), p.4.

⁷⁵ “A Detective Police Party” *HW* 1:18 (July 27 1850), pp.409-414; “Three ‘Detective’ Anecdotes” *HW* 1:25 (Sept 14 1850), pp.577-580; “The Metropolitan Protectives” *HW* 3:57 (April 26 1851), pp.97-105; “On Duty with Inspector Field” *HW* 3:64 (June 14 1851), pp.265-270; “Down With the Tide” *HW* 6:150 (Feb 5 1853), pp.481-485.

“out of sight” and were closer than readers may have wished to acknowledge.⁷⁶ In this way Dickens, alongside *Punch*, extended the rhetoric of surveillance that underpinned a complete system of medical police and which had been under debate since the 1848 Public Health Act had made provision for the appointment of Medical Officers of Health.

The changing responses to health reform in the nineteenth century resulted in a unity between medicine and culture. In the realisation that “steps had to be taken to promote health and to combat disease” it was acknowledged “that the measures involved in such action must be social as well as medical”.⁷⁷ Such ‘social measures’ were nowhere more discernible than in the periodical press, the pamphlets, letters, reports, works of fiction. Networks of communication were formed across different social groups which generated new ways of ‘seeing’ the city, resulting in the dominance of the visual which epitomised *Punch*’s character. A close reading of “Britannia’s Thanksgiving Day Dream” has demonstrated that a new relationship between text and image was evolving in *Punch*. The core discourses of cameralism and social responsibility identified in this chapter will underpin this thesis’ in-depth analysis of how *Punch*’s response to public debates about sanitation were visualised. As this chapter has highlighted, *Punch* was successful because of the range of different perspectives it represented. The power of the magazine’s verbal visual dynamic, apparent from its engagement with other cultural forms and through the use of recurring motifs and emblems, was crucial to its enduring popularity.

⁷⁶ “A Nightly Scene in London” *Household Words* 13:305 (Jan 26 1856), p.25.

⁷⁷ Rosen, *op. cit.*, p.67.

PART TWO

Chapter Three

“Water, Water Everywhere, But Not a Drop to Drink”: the Implementation of a New ‘Sanitary Idea’

The condition of the drinking water in the metropolis was one of the clear indicators of disease and poor health. An analysis of debates about the provision of water is central to understanding the rhetoric of reform which evolved across a variety of individual campaigns from 1841 – 1848. The subject of the polluted River Thames was one on which everybody could converse, being the target of both contagionist and anti-contagionist criticisms. However, too often people failed to acknowledge that the problems of river pollution lay with the disposal of industrial and household waste. Edwin Chadwick’s *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain* (1842) was a catalyst for the development of a new “sanitary idea” which characterised the first era of reform. Looking at the environment as the source of disease, Chadwick’s work, together with increasingly public debates in newspapers and the periodical press about the condition of the Thames, revealed the pivotal role the river played in the condition of the city as a whole. The Thames was the common denominator in many of the city’s problems and is a crucial starting point for understanding how communication strategies for discussing reform evolved. The campaign for clean water in *Punch* can most effectively be traced through the personification of Father Thames.

As Part One has established there were significant changes in attitudes to education and public health reform and in the periodical press during the 1840s. John Buchanan-Brown identifies 1848 as the close of a Romantic movement in writing, an era that was noteworthy for its proliferation of book illustration and a changing relationship between the verbal and the visual.¹ It was also the close of the first era of reform in the public health campaign. The excited energy of the Romantic age, as Buchanan-Brown labels it, epitomised by young men “attacking political and social abuses”, was at its height in the period 1841 – 1848. William Thackeray’s work as author, illustrator and *Punch* contributor is indicative of this age. He was renowned for

¹ John Buchanan-Brown, *Early Victorian Illustrated Books: Britain, France and Germany 1820 - 1860* (London: British Library, 2005), p.267.

his book illustrations which drew on a repertoire of iconic symbolism.² Kennedy acknowledges that Thackeray's education was reflected in the rich "classical, biblical and literary allusions" that his work drew upon, creating a "kind of symbolic shorthand".³ This typified a fundamental shift in the perceived experience of reading and was also evident in *Punch* as the magazine strove to establish a common language by which to proselytise reform.

Reflecting upon the origins of *Punch* and its longevity as a cultural institution, William Hewison commented upon the ambiguous nature of humour:

Cartoons then, are drawings carrying funny ideas. But this method of humour communication isn't all that straight forward. The Victorians gave it a typically thorough treatment, one which needed a caption like a heavily annotated playlet and an illustration chock-a-block with detail. Nothing was left to be inferred. After this there developed a complicated form of sign language – paradoxically in order to shorten the time between the look and the laugh. We must learn it if we want to understand the joke, and keep learning, because the language is changing all the time.⁴

It is the purpose of this chapter to identify the origins of the 'sign language' to which he refers. Hewison's timeframe is unclear but evidence suggests it was from 1849 that this 'complicated form' found full realisation. An examination of the recurring motifs created in the formative period of 1841 - 1848 allows the contemporary reader to move beyond the selective analysis of main cuts and begin to access the humour and irony of a range of individual contributions. Humour is significant in facilitating the understanding of complex abstract ideas: "pleasure attends both the transgressive leap and the cognitive landing as experiences of discursive subjectivity and competency, respectively".⁵ Identifying how the emblematic tradition of personifying Father Thames was used to critique the health and management of the metropolis, enables the researcher to identify the shared symbolism that facilitated this 'cognitive landing' for the reader. The Father Thames motif was repeated and recreated with increasing frequency as the magazine evolved and the verbal and visual literacy of the *Punch* readership developed.

² Victor R. Kennedy, "Pictures as Metaphors in Thackeray's Illustrated Novels" *Metaphor and Symbolic Activity* 9:2 (1994), p.136.

³ *ibid.*, p.136.

⁴ *Punch 125th Birthday Number 1841 – 1966* July 13 1966, p.59.

⁵ Sammy Basu, "Dialogic Ethics and the Virtue of Humour" *Journal of Political Philosophy* 7:4 (1999), p.378.

Alfons Labisch has acknowledged that the growing recognition of how interconnected individual public health problems were was facilitated by a shift in how public health was understood: “Various preventive medical concepts encountered similarly various social perceptions and evaluations of health and illness, as well as specific forms of investigation and intervention on different social levels of action.”⁶ For example, the disposal of sewage and the adequacy of sewers and drains in the Metropolis were central to concerns raised by public health reformers in general, not just those directly involved with the provision of water. This was astutely acknowledged by *Punch* in “A New Chapter for ‘The Seven Champions of Christendom’” (1847). Drawing on patriotic symbolism, the narrative of St. George and St. Andrew was a satire exposing the battle between ‘cleanliness’ and ‘filth’. Making the abstract concrete, filth from water, from ‘dung-heaps’, from ‘cesspools’, ‘drains’ and ‘sewers’, from the ‘slaughter houses’ and ‘dung hills’ of “Smith’s field” were depicted. The ‘Sanitary Law’ which informed *Punch*’s wit, captured the themes of the variety of parliamentary papers (Appendix Six) and ensuing legislation (Appendix Seven) which were becoming increasingly prominent. Appendix Six further exemplifies the intricate matrix surrounding public health reform, with the issues of water supply underpinning the regulation of markets and slaughterhouses, burial grounds and lodging houses as well as, more specifically, the provision and maintenance of a clean water supply and the management and organisation of the water companies. As the object of legislation and parliamentary papers was increasingly focused on the source of each problem, so too was *Punch*’s satire. Its reaction was characterised by a range of innovative emblems and revised stylistic and rhetorical strategies which this chapter will examine.

The Personification of Father Thames

The condition of the Thames attracted many responses in fiction and the periodical press, drawing on a range of stylistic devices which aimed to raise awareness and educate a broad audience. One specific rhetorical strategy utilised in both verbal and visual representation, particularly in *Punch*, was the personified figure of Father Thames, which appeared as early as 1842. The habit of referring to rivers as ‘Father’ had been in common parlance since Roman times, in much the same way that Nature

⁶ Alfons Labisch, “History of Public Health – History in Public Health: Looking Back and Looking Forward” *Social History of Medicine* 11:1 (1998), p.9.

had been referred to as 'Mother'.⁷ Indeed, the eighteenth century saw references to Father Thames in both sculpture and poetry. Still in place today, testimony to the cultural resonance of this figure, is a statue of Father Thames made in coadestone (modelled by John Bacon RA) at Ham House in Richmond, which was cast in Holt's Yard in 1800.⁸ In the nineteenth century the personification of this figure produced a more direct call to readers to advance the cause of reform. The culmination of this change was evident in *Punch's* first main cut using this device in 1848. William Newman's "Dirty Father Thames" (1848) also marked the beginning of a continued popular interest in the figure of Father Thames which was repeated and reinforced from 1849 onwards, both in *Punch* and across the wider periodical press.

The emblematic potential of the figure of Father Thames for examining matters relating to public health was first used in *Punch* in "The Thames" (1842) (Figure 1). Engraved by Ebenezer Landells, the author of the text remains unknown, as it was published before the magazine was bought by Bradbury and Evans later that year.⁹ However, the Parisian influence of Philipon's *Le Charivari* which Landells had admired and wished to emulate was evident in the distinctive verbal visual relationship which the piece established.¹⁰ It was a style that continued to influence the magazine long after Landell's departure, though the stylistic construction of Father Thames was not to reappear in this mode again until Newman's main cut of 1848.¹¹

Analysing the early years of *Punch*, before its shift in both content and management in 1843, R. G. G. Price observed that frequently "the illustrations were mainly little black 'cuts', connected with the article they illustrated not visually but verbally."¹² Whilst this style was also discernible in "The Thames" with the silhouetted figures entitled 'Chelsea Reach', the article, which filled a full column and half of the

⁷ *Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase and Fable* (6th ed., 1962) notes that "The epithet *Father* is not uncommonly applied to rivers, especially those on which cities are built". Examples given include both the Thames and the Tiber.

⁸ <www.richmond.gov.uk/thameslandscape/news> [accessed 11th April 2002]. Although there is no recorded date of when the Father Thames statue arrived at Ham House, there are references made to it in *Punch* in a sketch entitled "Latin for Thames" – "Moreover the urn, out of which, as in the statue at the back of Ham House, Father Thames is represented as pouring his stream, ought in the present day to be exchanged by sculptors for a slop-pail" *Punch* 29 (1855), p.75.

⁹ For further discussion of the introduction of the *Punch* ledgers to record the output of salaried staff from 1843, see Introduction.

¹⁰ M. H. Spielmann, *The History of 'Punch'* (London: Cassell and Co., 1895), p.15.

¹¹ Landells was 'eased out' of the magazine later in 1842, Landells feeling that the new proprietors had taken advantage of his inexperience in commercial matters. Arthur Prager, *The Mahogany Tree: An Informal History of Punch* (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1979), p.40.

¹² R. G. G. Price, *A History of Punch* (London: Collins, 1957), p.23.

entire page, was dominated by the more symbolic image of the 'mouth' of 'Old Father Thames'. The four gentlemen sketched underneath the heading "The Government Offices" in the opposite column illustrated the subject of the text,¹³ however the sketch of "Father Thames" worked on more than one narrative level.

Fig. 1¹⁴

THE GOVERNMENT OFFICES

Are the temporary residences of numerous patriotic gentlemen who are anxious to serve their country—at from £54 to 50000, per annum. They are generally very snug berths, and are pleasantly situated in the vicinity of the parks, thus rendering one of the duties of the recipient—that of looking out of window—less arduous and irksome. The interiors are usually fitted up in the "severe style of classic elegance;" but the fire-places are admirably constructed for imparting a grateful warmth to the dorsal part of the body when the coat-tails are officially expanded. The



chairs are of that peculiar style of upholstery which, partaking of the character of the employment, is appropriately denominated "easy," and are so constructed as not to induce positive sleep, nor to disturb those valuable reveries in which government clerks are in the habit of indulging for the benefit of their country. The desks are of mahogany, elaborately embellished with initial letters and peculiar cyphers in silver ink. They are found to be highly suggestive to a diligent correspondent; and from the beauty of the paper and quality of the quills with which they are furnished, the subsequent line no excuse for any further neglect; they also lend an air of dignified co-operation to the acceptance of a polite invitation to dinner, and render impressive and indispensable a downright refusal to aid your tailor in "meeting a bill which he has to take up."

The paper is of that superior quality known as "Government post," and from the smoothness of its surface forms an admirable cartoon, whereon the Raphaelesque Clerk can delineate the portraits of his superiors, heightened by those playful touches of fancy which always characterize the early productions of the imaginative school of artists. The "office-pen"



is so well known, that any lengthened description would be supererogatory; but in order to detect the spurious from the genuine, it must be observed that the true government goosepen is selected from that class of pincock-feathers which admit of its being instantly converted into a tooth-pick.

Government offices are liberally supplied with the daily papers, the careful perusal of which constitutes one of the principal duties of the Clerk whose glorious privilege it is to assist in the regulation of the affairs of his native land.

The salaries are always arranged upon that gentlemanly scale which denotes the greatest penetration with the least labour.

The most direct road to the government offices is through a member of parliament who supports the party in power. The independent elector may with confidence look to the Excise-office for the reward which he naturally expects as the consequence of voting according to his conscience. The liberal and faithful leader, who procures discount for his master's bills, may certainly consider the Customs as the Arsenal of his old age, while the member of parliament may honestly expect an honourable provision for his younger sons, as a well-earned equivalent for the many hours that he has slumbered in the cause of the Ministry in the House of Commons.

THE THAMES.

In contemplating the entire fiscal system of Great Britain, we shall find the Thames its most important member, whether we view it as a picturesque arena for rowing matches, or as a huge gutter for the emptying of London slops.

Its shores from Vauxhall to London Bridge consist entirely of coal-barges, which leave just room enough in the middle of the stream for pleasure parties to be run down by steam-vessels. That this operation may be performed the more readily, long narrow boats are so made as to be upset with moderate exertion; but if that should fail, the rowers frequently quarrel concerning the best method of steering under the arch of a bridge, and thus get driven against a pier; there to wait the coming of one of the steamers. The latter, not being allowed to travel slower than twenty miles an hour, has no time to avoid the smaller boat, and swamps it with the utmost despatch.

Large boats or barges indent the sides of Old Father Thames. Wherever



these occur the navigation is extremely dangerous; the violence of the wind and waves has been known to overturn a two-masted skiff with remarkable promptitude. Sometimes the surging sea is so high that persons not actually belonging to the Thames navy have a violent inclination communicated to them, causing the unpleasant sensation which has given these dreaded bays their name—that of "ratches." Chelsea Reach is not so formidable as it is sometimes represented by voyagers, though in some winds it is difficult to keep one's hat on upon the open deck. Ebbish Reach is positively not navigable in a now-and-then wind.

The water of this river has been celebrated in all ages, and has mainly contributed to that immense increase in the China trade which it now enjoys. For the decoction of the "goat's shrub," the Thames water is far superior to that even of the river Tees; whilst from this circumstance, and from our city being built on a chalky soil, London has become universally famous for the manufacture of milk.

When analysed Father Thames is found to consist of
 Pure water, 4 parts.
 Miscellaneous, 96

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This water is considered by the inhabitants of London a most delicious beverage, and they all pay certain companies (who lay it on unconsciously thick) for the privilege of drinking it.

The river is provided with floating baths, floating hospitals, a floating chapel, and a floating police. The duties of the last consist in seeing that the steamers keep up to their regulation high pressure speed; to take all little boys before the magistrates who are found fishing, and all felonious persons found drowning. The Lord Mayor is the conservator of the river Thames, and goes "swan-topping" when the weather sets in fine.

The chief attraction of the Thames is, however, to be found in its navy, and it is calculated that there are no less than three hundred coal barges always available at a moment's notice, in case of a descent by a foreign enemy on the coast of Rotherhithe, which is, perhaps, the only point where the attempt would be made; for the Tannek would be a safe and commodious harbour of refuge. The chief ports on the Thames are so well known that they do not require mentioning; but there is a fine, natural harbour at Millbank, which is formed by the occasional rushing of the tide over the Horseferry Road, and into the public-house cellars, thus saving the landlords the trouble of going through a very dilatory process of mixing.

¹³ It is interesting to note that the gentleman on the far right of the image has rejected *The Times* in favour of reading *Punch* - an early indication of the position the magazine believed it held.
¹⁴ *Punch* 2 (1842), p.178.

Both the verbal and the visual had a function in *Punch*'s "social documenting", particularly on the topic of the Thames and associated debates about the health of the metropolis.¹⁵ New symbols of the age such as Father Thames constructed "allegorical tableaux" whose meaning was reinforced in the popular imagination through repetition and reinvention.¹⁶ Further shared references that were also created in Landell's sketch included the outline of St. Paul's cathedral and smoke pollution from Thames steamers, both visual signifiers that were subsequently used by a range of other illustrators. St. Paul's itself was not referred to in the text but was clearly discernible in the image, an increasingly powerful visual symbol of the City that was used to locate the scenes being depicted, as Chapter Four discusses. In the right foreground of the illustration was a ship called 'Punch' with Mr. Punch as the figurehead on the prow, an early example of the watchful role that *Punch* was to play in monitoring the health of the city.¹⁷ On all levels "The Thames" highlighted the potentially crucial role that the image would hold by the end of the decade, forming an integral, rather than supplementary, part of the text. As the character of *Punch* was established, the visual was able to enhance the meaning of the verbal, developing the text's allusion as well as contributing its own level of narrative meaning through familiar and recognisable iconography.

References to Father Thames were frequently made across a range of media, especially *The Times*. Articles back to 1794, however, show that the term Father Thames was usually prefaced with the adjective 'old' connoting an air of affection. This is not to suggest that water pollution did not exist at this time, rather that it was not the predominant focus of scrutiny across the popular press. As the city grew and the problems of pollution multiplied, the idyllic image of lazy days on the banks of 'Old Father Thames', were replaced with more challenging and concerned articles. Both "Bunk's Discoveries in the Thames" from the first edition of *Punch* and "The Thames" in 1842, sought to expose the amount of refuse polluting the river that was supposed to provide the water supply for the city; "Father Thames is found to consist of Pure Water . . . 4 parts, Miscellaneous . . . 96".¹⁸ The components of this mix were identified in the earlier article as:

1. "A case of shells."

¹⁵ Special Collector's Edition *Punch 150th Anniversary* 17 July 1841 – 1991, p.140.

¹⁶ Diana Donald, *The Age of Caricature: Satirical Prints in the Reign of George III* (London: Yale University Press, 1996), p.50. For further discussion see Chapter 2.

¹⁷ See Chapter Five.

¹⁸ *Punch* 2 (1842), p.178.

2. "The neck of a black bottle, with a cork in it."
3. "A perfect brick, and two broken tiles."
4. "A fossil flat-iron."
5. "An ancient leather buskin."
6. "A skeleton of some unknown animal."
7. "A piece of broken porcelain."¹⁹

These core 'ingredients' of the Thames were repeatedly returned to and enhanced through visual as well as verbal representation across later pieces on the same subject. However, in 1841, when "Bunk's Discoveries in the Thames" was first printed, there was a lack of sanitary knowledge through which to articulate the fears and concerns that were beginning to be alluded to by magazines such as *Punch*. It was only with the implementation of a new 'sanitary idea' in 1842 that the language of reform could change and a more cohesive understanding of the problems was formulated allowing writers and campaigners to raise public awareness to the true condition of the Thames and the Metropolis' drinking water.

Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain (1842) by Edwin Chadwick

Chadwick's pioneering *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain* published in 1842, recommended the implementation of a "sanitary idea" which created a new era in the campaign for public health reform.²⁰ One of the principle recommendations of the Report was the appointment of Medical Officers of Health but as the 1848 Public Health Act, to which the report contributed, lacked mandatory powers, this goal was not achieved until 1855.²¹ However, the narrative of social responsibility and policing which informed Chadwick's report was clearly discernible in the pages of *Punch*. If the 1830s were informed by the "statistical idea", then the 1840s were characterised by a more discursive form of communication.²² Chadwick's Report was "one of the most important and most widely read social documents of the nineteenth century".²³ A major contributory factor in the Report's popular appeal was due to Chadwick arranging for a limited print run in quarto size. His circulation of proof copies to public figures like Carlyle, John Stuart Mill, and Dickens, as well as a variety of all the newspapers and quarterlies that would run a

¹⁹ *Punch* 1 (1841), p.129.

²⁰ Mary Poovey, *Making a Social Body: British Cultural Formation 1830 – 1864* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1995), p.115.

²¹ For further discussion of the Metropolis Management Act of 1855, see Chapter Five.

²² Poovey, op. cit., p.115.

²³ Royston Lambert, *Sir John Simon 1816-1904 and English Social Administration* (London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1963), p.61.

review affirmed the growing importance of the popular press in the circulation of knowledge.²⁴ There was a growing belief that educating the wider public on the need for comprehensive reform across all sectors of society was the solution to the widespread negligence and procrastination which had previously hindered progress.

The different social communities from which the proselytising voices of reform emerged informed the variety of methods which investigation and intervention took. Whilst Chadwick's initial approach of 1839 may have been informed by the economic cost of disease, by the time of its publication he was clearly "much more interested in demonstrating the social evils *consequent* upon insanitary living conditions, and he turned current social theory on its head by arguing that low moral standards (intemperance, prostitution, delinquency, etc) were the result of the domestic physical environment, not the other way round".²⁵ As Chapter Two has established, the moral regulation of the population was integral in the development of social medicine which underpinned Chadwick's campaign for the implementation of a new sanitary idea. In conjoining the question of morality to what had previously been the sole domain of medicine, Chadwick's work shared parallels with Christian Socialists like Charles Kingsley and the more Erastian *Punch*.²⁶ Social medicine increasingly addressed a crisis of population which was perceived as both "a problem of political control and social surveillance".²⁷

The periodical press created a leading role for itself in the policing and regulation of the population. However, the object of scrutiny was informed by a definition of 'civility' which was specific to each medium involved in the debate. Chadwick's vision for a complete network of water supply and sewers was one that comprised "a 'total institution' that would both make 'civilised' behaviour attractive and possible and civilize directly through force of habit . . . all these institutions were machines to enforce healthy, moral lives".²⁸ Whilst *Punch* seemingly concurred with the cause and effect approach to civility and citizenship, the focus of its target was not

²⁴ Poovey, *op. cit.*, p.117.

²⁵ Derek Fraser (ed.), *Municipal Reform and the Industrial City* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982), p.64.

²⁶ For further discussion of the context of Kingsley's work, see Chapter Two. Whilst both *Yeast* (1848) and *Alton Locke* (1850) were underpinned by a moral imperative that cleanliness was next to godliness, the change in how public health reform was proselytised across the periodical press from 1849, was clearly discernible in the more structured and visual style of *Alton Locke*.

²⁷ Bryan S. Turner, *Medical Power and Social Knowledge* (1987; 2nd ed., London: Sage, 1995), p.16.

²⁸ Christopher Hamlin, *Public Health and Social Justice in the Age of Chadwick: Britain 1800 -1854* (Cambridge: CUP, 1998), p.24.

those living in squalor but those who blindly and, in some cases, wilfully allowed the situation to occur. Chadwick's report had certainly highlighted the inadequacy and incompetence of the Commissioners of Sewers.²⁹ However, in *Punch*, cartoons such as "Punch and the Smithfield Savages" (1847) made it clear that it was also those who worked to protect their own vested interests who required 'civilising'.³⁰

Implementing the 'Sanitary Idea': Management and Organisation of the Sewers Commission

The Chadwick Report certainly roused a degree of public awareness, but as Fraser acknowledges, it was only the beginning of what would be a long and arduous propaganda campaign.³¹ Competing in the campaign were old traditions of government and new, more scientific, approaches to reform. However, as a rule, it was the politics of the Corporation of London that continued to dominate and subsequently to hinder progress. The Common Council of the City was therefore a rich source for the satire of *Punch*. Alongside propaganda advocating different strategies, ran debates and Commissions examining the management and organisation of the Metropolis' Sewers Commissions. The lack of cohesion in management contributed to the problems of communication experienced in this period as the City came into conflict with the Metropolis on the most effective mode of managing the sewers of London.

Since medieval and Tudor times, the Thames had been key to the provision of water to the metropolis, with the issue of pollution becoming a major problem from the fifteenth century onwards.³² The first major attempt to systematically address this matter was the 1531 Bill of Sewers, under the court of Henry VIII;³³ no further general statute concerning sewers was passed until 1841, despite numerous Select Committees, Bills and Reports in the 1820s and 1830s.³⁴ In spite of efforts to co-ordinate and unite the regulation of sewers by assigning wages to the post of Commissioner and granting authority to survey and enquire about nuisances (imposing fines for non-compliance), the 1531 Bill was unsuccessful in creating a centralised response. Indeed, it could be argued that it exacerbated the situation. The Bill established eight commissions to regulate London's system of sewers: The City; Westminster; Holborn and Finsbury;

²⁹ Stephen Inwood, *A History of London* (1998; reprint, London: Papermac, 2000), p.423.

³⁰ For a more detailed discussion of "Punch and the Smithfield Savages" see Chapter Four.

³¹ Fraser, *op. cit.*, p.64.

³² See Stephen Halliday, *The Great Stink of London: Sir Joseph Bazalgette and the Cleansing of the Victorian Metropolis* (1999; reprint, Somerset: Sutton Publishing, 2000), pp.17 – 35.

³³ *ibid.*, p.32.

³⁴ See Appendix Six for further details.

Tower Hamlets; Greenwich; St Katherine's; Poplar and Blackwall; and Surrey and Kent.³⁵ As each commission was free to adopt its own approach to reforming the sewers, the differences between them resulted in the birth of a system of vested interest, not unity; a result which continued to mar advancements in public health reform until the 1850s. It also gave campaigners, including *Punch*, a clear target for ridicule.

The City of London was the inner square mile around the financial district of the Bank of England and the Exchange. Its boundaries extended across the square mile to Tower Hill on the East and up to Holborn on the West. Its southern boundary completely bordered the Thames with St Paul's dome dominating the view of the City from the River, as *Punch*'s visual representations of the Thames records.³⁶ The City was steeped in tradition, having been the first independent local authority since Norman times.³⁷ From 1384 the Common Council was established, made up of Aldermen elected by the Wards of the City, with elections held every four years.³⁸ Those elected had to be on the electoral roll and be freemen of the city which resulted in an elitist form of government which was abhorred by the writers of *Punch*. The freemen of the city were closely associated with those who had membership of the City livery companies, which were successors to the ancient guild. As a result, many of those Aldermen who acted on the board of the Common Council had the vested interests of their own businesses to consider. The Guildhall was at the heart of *Punch*'s satire through the personified figures of Gog and Magog, the statues which framed the gateway to the City's actual Guildhall. Together these characters were another stylistic mode created by *Punch* to critique the City's mismanagement though they featured most prominently in the magazine's campaign for the removal of Smithfield Market.

Sanitary affairs were wholly maintained by the autonomous Court of the Commission of Sewers, which had gained unified control over the sewerage, paving, lighting and cleansing of the square mile in 1771.³⁹ Thus the monopoly of the eight Commissioners, including the City, continued into the nineteenth century resulting in

³⁵ Halliday, *op. cit.*, p.32.

³⁶ See Appendix Nine for a map of the City of London's ward boundaries.

³⁷ The *Westminster Review* July 1848, in reviewing the first report of the Commissioners of Inquiry for the Improvement of the Health of the Metropolis, recorded the City's response as stating it was "an infringement of the 'Saxon' institutions of the country". (Metropolitan Archive Records CLA/006/AD/07/048)

³⁸ On the history of the City of London, see <www.cityoflondon.gov.uk/corporation> [accessed March 2009].

³⁹ Lambert, *op. cit.*, p.77.

the suppression of the 1839 Bill which had sought “to consolidate and amend Laws relating to Sewers”.⁴⁰ The Bill proposed extending the power of the Metropolitan Court of Sewers over six new districts, including taking full authority over the City of London. However, in the light of opposition from the City Fathers the Bill was lost from records before it even came to Parliament.⁴¹ In contrast, the Sewers Act of 1841, passed in the year of *Punch*’s creation, demonstrated the importance of communication which was to characterise the 1840s. Though the Act can be seen to have continued to extend the rights of the Commissioners of Sewers, it also sought to regulate the frequency of meetings between the eight Commissions.⁴²

Though strategies for communication developed across the popular press brought together diverse issues of reform, this was not reflected in the actions of Parliament as the de-centralised Commissioners of Sewers continued to protect their own individual interests. Acts relating to sewers and drains across the city, from the Hyde Park Act of 1842 to the 1844 Metropolitan Buildings Act, continued to carry a clause which acknowledged the “saving powers of Commissioners of Sewers”.⁴³ Consequently, vested right remained the principle target of *Punch*’s satire during this period. The *Westminster Review*, writing in July 1848, concurred with this perspective; “the mal-administration of the Corporation of London is only a part of a very wide and important question, - that of the best constitution fitted for the municipal government of the whole metropolis; a subject upon which no city reformer, if in any way connected with the Corporation, can be trusted; however honest or unprejudiced he may be upon other topics.”⁴⁴ In 1847 a concerted effort was made by Parliament to begin challenging the vested interest of the Commissioners, which had become the subject of much scrutiny across the popular press. As Appendix Six demonstrates, there was a move to consolidate all Acts relating to the provision of water, with two Select Committees investigating Thames Conservancy and the associated problem of Smithfield Market. This increased public interest in matters relating to public health is paralleled in *Punch*,

⁴⁰ See Appendix Six, 132 and 308.

⁴¹ Halliday, *op. cit.*, p.47.

⁴² 1841 Sewers Act c. 45 s.XVI and s.XII (see Appendix Seven). <www.justis.com> [accessed April 2008].

⁴³ 1842 Hyde Park Act c. 19 s.XLII; 1844 Metropolitan Buildings Act c. 84 s.LI (see Appendix Seven). <www.justis.com> [accessed April 2008].

⁴⁴ *Westminster Review* July 1848 cited in Charles F. Ellerman ESQ *Sanitary Reform and Agricultural Improvement; or How to promote Health and Abundance in three letters by Charles F. Ellerman ESQ* (London: Pierce and Hyde, 1848), p.435.

the *Punch Database on Health* returning 49 references, a rise from 11 in the previous year.

In response to the raised public profile of the provision of water question, on 12 April 1847 the City Sewers Commission declared that the “City of London, for health, cleanliness, effective drainage and supply of water to its inhabitants cannot be surpassed”.⁴⁵ There was an assumed arrogance in their statement that they would not be challenged, however public opinion was changing as a result of the increased profile the subject of public health was receiving across periodicals and newspapers. *Punch* particularly refuted their statement by revealing the problems associated with noxious trades, slaughterhouses and rubbish piles, with overflowing graveyards and short running standpipes, which were as common in the City as they were in the Metropolis. Despite the protestations of City dignitaries, the City death rate was amongst the highest in London.⁴⁶ The Lord Mayor’s comment resulted in a direct response from *Punch* in “Sweets to the Sweet”, a textual examination of vested right hindering reform:

The City Commission of Sewers declare, in their Report, that “for paving, draining, sewerage, lighting, health and cleanliness, the City of London is inferior to no city in the Empire”. So excited is this excellent body by an attempt to include the City within the operation of LORD MORPETH’s Health of Towns Bill, that it has burst into song, “Faci: [sic] indignatio versum”.⁴⁷

The first song targeted those “for whose delight Lord Mayors such sums have squandered”, the Commissioners “that plans the City drainage” and the “perfect London drainage”.⁴⁸ By contrast, though following the same theme, the second example more specifically targeted its criticism at “Sir Peter” (Sir Peter Laurie); the brunt of *Punch*’s derision in many satirical examinations of the City’s vested rights, though most especially relating to Smithfield Market.⁴⁹ The legislative context of *Punch*’s wit was evident through repeated reference to the Health of Towns Bill, the personified voice of Sir Peter satirically, and foolishly, declaring, “No, we’ll not be sweet and clean by the

⁴⁵ Halliday, op. cit., p.133.

⁴⁶ Inwood, op. cit., pp.427-428 .

⁴⁷ *Punch* 12 (1847), p.186.

facit indignatio versum

indignation produces verse (Juvenal) <<http://latin-phrases.co.uk/dictionary/f/>> [accessed 14 April 2009].

NB. The spelling in this quotation is that actually used in the text of *Punch*.

⁴⁸ *ibid.*, p.186.

⁴⁹ For further discussion, see Chapter Four.

compulsion of a bill”.⁵⁰ A knowledge of the correlation between the legislature and the target of *Punch*’s derision is clearly needed in order to appreciate the breadth of perspectives the magazine sought to represent.

Despite a plethora of reports questioning the disposal of refuse directly into the sewers, as late as 1847 the Court of Sewers advocated that all privy refuse should be discharged directly into the sewers with the effect that the effluent was transported straight into the central reaches of the Thames.⁵¹ In response, the 1848 Metropolitan Commissioners of Sewers Act sought to achieve a more unified approach to implementing Chadwick’s new sanitary idea. *Chambers’s Edinburgh Journal* joined with the voices of *Punch* and other popular journals in asserting that “nearly the whole of London, in fact, is a subterranean monument of ‘vested’ shortsightedness and ignorance”.⁵² Though the Act was still unable to completely secure control of the City, it did “create a body which still wielded more power than its predecessors, including considerable influence over the City”.⁵³

In a continued effort to extend and develop networks of communication, the Act called upon representatives of the City to work in an advisory capacity on the new Metropolitan Commission of Sewers.⁵⁴ Whilst there was an appearance of co-operation with clauses which facilitated funding repairs of sewers and drains,⁵⁵ the ultimate power lay with the Metropolitan Commissioners of Sewers, for “in case the Commissioners of Sewers of the City of *London* shall not immediately upon the Receipt of such Requisition from the Commissioners under this Act as hereinbefore is mentioned proceed to comply therewith . . . or, in case such Works shall not be after their Commencement carried on and completed with all reasonable Despatch, it shall be lawful for the Commissioners under this Act to construct, do, and perform such Works and Things . . .”.⁵⁶ The increased pressure from the new Commissioners of Sewers, along with growing public interest across the periodical press, resulted in the City of London raising the City Sewers Act 1848, in an attempt to further protect their interests.

⁵⁰ *Punch* 12 (1847), p.186.

⁵¹ Peter Ackroyd, *London: The Biography* (London: Vintage, 2001), p.344.

⁵² “The New Sanitary Commission”, *Chambers’s Edinburgh Journal* 9:213 (1848), p.72.

⁵³ Halliday, *op. cit.*, p.49.

⁵⁴ 1848 Metropolitan Commissioners of Sewers Act c.112 s.IV and c. 112 s.XII (see Appendix Seven). <www.justis.com> [accessed April 2008].

⁵⁵ 1848 Metropolitan Commissioners of Sewers Act c. 112 s.XXXIX and c. 112 s.XL (see Appendix Seven). <www.justis.com> [accessed April 2008].

⁵⁶ 1848 Metropolitan Commissioners of Sewers Act c. 112 s.XLIII (see Appendix Seven). <www.justis.com> [accessed April 2008].

Punch's indignation at the 1848 Act was most thoroughly recorded in its petitioning for the removal of Smithfield Market from 1846, targeting its focus more specifically on the provision of water from 1849. However, the magazine's target was consistently the vested interests of the City Corporation. In 1848 the Health of Towns Association, which had been so influential in the 1847-48 Royal Commission on Improvement of Health of Metropolis, published a pamphlet on 'The Sanitary Condition of the City of London' criticising the Prime Minister Lord John Russell, who was MP for the City, implying his obstruction of sanitary reform in parliament was as a result of protecting the vested interests of his own constituency.⁵⁷ Though a separate City Sewers Act temporarily maintained the City's independence, in return the City agreed to appoint its own Medical Officer, John Simon which ironically resulted in the eventual destruction of the monopoly the City Fathers had sought to protect. The Act was "a poor copy of Liverpool's 1846 Act"⁵⁸ with the Act merely extending the powers of the existing Commission of Sewers.⁵⁹ However it was the narrative of inspection that was the most noteworthy contribution of this Act, extending both communication and rhetorical strategies within the legislature and across the periodical press; a narrative strategy which *Punch* began to engage with from 1849 with "Simon Summed Up",⁶⁰ responding directly to the medical officer's first report of that same year which, as Chadwick's report had done, heralded a further stage in the advancement of sanitary reform.

Turning Tides: 1848

Renewed public interest in the condition of the Thames was prompted by the return of cholera in 1848, with "the heaviest concentration of deaths being in the district closest to the river".⁶¹ Cholera provided a further topic for satire and the rhetorical shift that had been occurring throughout the decade was clearly discernible in the personified figure of 'King Death' in *Punch*. Written at the end of 1847 when the disease was imminent, "King Death's Discomfiture" drew on the rhetorical strategies the magazine was to develop the following year with Father Thames. It was predominantly written in verse, spanning a full column and a third of the next with the only image being the initial letter "C" at the start. Despite the length of the piece, the author cannot be

⁵⁷ Halliday, op. cit., p.133.

⁵⁸ This had resulted in the appointment of the country's first Medical Officer of Health, Dr. Duncan of Liverpool 1847.

⁵⁹ Inwood, op. cit., p.428.

⁶⁰ *Punch* 17 (1849), p.195.

⁶¹ Richard D. Altick, *Punch: The Lively Youth of a British Institution 1841 – 1851* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1997), p.605.

identified from the *Punch* ledgers, demonstrating the range of other non-salaried authors and illustrators who contributed to the style and form of *Punch*. Though the power of the visual image was to develop early in the 1850s, in this piece from 1847 it was the verbal that created a visual language through a critique of the procrastination of the City Sewers Commission.

King Death wears “the dress of a Sewer Commissioner”. The further reference to “the livery Of a Homoeopathic practitioner” highlighted that the Guild of the City of London was once again the target of satire. The continued resistance to the move to consolidate the Metropolitan Commissioners of Sewers was foregrounded and identified as being a contributory factor in the return of Cholera which had already devastated the city in 1832.

And he blessed his friends, the wiseacres,
Who at centralization grumble,
While they’ll die with delight for a vested right,
And bow down to an autocrat BUMBLE.⁶²
...
“A fig for your SMITHS and your CHADWICKS,
With their Health of Towns petitioners;
They may write, rave and roar, while I’ve still to the fore
Seven hundred good Sewer Commissioners.”⁶³

The pace of the narrative gathers momentum as Death nears the shores of England. The plethora of debates and campaigners were acknowledged and dismissed, demanding an in-depth knowledge of the context to which each responded. In conclusion, *Punch* speculated on what may occur to Death if the ‘sanitary ideas’ of Chadwick were indeed implemented; the close of the narrative saw “King Death and Lord Typhus, disgusted With sanitary ravages/ Determined on quitting ungrateful Great Britain/And settling among the savages”.⁶⁴ The recurring motif of the ‘savage’ implied once again that the condition of the city was ‘uncivilised’ and that amelioration lay in environmental reform. Indeed, the name “King Death”, cockney rhyming slang for ‘breath’, acknowledged the Chadwickian belief in miasmatic vapours as the source of the disease. The origins of the vapours involved a range of different locations however,

⁶² Further allusions to ‘bumbledom’ and procrastination can be found in Charles Dickens *Oliver Twist* (1837).

⁶³ *Punch* 13 (1847), p.237.

⁶⁴ *ibid.*, p.237.

suggesting that the resolution was not so easily attained and once again *Punch* returned its scrutiny to the condition of the Thames.

The correlation between disease and the polluted Thames was reinforced by the Public Health Act of 1848, with ten clauses relating to the provision, maintenance and distribution of an adequate water supply, as well as the organisation and management of the water companies and associated industries.⁶⁵ However, the Act was the target of much criticism. Not being mandatory, many of the clauses and conditions placed the onus on local authorities to comply. *Punch* commented in “‘Right About’ St. Stephen’s!” (1848) that between the initial Bill and the actual implementation of the Act, it had been “mutilated, clipp’d, and hack’d”, declaring:

Ah! you well may feel ashamed of that measure mauled and maimed,
Of that inefficient, miserable Bill,
Which has left its work half undone in permitting noisome London,
Filthy City, to continue filthy still.⁶⁶

Chambers’s Edinburgh Journal was more positive about the scope of the Act which “falls short in some respects of what is desirable; but on the whole it forms a comprehensive and important piece of legislation, and marks a distinct advance in social history”.⁶⁷ It is clear from the *Chambers’s* article that there was an increasingly shared belief that the press could work together in proselytising for reform. The Public Health Act, according to *Chambers’s*, came “after years of agitation, through the press and otherwise”.⁶⁸ In this way what was being implemented was not a new period of social history, but a new era of social medicine. However, the full extent of this public concern was not to be felt until 1849 when the Act was fully implemented.

Punch held reservations about the extent to which Lord Morpeth’s aims for the Act could be implemented, as Leech’s main cut of Morpeth and a corpulent City Alderman demonstrated in “The Dirty London Alderman.”⁶⁹ Leech’s main cut included two stanzas of verse taken from Gilbert á Beckett’s full narrative on the preceding page. The style of the piece was a children’s nursery rhyme symbolising the popularity of the embellished children’s book in this period as well as *Punch’s* ambition to address a

⁶⁵ See Appendix Seven

⁶⁶ *Punch* 15 (1848), p.98.

⁶⁷ “The Public Health Act”, *Chambers’s Edinburgh Journal* 10:249 (1848), p.232.

⁶⁸ *ibid.*, p.232.

⁶⁹ *Punch* 12 (1847), p.191.

wider family audience about the problems of poor sanitation.⁷⁰ Beckett's accompanying piece combined both prose and verse, though only the first and final stanzas accompanied the main cut. The theme of both pieces was "the extraordinary antipathy to a washing which has recently been shown by the Corporation of the City of London".⁷¹ Though neither piece referred directly to the problem of the Thames, the criticism of the management and organisation of the City's public health raised important questions about the reason for the protracted delay of a cohesive reform system.

As the 1840s drew to a close, the range of work emerging in the periodical press advocating reform increased. A new vigour began to underpin the campaign, motivated by a desire to stir action and bring improvement and change to the Metropolis, as *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* acknowledged in 1848:

If any excuse were required for recurring once more to the sanitary question, it might be found in the fact, that society is too apt to be forgetful of matters even of vital importance, when not brought repeatedly under notice. To some readers the subject will have become wearisome, if not repulsive; but as there appears now to be a real desire to go to work in earnest, upon remedial measures, we can do no less on our part than direct attention to them.⁷²

Punch in particular embraced this social purpose, extending the educative role it had established for itself in "The Moral of Punch".⁷³ As *Punch* asserted its 'higher object', it boasted that its contribution to debates on current affairs was comparable to *The Times*. This was clearly the status that the magazine wished to attain and also suggests the readers it wished to attract.⁷⁴ In "Sanitarianism and Insanitarianism"(1848) the death of a "family-man" was satirically attributed to his growing awareness of just how

⁷⁰ It is likely that the form of the satire was a parody of "Struwelpeter", or "Slovenly Peter" by Heinrich Hoffmann published in 1844. This would also confirm that Sir Peter Laurie was the naughty boy being admonished by Nurse Morpeth. With thanks to Victoria ListServ at Indiana for their help locating Victorian nursery rhymes, particularly Heather Evans, Queen's University at Kingston, Canada (query at 14 April 2009). A full archive of all VICTORIA discussion threads is available at <<https://listserv.indiana.edu/>> [accessed July 2009].

⁷¹ *Punch* 12 (1847), p.190.

⁷² "The New Sanitary Commission", *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* 9:213 (1848), p.71.

⁷³ *Punch* 1 (1841), p.1.

⁷⁴ It was a status that the magazine felt it had attained, when, in 1910, in an anonymous pamphlet entitled *Punch: An interesting Talk about Himself and his renowned Contributors; his Jokes, Literary Articles, Illustrations and Cartoons; with Many reproductions of the more famous of each of them*, the *Graphic* declared that *Punch* was "as much a national institution as *The Times*, a valued commentator on public events" (p.3).

poisonous the Thames water was to drink.⁷⁵ His education and knowledge were derived from three sources: parliament, *The Times* and *Punch* itself:

“Welcome then, thou dark stream; let me quaff thee, thou deadly draught of Lethe.⁷⁶ I may as well finish now perhaps, as drag on this poisoned existence much longer – I can’t bear to think of the premature death of my children, and of MRS JONES perishing before my eyes a victim of a pestiferous Twankay. Good bye, my dear *Punch*. If any thing happens to me, it is you, and the *Times*, and LORD MORPETH, and FAKIN⁷⁷ have done it. I was happy until I knew I was so miserable. And I know I’m poisoned now, and don’t think I can survive it”.⁷⁸

Here *Punch* not only sought to establish the viability of satire as one of the principal methods for communicating the new sanitary ideas of the period, but also began to establish the rhetoric that the magazine was to develop in the 1850s. The ‘family man’ introduced a continued concern for the health of families, particularly the protection of the innocents discussed in Chapter Two. In adopting this deliberately educative role, *Punch* presented itself as the embodiment of the social responsibility it advocated for its readers. *Punch* went on to develop its perceived duty as educator in the same year with the return of Father Thames, acknowledging the shift in public interest that had occurred over the decade and creating a more complex verbal visual response with Newman’s main cut “Dirty Father Thames”.

Father Thames’ First Appearance in the Main Cuts: “Dirty Father Thames” (1848)

Punch was at the forefront of visualising a public display of concern for the state of the Metropolis when it moved the personified figure of Father Thames from the individual columns of the magazine into the main cut. The increased profile of public health as a shared concern in the periodical press, found a concomitant articulation in the verbal visual form of “Dirty Father Thames” (Figure 2), which moved beyond earlier, largely narrative, examinations such as “Bunk’s Discoveries in the Thames”. Read in conjunction with the variety of articles that were emerging at this time, a close

⁷⁵ *Punch* 15 (1848), p.128. Though not recorded in the *Punch* Ledgers, Thackeray is believed to be the author of this piece. M. H. Spielmann, *The Hitherto Unidentified Contributions of W. M. Thackeray to “Punch”* (London: Harper and Brothers, 1899), p.232.

⁷⁶ ‘Lethe’ is the water of the infernal regions. Originating from the spring of oblivion these waters were the entrance to the lower world (*The New Encyclopaedia Britannica* vol. 7, 15th edition, 1988, p301).

What is implied here is that he is standing at the gates of hell and he wishes to be taken into oblivion.

⁷⁷ Origin of term unknown.

⁷⁸ *Punch* 15 (1848), p.128.

examination of the first main cut of Father Thames reveals the verbal visual narrative strategies of the magazine that were in the process of formation.

Throughout the 1840s, Father Thames had been used as a rhetorical method by which to examine the problems of the Thames. From *The Times* to *Fraser's Magazine*, highly descriptive and imaginative articles emerged which contributed to the discursive matrix of narratives that informed *Punch's* satire. As well as the raised profile of the Thames question in parliamentary papers and legislation, there were also factual discussions, metaphorical descriptions and reports on the subject across the popular press, all of which attempted to educate the reader of the true extent of London's sanitary problems. The opening of "The Thames: its Uses and Abuses" in *Fraser's* magazine 1848, exemplified a growing fascination for embedding fictional allusions within otherwise factual reports.⁷⁹ This hybrid style of writing contributed to the growing popularity of the personified figure of Old Father Thames:

There was a time, doubtless, when Father Thames could compare with the best of his brother deities, if not in magnitude, at least in purity; but now, how sadly he must hang his metaphoric head as he sits in the conclave of river gods and nymphs, dirty and dishonoured . . . Fain would we rescue him from his present wretched state of degradation, and restore him to his pristine purity. But, alas! The works and habits of centuries are not so easily destroyed and changed.⁸⁰

The fall and degradation of 'Father Thames' was depicted by utilising emotive adjectives such as 'dirty' and 'dishonoured' to reinforce the shame Londoners should feel, as those who had caused, and indeed exacerbated, the problems of the river's pollution. However, the force of the rhetoric, momentarily captured, was dispelled by the text's awareness of its own limitations, acknowledging that it was only a "metaphoric head" that they could shake in disapproval. One of the chief limitations of such an article was that it was published in a 'quarterly' journal, unlike *Punch*, which as Asa Briggs notes, "had the advantage over the prestigious quarterlies that it could comment on ideas and events before they became stale".⁸¹ Its weekly publication meant that it had an advantage over the newspapers, being able to collate the week's news and

⁷⁹ Anon., "The Thames: its Uses and Abuses" *Fraser's* 38 (1848), pp.685-688.

⁸⁰ *ibid.*, p.686.

⁸¹ Susan and Asa Briggs (eds.), *Cap and Bell: Punch's Chronicle of English History in the Making 1841 - 1861* (London: MacDonald, 1972), p.xviii.

sum up the key events.⁸² As Mark Lemon, first editor of *Punch* observed, all too often “the form of publication precluded the effective treatment of passing topics, and the weekly wit could ‘march round’ the monthly one, and capture his best materials.”⁸³

It was in this changing culture that *Punch* moved Father Thames into the main cut, seeking to resolve the problems inherent in communicating the need for public health reform which had limited earlier representations to largely text based discussion. The magazine’s concern for what Altick has labelled the ‘humanitarian cause’⁸⁴ was clearly articulated in *Punch*’s continued criticism of the vested interests which hindered a systematic response to the city’s problems. “Dirty Father Thames” was accompanied by five stanzas of verse, though there was no accompanying text entry either preceding or following the actual image. This signalled a distinct development in the integrated role of the verbal and the visual, though it was the image that commanded the readers’ attention more. In this main cut, the weary figure of Father Thames attempting to clean the river bed was reminiscent of the bearded god of the sea, Neptune. This visualised the narrative of the bowed down and degraded figure found in periodicals like *Fraser’s* discussed earlier and demonstrated the clear networks of communication which were evolving.

Though the author of the verse is unknown, its themes consistently engaged with *Punch*’s scrutiny of the Metropolitan and City Commissioners of Sewers, observing:

Thou, too, hast a Conservator,
He who fills the civic chair;
Well does he conserve thee, truly,
Does he not, my good LORD MAYOR?⁸⁵

The capitalisation of ‘LORD MAYOR’, directed the question of responsibility to one specific target and in so doing firmly apportioned blame on the City of London Corporation.⁸⁶

⁸² This was the same advantage it shared with Philipon’s lesser discussed paper *La Caricature*, discussed in Chapter One.

⁸³ Mark Lemon, *Mr Punch: His Origin and Career, with a facsimile of his M.S. prospectus in the handwriting of Mark Lemon* (London: Jas Wade, 1870), p.26. For further discussion about weekly journals see Laurel Brake, “Writing, cultural production and the periodical press in the nineteenth century” in J. B. Bullen (ed.), *Writing and Victorianism* (London: Longman, 1997), pp.54-73.

⁸⁴ Altick, op. cit., p.186.

⁸⁵ *Punch* 15 (1848), p.151.

Fig. 2⁸⁷



DIRTY FATHER THAMES.

Every river, filthy river,
Ran from London to the Neve,
What art thou but one vast gutter,
One tremendous common sewer?

All inside thy stinky waters,
All inside thy reeking maze,
Christian folks inhale mephitic,
Which thy bubbly bosom brews.

All her foul abominations
Into thee the City throws;
Thou pollution, ever churning,
To end to thy current flows.

And from thee is brewed our porter—
Thou, thou gully, puddle, sink?
'Tis thou, 'tis thou, art the liquor
Whence is made the beer we drink?

Thou, too, hast a Conservator,
He will fill the city with
Well does he conserve thee, truly,
Dost thou not, my good Father Thames?

It was the duty of the Conservator to take responsibility for the repair and preservation of the Thames. However, as the verse implied little “Conserving” was actually taking place; the only conservation was that of vested interest. The topicality of *Punch*'s satire was again evident in its response to current legislation and debate. In the verse of “Dirty Father Thames” the City’s resistance to being unified under the centralised title, Metropolitan Commissioners of Sewers following the 1848 Metropolitan Commissioners of Sewers Act was criticised. The five stanzas also utilised the traditional poetic devices of alliteration and onomatopoeia, “Christian folks inhale mephitic⁸⁸/which thy bubbly bosom brews”, alongside the repetition of emotive

⁸⁶ The City of London Corporation was appointed Conservator of the Thames in 1193, though the extent of jurisdiction was not extended out to Teddington Lock until 1857. <www.history.ac.uk/gh/water.htm> [accessed June 2008].

⁸⁷ *Punch* 15 (1848), p.151.

⁸⁸ Any noisome or poisonous stench <<http://dictionary.reference.com>> [accessed July 2009]. The choice of word clearly reinforces a miasmatic approach to disease causation.

adjectives such as ‘foul’, ‘filthy’ and ‘vile’.⁸⁹ The narrative clearly targeted “thee the City” who “throws/These pollutions, ever churning”.⁹⁰

Whilst the image did develop the themes outlined in the verse, it also established a range of visual motifs and emblems that were to find resonance in future cartoons and social cuts. It was these cultural motifs which were to feature in *Punch*’s treatment of the subject from 1849 onwards. The rear cityscape behind Father Thames depicted the smoky chimneys and steamers which polluted the air, contributing to environmentalist debates about the source of disease. In the top right hand corner of the image, the outline of St Paul’s Cathedral at the heart of the Square Mile was faintly discernible. Recognisable from the Gog and Magog cartoons from 1844 (see Chapter Four) it was an iconographic signifier for the City of London. The figure of Father Thames was clearly foregrounded in this image as the Conservator of the Thames, characterised as overburdened by the extent of the river’s problems as the overflowing refuse canister on his back indicated. The waters around him visualised “Bunk’s Discoveries in the Thames” from 1841. To the left of Father Thames were the “ancient leather buskins”,⁹¹ at the end of his stick a “skeleton of some unknown animal”, the “broken porcelain” in the form of a jug floated on the top left. The fish on the right were poisoned and dying in the water.

More significantly though, the image of Father Thames marked the beginning of a series of icons that *Punch* created and which were indicative of their age. In much the same way that the figure of ‘John Bull’ had been adopted in the eighteenth century, Father Thames became a symbol which contributed to the character of *Punch* as a national institution. Just as ‘John Bull’ had “gone through numerous changes of physique and demeanour”,⁹² so too did Father Thames, as Chapters Six and Seven will demonstrate. Though this image of 1848 was created by William Newman while Leech was absent due to a serious bathing accident,⁹³ as all subject matter was decided at the weekly staff dinners this iconography can be seen to have provided the template for

⁸⁹ *Punch* 15 (1848), p.151.

⁹⁰ *ibid.*, p.151.

⁹¹ A buskin is a thick-soled laced boot or half boot <<http://dictionary.reference.com>> [accessed June 2008].

⁹² Altick, *op. cit.*, p.138.

⁹³ Spielmann (1895), *op. cit.*, pp.413-414.

Leech, and other artists, to go on and extend the personified rhetoric of “Dirty Father Thames” through the 1850s and beyond.⁹⁴

The verbal narrative style which dominated *Punch*'s early contributions on sanitation through to 1848 and the close of Volume 14 were characteristic of a wider difficulty of communicating demands for cultural change in the field of public health reform. Volume 14 closed with the main cut “Sanatory Measures”, a direct response to the Public Health Act of that same year. It was an important piece for reinforcing the interconnections between the water question and other areas requiring reform and characterised *Punch*'s treatment of public health reform in the 1850s as Chapter Four will go on to consider. The purpose of this chapter has been to chart how and why the years 1841 – 1848 were a crucial period for the implementation of a new sanitary idea which was going to pave the way for a more systematic administration of health reform. This change was paralleled with an ideological shift in the purpose of reading, as the periodical press and specifically *Punch* adopted a more educative role, seeing their mission to inform their readers of the true condition of the metropolis. The methods by which *Punch* achieved its aim changed as the magazine grew in popularity. The appeal of the interaction between the verbal and the visual evolved in such a way that a new power was afforded to the visual as an examination of the popular figure of Father Thames has shown.

A more implicit style of criticism in the earlier volumes acquired a new satirical edge from Volume 15 with the frontispiece of the volume confirming the importance of Father Thames as a cultural indicator of *Punch*'s response to reform. However, the subject of the Thames and the provision of water to the metropolis was a topic that was affected by a range of other considerations, including the disposal of refuse, the maintenance of the over-crowded city graveyards and the regulation of the City's busiest market, Smithfield. This made it difficult to target one specific area for examination. In contrast, the subject of Smithfield, located in the heart of the City, provided *Punch* with a more accessible subject for an in-depth critique of the vested interest of the City aldermen they perceived were responsible for hindering reform. It

⁹⁴ Just over a hundred years after Father Thames first appeared in the main cuts of *Punch*, the publication of L. G. Illingworth's illustration of Father Thames entitled “Southward Ho!” 1949-50, demonstrates the resonance of the cultural iconography which was in formation during the 1840s.

was only with the fall of Smithfield that *Punch* was then able to return to the subject of the Thames and build a more focused campaign.

Chapter Four

The ‘Monster Nuisance’¹ at the Heart of the Metropolis: the Campaign for the Removal of Smithfield Market

Smithfield had become a symbol of the Corporation’s greed and on this theme *Punch* was able to develop a new iconographic register. The objections to Smithfield Market’s location were more than a mere extension of broader public health concerns, for it was over this issue that the Corporation of London came under unprecedented public and political scrutiny until the eventual removal of the market in 1855. This chapter will demonstrate that the process of sanitary reform was not just about raising awareness but was also about combating the vested interests of economic privilege and heritage, with the Corporation seeking to maintain a monopoly on Smithfield trade and its regulation. The Market and its surrounding slaughterhouses were the third ‘chief’ influence that John Simon’s Sanitary report identified as “prevailing against life within the City of London”.² This chapter examines the breadth of debates surrounding the Smithfield Market removal campaign, identifying popular verbal visual motifs that were developed in *Punch* and which were to inform the magazine’s treatment of public health debates more widely from 1849.

Smithfield was the only “live” market in the metropolis during the 1840s; as Mayhew noted, it was also the oldest.³ The significance of this was evident in the City of London’s response to proposals calling for the removal of the market, its practices being shaped by centuries of established orders and associated privileges. The subject of Smithfield Market is therefore important for symbolising the modernisation of the City and identifying how the problems raised by rapid urban development were addressed. As *The Times* had commented in 1847, a more systematic approach to reform was needed, for “with Smithfield cattle-market in the very heart of the metropolis, and slaughter-houses abounding, and graveyards scattered about in all directions, with their thousands and thousands of festering corpses poisoning earth and air, where is the use of fine projects for building sewers and constructing water-works?”⁴ The debates

¹ *The Times*, Wednesday, Jan. 17, 1849; p.4; Issue 20075; col. D.

² John Simon FRS, *Reports Relating to the Sanitary Condition of the City of London* (London: John Parker and Son, 1854), p.7.

³ Henry Mayhew, “Smithfield”, (ed. Humphreys, A.) *Voices of the Poor: Selections From the Morning Chronicle: ‘Labour and the Poor’ (1849-1850)* (London: Caliban Books, 1980), p.183. For further discussion of Mayhew, see Chapter Two.

⁴ *The Times*, Saturday, Apr. 10, 1847; p.4; Issue 19520; col. D.

surrounding the market involved social, economic and political consideration which needed resolving before wider concerns, such as the water supply, could be addressed.

Between 1840 and 1855, over 451 articles about Smithfield were published in *The Times* from the Corn Exchange reports analysing imports and exports to letters to the editor, from leading editorials to full reviews of Parliamentary, Court of Aldermen and Common Council debates. Ranging across numerous columns of the newspaper, their detail was dense. However, the damaging sanitary impact of the Market (and its related trades) on its surrounding neighbourhood was only one of three major problems identified by *The Times*' review of the 1847 Royal Commission and the subsequent Report of the second Royal Commission in 1849.⁵ Also associated with the sanitary difficulties was the overcrowding of the City streets with people and animals. Coupled with the problem of animals being driven down overcrowded streets was a concern for the animals themselves, a growing awareness of animal cruelty which led to the foundation of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals in 1824, gaining Royal patronage to become the RSPCA in 1840.⁶ *Punch* was able to bring all of these issues together more cogently through its visualisation of people's anxieties.

The increased profile of Smithfield in parliamentary debate and legislation was mirrored in *Punch*'s prolific responses. However, there was no single approach to the campaign advocated in *Punch*. Rather, an examination of this case study reveals the development of a verbal visual iconography that evolved alongside the main cuts. Of the 29 references on keyword "Smithfield" for 1841 – 1848 in the *Punch Database on Public Health*, only one was a main cut, leaving a large number of pieces which demand analysis in order to more clearly appreciate the contribution that the Smithfield campaign had to make to broader public health debates.⁷ Whilst the context for an examination of Smithfield Market lies within an understanding of Corporation interest, what was significant about *Punch*'s reaction was the variety of forms by which it was articulated. As Part One has discussed, many other publications campaigned for

⁵ *The Times*, Saturday, Mar. 20, 1847; p.5; Issue 19502; col. E.

⁶ Hilda Kean, *Animal Rights: Political and Social Change in Britain Since 1800* (London: Reaktion, 1998), p.35.

⁷ As the Introduction has discussed, the thematic index at the *Punch* Library, Harrods, predominantly deals with main cuts, thereby suggesting that Smithfield Market was a rarely depicted topic. Primary data from the period, not least the Reports of John Simon, highlight just how crucial the removal of Smithfield Market was to the campaign for public health reform as a whole. The *Punch Database on Public Health* provides a method for addressing this misrepresentation generating the references to engage in more in-depth primary analysis. For further discussion see the Conclusion.

specific resolutions to public health problems, however, *Punch*, whilst concurring that reform was needed, sought to present a range of different perspectives about the locality of Smithfield Market.⁸ By embracing the diverse range of ideas that were being disseminated, *Punch* was demonstrating its ability to address a wide audience on what was a divisive political issue. *Punch* combined in verbal visual satire a narrative of change which more readily conveyed the essence of the debate, and indeed of the public health campaign, in a more accessible and extended narrative. It was the diversity of *Punch*'s scope which established the "social groove from which the periodical has never deviated".⁹

Early Representations of Smithfield Market

Alec Foreshaw outlines how problems of disease and obnoxious smells had been associated with the market since its charter was granted in 1327. A turning point in public concern came at the end of the eighteenth century as an "inevitable result of an expanding population, an increase in meat-eating and a confined market site".¹⁰ The demand for more meat was evident from the number of cattle and sheep entering the market with a rise of over half a million between the years of 1810 and 1828 alone.¹¹ At the centre of discussions about the location of the Market was a concern about the vested interests of the Corporation, which, despite early problems with overcrowding, petitioned to enlarge the market in 1802 preferring to see it as a valuable asset and source of revenue.¹² However, the legislature opposed these motions and recommended its removal from the 'heart' of the Metropolis. As a result of continued objections from the Corporation, the question about the Market's location remained the focus of campaigners' concerns until 1849 when the Royal Commission categorically affirmed that the removal of the Market was the only solution to sanitary threats to the Metropolis.

Between 1802 and 1849 following debates over the condition of the market a series of bills were passed which marked the beginning of a long and turbulent period of

⁸ The market was located in the ward Farringdon Without, bordering Farringdon Within. See Appendix Nine.

⁹ Mark Lemon, *Mr. Punch: His Origin and Career, with a facsimile of his M.S. prospectus in the handwriting of Mark Lemon* (London: Jas Wade, 1870), p.80.

¹⁰ Alec Foreshaw, *Smithfield Past and Present* (London: Heinemann, 1980), p.54.

¹¹ For further statistical evidence of the variation in demand and increase across the period, see *The Times*' weekly "Corn Exchange" column.

¹² The question of whether to enlarge the market rather than move it to another site was still being raised in 1847 and 1848. Again, this was refuted. See *The Times*, Saturday, July 22, 1848; p.5; Issue 19922; col. F.

disagreement around whether the market should be retained, enlarged or removed as reformers sought to overcome vested interest.¹³ Following the 1832 cholera epidemic and subsequent fears about environmental pollution and its contribution to the spread of disease, the motivation for a solution to Smithfield's problems took a significant turn. In 1837 a Parliamentary Committee was convened to address again the suitability of Smithfield's location at the centre of a now even more densely populated district. The final report denounced the Market as "a nuisance of the worst description retained by a monopoly in the heart of the metropolis"¹⁴. As before, there was a reiteration of the concern that a 'monopoly' was hindering the reform program. The impact of the 1837 Report was even more far-reaching as contemporary authors and reformers sought to raise the profile of the topic and the Report's findings through other cultural forms in an effort to generate widespread sympathy for the cause.

Charles Dickens' *Oliver Twist*, first serialised in February 1837, captured the multitude of problems generated by Smithfield's location within the heart of an increasingly thriving and densely populated metropolis:

It was market-morning. The ground was covered, nearly ankle-deep, with filth and mire; and a thick steam, perpetually rising from the reeking bodies of the cattle, and mingling with the fog, which seemed to rest upon the chimney-tops, hung heavily above. All the pens in the centre of the large area, and as many temporary pens as could be crowded into the vacant space, were filled with sheep; tied up to posts by the gutter side were long lines of beasts and oxen, three or four deep.¹⁵

Dickens captured the cacophony of noises, from the "the whistling of drovers, the barking of dogs, the bellowing and plunging of oxen, the bleating of sheep, the grunting and squeaking of pigs; the cries of hawkers, the shouts, oaths, and quarrelling on all sides" as confounding the senses.¹⁶ Lyn Pykett suggests that in this passage, "the city is presented as a spectacle. It has an immense vitality, but its energy is 'hideous' and 'discordant'".¹⁷ The confusion and disorder of market day was portrayed by a particularly visual language, creating a scene in the reader's eye, one with which they could identify; hearing the noise, smelling the stench and picturing the chaos. However,

¹³ Thomas Dunhill, *A Letter to the Right Honourable Sir George Grey, Bart MP* (London: Effingham Wilson, 1851), pp.14-15.

¹⁴ *ibid.*, p.20.

¹⁵ Charles Dickens, *Oliver Twist* (1837; reprint, London: Penguin, 1975), p.203.

¹⁶ *ibid.*, p.203.

¹⁷ Lyn Pykett, *Charles Dickens* (London: Palgrave, 2002), p.47.

as Buchanan-Brown has argued, at this time audiences' skills of comprehension were derived from a visual tradition of illustration, "all were accustomed to taking in ideas in a stylized art form and had an imagination formed by the tradition of moral satire independent of literacy".¹⁸ In this way, book illustrations were vital in providing a method for understanding the narrative of the text, to show readers how to read and make the text comprehensible to a wider audience. It was this aim which informed Dickens' relationship with his artists, "to reinforce in pictorial symbols the point which his prose was designed to make".¹⁹ However, neither Dickens nor George Cruikshank chose to sketch Chapter 21, "The Expedition", which described Smithfield in such detail. *Punch's* engagement with the topic almost a decade later, developed an alternative and complementary style of protest which visualised the imagery created by writers like Dickens and established the independent narrative power of the image.

From Dickens to *Punch*, scenes of chaos and confusion became increasingly familiar narratives associated with critiques of market days at Smithfield. However, there was a range of other campaigners who were actively working to ensure that "information [had] been sufficiently circulated to enable the public to form a sound judgement on the subject".²⁰ In 1845 a pamphlet on the Established Church, published almost eight years after *Oliver Twist*, further condemned the Market:

This abominable nuisance is a disgrace to the metropolis of this great empire; whether you advert to the brutality exercised on the animals, the yelping of their tormentors, the dogs; the appearance, conduct, and language of the drovers; the filth and dirt in it, particularly in wet weather; the danger to which any one is exposed who is obliged to pass through it; it constitutes altogether the most complete, disgusting, hellish, pandemonium that can be conceived.²¹

The pamphlet's perspective is significant because understanding the Church's approach to social reform provides a vital context from which to comprehend the Christian Social ethos which underpinned many of the principles of social medicine.

¹⁸ Q. D. Leavis, "The Dickens Illustrations: Their Function" in F. R. and Q. D. Leavis, *Dickens the Novelist* (1970; Pelican reprint, London: Penguin, 1972), p.431.

¹⁹ John Buchanan-Brown, *Early Victorian Illustrated Books: Britain, France and Germany 1820-1860* (London: The British Library, 2005), p.190.

²⁰ Hon. Frederick Byng, *Smithfield and Newgate Markets by the Hon. Frederick Byng* (London: James Ridgeway, 1851), p.6.

²¹ Anon. *Thoughts on the Established Church* (London: Effingham Wilson, 1845), p.31.

John Simon's mentor, J. H. Green, influenced by Coleridgean and Germanic philosophies of medicine, identified the three 'great' professions of the 1830s as "the Legal, Ecclesiastical and Medical"; the culmination of Green's research in the 1840s was to witness the desired reunion of the professions of Law, Medicine and the Church as one "national learned class".²² Though not overtly articulated in the same terms, this sentiment increasingly informed the public health campaign as a whole from 1849. This was nowhere more apparent than in *The Times*' review of the Metropolitan Sanitary Commission's first meeting at the Freemason's hall, which Charles Dickens amongst others attended: "it was admitted on all hands that if we desired to raise the poorer classes in the scale of social order, civilization, and moral dignity – to elevate them to that state which becomes reasonable beings, accountable agents, and servants of God, we must begin by removing those causes which keep them in the very depths of poverty and misery".²³ Arriving at this consensus in 1850 was the result of many years of active campaigning from a variety of different interest groups throughout the 1840s. *Punch*, however, had already situated Smithfield Market and its associated trades, as one such 'cause' which had hindered reform on a wider scale for too long.

Developing Verbal Visual Motifs

By 1851 writers like Charles Dickens were more overtly stating that Smithfield was "the (rotten) apple of the Corporation's eye".²⁴ However, *Punch* had found a consistent target for its ridicule in the Aldermen of the City of London from as early as 1844. The corpulent and rotund figure of the Aldermen they depicted became a consistent visual motif symbolizing their excess and extravagance. The humour derived from the bloated and engorged representations of the Aldermen clearly had its origin in eighteenth century satire, but was further deployed by *Punch* to emphasise self-interest.²⁵ Popular delicacies of the time at social dinners included turtle and whitebait, making them a familiar motif for symbolising luxury.²⁶ Turtle soup in particular was the highlight of Mayoral Dinners: "the most expensive soup brought to table. It is sold by the quart,--one guinea being the standard price for that quantity . . . The green turtle

²² T. N. Stokes, "A Coleridgean Against the Medical Corporations: John Simon and Parliamentary Campaign for the Reform of the Medical Profession" *Medical History* 33 (1989), p.349.

²³ *The Times*, Thursday, Feb. 07, 1850; p.8; Issue 20406; col. B.

²⁴ "A Monument of French Folly" *Household Words* 2:50 (March 8 1851), p.1.

²⁵ See Chapter One for further discussion of 'emblems' and the traditions of eighteenth century satire.

²⁶ With thanks to Victoria Listserv at Indiana for their discussions on the significance of turtle and whitebait as gourmet delicacies, particularly Andrea Broomfield, Johnson County Community College Kansas, Lee Jackson, Victorian London Website and Christina Bradstreet, Birkbeck College (query at 19 July 2005). A full archive of all VICTORIA discussion threads is available at <<https://listserv.indiana.edu/>> [accessed July 2009].

is highly prized on account of the delicious quality of its flesh, the fat of the upper and lower shields of the animal being esteemed the richest and most delicate parts . . . some hundreds of tureens of turtle soup are served annually at the lord mayor's dinner in Guildhall."²⁷ The expense and rarity of the dish made the turtle in particular an apt symbol of greed, becoming a popular motif in both text and image which was recurrently used to criticise the ineptitude of Aldermen who preferred to sit and indulge at ceremonial dinners when they should have been tending to the needs of the City. The satirical potential of this figure is evident from Charles Dickens' use of the 'turtle' to highlight the inefficiency of the Court of Common Council in "Lively Turtle" published in *Household Words* in 1850.²⁸ The recognisable appeal of such symbolism in *Punch's* critique of the Corporation is evident from the 58 references on the keyword "Corporation of London" in the *Punch Database on Public Health* for the period 1841 – 1858. However, the first use of 'turtle' was formative in the development of another popular narrative used by *Punch* to attack vested interests: the story of Gog and Magog.²⁹

"Gog and Magog in Mourning" (1844) was the title of a main cut by John Leech and an accompanying narrative by Douglas Jerrold.³⁰ As the Introduction and Chapter One have outlined, 1844 was an influential year in *Punch's* revision of tone and purpose, signified by the redesign of the opening cover. Leech's cartoon introduced two enduring motifs which were to recur throughout *Punch's* campaign for sanitary reform, moving them from the marginalia to the main cut and simultaneously establishing a form which was to increasingly characterise the magazine's distinct contribution to contemporary debates. Gog and Magog, the "giants of mere wood",³¹ (Figure 1) alluded to the giant wooden effigies at the Guildhall, London, which, along with Mansion House, the Mayoral residence, symbolised the heart of the City of London. The legend surrounding the two giants signified a cultural history of tradition and privilege, the very essence of vested interest and self preservation that was the object of *Punch's* satire. As survivors of a race of giants destroyed in war by Brutus the

²⁷ *Mrs Beeton's Book of Household Management* (1861)

<<http://www.victorianlondon.org/publications7/beeton-06.htm>> [no pagination; accessed 16 April 2009].

²⁸ "Lively Turtle" mocked the ineffectual responses of the Court of Common Council to both the Public Health Act of 1848 and the campaign for the removal of Smithfield Market. See Michael Slater (ed.) *The Dent Uniform Edition of Dickens' Journalism Vol. II* (London: J. M. Dent, 1996), pp.290-291.

²⁹ For further details of where the motifs of Gog and Magog are used in *Punch*, see the *Punch Database on Public Health*, keyword "Gog and Magog".

³⁰ *Punch* Collection, British Library, PUN/A/BRAD/AB 01.

³¹ *Punch* 7 (1844), p.162.

Trojan, legendary founders of London, Gog and Magog were brought to act as porters at the gate of the City.³² That the keepers of the City were “in Mourning” for “the respectability of the City of London”³³ suggested, in the context of *Punch*’s previous pieces on the City, that the actions of the Aldermen and Lord Mayor had become corrupt.

Fig. 1³⁴



GOG AND MAGOG IN MOURNING!

Foregrounded in the centre of Leech’s image was a tureen of turtle, the symbol of the Alderman’s greed; St Paul’s, and by implication, City business, was in the background. The subject of Gog and Magog’s lament, detailed in the accompanying

³² Jacqueline Simpson and Steven Roud (eds.), *The Oxford Dictionary of English Folklore* (2000; reissue, London: OUP, 2003).

³³ *Punch* 7 (1844), p.163.

³⁴ *Punch* 7 (1844), p.163.

text, was the “folly of the Court of Aldermen” choosing Gibbs as Mayor.³⁵ Thus, the reader was expected to not only appreciate the metaphorical allusions and symbolism of Leech and Jerrold’s pieces, but also to have an understanding of how the City was organised and the key personnel being satirised.³⁶ Gibbs, the Sheriff of the City in 1841, had a reputation for litigiousness having been in constant dispute with the parishioners of his ward with regard to the administration of parochial funds.³⁷ Here the text lends meaning to the image, confirming that illustrations had been predominantly confined to a supplementary role until this period. However, even in this early piece *Punch* was responding to the visual literacy of its audience, seeking to develop the independent power of the image by creating a variety of narrative levels on which the main cut could be understood. For example, the symbolic opulence of the tureen of turtle soup was not contextualised by the narrative and stood as a visual motif requiring recognition in its own right, identifiable from within the context of *Punch*’s style and character and as a wider allusion to the vested interest of the City of London. Rhetorical strategies of personification, symbolism and metaphor were combined in a verbal visual satire that sought to bring the topic of the ‘monster nuisance’, Smithfield, into the public sphere.

Evolving Motifs: the Rampaging Bull

An anonymous pamphlet, signed ‘John Bull’,³⁸ circulated in 1848, observed that the 1837 report on Smithfield had merely condemned the conditions at *that* time.³⁹ By the 1840s, with an increase in population and the number of cattle driven through the market, the problems had become significantly exacerbated. So great were the numbers that ‘John Bull’ commented, “we are well assured that but for this monopoly Smithfield

³⁵ *Punch* 7 (1844), p.162.

³⁶ Appendices Eight and Nine have been created as a method for assisting in tracing these references more specifically.

³⁷ Michael Gibbs was Alderman of Walbrook Ward (location of the Bank of England and Stock Exchange) from Nov 3rd 1838 until 1851, Sheriff of the City in 1841 and Mayor in 1844 – see Appendix Eight. A. B. Beaven, *The Aldermen of the City of London* Vol. 1 (London: Corporation of London, 1908-13), p.205. Beaven also goes on to note that it was for this reason that Gibbs was frequently attacked by *Punch*.

³⁸ The choice of pseudonym for this pamphlet was historically significant. ‘John Bull’ began to appear in pamphlet form as early as 1712 and in prints in the 1760s. He was frequently portrayed as a stolid, though passive, figure, much put upon but quite ready to fight when provoked beyond patience. Domestically he represented the suffering of the middle class public and this is reflected in the tone of this pamphlet. See Richard Altick, *Punch: The Lively Youth of a British Institution 1841-1851* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1997), pp138-139; Diana Donald, *The Age of Caricature: Satirical Prints in the Reign of George III* (London: Yale University Press, 1996), pp.157 – 162 and Miles Taylor, “John Bull and the Iconography of Public Opinion in England c1712 – 1929” *Past and Present* 134 (1992), pp.93-128.

³⁹ John Bull, *An Enquiry into the Present State of Smithfield Cattle Market and the Dead Meat Markets of the Metropolis* (London: James Ridgway, 1848), p.5.

Market would long since have been removed”.⁴⁰ A consensus was forming that it was the Corporation, in protecting the vested interests of the Aldermen, who had delayed a solution for an intolerable length of time. *Punch* had reached this conclusion in 1844, applying it directly to the context of the Smithfield campaign in 1846, a year before the Select Committee on Smithfield Market and the Markets and Fair Clauses Act.⁴¹

Punch's response to the campaign paralleled the development of the magazine's form and style through the repetition and reinforcement of key motifs and emblems. The narrative of the City in crisis captured by Leech in "Gog and Magog in Mourning" (1844) was extended in *Punch*'s response to the Smithfield campaign through associated symbols such as the Smithfield Bull. In the first narrative piece to directly engage with the Smithfield Removal campaign, Jerrold used an epistolary form to personify the "Young Bull" who felt that his "vested rights" were being infringed by the proposals for moving the market.⁴² In this way, *Punch* satirised the same arguments that had persistently been put forward by the Aldermen of the Corporation of London. Jerrold was renowned for the currency of the topics that he addressed⁴³ and it was in his follow up piece, "The Smithfield Abomination", that the range of debates involved in the Smithfield campaign was highlighted.⁴⁴ Jerrold suggested that such was the City's level of vested interest in protecting Smithfield's location that the abolition of the Market would only occur in the event of a "Lord Mayor", an "Alderman" or member of "the Common Council" sustaining illness or injury as a direct result of "the driving of oxen through the street of London"; declaring that "no gorings or killings, inflicted upon any man, woman, or child, shall be considered in any other light than as an inevitable accident . . ." ⁴⁵

Fear for public safety was central to debates about the Market at this time, regularly appearing in *The Times* and *Punch*. The blocking of thoroughfares on market days posed a public menace to the people of the city who were at risk of being trampled upon by the bulls which frequently escaped the care of the harassed drovers, as demonstrated in the confusion depicted in "Holborn as it May Be" (1847).⁴⁶ Jerrold's friend and colleague Dickens further extended the interest in the Smithfield debate and

⁴⁰ *ibid.*, p.5.

⁴¹ See Appendices Six and Seven.

⁴² *Punch* 11 (1846), p.209.

⁴³ Walter Jerrold, *Douglas Jerrold and 'Punch'* (London, Macmillan & Co., 1910), p.77.

⁴⁴ *Punch* 11 (1846), p.235.

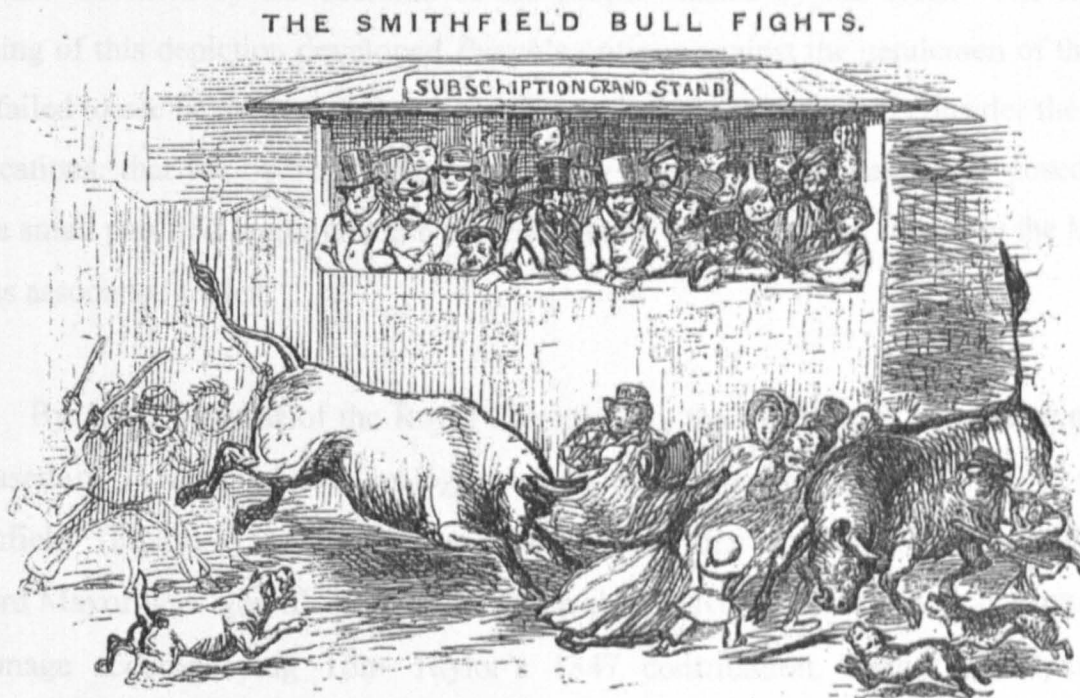
⁴⁵ *ibid.*, p.235.

⁴⁶ *Punch* 12 (1847), p.243.

the public health campaign more widely in *Dombey and Son* (1848) when young Florence became lost amongst the “wild confusion” on market day; depicting a scene “of people running up and down, and shouting, and wheels running over them, and boys fighting, and mad bulls coming up . . .”⁴⁷

Developing the personification of the rampaging bull, an additional feature utilised in *Punch* to examine the public dangers posed by the Market was the narrative of the ‘bull fight’. Also appearing in 1846, “The Smithfield Bull Fights” (Figure 2) by Gilbert á Beckett was the first combined verbal visual analogy of the bull fight.⁴⁸

Fig. 2⁴⁹



It would really seem that there is a chance of the Spanish custom of Bull-fights being introduced into this country, for every Smithfield market-day one or more of the noble brutes may be found giving the public an elementary lesson in the exciting pastime. From St. Bartholomew's Hospital to Blackfriars Bridge, the road is enlivened three times a week with the playful gambols of a few bulls, and Chatham Place furnishes a sort of amphitheatre, which only requires a stand for spectators to give quite a Spanish air to the locality.

We recommend to the authorities that measures should be adopted for

giving to the Bull performances all the benefit they can derive from the accessories which are usual on similar occasions in the country where the Bull-fight is a part of the national amusement, as we expect it will become with us if the Smithfield arrangements are allowed to continue as at present. We do not see why the drovers, with their sticks, should not be at once constituted a band of *picadores*; while the policemen might be employed as *toreros*, with handkerchiefs affixed to the end of their truncheons, to brandish in the eyes of the bulls, and take off the attention of the animals from any *caballero* who may happen to be in jeopardy.

Visually the scene was one of confusion and alarm; the menacing leer of the drovers with raised sticks in the left of the image inciting the frenzy of the tormented bulls. The text extended this analogy by drawing on terminology specific to the Spanish ‘sport’ to reveal the primitive nature of the customs, suggesting such occurrences were very un-English and not at all acceptable in British culture.

⁴⁷ Charles Dickens, *Dombey and Son* (1848; reprint, London: Penguin, 1982), p.128.

⁴⁸ *Punch* 11 (1846), p.241.

⁴⁹ *ibid.*, p.241.

We recommend to the authorities that measures should be adopted for giving to the Bull performances all the benefit they can derive from the accessories which are usual on similar occasions in the country where the Bull-fight is a part of the national amusement, as we expect it will become with us if the Smithfield arrangements are allowed to continue as at present. We do not see why the drovers, with their sticks, might not be at once constituted a band of *picadores*; while the policemen might be employed as *torreros*, with handkerchiefs, affixed to the end of their truncheons, to brandish in the eyes of the bulls, and take off the attention of the animals from any *caballero* who may happen to be in jeopardy.⁵⁰

However, on another level the image also foregrounded a 'Grand Stand' comprising men in top hats who were happy to idly watch this spectacle, irrespective of the dangers it posed. The audience was pre-dominantly male, their top hats signifying a higher class than that indicated by the costume of the people chased by the bulls. The inferred meaning of this depiction developed *Punch's* critique against the gentlemen of the City who failed to see beyond what was immediately in front of them and consider the wider implications: that the overcrowding of the City streets and the dangers it posed were only a small part of a larger concern for the sanitary considerations raised by the Market and its associated trades.

By 1847, the year of the Royal Commission, the intensity of the campaign was increased in *Punch* and the analogy was extended further in "The Bull Fight of Smithfield" (Figure 3).⁵¹ Jerrold's assertion in 1846, that it was not until an Alderman or Lord Mayor was 'gored' that the matter would receive due attention, was captured in the image accompanying Tom Taylor's 1847 contribution, further signifying the changing role of the visual. In this piece associative visual motifs were embedded within the title and the sketch that accompanied Taylor's verse. In the centre of the half page poem was the title, above which Mr. Punch was depicted as being chased by an irate bull. The image to the right, demonstrated the effects of what would happen to those who did not stay out of the path of the bull. Mr. Punch's appearance in the title was part of the more supervisory role that he was taking in protecting the interests of his readers, despite the dangers the duty may pose. The form of the title also signified a shift in how titles and illustrative letters were to convey the visual narrative as well as decorating the opening of the text. In the main image the continued caricature of the portly Alderman was evident, establishing a visual template for many other illustrations examining the corruption of the City of London, not just those looking at Smithfield.

⁵⁰ *ibid.*, p.241.

⁵¹ *Punch* 12 (1847), p.151.

The corpulent bespectacled figure, arrayed in mayoral robes, was alluded to as “Sir Calipee” in the main text, a variation and extension of the turtle allusion from 1844.⁵²

Fig. 3⁵³



THE BULL FIGHT OF SMITHFIELD

THERE'S trampling feet in Goswell Street, there's row on Holborn Hill,
There's crush and crowd, and swearing loud, from bass to treble shrill;
From grazier cad, and drover lad, and butcher shining greasy,
And slaughter-men, and knackers' men, and policemen free and easy.

'Tis Monday morn, and onward borne to Smithfield's mart repair
The pigs and sheep, and, lowing deep, the oxen fine and fair;
— y're trooping on from Islington, and down Whitechapel Road,
— wild halloo of a shouting crew, and yelp, and bite, and goad.

From combs of distant Devonshire, from sunny Sussex wald,
From where their Durham pastures the stately short-horns hold;
From Herefordshire marches, from fenny Cambridge flat,
For London's maw they gather—those oxen fierce and fat.

The stunted stocks of Cambria's rocks uneasily are lowing,
With redder blaze of wild amaze their eyes around them throwing;
And the unkempt stot of Galloway, and the Kyle of the Mearns,
Whose hoof, that crush'd the heather tuft, the mild MACADAM spurns.

They may talk of *plaza mayors*, of *toreros'* nimble feat,
Of *MOSTER*, the famed *matador*, of *picadors* so fleet;
But what is Spanish bull-fight to the deeds that we can show,
When through the street, at all they meet, the Smithfield oxen go?

See there, see there, where high in air nuzsmaid and nursing fly!
Into a first floor window, see, where that old gent. they shy!
Now they're bolting into parlours, now they're tumbling into cellars,
To the great disgust and terror of the peaceable indwellers.

Who rides so neat down Chiswell Street? A city knight, I ween:
By girth and span an alderman, nor less by port and mien.
Look out, look out! that sudden shout! the Smithfield herd is nigh!
Now turn, Sir Knight, and boldly fight, or more discreetly fly.

He hath eased round on his saddle, all fidgetty and fast;
There's another herd behind him, and the time for flight is past.
Full in his front glares a rabid runt, thro' tears of pain that blind him,
For the drover's almost twisted off the tail that hangs behind him.

A¹¹ lightly armed for such a shock was stout SIR CALIPEE,
— he couched his new umbrella, and “Police” aloud cried he!
— smash—smash—slap—dash! The whalebone snaps, the saddle-seat is
— bare,
And the knight in mazy circles is flying thro' the air!

The runt tears on, the rout is gone, the street is calm once more,
And to Bardeny's they bear him, extended on a door;
Now, gramercy, good SIR CALIPEE, to the turtle and the haunch,
That padded out thy civic ribs and lined thy stately paunch.



No ribs are broke, but a shattering stroke thy system hath sustain'd:
Any other than an alderman had certainly been brained.
And soon as he had breath to swear, the knight right roundly swore
That straight he'd put down Smithfield and set up an abattoir.

In this way, the text provided another layer of meaning for the occasional readers who were not as familiar with the world of *Punch* as those who could share in the recognition of recurring motifs. Written in an ‘olde Englyshe’ style that could be connected with the old-fashioned traditions the Aldermen sought to protect, the narrative provided a template for Doyle and Leigh’s “Manners and Customs of Ye Englyshe” series in 1849. In contrast to Jerrold’s 1846 piece, though sharing references to Spanish culture, reportage narrative was replaced by verse, the rhythm of the metre capturing the beat of the approaching bull’s hooves:

Who rides so neat down Chiswell Street? A city knight, I ween;
By girth and span an alderman, nor less by port and mien.

⁵² Calipee is the yellow flesh found next to a turtle’s lower shell, a term you may find used in conjunction with calipash, the green flesh found next to a turtle’s upper shell. Both edible delicacies, these references therefore extend the metaphors of greed and indulgence associated with the image of the turtle and the Aldermen. *A Dictionary of Food and Nutrition*. David A. Bender. Oxford University Press, 2005. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press. Liverpool John Moores University. <<http://www.oxfordreference.com>> [accessed 20 May 2008].

⁵³ *ibid.*, p.151.

Look out, look out! They sudden shout! the Smithfield herd is nigh!
Now turn, Sir Knight, and boldly fight, or more discreetly fly.

He hath eased round on his saddle, all fidgetty and fast;
There's another herd behind him, and the time for flight is past.
Full in his front glares a rabid runt, thro' tears of pain that blind him,
For the drover's almost twisted off the tail that hangs behind him.

All lightly armed for such a shock was stout SIR CALIPEE,
As he couched his new umbrella, and "Police" aloud cried he!
Crash – smash – slap – dash! The whalebone snaps, the saddle-seat is
bare!
And the knight in mazy circles is flying thro' the air!⁵⁴

The appropriateness of the analogy created by *Punch* found confirmation in *The Times* the same year; "to [the Corporation], perhaps, however, the driving of cattle through crowded streets may possibly furnish an amusement resembling in its character that of the Spanish bull-fights, for which it is well known a taste may be engendered by use among even those who at first recoil from so cruel a spectacle".⁵⁵ Cruelty was the associative link across both pieces and indeed the analogy as a whole.⁵⁶ The *Punch* staff's familiarity with a range of discourses facilitated them to mount their campaign on more than one level. Despite the prevalence of pieces examining the cruelty to animals at Smithfield Market, its treatment in *Punch* was most notable for the rhetoric it shared with wider public health concerns, specifically those that advocated the provision of clean air and water.

Smithfield and the Campaign for Sanitary Reform

In *Punch* the sanitary impetus for removing Smithfield was generated by recognition of the variety of interconnected problems the market created which affected the health of the metropolis. As Steven Inwood notes in his history of London, there was a large number of subsidiary industries that were reliant on the Market whose proximity, geographically and financially, to the business district around St. Paul's Cathedral presented serious concerns about the regulation and control of waste and filth.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ *Punch* 12 (1847), p.151.

⁵⁵ *The Times*, Saturday, Mar. 20, 1847; p.5; Issue 19502; col. E.

⁵⁶ Early pieces on animal cruelty included "The Petition of the Sticks" *Punch* 11 (1846), p.249 which shared concerns expressed in *The Times*, Tuesday, Jan. 09, 1849; p.4; Issue 200068; col. D.

⁵⁷ In the ward of Castle Baynard, see Appendix Nine.

This was the largest animal market in the world, and it is not surprising that the area around it was full of ‘knackers’ yards, tainted-sausage makers, slaughterhouses, tripe-dressers, cat’s-meat boilers, catgut-spinners, bone-houses’, paunch-cookers, bladder-blowers, and all the stench and brutality of backyard butchery. Only 200 yards from St. Paul’s Cathedral, the narrow lanes off Newgate Street were, in the literal meaning of the word, a shambles, with excrement and entrails piled by the roadside, and the gutters running with blood.⁵⁸

The closeness of such ‘brutality’ in everyday life did not go unobserved by contemporaries who were concerned with justifying a more ‘civilised’ urban experience. By 1847 the reliability of the Royal Commissions and their findings were questioned in the mainstream press as well as in *Punch*,⁵⁹ with pamphlets querying the efficacy of reports that had been conducted by Commissioners and representatives who benefited financially from the existing arrangement:

It is only just that inquiry should precede legislation, but we must not expect truthful elucidation from those whose common sense is perverted by interest or prejudice.⁶⁰

The motivation for this change of perspective was coming from a range of different campaigners, including the Health of Towns Association formed in December 1844.⁶¹

In 1847 the Health of Towns Association published a selection of papers on sanitary reform and in discussing Smithfield Market, reinforced MacKinnon’s conclusions from 1828 that as well as targeting the Market, the campaign should address the – “Sanitary Evils from Slaughter Houses in Towns”.⁶² The Association was created in order to propagate sanitary knowledge and agitate for legislation; a role

⁵⁸ Stephen Inwood, *A History of London* (reprint, London: Papermac Macmillan, 2000), p.429.

⁵⁹ *The Times*, Wednesday, May 05, 1847; p.3; Issue 19541; col. B.

⁶⁰ Anon, *Smithfield and the Slaughterhouses. A Letter to the Right Hon Viscount Morpeth, MP by a livery-man of London* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1847), p.4.

⁶¹ The Association was formed in 1844 in the wake of Edwin Chadwick’s *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population*. Though the Association only existed until 1849, its aims to “substitute health for disease, cleanliness for filth, order for disorder, economy for waste, prevention for palliation, justice for charity, enlightened self-interest for ignorant selfishness, and to bring to the poorest and meanest – Air, Water, Light” set a precedent for the works of future associations to build upon. The London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, University of London <www.lshtm.ac.uk> [accessed June 2009].

The Association arranged public meetings and lectures, published the *Journal of Public Health*, lobbied MPs and doctors, rallying local groups. In this way, it can be seen to have been the forerunner of influential groups like the Social Science Association of 1857; it was such groups which came to characterise the second phase of public health reform, changing what was meant by public health ‘education’. For further reading on the Health of Towns Association, see Christopher S. Hamlin, *Public Health and Social Justice in the Age of Chadwick: Britain 1800 – 1854* (Cambridge: CUP, 1997).

⁶² Thomas Dunhill Esq., civil engineer, *Health of Towns: A Selection from Papers on Sanitary Reform Published in the Journal of Public Health and Other Periodicals* (London: Renshaw, 1848), pp.19 – 23.

that Simon took up when he was appointed Medical Officer of Health in 1848, a year before the Association was dissolved. In his first report he too reinforced the importance of education in advancing the sanitary cause, “the education to which I refer, as an all important influence for sanitary progress, is that which would consist in exhibiting to the lowest classes of society frequent practical evidences of the attainability and the advantages of higher civilization”.⁶³ The humanitarian desire for a civilised nation in which to live and work was underpinned by a discourse of social responsibility. This informed the character of the public health campaign for sanitary reform in *Punch* from 1847, as the one main cut from the period 1841 – 1848 clearly foregrounded.

“Punch and the Smithfield Savages” (1847) (Figure Four) was by Leech;⁶⁴ the accompanying text “Penn Punch and the Smithfield Savages” by Jerrold.⁶⁵ Both pieces presented Mr. Punch as an ambassador on a mission to educate the ‘savages’ who lacked the knowledge to accept change.

Fig. 4⁶⁶



PUNCH AND THE SMITHFIELD SAVAGES.
SUGGESTED BY PENN'S TREATY WITH THE 'NDIANS.

⁶³ Simon, op. cit., p.49.

⁶⁴ *Punch* 12 (1847), p.169.

⁶⁵ *Punch* 12 (1847), p.168.

⁶⁶ *Punch* 12 (1847), p.169.

Mr. Punch was drawn in Quaker clothing to parallel his experience with that of William Penn, the Quaker leader who was an envoy for the crown of Charles II and subsequently granted the Charter for Pennsylvania in 1681.⁶⁷ A crucial part of Penn's civilising mission was to create the city of Philadelphia which was only achieved following a treaty with the Indians, the Delaware Chiefs, who already occupied the area.⁶⁸ This allusion signified the beginnings of a shift in the purpose that *Punch* perceived it held in the popular imagination. The Charter granted to Penn by Charles II made him Supreme Governor, the same role that Mr. Punch adopted in order to proselytise reform for the good of the people of the metropolis. This duty was further confirmed by Jerrold's opening quote "O pardon me, - That I am meek and gentle with these butchers". Literally, Mr. Punch sought to be 'gentle' in educating the butchers of Smithfield he addressed, but there was also a parallel inference in that the quotation was taken from the overtly political play, *Julius Caesar*, spoken by Mark Antony, another fine example of an ambassador.⁶⁹ Like Mark Antony and William Penn before him, Mr. Punch sought to unite the people, including the City Aldermen and Council, to one common purpose; that of sanitary reform and the removal of Smithfield Market, for "we are the same as if one man's body was to be divided into two parts: we are all one flesh and blood".⁷⁰

Jerrold's piece provided a context for understanding the garb of Mr. Punch and the Indian Chief that was pencilled to the left of him. However, the subject of the text dwelled predominantly on safety issues,

"Children of slaughter! chips of the block!" said *Punch* . . . Henceforth, let not your cattle affright our wives and children, our grandfathers and grandmothers; let not the horns of your bulls be tipped, like red-ink pens, in the flesh of any of our brethren. . . . Why should the tender squaws and little ones of Fleet Street be tossed and trodden on by the brutes of the Long Lanequannets? . . . Bruises and broken joints have come of your bulls; and fright has entered the wigwam of the shopkeeper driven there - with very often a child in her arms - by an insane ox! My brethren, I say, let this cease. Let us bury the pole-axe and cleaver here in Smithfield - even here in the Field of Smith.⁷¹

⁶⁷ Joseph E. Illick, "Penn, William" *The Oxford Companion to United States History*. Paul S. Boyer, ed. Oxford University Press 2001. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press. Liverpool John Moores University. <<http://www.oxfordreference.com>> [accessed 6 March 2009].

⁶⁸ *ibid.*

⁶⁹ See also, Alan R. Young, *Punch and Shakespeare in the Victorian Era* (Switzerland: Peter Lang, 2007).

⁷⁰ *Punch* 12 (1847), p.168.

⁷¹ *ibid.*, p.168.

Whilst there were the recurring themes of social responsibility in the text, reinforced through references to the ‘innocents’ and the ‘children’, it was in the visual where another layer of interpretation was identifiable directly relating to the associated trades that were coming under scrutiny.

The charters that Mr. Punch was presenting to the ‘savages’ were labelled “The Smithfield Nuisance” and “Abattoirs: Public Safety”. The Smithfield Bull was absent from this image. The use of the word ‘nuisance’ directly engaged with current debates about what constituted a nuisance, stimulated by the 1846 Nuisances Removal Act.⁷² Nuisance laws were one of four areas of public health law, alongside general sanitary laws, sewers regulation and disease prevention.⁷³ Whilst this introduced a level of meaning independent of what was alluded to in the text, the cut also included more familiar images from earlier representations of the City. In the centre was the dome of St. Paul’s and in the foreground were the corpulent London Aldermen. To the left of the image, the man seated in the foreground bore the crest of the City of London on his arm and was supported by a man in mayoral robes; the savages who were complicit in the ‘uncivilised’ business of Smithfield. Two of the portly figures on the immediate left of the image were identifiable as Aldermen, though the use of rings through their noses connoted both a level of savagery and made them comparable to pigs.⁷⁴ This representation marked a development in the motif of the engorged Aldermen; the first in a series of images where they were depicted as ‘pigs’. The drover’s boys and workers of the market were captured in the image in the bottom right foreground and in the centre, a symbol of youth and the future generations in need of education. The range of characters represented in Leech’s main cut maintained *Punch*’s tradition of depicting all sides of the debate; no one class was singled out, everyone from the drover to the gentleman was in need of education. The multiplicity of narratives that this one piece contained, through combined verbal visual allusions, demonstrates the centrality of the Smithfield campaign to understanding how key motifs were developed in *Punch*’s response to the broader question of how to ameliorate the condition of the metropolis.

⁷² See Appendix Seven.

⁷³ Derek Fraser, *The Evolution of the Welfare State* (1973; 2nd ed., London: Macmillan, 1984), p.73.

⁷⁴ There are also further associations with bulls who wore rings through their nose, extending the Smithfield bull motif further.

The Smithfield question stimulated many variations on the single theme of urban sanitation.⁷⁵ This was nowhere more apparent than in the shared aims it had with campaigns for the purification of the Thames which *Punch* frequently depicted as a related evil. By doing this, the magazine was anticipating the parallels John Simon was to find between inter-connected sanitary projects two years later in his Reports for the City. *Punch* presented a new way of visualising the city and its problems. By 1847 the magazine had created the methods for moving mere description into a more complex verbal visual representation, engaging with the increasing contemporary fascination surrounding microscopy since the invention of the modern microscope in 1826.⁷⁶ In a sketch entitled “Salubrity of Smithfield” *Punch* exposed a drop of water taken from the vicinity of Smithfield, a motif that was to endure into the 1850s (Figure 5).⁷⁷

Fig. 5⁷⁸

SALUBRITY OF SMITHFIELD.

THERE is an old saying, that every one eats a peck of dirt in the course of his life ; but a calculation of how much dirt one drinks—held in solution in Thames water—has, we believe, never been completed. The friends of Smithfield Market are, no doubt, not merely reconciled to the sort of fare which we all are said to partake of rather largely, but they appear to delight in the consumption, as if, on the principle of *similia similibus*, a large accession of mundane dirt to human clay were greatly to be desired. On the supposition that there is something salubrious in filth, we may account for the allegation as to the wholesomeness of Smithfield Market.

The purity of the water in the vicinity has been much talked about, and we have therefore caused a drop of it to be magnified and analysed. The accompanying section will show the parts of which the Smithfield fluid is composed. It will be seen that Mammon is one of the chief



ingredients, though Folly forms no inconsiderable portion of the disgusting mixture. We are, however, preparing a patent filter, which, by applying the principle of very hard pressure, will, we trust, have the effect of purifying even Smithfield from the foulness with which it is at present encumbered.

⁷⁵ Altick, op. cit., p.607.

⁷⁶ "microscope" *A Dictionary of Physics*. Ed. John Daintith. Oxford University Press, 2000. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press. Liverpool John Moores University. <<http://www.oxfordreference.com>> [accessed 7 March 2009].

⁷⁷ *Punch* 12 (1847), p.248.

⁷⁸ *ibid.*, p.248.

Written by Gilbert á Beckett the explanation that accompanied this view referred to the quality of the water in the River Thames.⁷⁹ The piece continued to attack the vested interest of Aldermen who had claimed in their reports to the 1847 Committee that the air from Smithfield was far from unwholesome; a subject that provoked intense debate from a variety of interest groups.⁸⁰ The corpulent figure emblazoned with ‘Mammon’ on its chest, shared a shape strikingly similar to the turtle motif, further extending *Punch*’s metaphor of greed and indulgence. Indeed, the text suggests that “Folly forms no inconsiderable portion of the disgusting mixture”, implying that this was what had encouraged Aldermen to declare the district of Smithfield ‘wholesome’ despite reports to the contrary.⁸¹

Though short, Beckett’s piece developed the observations recorded a few months earlier in “Smithfield Martyrs – Smithfield ‘Salubrity’”⁸². “Smithfield Martyrs” directly responded to the 1847 Report and the petition of Deputy Bedford,⁸³ who “believed it to be the opinion of all who were acquainted with the subject, that Smithfield was the most eligible of all situations for a market, *from its central position* and the vast variety of its *approaches* and SALUBRITY OF CLIMATE. (Hear, hear.)”⁸⁴ *Punch* continued to use the Aldermen’s justifications for retaining the Market to campaign for its removal. Smithfield had originally been built just outside the city walls on a vast expanse of open land known as ‘Smoothfield’.⁸⁵ Bedford, and many of the Aldermen of the City, continued to ignore the increasingly ‘central’ location of the Market at the heart of a densely populated area, its position creating a health hazard as well as posing logistical difficulties for moving the animals through the busy narrow streets. As *The Times* observed, “this is one of the cases in which a besotted imitation of our forefathers has led us to do the very thing which of all others they would have avoided. They pitched their cattle market outside their city. We have built round their

⁷⁹ The small motif to the bottom right of the image, cross-referenced with Spielmann’s “Appendix of Signatures of *Punch*’s Artists”, suggests the image may have been by William Newman who went on to sketch the first main cut of Father Thames, “Dirty Father Thames” (1848), suggesting a continuity in the themes he examined. M. H. Spielmann, *The History of ‘Punch’* (London: Cassell and Co., 1895), pp.573-574.

⁸⁰ Indeed through to 1851, writing in defence of the Corporation’s actions throughout the campaign, Bushnan continued to maintain the salubrity of the air in the surrounding neighbourhood. J. Stevenson Bushnan MD, *The Moral and Sanitary Aspects of the New Central Cattle Market as Proposed by the Corporation of the City of London* (London: S Orr and Co., 1851), p.24.

⁸¹ *Punch* 12 (1847), p.248.

⁸² *Punch* 12 (1847), p.116.

⁸³ Each ward was chaired by an Alderman who was supported by a Deputy, then, depending on the size of the ward, there were a number of Common Councillors who constituted the members of that board.

⁸⁴ *Punch* 12 (1847), p.116.

⁸⁵ Foreshaw, op. cit., p.5. This can also be seen from the Market’s location close to the border of the City, see Appendix Nine.

market until it stands in the heart of our city; but their market is our market still. There is no fact in the history of modern London so disgraceful as the Smithfield Market nuisance.”⁸⁶

Punch was forthright in satirising why the problem had been allowed to persist, despite the expansion of the market, for “It was quite unnecessary for [Bedford] to attempt to add to the feeling which the citizens of London entertained of so liberal and disinterested an interference with a place of business in which 7,000,000 changed hands annually. (Hear, hear.)”.⁸⁷ The market had to some extent been considered, though purely in economic terms. *Punch* openly condemned this cold mercantile approach, proselytising identifiably cameralist principles which underpinned the magazine’s approach to reform.

Of course the arguments advanced by DEPUTY BEDFORD will fall with merciless weight upon Her Majesty’s Ministers, at this time preparing a sanitary measure for the metropolis and the great towns of England. DOCTOR SOUTHWOOD SMITH, MR. TOYNBEE, LORD ASHLEY, and other persons meddling with the vested rights – that is, the vested muck – of society, have lifted up their venal voices against private slaughter-houses in the thickest parts of London; places that are, as a matter of course, the luxuriant offshoots of salubrious Smithfield. DOCTOR SMITH speaks of the effluvia – the mortal effluvia – arising from the garbage and filth of butchery, and doing the work of death in the lungs of the surrounding population.⁸⁸

Punch was all too aware of how difficult it was to initiate a change of attitude in the City’s response and the close of “Smithfield Martyrs” was a cynical anticipation of the resistance that Morpeth’s health bill was to receive. Indeed, Morpeth had to resubmit an amended version of the Bill in 1848 and the Public Health Act that eventually emerged was a weak and ineffective compromise which lacked the mandatory powers necessary to penetrate the vested interest of the City of London.

Punch’s satirical denunciation of Bedford’s claims about the salubrity of Smithfield continued throughout the preceding months of 1847 engaging with contemporary studies of atmospheric (pythogenic) theories of disease; an extension of the miasmatic concerns raised by authors like Dickens in the 1830s.⁸⁹ As Lambert

⁸⁶ *The Times*, Tuesday, Jan 09, 1849; p.4; Issue 200068; col. D.

⁸⁷ *Punch* 12 (1847), p.116.

⁸⁸ *ibid.*, p.116.

⁸⁹ See also, “A New Scent” *Punch* 12 (1847), p.165.

notes, “it became during the forties and fifties the orthodoxy of the public health movement and concentrated attention on environmental problems rather than on those of personal health and infection”.⁹⁰ Working within the heart of the Corporation of London John Simon, the newly appointed Medical Officer of Health, prioritised resolving the problems associated with Smithfield though he was clearly constrained by the control that the Aldermen and Common Council had over the implementation of any type of reform. The limitations of the 1848 Public Health Act were evident in the closing remarks of Simon’s *First Report Relating to the Sanitary Condition of the City of London*, where he was also only able to make recommendations to the Corporation, calling for them to act responsibly and act upon his advice. Simon had to adopt a tone which would appeal to the ‘civilised’ and rational side of the Aldermen, in much the same way that Mr. Punch had attempted to do in “Penn Punch and the Smithfield Savages”.

Lord Morpeth’s sanitary objectives were also compromised by the limited Act of 1848, an observation that was the subject of Leech’s main cut, “Sanatory Measures. Lord Morpeth Throwing Pearls before ____ Aldermen”.⁹¹ (Figure 6) Whilst this cartoon was informed by the 1848 Act, as the titles on the scrolls indicated, there were still clear allusions to contemporary debates about Smithfield Market and the quality of the air, as the figure of Mr. Punch holding his nose at the rear of the cartoon illustrated. The caption, “Lord Morpeth Throwing Pearls before _____ Aldermen”, had its origins in the biblical verse “do not throw your pearls before swine, lest they trample them under foot and turn to attack you”.⁹² The ‘pearls’ of sanitary wisdom proffered by Morpeth were indeed ‘trampled under foot’ and the justifications for reform ‘attacked’ in the Common Council. The coats of arms on the back of each ‘pig’, the disdainful glance over the top of spectacles, extended the motif of the Aldermen as pigs created in Leech’s earlier work, “Punch and the Smithfield Savages”. In wilfully protecting their interests the Aldermen were depicted as content to sit in their own squalor, lowering their status to that of the pig in a sty.⁹³

“Dirty City!” *Punch* 13 (1847), p.3.

⁹⁰ Royston Lambert, *Sir John Simon 1816 – 1904 and English Social Administration* (London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1963), p.49.

⁹¹ *Punch* 14 (1848), p.231. This cartoon also developed the themes of resistance and vested interest captured in “The Dirty London Alderman” (1847).

⁹² Matthew 7 (v.6) *The Holy Bible (Revised Standard Version)* (London: Collins’ Clear-Type Press, 1971).

⁹³ The image of the Alderman as a pig was extended throughout *Punch*’s attacks on the Corporation of London. Perhaps the most notable example was “A Nuisance in the City that Must be Got Rid of”, published in 1853. See Chapter Five. For wider popular references to such pig allusions, see Charles



SANATORY MEASURES.

Lord Morpeth Throwing Pearls before — Aldermen.

Leech's main cut stood alone without any corresponding verse or text, except for a title. The visual was now able to convey the implied criticism of the Corporation of London and highlight the variety of individual campaigns captured under the umbrella of sanitary reform to which the 1848 Public Health Act sought to respond. This signals the increasing independence of the image as public reform entered a new era.

There are 103 pieces on Smithfield Market referenced in the *Punch Database on Public Health*, testament to the importance of the subject for understanding the public health movement as a whole. The majority of these entries are from the date of the 1847 Royal Commission through to the 1851 Smithfield Market Removal Bill characterising the magazine's transition into a second era of reform. A search on the keyword "Smithfield", identifies 20 articles for 1847; 2 for 1848; 31 for 1849 (the year of the second Commission); 18 for 1850 (the year of preparations for the Great Exhibition and the drafting of the Smithfield Removal Bill); and, 16 for 1851 (the year of the Smithfield Removal Bill). By the late 1840s *Punch* had asserted its niche in

Kingsley "Great Cities and Their Influence for Good and Evil" (1857) in *Sanitary and Social Essays* (1880; reprint, London: Macmillan, 1895), p.205.

⁹⁴ *Punch* 14 (1848), p.231.

popular culture. Mark Lemon was aware that “an English Charivari must address itself to a certain extent to politics in their popular bearings, but it must also make itself read and trusted in domestic life”.⁹⁵ An examination of the Smithfield Market campaign can demonstrate how *Punch*’s “social groove”, which Lemon had aspired to, was established.

By the 1850s *Punch* had created a particular social role for itself in the public consciousness, enabling readers to understand a range of interrelated sanitary debates, including the topics of intramural interment and the adequate provision of water. This chapter has demonstrated that *Punch* had begun to develop a “distinctive personality” for itself from 1841 – 48.⁹⁶ Key motifs identified in this chapter were shared across the broader platform of *Punch*’s satirical techniques, creating a specific frame of reference from which to mediate social change and justify the need for sanitary improvements across the Metropolis. As Chapter Five argues, this facilitated the educative purpose of the magazine to be asserted in what was also the second era of public health reform. The personified voice of Mr. Punch reinforced the importance of a united response to policing and monitoring reform, proselytising a more systematic response to reform which was evident in the cohesion of the network of campaigners who were coming together to advocate change at this time.

⁹⁵ Lemon, op. cit., p.80.

⁹⁶ Altick, op. cit., p.56.

PART THREE

Chapter Five

'Policing' Public Health Reform and the Removal of Smithfield Market in 1855

From 1849 *Punch* was at the forefront of a range of popular periodicals which sought to generate public interest in sanitary reform. This collective response helped to pave the way for a new era of social reform which was characterised by the rhetoric of social responsibility and policing. As this chapter will demonstrate, this move was discernible in *Punch* through the verbal visual methods the magazine deployed in order for readers to 'see' the city's public health problems in new ways. Underpinning the methods for visualising change was a narrative of inspection, Mr Punch presenting himself as the Inspector of Nuisances who was to monitor the health of the city. This narrative was fuelled by the 1848 Public Health Act and the appointment of John Simon as the first Medical Officer of Health for the City of London in 1849. However, the discourse was only practically realised following the Metropolis Management Act of 1855, when the appointment of Medical Officers of Health was made mandatory.

Patrick Carroll claims that there was a "culture of medical police" within mid-Victorian society that was clearly influenced by the models outlined at the beginning of the century by reformers like Johann Frank.¹ At the core of that culture was the development of the periodical press and fiction, educating and motivating different social groups, as well as the medical profession, to acknowledge the city's sanitary problems. The difficulty with implementing a system of inspection and policing, as Welsh notes in *The City of Dickens*, was that "in Victorian England the spirit of reform contended with the doctrine of non-interference".² Many feared that the police, in the fulfillment of their duties, would challenge individuals' civil rights and liberty; a fear which frequently impeded social reform and the establishment of a systematic approach to administration. Chadwick contributed to the 1839 Report of the Royal Commission on a Constabulary Force where he sought to encourage a more 'social' form of policing. Meeting with little success, Chadwick worked in other areas of social reform, including the Commission that contributed to the 1842 Report on the Labouring Population. His proposals for the introduction of Medical Officers of Health to assist in the detection

¹ Patrick E. Carroll, "Medical Police and the History of Public Health" *Medical History* 46 (2002), p.464. For further discussion of the work of Johann Frank, see Chapter Two.

² Alexander Welsh, *The City of Dickens* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p.35.

and prevention of disease sought to achieve an alternative method of policing for Victorian London.

Punch's satire situated the role of social responsibility both within the family as well as in emergent government institutions responsible for administering the city, such as the birth of the modern police force. In *Policing and Its Context 1750 – 1870* Clive Emsley problematises the term 'police' and its social implications, for the term varied across different cultures, emphasising either the welfare and protection of the people or the administration of the state.³ A central question was whose responsibility it was to maintain the welfare of the poor. It was a problem which Frank had sought to address in *A System of Complete Medical Police* (1779), attempting to demonstrate how the role of the state could be married with that of the individual for:

Medical police, like all police science, is an art of defense, a model of protection of people and their animal helpers against the deleterious consequences of dwelling together in large numbers, but especially of promoting their physical well-being so that people will succumb as late as possible to their eventual fate from the many physical illnesses to which they are subject.⁴

A national system of medical police would ensure from a centralised level, that individuals (on a personal level) were citizens of good practice in hygiene and cleanliness and exert social responsibility. However, the science of policing public health struggled to find articulation in England, the *Quarterly Review* of 1840 noting that "England is the only European country which is devoid of medical police, and in which the public health has been allowed to shift for itself".⁵ As the introduction and Part Two has established, change came with the work of Edwin Chadwick in 1842.⁶ The principal recommendation of his Report, which was to change the nature of reform, was to make provisions for the appointment of Medical Officers of Health. This goal was not achieved until 1855. However, the initiative of Liverpool in appointing Dr Duncan as the first Medical Officer of Health in 1847, followed by the City of London's appointment of Dr John Simon in 1848, demonstrated the possibilities of implementing such a system of 'police' and an ethos of social responsibility in England. By 1849 all

³ Clive Emsley, *Policing and Its Context 1750-1870* (London: Macmillan, 1983), p.2.

⁴ Erna Lesky (ed.), *A System of Complete Medical Police – Selections from Johann Peter Frank* (Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), p.12.

⁵ "Public Health and Mortality" *Quarterly Review* 46 (1840), p.124.

⁶ For further reading on the 'Sanitary Idea', see Hugh John's, "The Medical Officers of Health, Past, Present and Future" in Stephen Farrow (ed.), *The Public Health Challenge* (London: Century Hutchinson Ltd., 1987), p.61.

of these perspectives were incorporated in the rhetoric of sanitary reform and were becoming more prominent in *Punch* as the magazine perceived a way that it could become in itself an instrument of medical police.

In his first report to the City of London, 1849, John Simon established the concept of inspection as being crucial to the success of the public health campaign. Simon sought to enlist the assistance of the City police in reporting regularly on 'nuisances', demonstrating a more systematic approach to the public health campaign as a whole than had previously been witnessed.⁷ Commenting on the need for "habitual and systematic surveillance" in his First Report, Simon argued that "the services of the Police-force might usefully be employed . . . [for] I would submit that their numbers and their diffusion through the City qualify them well to act against all causers of nuisance, as they act against other offenders, both detectively and preventively".⁸ The immediacy of another cholera epidemic in the summer of 1849 provided the justification for Simon's preventative programme of filth removal, including the licensing of slaughterhouses. For, "the presence of epidemic cholera, instead of serving to explain away the local inequalities of mortality, does, in fact, only constitute a most important additional testimony to the salubrity or insalubrity of a district, and renders more evident any disparity of condition which may previously have been overlooked".⁹ This acknowledgement paralleled *Punch's* beliefs and in 1849 there was a significant rise in the number of pieces considering the subject and its associated sanitary issues.

John Simon's Reports heralded a new era in the City's organisation. Constant surveillance became identified as crucial to the success of the public health campaign, Simon declaring that "inspection of the most constant, most searching, most intelligent and most trustworthy kind, is that in which the provisional management of our sanitary affairs must essentially consist".¹⁰ *Punch* too speculated about what 'inspection' involved, whose responsibility it would be and the effects that new forms of social medicine could have. Inspection was interpreted by both Simon and *Punch* as having a dual purpose; as a prevention and as a form of maintenance once an agreed sanitary standard had been attained. Either way, this narrative of social policing was supported

⁷ Charles Dickens outlined the utility of 'policing' offensive trades in his comparative analysis of Smithfield Market and the markets of Paris – "A Monument of French Folly", *Household Words* 2:50 (8 March 1851), p.430.

⁸ John Simon F.R.S., *Reports Relating to the Sanitary Condition of the City of London*, "First Report 1849", (London: John Parker and Son, 1854), p.65.

⁹ *ibid.*, "First Report 1849", p.4.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, "First Report 1849", p.58.

by an investment in the principles of preventative medicine, which “may ensure to the aggregate masses of the community prolongation of life and diminution of suffering; in the working of some single enactment, it may affect the lives of generations of men, and may moderate in respect of millions the sources of orphanage and poverty”.¹¹ Such sentiments foregrounded the principles of cameralism, social responsibility and policing that increasingly informed *Punch*’s scrutiny of the campaign for sanitary reform from 1849.

1848 Public Health Act and the Medical Officer of Health

The 1848 Public Health Act enabled local authorities to establish a network of medical officers with powers to ‘police’ nuisances across the City but the legislation was not mandatory and thus the powers of inspection were limited and often abused.

And be it enacted, That the Local Board of Health may from Time to Time, if they shall think fit, appoint a fit and proper Person, being a legally qualified Medical Practitioner or Member of the Medical Profession, to be and be called the Officer of Health, who shall be removable by the said Local Board, and shall perform such Duties as the said General Board shall direct; and the same Person may be Officer of Health for Two or more Districts;¹²

Whilst the definition of ‘fit and proper’ was open to interpretation, it was important that the role had to be filled by a ‘legally qualified’ practitioner. However, ‘such Duties as the said General Board shall direct’ frequently became a mere extension of parish duties as had existed under the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834. The new science of investigation was too often missing from the actions of local authorities as *Punch* exposed in pieces such as “Splendid Opening For a Young Medical Man” in 1848. In this main cut the post was advertised as being for a “parish doctor” and the responsibilities were as vague as the direction outlined in the Act itself: to “find your own tea and sugar – medicines I mean- and, in fact, make yourself generally useful. If you do your duty, and conduct yourself properly, why –ah –you –ah”.¹³ The immediacy of *Punch*’s response to the new roles for doctors reflected the personal interests of many

¹¹ *ibid.*, “Second Report 1850”, p.164.

¹² 1848 Public Health Act c.63 s. XL (see Appendix Seven). <www.justis.com> [accessed April 2008].

¹³ *Punch* 14 (1848), p.59.

of the salaried staff who were medically trained, reinforcing the importance of understanding the different social and professional networks which informed their work.

Those Medical Officers who were appointed under the 1848 Act, including John Simon for the City of London, endured long working hours and poor pay, making the new duties unattractive to many within the medical profession. *Punch* mounted a consistent campaign against the poor pay and conditions such posts were assigned, advocating the importance of policing throughout the Metropolis.¹⁴ The magazine contended that the low remuneration that accompanied such a position of high responsibility and skill was not a due acknowledgement of its importance. However, under the Act, provision and guidance regarding pay were as vague as the guidelines for duties.¹⁵ The way that these guidelines could be selectively used, or indeed ignored, was the subject of *Punch*'s satirical piece, "The Alderman and the Apothecary" (1848),¹⁶ also sketched by John Leech. (Figure 1).

The style of "The Alderman and the Apothecary", published a few weeks after "Dirty Father Thames", was again informed by the social networks in which the *Punch* staff operated, further extending the satirical dynamic of the relationship between text and image that the magazine had begun to personalise. Accompanying the main cut, the verse was signed "Shakspeare (a little altered)". This signature connoted an air of authority but also established a parallel frame of reference for the verbal visual narrative, drawing influence from the depiction of the Apothecary in Act V of *Romeo and Juliet*.¹⁷ Through this reference it was clear that *Punch* assumed a level of knowledge from its readers to understand the parallels that were being drawn. In 1842, the publisher Charles Knight had released the highly popular *Pictorial Shakspeare*.¹⁸ Knight had worked with Douglas Jerrold on the Society for the Diffusion of Useful

¹⁴ "Splendid Opening For a Young Medical Man" was sketched by John Leech, himself a trained medical man, as the Introduction of this thesis has discussed. *Punch* Collection, British Library, PUN/A/BRAD/AB 01

¹⁵ 1848 Public Health Act c.63 s. XL (see Appendix Seven). <www.justis.com> [accessed April 2008].

¹⁶ *Punch* 15 (1848), pp.172-173.

¹⁷ I do remember an apothecary,—
And hereabouts he dwells,—which late I noted
In tatter'd weeds, with overwhelming brows,
Culling of simples; meagre were his looks,
Sharp misery had worn him to the bones;
Romeo and Juliet (Act V Scene I: 38-42)

¹⁸ John Buchanan-Brown, *Early Victorian Illustrated Books: Britain, France and Germany 1820 – 1860* (London: The British Library, 2005), p.164.

Knowledge's *Penny Cyclopaedia* and it was not unknown for Knight, a friend of Dickens' dramatic circle, to be at "after business hour sessions" with the *Punch* men.¹⁹

Fig. 1²⁰



THE ALDERMAN AND THE APOTHECARY.

Ald. I do remember an Apothecary,
And if we need an Officer of Health
To toil upon the lowest salary,
This object is the very man for us.

Come hither, Sir; I see you are hard up:
Hold. There are fifty and a hundred pounds
Per annum, for your wages. Let us have
Your service to explore the sinks and sewers
Of our foul city and its liberties.
Apoth. The pay is very small; and the employ

Is death to many a man that works at it.
My poverty, and not my skill, commands.
Ald. We pay thy poverty and not thy skill.
Shakespeare (a little altered.)

Though the author of the narrative "The Alderman and the Apothecary" is not known, Jerrold's "worship of Shakespeare" and his increased involvement in contributing articles on matters of reform potentially means he was the author.²¹ However, given the growth of the social networks in which Jerrold, Knight, Dickens and the *Punch* men worked, the piece could have been written by any of the *Punch* staff. Indeed, Knight had served as "Director of General Arrangements" for Dickens and Lemon's production

¹⁹ M. H. Spielmann, *The History of 'Punch'* (London: Cassell and Co., 1895), p.86.

²⁰ *Punch* 15 (1848), p.173.

²¹ Michael Slater, "Douglas Jerrold" in Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor (eds.), *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism (DN CJ)* (Belgium: Academia Press and the British Library, 2009), p.318.

of “Merry Wives of Windsor” in the summer of 1848, each member of the cast, including Leech, being given a commemorative copy of Knight’s Cabinet edition of Shakespeare.²² Shakespeare was therefore a popular and familiar trope for both artists and readers to draw parallels with.²³

Preceding the main cut was a narrative piece with the sub-heading. “SCENE – The City of London. A Street in the Slums”.²⁴ Written in the style of a play, it conformed to the traditions of dramatic art that many of *Punch*’s artists and writers were involved in as members of the Guild of Literature and Art.²⁵ It also extended the Shakespearean allusion referenced at the foot of the main cut. The two principal characters were an Alderman and an Apothecary and the location was once again the City of London whose Local Board was identified as most likely to abuse the powers that the Act had given. In so doing, *Punch* was continuing the mounted scrutiny and criticism of the City of London it had started from 1844.

The purpose of the Alderman’s visit to the Apothecary was to find a qualified medical practitioner who could be appointed as Medical Officer of Health. His criteria for selection was not according to skill but rather who would take the position for the lowest pay. Observing the Apothecary’s poverty, the Alderman stated:

Noting this seediness, to myself I said –
An if we need an Officer of Health,
To toil upon the lowest salary,
This object is the very man for us.²⁶

The ‘general duties’ outlined under the Act were denigrated in this narrative to merely exploring “the sinks and sewers of our foul city and its liberties, that it may be discharged of pestilence as quickly as the words, JACK ROBINSON”.²⁷ The speed with which it was believed that this duty could be achieved highlighted the

²² Leon Litvack, “Charles Knight” in Paul Schlicke (ed.), *Oxford Reader’s Companion to Dickens* (Oxford: OUP, 1999), p.314.

²³ For further discussion of ‘The Familiarity of the *Punch* Readership with Shakespeare’ see Alan R. Young, *Punch and Shakespeare in the Victorian Era* (Switzerland: Peter Lang, 2007), pp.32-39.

²⁴ *Punch* 15 (1848), p.172.

²⁵ Frankie Morris, *Artist of Wonderland: the Life, Political Cartoons and Illustrations of Tenniel* (Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press, 2005), p.53. For further discussion of the Guild of Literature and Art and the *Punch* staff’s theatrical connections, see Chapter One.

²⁶ *Punch* 15 (1848), p.172.

²⁷ *ibid.*, p.172. Note, the reference to ‘JACK ROBINSON’ implies speed, that something will be achieved suddenly. There was no symbolism in this reference as Jack Robinson was a mythical figure. The phrase is used here as a turn of speech. <www.phrases.org.uk/meanings/jack-robinson.html> [accessed April 2009].

fundamentally indifferent and misguided attitude that *Punch* perceived the City of London held. Absent from negotiations was any sense of social responsibility, reinforced by the closing comment, “We pay thy poverty, and not thy skill”.²⁸ If Medical Officers were chosen according to the lowest salary they would accept, rather than their skills or their ability to actively monitor and police health reform then, as *Punch* asserted, the effects of the Act would only ever be limited.

On the following page was the corresponding main cut of the same title, “The Alderman and the Apothecary”. The style followed that of “Dirty Father Thames”, incorporating dialogue and image together. As with “Dirty Father Thames”, the interrelationship between the two established a concrete world with which the reader was familiar. Whilst the preceding narrative expanded and developed this empirical world, it was not merely a supplement for the main cut. Through the shared motifs and emblems that *Punch*’s visual narratives had begun to establish the location of the piece could also be ascertained. The foregrounding of the crest of the City of London on the coat of the London Alderman was a technique previously used as an identifying signifier and would have been recognisable even for the most occasional reader. In the top right corner was the rising dome of St Paul’s Cathedral, a popular symbol of the City increasingly used in *Punch* to signify the target of its criticism, but an emblem that was also utilised across the periodical press.²⁹ In the same way that Leech developed the verbal visual iconography created by other writers and artists, this main cut generated new motifs symbolising the magazine’s shift to a narrative of surveillance. The lamp above the Apothecary’s door, appearing to ‘look down’ on the Alderman, was adapted in 1854 by Captain Henry R. Howard in “The Model Court”³⁰ (Figure 2). In this cartoon it illuminated not only the work of the inspector visiting the courtyards, but also the pickpocket stealing his handkerchief, reinforcing how much work still remained to ‘civilise’ the poorer areas of the City.

²⁸ *Punch* 15 (1848), p.172.

²⁹ For example, the mast head of the *Illustrated London News* created in 1842, a year after *Punch* began, was a panorama of the City from the River with the dome of St Paul’s clearly foregrounded. See the *Illustrated London News* collection for further examples of how the mast head of the paper has changed whilst still retaining this core feature <www.iln.org.uk> [accessed April 2008].

³⁰ *Punch* 27 (1854), p.204.

Fig.2³¹



In “The Alderman and the Apothecary” the corpulence of the Alderman and the lavishness of his attire was in direct opposition to the slight frame of the Apothecary and the rags for clothes he was attempting to keep warm in. Visual signifiers engaged with the narrative constructed by the text, “Art thou so lean, so full of emptiness And carest for life? . . . Physic is not thy friend, not physic’s trade: Physic affords no fees to make thee rich”.³² However, the poor conditions under which medical men laboured were extended on another level through the visual. The image of the ‘Night Bell’ to the centre left of the image, reinforced the long hours that were also endured. An open drain in the centre foreground of the image coupled with the grating to the left of the Alderman’s foot signified the filth in which the Apothecary lived, with detritus strewn across the street. The developing register of visual iconography established *Punch*’s authority to comment on a variety of interconnected sanitary issues creating a distinct form of vision underpinned by a rhetoric of inspection.

The Role of the Periodical Press as ‘Inspectors’ of Nuisances

From its inception the figure of Mr. Punch had featured in a variety of narratives, both verbal and visual. However, the rhetoric of policing was most clearly discernible from 1848 in “Special Constable Punch” (Figure 3), informed by both Leech

³¹ *ibid.*, p.204.

³² *Punch* 15 (1848), p.172.

and Lemon's time as Special Constables.³³ Whilst this main cut was responding directly to the drafting of 'special constables' to supervise the Chartist protests at Kennington Common, it can also be read as a direct engagement with the language of inspection emerging in the magazine as a whole.

Fig. 3³⁴



SPECIAL CONSTABLE PUNCH.

"NOW, YOUNG FELLOW! THESE ARE NOT TIMES FOR LOITERING. IF YOU DON'T KEEP MOVING, YOU AND I SHALL FALL OUT."

Mr. Punch's accompanying comment that "these are not times for loitering" extended the belief that the Russell Government was slow to pass reform and continued *Punch's* critique of the protracted processes that the Public Health Act had passed through. This was a formative cartoon, for the figure of Mr. Punch that emerged was directly comparable to that in the later cartoon, "A Nuisance in the City that Must be Got Rid of" (1853). In both main cuts, the voice which interacted with the visual narrative was that of Mr Punch himself. However, the focus of the criticism became more targeted in

³³ R. G. G. Price, *A History of Punch* (London: Collins, 1957), p.58.

³⁴ *Punch* 14 (1848), p.167.

the later cartoon, as the magazine gained status and authority. In direct response to the Metropolis Management Act 1855 there was a rise in the contributions on public health in *Punch* reinforcing the importance the magazine placed on maintaining a supervisory role in monitoring social and political, cultural and economic events as they occurred.

In fulfilling this self-appointed responsibility *Punch* had to engage with the range of debates about reform that were waged across the newspapers and periodical press. There was a growing consensus that the press had a vital role to play in how political life was mediated. The mutual exchange between *Punch* and *The Times* over reform was extended through the coverage on Smithfield Market. In February 1849, *The Times* affirmed the duty that the press had to play in informing the ‘public mind’:

In all questions of domestic importance where the pollution of party did not enter, the opinion of the public press was a true indicator of the public mind, and it was a most singular fact that there was not a journal from the “Thunderer” down to *Punch* which had not a fact to tell, or truth to state, or an argument to present in favour of the abolition of Smithfield Market.³⁵

The success of the 1849 Report on Smithfield compared to earlier Reports and Commissions can be attributed to a change in cultural climate generated by the increased involvement of the press in mediating this shift to the reading public.

Gilbert á Beckett had a key part to play in *Punch*’s treatment of Smithfield Market. He initially trained as a magistrate and was appointed Metropolitan Police Magistrate in 1849 when there was a significant increase in his pieces on sanitary reform.³⁶ Prager has claimed that Beckett was *Punch*’s most prolific contributor in its early years. The *Punch* Ledgers indicate that his contributions on the theme of Smithfield constituted a third of his total contributions on health between 1841 and 1858.³⁷ Beckett’s work on Smithfield testifies to the magazine’s role in ‘policing’ the market and maintaining the need for its reform in the public’s imagination. The *Punch* brotherhood became the self-appointed inspectors for the press revealing the true condition of the City to their readers. The influence of this approach can be traced in

³⁵ *The Times*, Wednesday, Feb 28, 1849; p.5; Issue 20111; col. E.

³⁶ Arthur Prager, *The Mahogany Tree: An Informal History of Punch* (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1979), p.64.

³⁷ The other writer whose contributions on Smithfield were notably significant was Percival Leigh whose work can be seen to have brought a medical perspective to the subject, in comparison to Douglas Jerrold whose writings on Smithfield, though comprising 48% of his contributions identified in the *Punch Database on Health*, largely focused on aspects of safety as Chapter Four has discussed.

the work of their contemporaries, particularly Charles Dickens, a close friend of Beckett.³⁸ Dickens followed the lead of *Punch* and commissioned a series of articles on Smithfield for *Household Words*, including Richard Horne's poem of 1851, "The Smithfield Bull to His Cousin of Nineveh".³⁹ Through the narrative voice of the personified bull used by *Punch* since 1846, he declared:

Therefore, I now take up my hoof
To write these lines by way of proof;
And if gall-bladders for my ink
I use, it is to make men *think*.⁴⁰

As *Punch* had demonstrated however, it was not only popular writers that could use their work to 'make men think', but artists too. As Spielmann has asserted, "no drawing is true caricature which does not make the beholder *think*, whether it springs simply from good-humour, or has its source in the passion of contempt, hatred or revenge, of hope or despair".⁴¹

A cultural awareness of the need for active reform, characterised by the discourse of inspection, can be seen in the number of pieces on the subject of Smithfield in *Punch* from 1849 until the announcement of the market's removal in 1852. *Punch's* commentary was a form of surveillance. The primary objects of scrutiny were the City Fathers. Summarising the meeting of the City Commissioners of Sewers, *The Times* had reported Mr Dixon, Commissioner of Cripplegate Ward and father of 13 or 14 children, as saying that "he looked upon the spot [Smithfield] to be so salubrious that he used to send [his children] into that area for the benefit it was calculated to afford to their health".⁴² Mr Dixon had not been the first Commissioner to make such an outrageous claim, as shown by Deputy Bedford's comments of 1847. By 1849, the collective spirit which greeted Mr Dixon was considerably more informed and suitably more outraged. So ridiculed were Mr Dixon's claims about the 'salubrity' of Smithfield that the theme was a consistent feature in many of *Punch's* later articles about the

³⁸ For further details on the relationship between Dickens and á Beckett, see Arthur William á Beckett, *The á Becketts of "Punch": Memories of Father and Sons* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1903).

³⁹ The "Cousin of Nineveh" refers to the large bull on display at the Great Exhibition which was part of a collection of Ninevite material that Austen Henry Layard had brought from his recent excavations in the ancient Assyrian capital city of Nineveh. Inherent within this comparison is an extension of Dickens' concern that so much time and money was being invested in boasting the supremacy of the Empire, when too little attention was being paid to the more pressing social issues at home in England.

⁴⁰ Richard Horne, "The Smithfield Bull to His Cousin of Nineveh" *Household Words* 2:51 (March 15 1851), p.589.

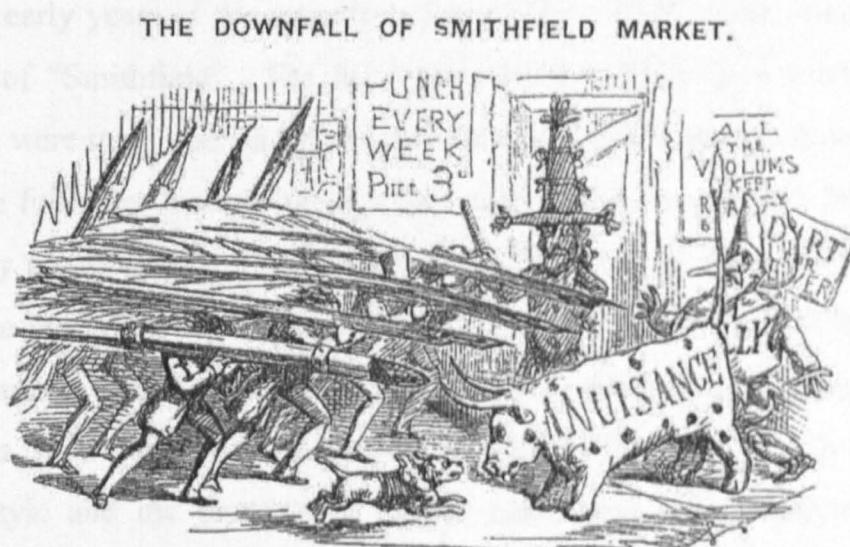
⁴¹ Spielmann, op. cit., p.5.

⁴² *The Times*, Wednesday, Feb. 14, 1849; pg. 5; Issue 20099; col. E.

Market. *Punch* immediately responded to Dixon's comments with "The Smithfield Arcadia" and the main cut "A Substitute for the Seaside". Once again, *Punch* was affirming its role within the popular imagination, sharing an increasingly mutual interest with its contemporaries, particularly *The Times*.

Punch was, as it labelled itself, the 'pet of the press'.⁴³ Its direct and deliberate intervention in campaigns for reform, specifically Smithfield, was confirmed in pieces such as "The Fight Between the Pet of the Press and the Smithfield Champion" (1849) by Percival Leigh who reported that the defeat of the Alderman was because "*Punch* had, in fact, not left him a leg to stand upon".⁴⁴ *Punch's* perceived duty was to keep its readers informed as well as entertained. By the end of the 1840s this is what the magazine was achieving. In the summer of 1849 *Punch* published "The Downfall of Smithfield Market"⁴⁵ (Figure 4) which captured the spirit of this new era in both the campaign and style of the magazine. Though only a relatively short piece, the verbal and visual were as intricately embedded as in the magazine's main cuts.

Fig. 4⁴⁶



THE fall of Smithfield Market is sealed, and we have supplied the whacks in which the sealing process has been completed. The Pens of the cattle cannot stand against the Pens of *Punch*, and upon the use of our pens we may well plume ourselves, when we find we have so thoroughly shaken the monster nuisance to its foundation, that we are at length able to knock it down with a feather. Our gallant literary army, consisting of a single wing, and that the wing of a goose, has caused the cohorts of corruption to retreat before the driving of those quills which are always so effective in our hands, because we invariably know thoroughly what we are driving at. The Smithfieldites are already shrinking from an encounter in which they have done nothing but imitate the old Papal policy of sending forth furious Bulls, in defiance of sense and argument.

⁴³ *Punch* 16 (1849), p.95.

⁴⁴ *ibid.*, p.95. The piece concluded by further extending the pun on salubrity, for "He lay for some time perfectly senseless; and a doctor who felt his pulse, pronounced him all wrong; but after a while the "salubrious" air of Smithfield partially revived him".

⁴⁵ *Punch* 17 (1849), p.65.

⁴⁶ *ibid.*, p.65.

There was a combination of recurring motifs, from the figure of Mr Punch and his dog Toby, to the Smithfield Bull. Detailed narrative labelling within the sketch also facilitated a variety of readings of the image. Repetition of the word ‘nuisance’, as in earlier pieces, situated *Punch*’s response within the context of wider sanitary debates. A scene of the Smithfield Bull outside the *Punch* office in battle with the mighty “Pens of *Punch*” was depicted. The accompanying narrative affirmatively stated *Punch*’s role in the campaign, maintaining that the “sealing process has been completed.” The fate of the Market which had been ‘sealed’ by the 1849 Commission had occurred as a direct result of the intervention of *Punch*’s “gallant literary army” who always “knew thoroughly what [they] were driving at”.⁴⁷ Again, consistency of inspection and approach was foregrounded as providing both “sense and argument” and the magazine’s critique of the ad-hoc efforts which had hindered the Market’s removal can be read as an implied criticism of the public health movement as a whole. In the midst of this confusion there was a clear role for *Punch* to monitor and police the progress of the Smithfield campaign.

The Power of the Visual: Contrasting Representations of Smithfield

In the early years of the magazine, from 1841 – 1848, there were 29 pieces for the keyword of “Smithfield”. For the period 1849 – 1855 there were 72. Of this number, three were main cuts on Smithfield and one a full Almanack entry for 1850. A study of these full page features reveals the variety of ways in which both verbal and visual imagery was deployed. “A Substitute for the Seaside” followed the format of a narrative verse preceding the image which foregrounded the themes of the visual with which it interacted. However, the second main cut on Smithfield in volume sixteen did not follow this form. Doyle’s “Manners and Customs of ye Englyshe in 1849” adapted a medieval style and the perspective of the visual was very different to the more contemporary representations which directly responded to events or reports on the market. The final main cut “The Political Morgiana” utilised another format, allegorical allusion, to parallel the ‘Smithfield Nuisance Removal’ with the story of “The Arabian Nights”. There was no direct engagement with the narrative of a text, except for the title and embedded labelling within the image itself. The fourth image from the Almanack highlighted yet another approach to the verbal visual, with images used as a border to frame the narrative; a technique that *Punch* was to return to in the magazine itself in “Smithfield as it is to be. A Pastoral” (1851). An analysis of these four

⁴⁷ *ibid.*, p.65.

representations of Smithfield, the discourses with which they engaged and the intertextual allusions they shared with the one line quips, social cuts and shorter pieces that had gone before, demonstrates the breadth of *Punch*'s methods for monitoring the city.

“A Song in Favour of Smithfield, sung by Mr Dixon, With a Chorus of 13 OR 14 children, on the occasion of a recent visit to that Salubrious Locality” , written by Gilbert á Beckett, mocked the folly of those blindly hindering reform.⁴⁸ It is important to note that though the verse accompanied the main cut “A Substitute for the Sea-side; or, Smithfield for a Change”, it did not carry the same title.

Fig. 5⁴⁹



A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE SEA-SIDE ;
Or, SMITHFIELD FOR A CHANGE.

⁴⁸ *Punch* 16 (1849), p.88.

⁴⁹ *Punch* 16 (1849), p.89.

This marked a further development in the power of the visual to exist independently of the verbal. The short narrative poem filled half a column on the preceding page to the main cut. Each stanza represented one of the many themes that the magazine had used to justify its campaign for the removal of the Market since 1846; the odour, disease, overcrowding, noise and public danger. By comparison, the main cut by Lecch was not as crowded with such associations (Figure 5). In the rear of the image the dome of St Paul's, a familiar and recognisable motif from earlier images including "The Alderman and the Apothecary", placed the scene in the City of London. A portly gentleman, identifiable from the narrative verse as Mr Dixon, and his equally rotund wife are situated in the centre of the image while a number of small children, ironically with spades, play next to an open drain. This act highlighted the folly of Mr Dixon, poignantly captured in the innocent actions of the children literally 'playing with death', the carcasses of dead animals at their feet. As Part One has demonstrated, 1849 marked an increase in the cameralist rhetoric of social responsibility proselytised by *Punch* and the visual method of remonstrance in "A Substitute for the Sea-Side" can be seen to have set the precedent for many other cartoons including "A Court for King Cholera" analysed in Chapter Two.⁵⁰ Using the speech bubbles popular in the age of Gillray and Hogarth, the gentleman is depicted as saying "Oh! How delicious the Drains are this Morning". The foregrounding of the drainage problem reinforced the interconnectedness of the health problems facing the Metropolis and suggested that the amelioration of the 'monster nuisance' had far reaching implications beyond its immediate removal.⁵¹

Doyle's "Manners and Customs of ye Englyshe in 1849, No 5"⁵² (Figure 6) returned to the subject of earlier representations, reminiscent of Jerrold's scenes of the rampaging bull. There was also a variation in style which was due to the 'medieval' series that it was taken from with a different set of 'manners and customs' being depicted, alongside Percival Leigh's excerpts from Mr. Pips, throughout 1849.⁵³ A further ten illustrations without text followed the next year and a collected book

⁵⁰ Whilst the narrative of this stylised construction may have remained the same, the class of the victims had changed to show the effect of poor sanitation on the working classes and street children in the later cartoon of 1852. This once again highlighted *Punch's* efforts to show all sides of an issue.

⁵¹ So labelled in "The Downfall of Smithfield Market" *Punch* 17 (1849), p65 as well as *The Times* Jan. 17, 1849; pg. 4; Issue 20075; col. D.

⁵² *Punch* 16 (1849), p.154.

⁵³ The title "Manners and Customs" played on the work begun by the SDUK who published "Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians" in 1836. In so doing, *Punch* can be seen to have shared the Society's desire to educate and empower readers. Buchanan-Brown, op. cit., p.166.

edition.⁵⁴ Doyle was dubbed “Professor of Mediaeval Design” by his comrades for his continued fascination with the visual style of that period.⁵⁵ He rejected the heavy reliance on lined sketching and his ‘Manners and Customs’ drawings were “a reduction ad absurdum of medieval practice” with their absence of perspective and lack of individuality in the people he portrayed.⁵⁶ The old-fashioned spelling of the title was designed “to enhance the wit of the picture by its lack of congruity with the contemporary subject”, though given Smithfield’s Market’s history of problems since Medieval days, for this particular picture it was apt and directly appropriate to the subject.⁵⁷ Indeed, a close reading of the sketch reveals a clear connection with earlier images that had been used. The proximity of the pens, the gentlemen in top hats holding their noses, the corpulent gentlemen being ‘tossed and gored’ were all a continuation of the style that *Punch* had consistently used from 1846 to highlight the range of problems associated with Smithfield’s central location. Such confusion could be construed as a “jaunty farcical style” at odds with the issues raised by Leigh’s more serious “pseudo-Pepysian” text, yet this reading undermines the consistent scrutiny the subject had received in the magazine.

Furthermore, Doyle’s representation of Smithfield bore many similarities with Dickens’ portrayal of proximity and disease in *Oliver Twist* discussed in Chapter Four.⁵⁸ As Royston Lambert notes, the central cultural concern shared across the periodical press was that “many of the City fathers, living in pleasant suburbs, had no more direct experience of conditions in the very worst areas than had genteel folk elsewhere”.⁵⁹ It was a fact categorically confirmed by the remarks of both Bedford and Dixon which had been subjected to extensive satirical scrutiny in *Punch*. Both Dickens and *Punch* addressed cultural fears of the mob, concerned that such huge gatherings as Smithfield invited criminals to take advantage of the confusion to rob and plunder.

Countrymen, butchers, drovers, hawkers, boys, thieves, idlers, and vagabonds of every low grade, were mingled together in a mass; . . . the hideous and discordant din that resounded from every corner of the market;

⁵⁴ Rodney Egen, *Richard Doyle* (Stroud: Catalpa Press Ltd., 1983), pp.55-57.

⁵⁵ Spielmann, op. cit., p.455.

⁵⁶ Richard D. Altick, *Punch: The Lively Youth of a British Institution 1841 – 1851* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1997), p.166.

⁵⁷ *ibid.*, p.166

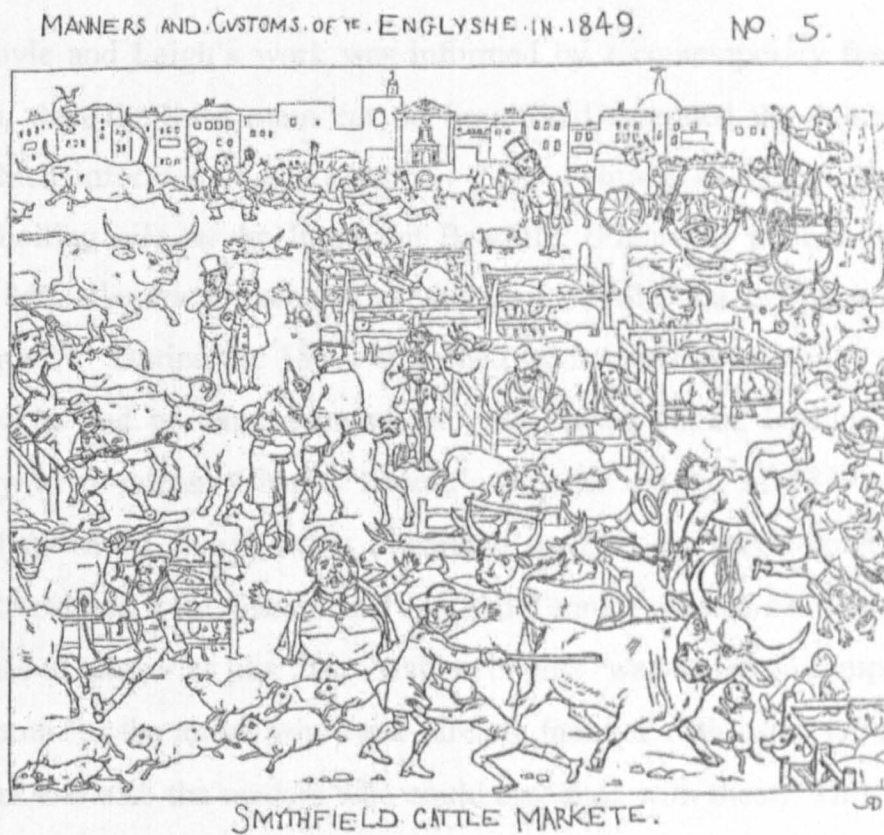
⁵⁸ Dickens continued his commentary on Smithfield when he identified the treatment of the lower classes as being not too dissimilar to the animals in the market, *Bleak House* (1853; 1996) p.258.

⁵⁹ Royston Lambert, *Sir John Simon 1816 – 1904 and English Social Administration* (London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1963), p.87.

and the unwashed, unshaven, squalid, and dirty figures constantly running to and fro, and bursting in and out of the throng; rendered it a stunning and bewildering scene, which quite confounded the senses.⁶⁰

This fear was confirmed throughout the 1840s by the 'Police' column of *The Times* whose weekly reviews frequently reported criminal incidents occurring in and around Smithfield. In this way *Punch* further justified the need for policing and regulation in a variety of capacities.

Fig. 6⁶¹



Mr. Pips his Diary.

Monday, April 9, 1840. Up betimes, it being scarcely Light, to Smithfield, to see the Cattle Market, which I do think a great Disgrace to the City, being so nasty, filthy, and dangerous a Place in the very Heart of London. I did observe the Manner of driving the Beasts together, used by the Drivers, which did disgust me. To force the Oxen into their Places, they have stout Cudgels, pointed with iron Goads or Prods, wherewith they thrust the Creatures in the Flesh of their Hind Quarters, or with the Cudgel belabour them on the Hock. These Means failing, they do seize the Animal's Tail and give it a sudden Wrench with a Turn of the Wrist, whereby they snap the Tail-Bone, and so twist and wring the spinal Cord till he pushes forward as far as they would have him. Some, not getting room for the Beasts in the Pens, do drive them into circles called Ring Drovers, with their hind Parts outwards, and their Heads forced as close as may be together: this done by beating them with all their Might about the Head and Eyes, and between the Horns, which they do call pelting them. Then to see how they crowd the Sheep into the Pens by dogging them as their word is, which means baiting them with Dogs that do tear the Sheep's Eyes, Ears and Cheeks, until they worry such Numbers in, that not one can budge an Inch. All this Cruelty is caused by the Market not being big enough: for which Reason they are obliged to force the unskely Brutes into the smallest possible Space. What with the Oaths and Curses of the Drivers and Butchers and the Barking of their Dogs and the Cries of the Animals in Torture, I do think I never heard a more horrid Din in my Life. The Hearing was as bad as

the Seeing, and both as bad as could be, except the Smell, which was worse than either. But to be sure it was good Sport to see here and there a Fat Grazer overthrow a Pig running between his Legs, and so upsetting him in the Mire. It were well if it were never worse; but it continually happens that some Person is tossed and gored, and one of these Days it will be an Alderman, and then Smithfield will be put an End to. No Doubt it would have been done away with long ago, but for the Tolls and Dues which the Corporation do derive from the Market. This is why they do keep up a Nuisance which did well nigh poison me, though one of them at a Meeting did declare that he thought Smithfield salubrious, and did send his Children to walk there for Change of Air, which if it were for the better, methinks that Gentleman's Dwelling-House should be a sweet Abode. All but the Citizens do say that Parliament ought to abolish this Nuisance; but it is thought that my Lord JOHN dare not stir in the matter, because he is Member for the City. To Breakfast to an Early Coffee House, having lost my Pocket Handkerchief, cost me 5s., doubtless by the Pickpockets, of whom Smithfield, besides its other Recommendations, is a great Resort. But content, not having had an Ox's Horn in my Stomach, and having soon all I wanted, and do not wish to see any more.

Printed by William Bealby, of No. 11, Upper Water Lane, in the Parish of St. Pancras, and Printed at their Office in Lombard Street, at the Presses of W. Clowes, in the City of London, and Published by them at No. 5, Fleet Street, in the Parish of St. Dunin, in the City of London. —Battersea, April 11th, 1840.

Doyle presented another way of visualising the city. All the observable manifestations of the market and its impact responded to the diversity of the debates

⁶⁰ Charles Dickens, *Oliver Twist* (1837-9; reprint, London: Penguin, 1975), p.203.

⁶¹ *Punch* 16 (1849), p.154.

addressed by the 1837 Committee through to the 1849 Royal Commission. The culmination of these discourses in “Manners and Customs” extended the rhetoric of spectacle, of chaos and confusion depicted by earlier writers and reformers, including Dickens. If Dickens created a new way of looking at the city, *Punch* certainly developed this perspective through the increasing power of the visual, creating another narrative level of reading.⁶² Leigh’s ‘diary’ continued the magazine’s condemnation of vested interest, concerned that “LORD JOHN dare not stir in the matter, because he is a Member of the City.” Both text and image responded to previous representations of the Market and more specifically, the findings of the Royal Commissions.

If Doyle and Leigh’s work was informed by a contemporary fascination with medievalism, then the third main cut on Smithfield extended the cultural frames of reference which informed *Punch*’s satire. “The Political Morgiana Throwing Cold Water (not boiling oil) on the Impatient Banditti” (Figure 7) published in the early summer of 1849, allegorically alluded to “the Story of Ali Baba, in The Arabian Nights’ Entertainments”.⁶³ During the 1840s there had been a revolution in the production of children’s books and growing demand for embellished books, leading the publisher John Murray to re-release Charles Knight’s popular classic of 1839, *The Arabian Nights*.⁶⁴ Many of the *Punch* artists illustrated such books; Doyle contributed to *The Fairy Ring* translated from Grimm in 1846 and Tenniel worked on *Aesop’s Fables* in 1848. The use of allegories like “The Arabian Nights” was therefore comprehensible on two levels, both for the artists who were already familiar with using the shared motifs and narratives and also the readers who could associate with them. The absence of an accompanying narrative piece confirms the accessibility of this allegorical allusion, signalling a shift to the broader and more familial readership discussed in the Introduction. Simultaneously it marked a further development in *Punch*’s verbal visual style.

In the foreground, to the left of the image was a jar with the words “Smithfield Nuisance Removal”. The addition of the word ‘nuisance’ situated the narrative alongside the work of John Simon on “offensive” trades and how they should be

⁶² The concept of ‘the city as a problem’ is also discussed by Alexander Welsh, op. cit., looking specifically at *Household Words*.

⁶³ *Punch* 17 (1849), p.57.

⁶⁴ Buchanan-Brown, op. cit., p.236.

monitored.⁶⁵ Altick in his analysis of this cartoon concludes “that the man in the vase was Morpeth could be inferred from the fact that the cold water alluded not only to Russell’s lack of enthusiasm for his bill but also to the easily available cleansing agent that emblemized the idea of sanitary reform”.⁶⁶

Fig.7⁶⁷



THE POLITICAL MORGIANA THROWING COLD WATER (NOT BOILING OIL) ON THE IMPATIENT BANDITTI.

[See the Story of Ali Baba, in *The Arabian Nights' Entertainments*.

This would seem to be confirmed by the labelling on the two buckets in the foreground of the image. However, within the context of the periodical press’ development this chapter has examined, an alternative reading can be considered. Acknowledging the role that the press, and particularly *Punch*, had come to play in monitoring the health of the metropolis the ‘Morgiana’ can be seen to represent the press. In the story of Ali Baba, Morgiana played the role of protector to her master, Ali Baba, who had discovered a secret that the thieves wished to safeguard. In the same way, the 1847 Royal Commission had raised issues that the Aldermen wished to defend; the renewed zeal of the 1849 Royal Commission threatening a final break down of the City’s

⁶⁵ See Lambert, op. cit., for a discussion of why Smithfield was classed an “offensive trade” by Simon in his Annual report of November 1849, pp.143-154.

⁶⁶ Altick, op. cit., p.603.

⁶⁷ *Punch* 17 (1849), p.57.

defences, symbolised by the removal of the Market. The raised profile of the market across the press meant that it was no longer possible for the Common Council to preserve this 'secret' any longer. The vested interests of the City Aldermen received increased scrutiny and policing across the pages of *The Times* and the verbal visual puns and metaphors of *Punch* as each periodical, journal and paper sought to pour 'cold water' on the Aldermen's objections for the removal.

The fourth variety of visual representation was from the 1850 Almanack, drawn once again by Richard Doyle (Figure 8). Though there were references to Smithfield within the text box, the images that framed it demanded an independent reading of the debates involved in the Smithfield Removal Campaign. Many of the images used by Doyle had featured in earlier pieces, including his own "Manners and Customs" series. The meaning of the piece was discernible through recognition of these familiar motifs and knowledge of the range of aspects of the campaign that were being presented. In the top left of the frame, in the least crowded area of the image, a policeman is discernible challenging an oncoming bull. There is consistency in the depiction of the rampaging bulls which Jerrold and Leigh had been writing about in the early years of the campaign, now coupled with the policeman characterising the discourse that dominated the second era of reform. The periodicals and press were the informers, a watchdog for the people, calling for prevention rather than reaction. It was not *Punch's* role to suggest the solutions, but rather to raise awareness. In this way readers were called upon to be vigilant, to be more aware of the problems that were proximate to them. Beyond that the solution lay with those in a position to advance reform. The costumes of the characters depicted in the Almanack illustration suggested that Smithfield Market was a threat to everyone, from the gentlemen in the top hats to the ladies in their carriages, from the drovers and workmen to the mothers and their children. Amidst the confusion, bottom centre, the portly gentleman and his family appear out of place in the ease with which they stroll through the chaos. In actuality it was an intertextual allusion to the first main cut "A Substitute for the Sea-side" and *Punch's* wider ridicule of the comments of Mr Dixon. The purpose of the Almanack was very different to the illustrations in the magazine itself though it does reinforce the increasing power of the visual. More importantly, the intertextual framework within which this piece operated, on a variety of narrative levels, would be missed by the selective researcher merely using the piece as an illustrative supplement, reaffirming the need for a more contextual appreciation of *Punch's* stylistic distinctiveness.

SMITHFIELD.



MIDSUMMER'S BIRTH-DAY.

THE world may safely reckon upon my birth on the 26th of June. This year I propose to enjoy myself—in make up for the pinches that my sister Barbara, Maria, Elizabeth, Emma, Susan, and Fanny have—(your sisters)—suffered at the hands of men; having nowhere to resort, and no money to spend. Therefore, gentle friend, expect me, on the 26th, to look in at your window—right goodly eyes—with a precious smile, and a delicious wiff of flowers. I shall then observe.—A rise, my friend, and come forth—taking the arm of Mithras. Let us stray to Covent Garden, and consider the year in their amenity, the strawberries in their glory. Let us pluck our roses while we may; and our white-rose while we have health and strength; and quaff our modest glass of hock with the pleasant hint as it passes. And so reader with the wife of your boss, or the wife that is to be, slipping from flower to flower, and so the lot at Greatmoss the only riddance that shall ever come between ye. And as Crab is the national genius of my birth, so he proper homage to the sign, by subscribing to a Lobster at the supper table. And then come with Mithras into his hold, and take pleasure and gather wisdom from what Mithras has done for you. Listen to the oracle and take heed how you do tonight but talk of yourself; but let the grasshopper, how nearly to stop and ready, because he has no ditch blood in him. How the millions of flowers that smile upon you, and—dropping on a bouquet, a thorn for Apollo—consider what a beautiful world is about you, and about you; and take heed you do your best to be worthy of the goodness that abounds in it, and is heaped in all places.

DIRECTIONS TO MAKE A WILL.
Take a light dinner, with three-fourths of a bottle of sweet gentian port to open the pores of the head. Cut all your enemies off with a shilling. If however, you have a design against the artist who painted your portrait, you will bequeath it to the National Gallery. To insure society to your widow, only leave her your fortune on express condition that she marries again. After this, should she prefer poverty, the residuum will be doubly valuable. Should you have a grudge against any particular parish, leave a bag of snuff, and attorney to be rung for three times a week at all the churches.—R. B. If you make your will yourself, make it short and straight-forward, like the words on a Super-pose. Don't initiate legal phraseology. You can't go in a roundabout, like the lawyers, without meaning something—and the something may be fatal.

A COK FOR THE CORPORATION.
Why are the Corporation, opponents of Bath and Washhouse, incontinent with themselves? Because, though they are not Bath shops, they are pig-headed.

DANGEROUS DRINKING.
A Smithfield bargain is necessarily a gambling transaction, since it always involves raking the chance of a toss-up.

A CHANCE FOR THE WORKS.
Smithfield, once celebrated for the firmness of its MARTIN, is now equally renowned for the efficiency of its COTTON-MAKERS.

HOW TO MAKE THINGS PLEASANT IN AN OWNERSHIP.
Take a bull-dog in with you; or a couple of babies; or procure a pistol, and quietly sock it; or take the *Howl* out of your pocket, and as you read it, look most intently at the features of every person in the assembly.

An Ostrich System.—If there were no heads there would be no Smithfield.

May 1851. Quaker sermons in the Metropolitan.—The handle of Essex-Hall is mistaken for Arcadians by the Lord Mayor of London.

Characteristics of a Politician.—The stagnation of his carriage, and the loftiness of his gate.
If female admitted as the Opera.—Poppies and white kids.

The Efficacy of the Pen and the Pencil in the War Against Pestilence

The importance of the emergent verbal visual relationship was expanded in the 1850s. Though the magazine's coverage of Smithfield did not generate as prolific a response as it had in 1849, for 1850 and 1851 there were 34 contributions, their total being 31% of *Punch's* output on the subject. The form of *Punch* can certainly be seen to have shifted from 1850, but the decline in output on the theme of Smithfield was not as a result of a reduced interest in proselytising public health reform. Rather it was due to the ways in which *Punch* was beginning to diversify and concentrate its focus on interrelated areas of reform. In 1850 there were a significant number of Parliamentary Papers relating to public health, including Chadwick's Report on the Supply of Water to

⁶⁸ *Punch* 18 (1850), Almanack.

the Metropolis. As a result, in the closing years of the Market, throughout *Punch* there was an increased public interest in the debates surrounding the supply of drinking water, as Chapter Six examines.

Punch's response to the Smithfield Campaign was consistently informed by the rhetoric of reform that was reported in parliamentary reports, Commissions and social investigations. In 1850 the Royal Commission published its Report which assertively concluded that Smithfield Market should be removed to a less populated and more spacious site at Islington, outside the City mile. This conclusion was reaffirmed by Simon's Second Report of the same year, reinforcing the need for vigilance and monitoring of sanitary practices, particularly "of those trades and occupations which deal with animal substances liable to decomposition".⁶⁹ By 1850 the many discourses which had been proselytising reform throughout the 1840s united forming a more cohesive rhetoric which is discernible from *Punch's* persistent scrutiny. Narratives of surveillance and inspection generated a form of consensus witnessed across the periodical press, as well as the legislature. Social investigators like Henry Mayhew in the *Morning Chronicle*, charting the Market's lengthy history, once again targeted the vested interest of the City Fathers.⁷⁰ The growing power of the press was clearly acknowledged by the Select Committee on the Smithfield Removal Bill, 1851:

And then Sir, comes the press . . . it does happen sometimes that facetious periodicals want a subject matter for ridicule, and then there is nothing more read than to resort to such topics as these . . . we live in days when a public cry is speedily got up, whether it is rational or otherwise and such public expression if well founded is certain to find its echo, as perhaps it ought to do, in the legislature⁷¹

Though the tone appeared critical, and *Punch* could indeed be considered one of those "facetious periodicals", the Committee was forced to acknowledge that public opinion played a fundamental role in what was included in "the legislature". The evolving relationship of the verbal visual had played a crucial role in how reform was mediated.

The Select Committee of 1851 went on to review the findings of the 1849 Royal Commission and passed a motion for the Market's removal. Finally in 1852 the

⁶⁹ Simon, "Second Report 1850", op. cit., p.135.

⁷⁰ Henry Mayhew, "Smithfield", (ed. Humphreys, A.) *Voices of the Poor: Selections From the Morning Chronicle: 'Labour and the Poor' (1849-1850)* (London: Caliban Books, 1980), p.187.

⁷¹ *House of Commons – Select Committee on the Smithfield Market Removal Bill, Friday 30 May 1851* (London: W. S. Johnson Press, 1851), p.29.

Smithfield Removal Act was passed. To mark the Committee's conclusions the "facetious periodical" *Punch* published a mock pastoral poem, illustrated by Tenniel, entitled "Smithfield as it is to be. A pastoral".⁷² (Figure 9). Although Tenniel had only joined the staff of *Punch* in 1850, his work continued many of the traditions established in the magazine's early years. The device of framing the text followed Doyle's illustration of the 1850 Almanack with a border of dancing bulls and drovers around the text. However, the fear and danger previously associated with the market was replaced by pastoral allusions to Arcadia. The only implied sense of the danger that had been depicted in Doyle's cartoons was the drover, centre foreground of Tenniel's image, who had one arm. Read in conjunction with the text, the principal fears that were at the centre of *Punch's* reasons for moving the market were satirically depicted as resolved, closing with a final pun on the "fragrant air" of the district. However, inherent in Leigh's satire was a belief that the removal of the market would not see a complete end to associated public health problems. To hope for a complete transformation and a return to rural harmony and Arcadian bliss would be mere folly *Punch* contended, particularly when so many other problems remained to be resolved.

The conclusions of the 1851 bill were finally visualised in *Punch* with "The Fall of Smithfield. – An elegie".⁷³ (Figure 10). As with "Smithfield as it is to Be", it was drawn by Tenniel with the narrative verse written by Leigh.⁷⁴ The two pieces continued to show the different forms that *Punch's* verbal visual representation could take. A rhetorical register of shared motifs and emblems was evident, influencing a range of narrative pieces not just the main cuts. Though created by the same artist and writer, "The Fall of Smithfield" drew on the contrasting iconographic symbolism of Gog and Magog, integrating an 'old English' narrative similar to that which Leigh had used in the accompanying text to Doyle's "Manners and Customs of ye Englyshe" (1849). The use of old English to "fare the wel" the "lovely Smythfeeld" reinforced the sense of tradition that Gog and Magog symbolised; the heritage and traditions of the City Fathers. The guardians of the Guildhall were once again found in mourning, "to dropp a tear for Smythfeeld's end",⁷⁵ however, they now mourned the end of an era for the Corporation of London and the inevitable decline of vested interests. The final uniting of public opinion and the key role that the press had played in the Select Committee's

⁷² *Punch* 20 (1851), p.76.

⁷³ *Punch* 20 (1851), p.172.

⁷⁴ *Punch* Collection, British Library, PUN/A/BRAD/AB 02.

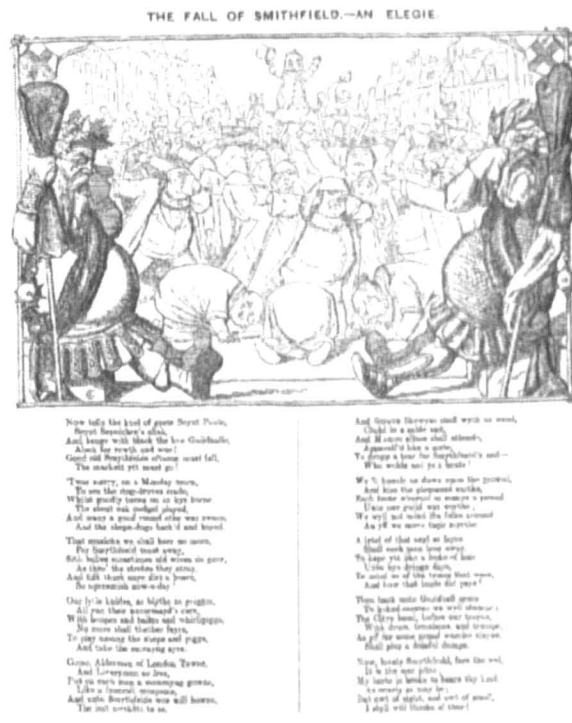
⁷⁵ *Punch* 20 (1851), p.172.

decision was symbolised by the gleeful figure of Mr Punch, the Inspector of Nuisances who had constantly monitored the campaign for removal and who now danced upon the overturned cattle pens in the centre of the image.

Fig. 9⁷⁶



Fig. 10⁷⁷



In June 1855 “The nuisance which had long proved, At length to condemnation yields – The Cattle Market is removed Away to Copenhagen Fields.”⁷⁸ However, the form of inspection advocated by Mr. Punch only found practical application with the 1855 Metropolis Management Act.

1855 Metropolis Management Act

The formation of the Metropolitan Commission of Sewers in 1848 set the precedents which would contribute to the Metropolis Management Act of 1855. Though essentially an Act informed by civil engineering projects, its legacy was a more systematic style of reform; a more consolidated approach which *Punch* had proselytised from the beginning.⁷⁹ Two key features of the Act included the formation of the Metropolitan Board of Works and the mandatory appointment of Medical Officers of Health.

⁷⁶ *Punch* 20 (1851), p.76.
⁷⁷ *Punch* 20 (1851), p.172.
⁷⁸ *Punch* 28 (1855), p.252.
⁷⁹ Lynda Nead, *Victorian Babylon: People, Streets and Images in Nineteenth Century London* (2000; reprint, London: Yale University Press, 2005), p.19.

Under the provisions of the Act, it was expected that each Medical Officer would “report periodically upon the sanitary Condition of their Parish or District, to ascertain the Existence of Diseases, more especially Epidemics, increasing the Rate of Mortality, and to point out the Existence of any Nuisance or other local Causes which are likely to originate and maintain such Diseases, and injuriously affect the Health of the Inhabitants.”⁸⁰ The Act, as *Punch* had continued to do, reinforced the importance of constant inspection to maintain standards and identify potentially new threats. The original genesis of the concept having been introduced in 1848, the necessity of policing the health of the Metropolis remained constant in *Punch*’s campaign. In 1853 Mr. Punch appeared again as “The Inspector of Nuisances” in a main cut entitled “A Nuisance in the City that Must be Got Rid of” (see Figure 11), a response stimulated by the Royal Commission on the Corporation of the City of London.⁸¹

Fig. 11⁸²



A NUISANCE IN THE CITY THAT MUST BE GOT RID OF.

The Inspector of Nuisances. "HALLO! HERE'S A VERY BAD CASE—A ROOM FULL OF PIGS I DECLARE, AND AN IMMENSE QUANTITY OF ANIMAL AND VEGETABLE MATTER!"

Whilst *Punch*’s use of the term ‘nuisance’ was adapted across the magazine for satirical license and comedic effect, it simultaneously demonstrated how ineffectual and vague such terms were in highlighting the root cause of the problem. The use of the word in

⁸⁰ 1855 Metropolis Management Act c.120 s. CXXXII (see Appendix Seven). <www.justis.com> [accessed April 2008].

⁸¹ The Royal Commission made recommendations for internal organisation and called for a Metropolitan Board of Works to oversee reform, a recommendation that was not to be implemented until 1855. Stephen Halliday, *The Great Stink of London: Sir Joseph Bazalgette and the Cleansing of the Victorian Metropolis* (1999; reprint, Somerset: Sutton Publishing, 2000), p.62.

⁸² *Punch* 25 (1853), p.199.

this cartoon developed the rhetoric established in “The Political Morgiana” (1849) but also returned to the imagery of the City Aldermen as ‘pigs’, previously used in 1848 in “Sanatory Measures” (See Chapter Five). As “The Political Morgiana” called for vigilance, extending the rhetoric of inspection, so too did the 1853 cartoon with two halves of the image drawing attention equally to the foregrounded figure of Mr Punch and to the gorging Aldermen on the right of the image. As the magazine had continued to advocate a rhetoric of policing since the initial Public Health Act of 1848, the principle target of *Punch*’s satire in 1855 shifted to incorporate the second feature of the Metropolis Management Act, namely the formation of the Metropolitan Board of Works. Instrumental in both the Act and the choice of membership for the Board, was Sir Benjamin Hall. Hall, like Shaftesbury in the 1830s, was a prominent figure in the increased profile of social reform. Just as *Punch* quickly pilloried those who hindered change, it was as swift to hail those who followed their lead in advocating public health reform. Sir Benjamin Hall’s authority in areas requiring improvement cannot be denied. *The Lancet* too had cause to acknowledge that his appointment to the Board of Health “was the inauguration of a new principle in sanitary science”;⁸³ or social medicine as it can also be called. Writing in 1856, once the 1855 Act had been passed, *Punch* printed “An Ode to Benjamin Hall”. London was personified as the giant Gulliver fettered by the ‘Lilliputians’, a hoard of Local Acts, bound by vested interest, “Then came SIR BENJAMIN, to work he went, And with his Bill for Better Management, This set of Local Acts to kingdom come he sent!”⁸⁴

In actuality, the immediate power of the Act and Hall’s contributions would prove to be limited, as *Punch* was forced to acknowledge. The preparatory Six Commissions raised by the Metropolitan Commissioners of Sewers between 1848 and 1854 were testimony to the conflict that the objectives of the project generated. If the aim was to advocate an Act which facilitated the organisation and management of the metropolis sewers and drainage, then the means by which this was to be achieved was not so easily agreed upon.⁸⁵ Whereas the first era of reform had been characterised by Chadwickian beliefs in centralisation and the abolition of local rights, Hall’s vision for future change embraced the distinct reform needs of each district. Under Hall’s Metropolis Management Bill, the metropolis was divided into administrative areas

⁸³ “The Metropolitan Board of Works”, *The Lancet* March 10 (1855), p.267.

⁸⁴ *Punch* 30 (1856), p.122.

⁸⁵ For a full discussion of the Six Commissions and the various methods for sewage disposal proposed, see Stephen Halliday, op. cit., pp.49-58.

based upon existing parish boundaries, without creating corporations.⁸⁶ Each of the 47 Metropolitan districts had to appoint a Medical Officer of Health and representative members who would then sit on a central Metropolitan Board of Work, though the Chairman was the only member to be elected by popular vote and paid a salary.⁸⁷

The question of how members were selected provided immediate justification for criticism, as *Punch* was wary about the possible retention of another monopoly of vested interests. The Board took office on 1 January 1856, Benjamin Thwaites having been appointed chairman on 22nd December. In response *Punch* published “The Central Board in Danger”.

The Central Board of Metropolitan Works has been in imminent danger of self-destruction; for it has shown a tendency to commit a sort of official suicide, by making all its Members vacate their seats on their self-election to all the salaried offices. . . . The notice that has been taken of this disposition to appropriate to itself all the lucrative places in its own gift, will probably have the effect of checking the Board in its career of self-destruction; but, if it should be persevered in, we would propose as a design for a seal, the very appropriate subject of Saturn devouring his own children.⁸⁸

Punch feared that from having so much potential to rectify the problems that the Metropolis had endured, the Board would prove to be yet another failure in the attempts to systematise and police reform. Further concern about the extension of vested interest was apparent in “The Londoner’s Petition” printed in December of 1856 at the close of an ineffectual year for the Metropolitan Board of Works.

FROM shrinkers and shufflers, and shelvees and shirks,
From Parochial harangues and from corporate quirks,
From the Board of many Words and no Works,
From speech-making men.

From the pestilent flow of London’s sewage,
From the further pollution of old Thames’ brewage,
From the works of the old and the talk of the new age,
Save us, BIG BEN!⁸⁹

⁸⁶ *ibid.*, p.63.

⁸⁷ Ann Hardy, *The Epidemic Streets: Infectious Disease and the Rise of Preventive Medicine 1856 – 1900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p.100.

⁸⁸ *Punch* 30 (1856), p.40.

⁸⁹ *Punch* 31 (1856), p.232.

Repeated alliteration of the consonant 's' generated a disdainful tone; contempt for the wasted words and limited action of a Board that had had so much potential. Capitalisation of BIG BEN reinforced the important work that "The Two Bens" had to undertake: Ben Thwaites and Ben Hall.⁹⁰ The target of the Board of Works and *Punch's* campaign had to be the amelioration of the sewers and drains, "the pestilent flow of London's sewage". One 'nuisance' may have been moved to Copenhagen Fields but what was left to achieve was probably the largest campaign to conquer; cleaning Old Father Thames.

The interconnectedness of health reform received increased acknowledgement in a range of sources from the close of the first era of reform. There was a clear relationship between the removal of Smithfield and the cleaning of the Thames.⁹¹ As Chapters Three and Four have demonstrated, the City, and particularly the Common Council and Aldermen, were the very people that *Punch* held to account for the delay in reform. However, the fall of Smithfield Market and the breakdown of vested interest enabled *Punch* to move on and examine other associated sanitary problems with authority and conviction. *Punch's* role as inspector, educator and entertainer had been fully attained by the introduction of the 1855 Metropolis Management Act. It is clear from the pages of *Punch* that as the inter-related parts of the campaign came together in this new era of reform, the need for social responsibility and inspection was intensified. In this way, *Punch's* increased commitment to proselytise reform was in itself a method for public inspection through the vehicle of the periodical press.

⁹⁰ Indeed, "The Two Bens" had been the title of a narrative piece in the previous month comparing the role that the two Bens had played in advancing reform in the Metropolis, questioning which Ben, 'Big Ben' had actually been named after – *Punch* 31 (1856), p.200.

⁹¹ As *The Times* had observed, if there had been an adequate sewer and water supply then the disposal of waste at Smithfield Market would have been more effective. *The Times*, Saturday, April 10, 1847; pg. 4; Issue 19520; col. D.

Chapter Six

Cleaning Old Father Thames: the Changing Language of Reform

Punch's examination of a wider range of public health issues from 1849 was underpinned by a consideration of the river Thames and the provision of drinking water to the metropolis. If the first era of reform had been about implementing a sanitary idea, the second era was concerned with establishing a common language for analysing the interconnection of a range of public health campaigns. The period 1849 – 1857 saw increased legislation and scrutiny of public health. Following the 1849 Royal Commission's recommendation for the removal of Smithfield, reformers returned their attention to the purification of the Thames. This chapter will look at the pioneering changes which influenced public perceptions of how disease was spread and the new methods developed by *Punch* to promote sanitary awareness. Chief among these was the return of Father Thames to the main cuts in 1855, the year of the Metropolis Management Act, to admonish Londoners for neglecting the city's most important resource.

By 1849 *Punch's* belief in its educative role was illustrated in Doyle's cover for Volume 16. Mr. Punch was depicted as a shining beacon of light, illuminating the stormy seas of change around him. For Volume 17, in the summer of 1849, Doyle's frontispiece depicted a more active role for Mr. Punch as he scythed away social problems like Smithfield and the low wages of tailors. The second half of 1849 is when *Punch's* shift of verbal visual dynamic can most clearly be identified. Of the 78 pieces referenced for 1849 in the *Punch Database on Public Health* 64 were from Volume 17. Whilst the 14 entries from Volume 16 predominantly targeted Smithfield Market, by Volume 17 *Punch* was empowered to return to a more cohesive focus on the public health campaign as a whole. At the core was the question of the Thames and the construction of an adequate sewer system to prevent pollution and provide uncontaminated drinking water for the metropolis. By 1849 Chadwick's ambition for the implementation of a 'sanitary idea' had been largely achieved through the raised profile that the subject had received in the public sphere. The second era, 1849 – 1857, developed this approach and was characterised by the work of John Simon whose

Reports for the City of London demonstrated that “sanitary administration must become scientific in nature and wider in scope”.¹

Whilst *Punch* maintained its autonomy in not advocating any one specific method of improvement, its output from 1849, specifically Volume 17, can be seen to have adhered to the sentiment of widening its scope. The Thames specifically was the source of many of the interrelated public health problems identified by campaigners. John Simon in his First Annual Report to the Commissioners of Sewers of the City of London on November 6th 1849 summarised the key areas of work that he had been involved in and which should be the target of the City’s reform:

- I. Defective house-drainage;
- II. Incomplete and insufficient water-supply;
- III. Offensive or injurious trades and occupations;
- IV. Intramural burials;
- V. Houses insusceptible of ventilation, and absolutely unfit for habitation;
- VI. The personal habits of the lowest classes, and the influence of destitution in increasing their mortality.²

All six areas were addressed by *Punch* in relation to the state of the Thames. Simon’s five annual Reports from 1849 were not published in book form (as an edited collection) until 1854 though they were extensively circulated through the medium of the daily press annually.³ Their influence was clearly discernible in *Punch* from the range of topics it sought to address.

The complexity of the evolving discursive matrix on health and the struggle to understand individual problems as interconnected rather than isolated ‘nuisances’ is evident in “Glorious Chance!” (1849) by Tom Taylor.⁴ *Punch*’s increased vigilance on health was manifest in the stylised personification of “Messrs. Plague, Pestilence, & Co.” utilising the form of a visiting card.⁵ Their work comprised “A Complete Assortment of Intr-mural [sic] Burying Grounds; . . . An Extensive System of Sewers; .

¹ Royston Lambert, *Sir John Simon 1816 – 1904 and English Social Administration* (London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1963), p.266.

² John Simon FRS, *Reports Relating to the Sanitary Condition of the City of London* (London: John Parker and Son, 1854), pp.7-8.

³ Simon (1854), “Preface”, op. cit., p.vii.

⁴ *Punch* 17 (1849), p.105.

⁵ *ibid.*, p.105. See also “A CARD. – To Epidemics in Search of a Situation” which follows the same form, *Punch* 23 (1852), p.153.

. . A Noble Plant of the most Approved Nuisances”.⁶ Using a calling card was a distinct development of the verbal, moving on from the traditional verse, epistolary forms and short quips used in earlier volumes. Taylor focused specifically on a miasmatic theory of disease causation in his examination of “*Poisonous Gases*” and “entirely stagnant” sewers, “consisting of *Bone-Boiling Houses*, Glue, and Gut Manufactories, dust-heaps, Knackers’-yards, Slaughter-houses, Cattle-markets, and all the other best-approved kinds of Apparatus for furnishing the strong, old, favourite, *Sulphuretted*, and *Carburetted Hydrogen*, and the fine, heady, *Carbonic Acid Gas*, warranted to kill in a very diluted state.”⁷ However many of the sites of physical contagion alluded to by Taylor had actually already been identified a few weeks earlier in “A Hand-Book to the Thames” (Figure 1).⁸ Through a combination of verbal visual motifs both pieces clearly identified the environmental sources of disease which Chadwick and Simon’s work had drawn attention to.

Depicted in “A Handbook to the Thames” were the very sites that “Messrs. Plague, Pestilence, & Co” had outlined. The suggestion for creating a ‘handbook’ continued *Punch*’s educative perspective; its desire to be a guide for its readers. Confirming the changing role of the verbal visual, the reference to the work of Mr. Murray was significant for he was a publisher known for responding to the demand for illustrated texts in the 1830s, creating a number of embellished books in the 1840s.⁹ The smoke and clouds that emitted from the factory chimneys in *Punch*’s illustration supported a miasmatic view, whilst the open mouths of the sewers through which waste was disposed, inferred a more direct form of contagion. The interaction of text and image with the labelling of the buildings along the Thames established an iconographic register only intimated in William Newman’s earlier main cut “Dirty Father Thames” (1848). However in later sketches, the motif of the smoking chimney on the banks of the river was used to symbolise all of the industries overtly identified in this piece; there was rarely a need for labels, as the narrative of the image itself had already been established. Smoking chimneys and open sewers, alongside domestic symbols such as churches and homes became recurring motifs that were used in representations of the Thames to indicate that everyone was responsible for the condition of the river. Many

⁶ *Punch* 17 (1849), p.105.

⁷ *ibid.*, p.105.

⁸ *Punch* 17 (1849), p.59.

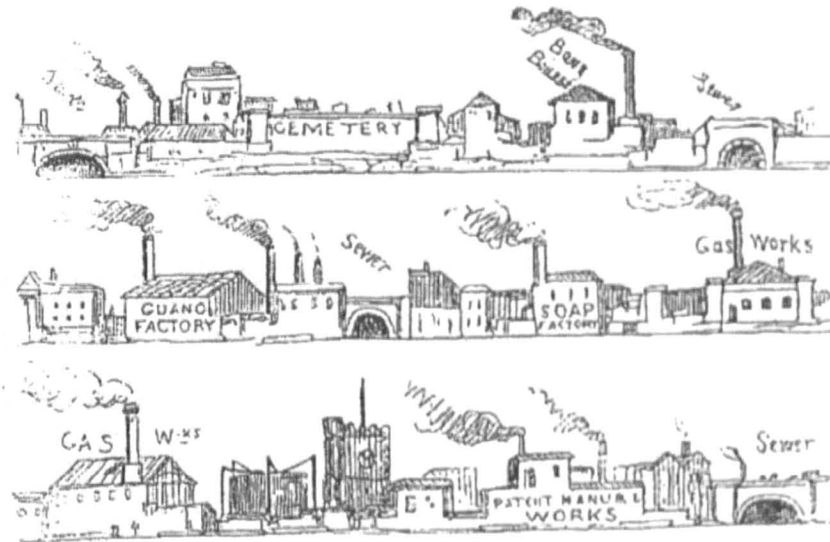
⁹ John Buchanan-Brown, *Early Victorian Illustrated Books: Britain, France and Germany 1820 – 1860*, (London: The British Library, 2005), pp.153-155.

of the factories labelled had trades associated with Smithfield and the City markets: bone boilers, gas works, soap works, patent manure works. International trade was foregrounded by the reference to the guano factory.¹⁰

Fig. 1¹¹

A HAND-BOOK TO THE THAMES.

WE wish MR. MURRAY, amidst the variety of his very useful Hand-Books—if he has no objection for once to put his hand into dirty water—would favour us with a Hand-Book to the Thames. The banks of the river would furnish ample food for the antiquarian—if the antiquarian is not very particular what he eats, and indeed we know that he is usually *gobe-mouche* enough to swallow anything. Since we have had Panoramas of the Mississippi, and the said Sippi has found its Missis regular hits, why should we not have a Panorama of the Thames, embracing all the objects that fringe its banks, and infringe upon its waters? A few of the principal establishments would furnish a collection no less interesting to the chemist than to the antiquarian. Every factory would help to give a satisfactory solution of the poisonous stuff that is held in solution by the water in which many of us make our tea, which eventually gives us our gruel. A glance at the buildings on the banks of the Thames would at once furnish a key to the ingredients of



the water, and render any closer analysis superfluous. We require no other test to prove why it is so detestable. We entreat the Sanitary Commissioners, if they would do more than skim the surface of their duties, to go deeply into the Thames, and they will get to the bottom of one of the greatest drawbacks on the health of the Metropolis.

A further related problem for the metropolis as a whole was the overcrowding of cemeteries, depicted in the first image. More significantly though, the number of open sewers in each sequence reinforced the problems generated by the tidal nature of the river which meant that refuse was not simply flushed away, but was also pushed back through the sewer system. From both the text and the image, the message to readers was clearly that the Thames and its subsidiary industries were “one of the greatest

¹⁰ Guano was a popular form of fertilizer generated from the droppings of sea birds usually imported from South American countries such as Peru. <<http://dictionary.reference.com>> [accessed July 2009].

¹¹ *Punch* 17 (1849), p.59.

drawbacks on the health of the Metropolis.”¹² Increasingly, it was a view shared by many of the different campaigners proselytising reform from 1849.

Reviewing the Water Supply for A New Era: John Snow and John Simon (1849)

Punch's increased scrutiny of the metropolis' water supply, evident from the *Punch Database on Public Health*, correlated with the awakening interest of reformers, novelists and social investigators in how disease was transmitted following the second cholera epidemic of 1848/49. Two pioneers in the field who raised the profile of the water question were John Snow, founding member of the Epidemiological Society, and John Simon. Whilst the miasmatic legacy of Chadwick and other social reformers of the time endured, after the second cholera epidemic more questions were raised about alternative possibilities of disease transmission, particularly via direct contagion. Epidemiology involved a study of factors affecting the health and illness of populations and Snow's publication of a pamphlet on the transmission of cholera in 1849 was influential in securing his membership to the Epidemiological Society in 1850. Snow entirely rejected Chadwick's miasmatic theories of contagion, preferring to look at contamination through swallowing and ingesting the 'germ' of cholera into the gut. Simon, in contrast, was constrained by the terms of his employment for the City. His "Reports Relating to the Sanitary Condition of the City of London" from 1849 seemingly continued the work of Chadwick though they acknowledged the potential influence of other sanitary factors in disease propagation. As a practising medical man, the social medicine Simon proselytised was distinct from Chadwick in that it was motivated by examining the collective benefits of sanitary reform for all, calling on the 'experts' to 'engineer' the means by which this was physically attainable.¹³ *Punch* followed Simon's lead and in its role as mediator satirically examined both contagionist and anti-contagionist theories. Many of the magazine's pieces, particularly from 1849, set up a debate between the two contrasting schools of thoughts, including narratives such as "The Old House and the New" by Tom Taylor.¹⁴

¹² *ibid.*, p.59.

¹³ Chadwick was particularly interested in the engineering aspects of the project, wishing to introduce small impermeable tubular sewers as a means of disposing of waste. Simon wanted to leave this to engineering experts and focus more on the medical reasons for the cause of disease. Lambert, *op. cit.*, p.62.

¹⁴ *Punch* 17 (1849), p.134.

Snow's report "On the Mode of Communication of Cholera", published in August 1849, was a pamphlet which examined the pathology of cholera. The document developed the work of the Edinburgh physician John Sutherland (who worked for the General Board of Health from 1848 until 1855) and was a marker in the shift towards identifying water as a potential pollutant.¹⁵ William Budd, another London doctor and contemporary of Snow, also wrote a letter to *The Times* in 1849 asserting that water was the causal agent in the transmission of cholera, although he made the mistake of proposing a fungal cause for this disease.¹⁶ Neither Budd nor Snow's findings were followed up at this time, though their work stimulated further investigations into the condition of the Thames, particularly in the periodical press. Snow began a second series of investigations in 1849, analysing where the water companies were sourcing their water. Snow, along with William Farr from the Registrar General's office, went on to draw up statistics from returns investigating the water supplier of houses where there had been a death from cholera. The collaboration of this range of trained practitioners resulted in a series of findings in 1854 which were to profoundly impact on how the condition of the Thames was treated, as this chapter will go on to consider. Working together they demonstrate the necessity of conjoining knowledge, skills and efforts to attain a more cohesive system of sanitary reform and social medicine.

Two important pieces printed in *Punch* in 1849 influenced by this collaborative response and resurgence of interest in the cause of cholera were "The Water that John Drinks"¹⁷ and "The Sad Fate of the Civic Narcissus,"¹⁸ both written by Tom Taylor. Each piece confirmed the distinctiveness of the verbal visual dynamic that the magazine was establishing, though in quite different ways. "The Water that John Drinks" embedded six images within a narrative poem analysing the condition of the water that was supplied by the Thames (Figure 2).¹⁹ In contrast, "The Sad Fate of the Civic Narcissus" continued the tradition of placing the verse on the preceding page to the main cut which visually depicted the same subject - the vested interest of the City

¹⁵ Stephanie J. Snow, "Commentary: Sutherland, Snow and Water: the Transmission of Cholera in the Nineteenth Century" *International Journal of Epidemiology* 31 (2002), p.909.

¹⁶ *The Times*, Wednesday, Sept. 26, 1849; pg.4; Issue 20291; col. F.

¹⁷ *Punch* 17 (1849), pp.144-145.

¹⁸ *Punch* 17 (1849), p.228.

¹⁹ This form was also adopted by Shirley Brooks in 1855 when he penned "The Rime of the Ancient Alderman". It was another detailed poem, spanning two full pages of the magazine, examining the condition of the Thames with five embedded images interwoven into the narrative. This once again highlighted a consistency in *Punch's* style and approach to combining verbal and visual motifs and metaphors. *Punch* 29 (1855), pp.84-85.

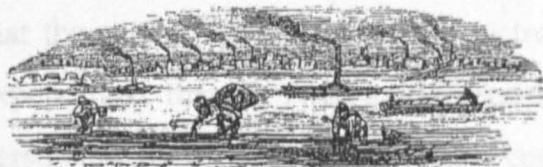
Aldermen who continued to oppose all suggestions for the purification of the Thames (Figure 3). The main cut of "The City Narcissus" was drawn by Leech. The artist of "The Water that John Drinks" is unknown, though the repetition of distinguishable motifs once again reinforced the consistency of *Punch's* approach to the subject of sanitary reform. Image two in "The Water that John Drinks," for example, depicted the smoking chimneys and polluted landscape of the Thames already discussed, but which were also in "The City Narcissus" and "Dirty Father Thames" (1848).

Fig. 2²⁰

THE WATER THAT JOHN DRINKS.



THIS is the water that JOHN drinks.



This is the Thames with its cento of stink,
That supplies the water that JOHN drinks.



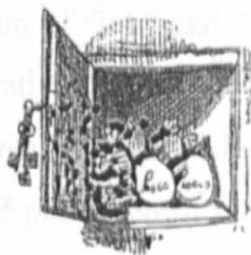
These are the fish that float in the ink-
y stream of the Thames with its cento of stink,
That supplies the water that JOHN drinks.



These are vested int'rests, that fill to the brink,
The network of sewers from cesspool and sink,
That feed the fish that float in the ink-
y stream of the Thames, with its cento of stink,
That supplies the water that JOHN drinks.



This is the sewer, from cesspool and sink,
That feeds the fish that float in the ink-
y stream of the Thames with its cento of stink,
That supplies the water that JOHN drinks.



This is the price that we pay to wink
At the vested int'rests that fill to the brink,
The network of sewers from cesspool and sink,
That feed the fish that float in the ink-
y stream of the Thames with its cento of stink,
That supplies the water that JOHN drinks.

²⁰ *Punch* 17 (1849), pp.144-145.

The core ingredients of the Thames, identified in “Bunk’s Discoveries in the Thames” (1841) and visually depicted in “Dirty Father Thames” (1848), were discernible in image three of “The Water that John Drinks”; from the ‘ancient leather buskin’, the ‘neck of a black bottle’, the ‘skeleton of some unknown animal’ to numerous pieces of ‘broken porcelain’.²¹ Image five returned to the subject of Smithfield and the ancillary trades in need of reform further demonstrating the interconnectedness of public health issues. Labelling within the image again reaffirmed the sources of pollution as it had in “A Hand-Book to the Thames”, making their appearance in “The City Narcissus” consistently identifiable, though unlabelled. This method for ‘reading’ the visual meant that readers could identify motifs that were familiar to them. Both images four and five, established an iconography which was returned to in such pieces as “Mr Punch’s Review of the Session” in 1851. The closing image of a safe full of money in “The Water that John Drinks” illustrated the motive behind the vested interest that had so long hindered reform and protracted debate. As Simon declared in 1854 it would only be with “great vigilance and great expenditure” that the sanitary condition of the metropolis would be improved.²² It was this ‘great expenditure’ that the Aldermen rejected, preferring to spend the City’s money on more personal benefits including the many ceremonial dinners they attended.

Taylor’s textual narratives were detailed and stylised, utilising iconographical language and motifs, as “Glorious Chance!” had in 1849. “The Water that John Drinks” was a ‘cento’, a patchwork of phrases compiled and repeated to make a longer stanza.²³ The use of the word ‘cento’ had a dual meaning and also conveyed the ‘scraps’ and parts that comprised the Thames, rather than a free flow of purified water. Starting from the first line, each image added a thematic strand to the preceding, by the third image the phrase was established, with the division of “ink” and “y” which began the penultimate line. Building on the cumulative narrative of the children’s nursery rhyme “The House that Jack Built” the style of the verse reinforced the interconnection of events with places and objects. Each syllable and phrase constructed a lyrical rhythm which paralleled the flow of the great tidal river. The use of ‘this’ and ‘these’ at the start of each stanza clearly engaged the verbal with the visual, not as a supplement, but as an integrated narrative.

²¹ *Punch* 1 (1841), p.129. For further discussion of these pieces, see Chapter Three.

²² Simon (1854), “Preface”, op. cit., p.260.

²³ <<http://dictionary.reference.com>> [accessed 14 June 2007].

If the distinctiveness of “The Water that John Drinks” was its structure, then the power of “The Sad Fate of the Civic Narcissus” was its allegorical referencing. The subheading “A Hexametrical Sketch, slightly altered from OVID’s *Metamorphoses*, lib. iii” situated the narrative’s allusions within Ovid’s account of Tiresias and her son Narcissus, who questioned whether someone as beautiful as he could live a long life. As Narcissus was obsessed with himself, so the Civic Narcissus was shown as compulsively desiring food, “the glory of turtle and ven’son” for “he thought about nothing but dinner”.²⁴ Once again *Punch* adopted the role of instructor, seeking to demonstrate what exactly the Alderman’s duty should be.

Fig. 3²⁵



THE CITY NARCISSUS:
OR, THE ALDERMAN ENAMOURED OF HIS DIRTY APPEARANCE

In “The City Narcissus”, the river Thames was a visible symbol of the ‘living death’ which threatened to pollute the city. Despite thinking that the hindering of reform would protect the City’s interest, the Common Council was in actual fact contributing to its demise. On the skyline were the increasingly familiar smoking chimneys, the banks of the river polluted by the carcasses of dead animals seen floating in “Dirty Father Thames” (1848).

²⁴ *Punch* 17 (1849), p.228.

²⁵ *Punch* 17 (1849), p.229.

In his opening comments on the ‘Water-Supply’ in the First Annual Report of the City of London, Simon firmly asserted that “unrestricted supply is the first essential of decency, of comfort, and of health”.²⁶ The premise of ‘civilising’ London, as *Punch* had previously advocated in the Smithfield Market campaign, was a central tenet of social medicine which Simon clearly supported. Addressing the need for an adequate provision of water, he argued that: “no civilisation of the poorer classes can exist without it; and [that] any limitation to its use in the metropolis is a barrier, which must maintain thousands in a state of the most unwholesome filth and degradation”.²⁷ As with earlier pieces, the “The Sad Fate of the Civic Narcissus” continued to exemplify the need to civilise other than just the ‘poorer classes’.²⁸ The abuse of power exercised by the City Corporation was represented as an abuse against man and nature.

Equally muddy the stream and his face, with as little announcement
 What might be lying *perdu* at the bottom of man or of river:
 Both man and river alike unfit for the function of cleansing,
 Both richly freighted with wealth, but diffusing a scant share of blessing;
 Both with the power of conveying to homes and to hearts round about
 them,
 Cleanliness, comfort, and health, but both with that power misdirected.²⁹

“Old Thames” could no longer undertake his natural duties to provide the poorer classes with a state of ‘cleanliness, comfort and health’, due to the folly of misdirected wealth. However, it was not just the poorer classes who suffered for this lack and in the Narcissus’ realisation, he too found “nausea sore he’d engendered, and dinner was not to be thought of!”.³⁰ As a result of the diverse network of campaigners petitioning for reform, there was a growing public realisation that the “putrid Thames water” polluted the water supply of the entire city, regardless of class; as Simon observed, disease “trod with equal foot the gates of rich and poor”.³¹ “Old Thames” on his journey through London, “mopped up whole oceans of sewage, with dye-stuff and waste of distillers;/ Made a strong stock for his soup out of dead cats and dogs, and such offal,/ Till the last thing in the world that his water was fit for was drinking”.³²

²⁶ Simon (1854), “First Report”, op. cit., p.17.

²⁷ *ibid.*, p.17.

²⁸ See Chapter Four, specifically the discussion of “Punch and the Smithfield Savages”.

²⁹ *Punch* 17 (1849), p.228.

³⁰ *ibid.*, p.228.

³¹ Simon (1854), “First Report”, op. cit., p.86.

³² *Punch* 17 (1849), p.228.

Though Simon's First Report had focused predominantly on the provision and quantity of water, *Punch* moved on to question the quality. This was also raised by Simon in an addendum to his First Report entitled "Further Remarks on Water-Supply" in 1850.³³ His questions on source, monopoly of supply and the administration of "drainage, paving and sanitary cleansing" set a precedent for the 1855 Metropolis Management Act and along with the work of Snow, reinforced the social price of poor sanitary science.³⁴ For the findings of Snow's work did not receive wide-spread acknowledgement until 1855 when the second edition of his treatise was published. This developed the theories of the 1849 paper, including details of the practical application of his theory from removing the pump handle from the Broad Street pump, providing further evidence for locating the nucleus of the worst affected areas. Use of a spot map to identify the areas most affected by the 1854 epidemic facilitated wider acceptance of his theories and pioneered new approaches in epidemiology.³⁵ The increased use of mapping and visual stimuli in the reports and pamphlets of the 1850s, confirmed the growing importance of uniting the verbal and the visual, as the profile of articles in *Punch* also revealed. As Pamela Gilbert acknowledges, "medical mapping refocused public attention away from isolated nuisances (though those were still important), transforming the Thames into the primary site of London filth".³⁶ Snow's findings in 1854 located one of the sources of the problem with the Southwark and Vauxhall water companies and *Punch* capitalised on the opportunity to satirise the vested interest of the water monopolies. Simon, in response, published a report in 1856 entitled "Report on the Last Two Cholera Epidemics of London, as Affected by the Consumption of Impure Water". Writing at the close of the century in his *Personal Recollections*, Simon acknowledged Snow's work was one of the most significant scientific truths of the nineteenth century.³⁷ *Punch's* role in visualising these debates created another mode by which to begin to understand the otherwise complex language of scientific change.

³³ Simon (1854), op. cit., pp.72-76.

³⁴ *ibid.*, p.76.

³⁵ A spot map comprised a series of dots around a specific site of interest. In this instance it was used to chart the number of deaths from cholera in a given area.

<http://www.ph.ucla.edu/epi/snow/mapmyth/mapmyth3_a.html> [accessed 25 April 2009].

³⁶ Pamela K. Gilbert, "Medical Mapping: The Thames, the Body and *Our Mutual Friend*" in William Cohen and Ryan Johnson (eds.), *Filth: Dirt, Disgust and Modern Life* (London: University of Minnesota Press, 2005) pp. 89-90.

³⁷ Sir John Simon K.C.B., *Personal Recollections* (London: Spottiswoode and Co., 1897), p.262.

Raising the Profile of the Water Question

The work begun by Snow and Simon stimulated a resurgence of interest in the water question during the 1850s. There was an increased dialogue between the press and wider scientific and political debate. Despite an initial hiatus in public response in *Punch*, particularly during the Crimean War (1853-1856), the 1850s were marked by a growing public awareness of the social and economic need for health reform that culminated in the response to the Great Stink in 1858. Contributing to this cultural response was the “Report on Supply of Water to the Metropolis” from the General Board of Health in 1850. The Report, organised by Chadwick, was instrumental in the 1852 Metropolis Water Act which, like Snow’s work, advocated a consistent provision of water, removing responsibility away from the monopoly of the water companies.

Initially the Report had set out to investigate drainage and water supply.³⁸ However, during the epidemic of 1848-49 “their attention as members of the General Board of Health was constantly called to the inferior quality and the deficient quantity of the water supplied to the Metropolis, as well as its defective distribution.”³⁹ The means by which ‘their attention’ was drawn to this issue, came from a variety of sources from across the periodical press, including *Punch*, and from the numerous reports, pamphlets and social investigations emerging alongside the work of Simon and Snow. Thus a two way dialogue began to emerge between parliamentary committees and the periodical press. As with Chadwick’s Report of 1842 there were contributions from experts in the field using vast tables of statistics. However, one crucial difference which was characteristic of how attitudes to reform had altered was the inclusion of maps. The 1850 Report was considerably longer than intended, including a detailed exploration of the sources providing the Metropolis with water. Along with Snow’s work, the move to include images as well as more quantitative stimuli in the final Report confirmed the important role that visual literacy played as a form of communication. *Punch*’s observations of the city, its people and the streets they traversed also provided a popular method of ‘mapping’ change using identifiable motifs and symbols to locate their verbal and visual satire. Combined, these sources provide a cultural map of reform, charting

³⁸ 1850 [1218] Report by General Board of Health on Supply of Water to Metropolis, p.1 (see Appendix Six). <<http://parlipapers.chadwyck.co.uk>> [accessed April 2008].

³⁹ 1850 [1218] Report by General Board of Health on Supply of Water to Metropolis p.2 (see Appendix Six). <<http://parlipapers.chadwyck.co.uk>> [accessed April 2008].

an identifiable visual geography of the sanitary changes that were being mediated in the 1850s.

Chadwick revealed a deep disgust for the inefficiency of the water companies and the costly inadequacy of their work, believing that public service had been surrendered to private enterprise.⁴⁰ The cost of poor service was developed by *Punch* in smaller pieces such as “The Water Kings”, which declared “the water despotism must be overthrown; we must revolt against the aquatic authorities who have usurped the fork of NEPTUNE, which they only use to make the public fork out as much as possible.”⁴¹ Ironically *Punch* acknowledged that “about eighty MPs held water company shares, and the eight companies were rich enough to buy the support of newspapers and Parliamentary Agents”.⁴² Whilst this may have been how the City had previously operated, in reality there was no question of the newspapers and periodicals being silenced, for alongside *Punch*, came articles from *Household Words*, *Edinburgh Review*, *North British Review*, *Fraser’s Magazine* and *The Times* amongst others, which all increasingly challenged how the provision of water to the Metropolis was managed.⁴³ *Punch’s* commitment to the subject and the importance of its readers learning how to see the City’s nuisances in different ways was especially evident in an Almanack entry for 1850, where an entire month was dedicated to “Sanitary and Insanitary Matters” (Figure 4).⁴⁴

“Sanitary and Insanitary Matters” returned to the model of the Almanack discussed in Chapter One, but it drew on the motifs and symbolism recently developed by the magazine. The visual was absolutely crucial to the narrative and worked independently of the verbal. The text at the centre of the image conformed to the traditions of the Almanack whilst the variety of figures that surrounded the text exemplified how the role of the image had changed since *Punch* began.

⁴⁰ R. A. Lewis, *Edwin Chadwick and the Public Health Movement 1832 – 1854* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1952), p.260. For further research on the consumer citizen see Frank Trentmann and Vanessa Taylor, “From Users to Consumers: Water Politics in Nineteenth-Century London” pp.53 – 81 in Frank Trentmann (ed.), *The Making of the Consumer: Knowledge, Power and Identity in the Modern World* (Oxford: Berg, 2006).

⁴¹ *Punch* 18 (1850), p.62.

⁴² Stephen Inwood, *A History of London* (1998; reprint, London: Papermac 2000), p.426.

⁴³ Such articles include, “The Troubled Water Question” *Household Words* 1:3 (1850), pp. 49-54; “ART.III Supply of Water to the Metropolis” *Edinburgh Review* 91 (1850), pp.377-408; “The Water Supply of London” *North British Review* 15 (1851), pp.228 – 253; “The Drainage of the Metropolis” *Fraser’s Magazine* 41 (1850), pp.19 -199.

⁴⁴ *Punch* 18 (1850), Almanack.

SANITARY AND INSANITARY MATTERS.



CHRISTMAS DAY'S BIRTH-DAY.

THE BIRTH of December you will hold in especial honour. As early as 4 a.m. I—
Cheerful—shall expect to be greeted by the “wobbling” of the godding in the boiler, whilst all sorts of detritus adorns with soot even through the key-holes, making sweet the out-door air. At early light, the Robin Redbreast—the special Christmas messenger—shall whistle you a blithe and jolly song! Your house will, I know, be grown as a hovel with holly. Holly that typifies green sprites and red hearts. You will make the poor’s box at church’s table rejoicingly; you will call up smiles and thanks from astonished crossing-sweepers. You will carve your turkey with a fearless hand, for you have subscribed a goose—a piece of beef or so—in the table of your poorer neighbours. You will help yourself twice to pudding, for have you not made at least one pudding smoke elsewhere? You will let your eye rejoice in the bestowing of “that particular part,” for you have warmed the toes and noses of at least a few old folk, with some humming ale. And in this way you will double every enjoyment of the Birth-day of Christmas by enjoying the enjoyments you have bestowed upon others. At this season let not the high forget the low. Let the Head of Gold bear in special memory the Feet of Clay.

HINTS ABOUT FIRE.
 In case of fire, whatever may be the heat of the moment, keep cool; let nothing put you out, but find something to put out the fire; keep yourself collected, and then collect your family. After putting on your shoes and stockings, call out for pumps and hose to the firemen. Don’t think about saving your watch and rings, for while you stand wringing your hands, you may be neglecting the turncock, who is a jewel of the first water at such a moment. Bid him with all your might turn on the main.

WISE SAWS BY AN OLD FILE.
 Coal is the real philosopher’s stone. It is the ballast of the good ship *Providence*, which would be carelessly scuttled without it. The true glory of England consists in her coal, and also! how much of it, like other kinds of glory, is destined to end in smoke.

RAD FAIR.
 It is a puzzle to know why the Lord Mayor’s Procession is still continued every month of November, for its excessively seedy state quite rips up the old excuse that it is done merely “for the sake of the thing.”

How to Preserve Golden Broom at W.C. Take a rock in a Californian “craze.”

CALCULATED CREATURES.
 The pig is generally accounted the emblem of all that is dirty; yet it is a severe hardship to this interesting animal to be deprived of his wash; and the same thing, *envers et contre tous*, may be said of the London Alderman.

TAVERN WINE MEASURE.
 2 Sips make 1 Glass.
 2 Glasses 1 Pint.
 1 Pint makes 1 Quart Bottle.
 1 Bottle One U.

Good Wishes for Christmas.—May the everright beam over the punch-bowl bear the morning’s reflection in the looking-glass.

The Least Objectionable Soup for Company.—A Broth of a Boy.

What nation was most prominent in the Continental troubles? Halburton.

To make Tea go further than usual.—When you put the water in your tea, add a spoonful of the best Gunpowder into the pot, and having set a light to it, you will find your tea go a great deal further than you expected.

Habit of the Ground Squirrel.—To creep into the coffee-mill.

A new kind of an old Request to John O’Connell.—“Shut up your (age) later trap.”



Four separate visual narratives framed the main Almanack entry. The top and bottom images foregrounded the bearded figure of Father Thames identifiable from Newman’s cartoon of 1848, “Dirty Father Thames”. In the first image Father Thames appeared to be attempting to filter and drain the water whilst in the second image he was only faintly discernible through the mire and debris that floated in the Thames. The reappearance of Father Thames in this guise and the absence of Mr. Punch established the importance of this motif as an alternative means of levelling criticism for the neglect

⁴⁵ *ibid.*, Almanack.

of the Thames. The surface of the river was as overcrowded with passengers and trades as the bottom was with dead animals, pottery and refuse. Both images expanded the visual iconography created in earlier pieces, as well as those that were to feature in the bound volume that the Almanack accompanied. The smoky, polluted skyline needed fewer labels than it had in “The Handbook to the Thames”. Those industries that were highlighted were the “knacker’s yards” and “bone makers” once again highlighting the variety of areas in need of reform. Narrow alleys and courtyards framed the image on the left of the text with slops being emptied from one of the windows of the lodging house. In the streets below small children played in the mire reinforcing the innocence of those affected by disease as “Britannia’s Thanksgiving Daydream” had also depicted in 1849. In the same way that this image portrayed one of the sources of pollution which was emptied into the Thames, signified by the ordering of the visual narratives, so too did the second image, following the pathway of a sewer.

Both sewers and drains were foregrounded as principal sources of pollution as they had been in Simon’s First Report to the City in 1849. Along the edge of the sewer’s outlet men in top hats stood and ‘inspected’ the pollution. The top hats of the men signified a status that could be attributable to the class of the investigator, making them one of the water companies or even a City Commissioner. It was clear, unlike the figures on the banks of the Thames in figure two of “The Water that John Drinks”, that these were not ‘mud-larkers’⁴⁶ or people working in the sewers, reinforcing the changing perceptions of who was responsible for inspection and policing as discussed in Chapter Five. There was an air of curiosity and intrigue in the faces of those bent over the mouth of the sewer, suggesting an increased public awareness and interest in the larger public health question of how to source the Metropolis’ drinking water from the polluted River Thames. The murky image of Father Thames at the bottom of the page depicted the final resting place of the discharged refuse that came from each of the sources identifiable from the top, left and right of the frame.

In the same year as “Sanitary and Insanitary Matters” the use of the visual to critique the condition of the Thames was further extended in “The Wonders of a London

⁴⁶ Further information about those who worked in the sewers and on the banks of the Thames, particularly the ‘mud-larker’ is available from the investigative reports of Henry Mayhew, writing for the *Morning Chronicle* in 1849. Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, (ed.) Victor Neuberg, (1865; reprint, London: Penguin Classics, 1985), pp.209-218.

Water Drop” (Figure 5).⁴⁷ Percival Leigh developed the narrative that Gilbert á Beckett had first created in “Salubrity of Smithfield” (1847) and a ‘drop’ of London water was magnified to identify the impurities that surrounded Father Thames.

Fig. 5⁴⁸



Whilst Leigh’s text did seek to reinforce the visual representation by showing the molecular shapes magnified in the water, there was a consistency of form in the image which facilitated a reading independent of further explanation. Recurring motifs included emaciated corpses and bloated aldermen, with larvae forming the words ‘pestilence’ in the water. The turtle to the top left of the image extended *Punch*’s

⁴⁷ *Punch* 18 (1850), p.188.

⁴⁸ *ibid.*, p.188. Though not a main cut, this image is one that has frequently been used by social historians researching public health in the nineteenth century. For example, it was used on the front cover of Stephen Halliday’s book *The Great Stink of London: Sir Joseph Bazalgette and the Cleansing of the Victorian Metropolis* 1999; reprint, Somerset: Sutton Publishing, 2000).

criticism of the Aldermen's greed. More significantly, and in line with current developments in the public health movement, the piece demonstrated the breadth of issues to be addressed; the figure to the right of the image carrying a coffin symbolized the pollution of the water supply from "the ooziings of intramural graveyards" which were inadequately drained.⁴⁹ In 1850 the Interments Act was passed though it remained inoperative until 1852 when "an Act to amend the Laws concerning the Burial of the Dead in the Metropolis" was passed.⁵⁰ However whilst problems like Smithfield and the graveyards could be regulated by one authority, the Thames evaded comprehensive action as it ran through many municipal boroughs. Therefore reformers had to appeal to many different interest groups. By bringing together the range of issues that were in need of change, *Punch* was showing the level of cohesion and change of approach that was needed.

In the 1850s *Punch* played with the prevalent idea that the moral corruption of the poorer classes was a direct result of the conditions in which they lived and worked. *Punch* suggested the consumption of gin and ale was preferable to drinking "the filth of that great open sink/Which no filter can sweeten, no 'navvy' can drink".⁵¹ Written in 1852 "The Pride of London" was one of many pieces in the periodical press, including *Household Words*, which deplored the grandeur and excesses of the Great Exhibition when the poor of the country were living in some of the worst conditions ever recorded. The short narrative poem by Henry Silver extended the motifs and allusions created in earlier pieces such as the opening of Leigh's "The Complaint of the Cistern" (1851):

OUR foreign visitors will soon be here,
Walking about the streets in all directions;
"Why, what a nation this must be for Beer!"
Will be among the first of their reflections,
In London every turn affords
A dazzling view of tavern boards⁵²

In Leigh's concern for the first impression that London would make was a construct of the 'civilised', *Punch* abhorring that the Metropolis comprised of a group of brutalised drunks. The lengthy narrative poem criticised the potency of "ADAM's ale", the

⁴⁹ *Punch* 18 (1850), p.188.

⁵⁰ Simon (1854), op. cit., p.195.

⁵¹ *Punch* 23 (1852), p.122.

⁵² *Punch* 20 (1851), p.49.

“diluted sewage” of the Thames that men must drink, questioning how effective “the cause of Temperance” could be under such conditions.⁵³ Kingsley’s defence of the labourer in his portrayal of Jem Downes in *Alton Locke* (1850) was mirrored in the mechanic that *Punch* satirically depicted, through a verbal narrative of working class speech and colloquial turns of phrase.

“Why how”, his friends replied, “you tipsy brute.
“Are you obliged to swig of drinks fermented?”
“Ah, boys!” he hiccup’d, “at our Institute
You should have heard the matter represented.
There vos a sartain learn’d Professor there
On Chemistry who guv a dissertation,
Statin’ a fact of which you arn’t aware,
That *putrefaction* is a fermentation.
Tainted by churchyard then, and drain, and sink,
Sure London water is fermented drink.
So, since I must commit the sin,
I’d rather break the pledge with malt and hops,
Or violate it with a glass of gin,
Than with a mess of slush and slops.”⁵⁴

The power of ‘education’ was clearly confirmed in this scene; with knowledge came choice. It was evident that if people had the choice, an awareness of what they were actually drinking, of living in such conditions, then they would choose an alternative, even if that was the oblivion afforded by the demon drink.⁵⁵ Neither *Punch* nor Kingsley sought to justify intemperance but rather to assert that the social value of sanitary reform should be acknowledged in all its forms. At the core of the principles underpinning social medicine was a need to understand that the social effects of poor sanitation were as important as, if not more important than, political and economic considerations.

The raised profile of the water question in *Punch* during 1850 was influenced by a range of sources, particularly the outcome of the General Board of Health’s Report in the same year. The City Sewers and the River Thames did not return to the main cuts until the close of 1853 in “Flushing the Great City Sewers”. This cut and the

⁵³ *ibid.*, p.49.

⁵⁴ *ibid.*, p.49.

⁵⁵ In “A Disgraceful Abettor of Intemperance” too, the Teetotallers have “given up the practice of water drinking, and since taken, as a sanitary precaution, to the imbibing only of wine and ardent spirits. They defend themselves by saying, that if they are to be poisoned, they prefer the pleasanter poison of the two;” *Punch* 29 (1855), p.65.

accompanying verse, “Flushing a Sewer. – A Citizen’s Dream”, responded to the recommendations of the 1852 Metropolis Water Act. It was also informed by “A Petition (As it Ought to Be)” (Figure 6) by Tom Taylor from the previous year.

Fig. 6⁵⁶

A PETITION (AS IT OUGHT TO BE).

The Humble Petition of the Metropolitan Water Companies to the Commons House of Parliament, Sheweth,



HAT your Petitioners, in order to secure a monopoly of the Water Supply of the Metropolis, have spent large sums of money in Parliamentary contests, which sums they have not yet had an opportunity of fully repaying themselves out of the pockets of the consumers.

That your Petitioners have supplied Water of a very superior quality; viz., Thames water, of a much more nutritious character than any soft water, supplied in its natural state, possibly can be; the said Thames water being enriched with the sewage of the Metropolis, which is known to contain a large percentage of animal matter, not to mention the animalcules, shrimps, and small fish, which are supplied with it.

That your Petitioners are associated on the great principle of Self-government, or Government for Self and partners; which principle is incompatible with any supervision whatever.

That your Petitioners are assured that soft water supplies, from gathering grounds, would fail in drought; and that, if

Thames water be hard, it would be harder if there were none.

That your Petitioners ought not to be compelled to have recourse to a high-pressure supply, inasmuch as such a supply contravenes the great natural law that water finds its own level.

That your Petitioners object to give a constant supply, as such a supply would do away with the use of cisterns—the making, cleansing, and repairing whereof now create employment for a large body of industrious artisans, who would have to find other work were a constant supply enforced.

That your Petitioners object to any central superintendence, as your Petitioners know their own interest best; and that such interest is often as high as 20 per cent., which would be much reduced on any scale of rates likely to be sanctioned by a central supervising authority.

That your Petitioners believe that no gathering grounds can be so safely relied on as the gathering ground hitherto resorted to by your Petitioners: viz., the pockets of the consumers.

That your Petitioners believe a constant supply of water at high pressure to the street mains, would supersede that admirable department the Fire Brigade, and throw MR. BRAIDWOOD out of employment, besides impairing the income of the various Fire Insurance Companies.

That your Petitioners further believe that if water were supplied at a low price to the poor, the receipts of those excellent institutions, the Baths and Wash-houses, would be seriously diminished.

For all which reasons your Petitioners pray to be heard by counsel against any bill for improving the Metropolitan Water Supply.

And your Petitioners will ever pray, &c.

In “A Petition (As it Ought to Be)”, a more basic form of verbal visual interaction was evident with a small illustrated letter accompanying the text which spanned almost a full column. *Punch*’s use of illustration to form the first ornate letter of the text had been common practice since the early volumes.⁵⁷ However, the more established role that *Punch* commanded moving into the 1850s was clearly evident in this example. The character “T” was embedded within the heraldic shield over a door in the City of London. Ornate architecture and gargoyles, in keeping with earlier examples, suggested

⁵⁶ *Punch* 22 (1852), p.151.

⁵⁷ For further discussion of the interplay of word and image and the tradition of calligraphy, see Gerard Curtis, *Art and the Material Book in Victorian England* (Hants.: Ashgate, 2002).

the location to be an office at the Guildhall.⁵⁸ 'Left outside' was a figure who, when analysed in conjunction with the text, was a member of one of the Metropolitan Water Companies. The epistolary narrative directly addressed the reader, satirically justifying the continued neglect of the water question as being to the benefit of vested interest, for "your Petitioners object to any central superintendence, as your Petitioners know their own interest best".⁵⁹ The same 'Petitioners' were depicted the following year in "Flushing the Great City Sewer" (Figure 7).

Fig. 7⁶⁰



FLUSHING THE GREAT CITY SEWERS.

As with earlier examples, the main cut was on the page opposite from the verse on the same theme, which filled half a page. To 'flush the great City sewers' was a metaphorical as well as physical act. In agreeing to undertake the recommendations of the 1852 Metropolis Act there would have to be a complete reorganisation of the City Council which would, inevitably, result in those who had previously hindered reform being 'flushed' out. In the melee of faces, bodies and debris, a shield bearing the City

⁵⁸ See particularly those pieces depicting Gog and Magog, the 'guardians' of the Guildhall. For a full list, go to the *Punch Database on Public Health* and use the key word phrase "Gog and Magog".

⁵⁹ *Punch* 22 (1852), p.151.

⁶⁰ *Punch* 25 (1853), p.209.

of London's arms was clearly discernible in the foreground, along with "The Sword, the Cap, the Mace, the Chain, Regalia of the Civic Crown".⁶¹ To the right of the shield were the more familiar faces of "Gog and Magog". As these figures had been used to symbolise the protected interests of the City throughout the Smithfield campaign, their presence in this cartoon was crucial in suggesting the imminent fall from power of the City of London. Further familiar motifs included the corpulent figure of the Alderman, resplendent in fine robes complete with mayoral chains. The bespectacled gentleman to the left of the shield has been 'flushed' mid-meal as he bears a fork holding food, a liquor bottle floating in front of him; "And in the mess lurched figures bloated/With fat heads, whose dull eyes still gloated/On morsels that round them floated/Of calipash and callipee".⁶² The 'turtle' was also sketched just in front of the bloated Alderman, as well as satirically depicted on the shields that framed the coach, suggesting an alternative and more appropriate coat of arms for the City. *Punch's* message was that the greed of the City and its misplaced use of funds for banquets and self-aggrandisement must be abolished. At the close of Leigh's poem, the "soaked, stuffed, and gorged"⁶³ Alderman was shown as waking from a dream, which suggested that the impact of the Act, as with so many before, would be limited.

The Evolving Visual Form of Father Thames

Of the 44 total references for "Father Thames" in the *Punch Database on Public Health* (see Appendix Five), for the period 1849 – 1857 there was only one main cut "Faraday Giving his Card to Father Thames" in 1855. Visual depictions of him appeared in the Almanacks, though in 1849 he appeared only as a small sketch, a head and shoulders image carrying a trident.⁶⁴ This was developed into a more sophisticated representation in the Almanack for 1850 "Sanitary and Insanitary Matters". In the 1856 Almanack he was shown as dirty and dishevelled, chained and shackled, carrying a banner reading "Dirty Old Thames", as the people he passed derided him.⁶⁵ Aside from the Almanack entries, the evolving popularity of the personified figure of Father Thames can only be derived from the shorter entries across the period 1849 – 1857. By 1858 this motif had acquired a new level of recognition, appearing in a variety of verbal visual representations which exemplified the growing independence of the image. The

⁶¹ *Punch* 25 (1853), p.208.

⁶² *ibid.*, p.208.

⁶³ *ibid.*, p.208.

⁶⁴ *Punch* 16 (1849), Almanack "Political Pantomimes".

⁶⁵ *Punch* 30 (1856), Almanack "The Calendar".

figure of Father Thames, like Mr. Punch, became an enduring motif synonymous with the magazine's role as educator of the people. It was through the narrative voice of Father Thames that the variety of debates interconnected with the subject of the Thames could be analysed. He was a signifier of change, both in the form of *Punch* and the increased profile of the wider public health campaign in the popular imagination.

As Chapter Three established, the personification of Father Thames was a means by which to communicate the increased indignation generated by the condition of the Thames; succinctly captured in one of *Punch*'s characteristic one-line quips: "THE GREAT UNWASHED – Old Father Thames".⁶⁶ The combined verbal visual representation of Father Thames in the first main cut of 1848 generated a template of motifs commonly used as the magazine popularised the figure through repeated usage. Amongst the most common symbols were the urban animals of the hearth. Cats and dogs hold polysemous connotations of the domestic space as a source of disease and were found across a large majority of pieces examining the health of the metropolis, as the *Punch Database on Public Health* demonstrates. Of the 19 entries returned on keyword 'Dead Cats and Dogs' for 1849 - 1857, 11 include Father Thames. These pieces ranged from main cuts through to shorter narrative poems. In 1849 "A Bargees Ballad" presented a petition from Father Thames who wished to assert why he was not in a fit and clean condition to receive a Royal Barge carrying Queen Victoria.⁶⁷ The scenes which were vividly described in verbal colloquialisms confirmed the image of Father Thames which could be read alongside later main cuts such as "Faraday Giving his Card to Father Thames" (1855).

"My 'air it warn't as now you see," –
And he squeegeed it with his 'and,
And all sorts of nasty slimy things
Dropped out of every strand.

...

"They pisons me with soorage,
With rubbidge, shoes, and 'ats,
With chiminals, coal, tar and gas,
And with dead dogs and cats."⁶⁸

⁶⁶ *Punch* 17 (1849), p.209.

⁶⁷ *Punch* 17 (1849), p.179. See also "Father Thames and his Royal Visitors" *Punch* 17 (1849), p.184.

⁶⁸ *Punch* 17 (1849), p.179.

The importance of the dead cats and dogs symbolising the domestic were not only present in the waters of the Thames and along its shores but also, as “A Bargees Ballad” suggests, in his hair, providing an explanation for the ‘nasty slimy’ condition he had been depicted in since 1848. By 1855 and “Faraday Giving his Card to Father Thames”, the iconographically familiar trident of Neptune carried in early depictions of Father Thames was replaced by a kettle, further extending a critique of the domestic space, reinforcing *Punch*’s assertion of 1850 that “poor old Father Thames . . . leads a ‘cat and dog life’ in the most literal sense of the term, as a walk by the side of his bed will amply testify”.⁶⁹

The utility of the personified figure was made evident in February 1851 when *Household Words* ran a short story entitled “Father Thames”.⁷⁰ Richard H. Horne, author of “Father Thames”, was one of the few salaried members of Dickens’ staff and he contributed many articles on sanitation and public health reform.⁷¹ This article drew on the more visual nature of the topic as depicted by *Punch*. In a narrative style not too dissimilar to *A Christmas Carol* (1843) by Charles Dickens, the statue of Old Father Thames came to life in order to take Mr Beverage on a journey down the river, through the sewers and underground tunnels, in order to educate him and simultaneously the readers. As *Punch* had been suggesting since the early volumes, ignorance lay at the root of public health problems; in Horne’s article, it was Mr Beverage’s lack of understanding and elitist assumptions about the source of the water with which he made his tea that was held up for ridicule:

“Do not think me ungrateful”, said I, “nor by any means insensible of the honour you do me; but the truth is, that, although I drink more tea than most men, probably than any other gentleman in London, I am rather scrupulous as to the water I make it with”.⁷²

Old Father Thames was shown as an angry and frustrated character whose purpose it was to alert readers to the myths and ignorance about how drinking water was supplied to the Metropolis. The themes of social proximity raised by Simon in his Reports to the City of London and Mr Punch himself were echoed in Horne’s work. His story issued a

⁶⁹ *Punch* 19 (1850), p.125.

⁷⁰ Richard H. Horne, “Father Thames” *Household Words* 2:45 (1851), pp.445-450.

⁷¹ See also “The Smithfield Bull to His Cousin of Nineveh” discussed in Chapter Five.

⁷² Horne, op. cit., p.446.

warning that the rivers and sewers, drains and cesspools would have their revenge on the people of the Metropolis for negligence and procrastination.

It is true that I have become hardened to all these outrages, and almost callous; . . . yet you cannot expect me to shed tears over the punishment which they bring upon themselves. For every dead dog and cat that is flung into my bosom, there's a typhus patient - perhaps a dozen; for every slaughter-house, fish-market, or graveyard near my banks, there's a dozen scarlet fever patients - perhaps a hundred; - for every main sewer draining into me, there is a legion of cholera patients in due season. I have been deeply injured, but I am amply avenged.⁷³

The language which Horne used to identify the source of the pollution shared the verbal visual rhetoric and allusions that *Punch* had sketched; the “dead dog and cat” frequently found in the lap of Father Thames, as depicted in the *Punch Almanack* of 1850; the giants of London's industry along the banks of the Thames, of every “slaughter-house, fish-market, or graveyard”, as depicted in “The Water that John Drinks” (1849). Unlike the first phase of reform, there was cohesion in the approach of the periodical press in the 1850s. Regardless of the cause of disease and its solution, they were united in the conviction that disease was not an isolated occurrence but a product of inefficiency and slovenly attitudes to maintaining an adequate state of public health.⁷⁴ Collectively they sought to educate the public as to the true condition of the city in order to encourage a more vigilant population.

Throughout the early years of the 1850s the one line quips, asides and single stanza satires continued, creating a readily identifiable and iconic figure in Father Thames.⁷⁵ There were longer narrative pieces too, such as “Visit of the Thames and Medway to the Royal Commissioners on the City” in 1853.⁷⁶ Such pieces were important for confirming the ‘voice’ of Father Thames as the voice of reason. The Medway was a tributary river which also came under the jurisdiction of the Mayor of the City who was conservator for the Thames and Medway. However, in this narrative

⁷³ *ibid.*, p.448.

⁷⁴ ‘Inefficiency and slovenly attitudes’ were also key themes in a number of mid-century novels that advocated the necessity of sanitary reform. For example, Charles Kingsley, *Yeast* (1848), Charles Dickens, *Bleak House* (1852), Charles Kingsley, *Two Years Ago* (1857), Charles Dickens, *Our Mutual Friend* (1865).

⁷⁵ Examples include “Those Who Run May Smell” 23 (1852), p.52; “Father Thames’ Epitaph” 23 (1852), p.128; “The Tide of Opposition” 26 (1854), p.150; “Go to Bath” 29 (1855), p.51; “Thames’ Prizes” 29 (1855), p.76. For a more comprehensive list of references, see the *Punch Database on Public Health*, keyword phrase “Father Thames”. (Appendix Five).

⁷⁶ *Punch* 25 (1853), p.235.

piece, Medway was not given a voice to speak to the Commissioners of the City, unlike Father Thames who presented his case “in his usual flowing style”.⁷⁷ Although the piece was attributed to the writer Scudamore, in a search on public health pieces he only featured once in the *Punch* ledgers.⁷⁸ However, Scudamore continued to contribute to *Punch*’s consistently identifiable rhetorical strategies for examining the health of the Metropolis. As with previous pieces, and anticipating Father Thames’ increased profile in the main cuts produced in 1858, “Visit of the Thames and Medway” described him in a readily recognisable form:

The gentleman, who rather surlily informed the too curious crowd that he was FATHER THAMES, was attired in a quaint and singular garb. “All round his head” he wore, not merely “a green willow,” but a profusion of reeds, rullies, and osiers, whilst his feet and legs were thickly coated with mud and sand . . . His waist was garnished by a quantity of bricks, beams, planks, and piles, strung round him without any regard to order or symmetry, and, by their bulk and weight, greatly impeding his progress.⁷⁹

The cause of his impediment was clearly identifiable as the Corporation of the City of London, visualised through the threatening depiction of the Water Bailiff. “That terrible functionary”, as he was described, was responsible for assisting the Mayor “to look after the preservation of the River Thames, against all encroachments”.⁸⁰ It was clear that the Water Bailiff, as a representative of the City, was failing in his duties and was duly held to account by *Punch*.

Father Thames was presented as the best person to ‘conserve’ the Thames. His reappearance in the main cuts in 1855, in the same year that the appointment of Medical Officers of Health was made mandatory, was significant. From this time, Father Thames, became one of *Punch*’s inspectors of nuisances for the magazine as his appearance in various guises in the summer of 1858 confirmed. “Faraday Giving his Card to Father Thames” (Figure 8) published in *Punch* July 21st 1855 was sketched in direct response to a letter which Professor Faraday had written to *The Times* on July 7th, published on July 9th and in *The Lancet* on July 14th.

⁷⁷ *ibid.*, p.235.

⁷⁸ *Punch* Collection, British Library, PUN/A/BRAD/AB 02

⁷⁹ *Punch* 25 (1853), p.235.

⁸⁰ John Noorthouck, *A New History of London: Including Westminster and Southwark (1773.)* p.533-541. British History Online. <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=46745>> [accessed 20 May 2008].



The main cut was a stand alone illustration with no preceding narrative or embedded verse. To the fore was Father Thames, dead carcasses floating at his side. In the rear were the familiar chimneys of industry polluting the atmosphere, attested by Professor Faraday having to hold his nose. That Father Thames should “consult the learned Professor” emphasised the need for further communication between the public, science and medicine, forging a clear link between social problems, science and medicine. *Punch*’s response to Faraday’s disgust at the condition of the Thames also signified a further extension of the verbal visual dynamic. It was the visual alone that was chosen as the most suitable mode with which to directly engage with the issues raised by other periodicals and newspapers. This further emphasised the growing independence of the image and the importance of its role in expanding and diversifying the discursive matrix on public health.

⁸¹ *Punch* 29 (1855), p.27.

The influence of the social networks in which the *Punch* staff moved had been evident in *Punch's* output since its creation. By 1855 the dialogue between the magazine and its contemporary publications was established. This was further reinforced by the introduction of a new feature in the same year, "Essence of Parliament" by the recently appointed writer Shirley Brooks. This column satirically reviewed the parliamentary debates of the week, commenting on the decisions that had been made and the areas that had been neglected. The idea for such a regular feature had been mooted in 1849, when the magazine was beginning its first crucial shifts in form and content. Launching this "New Feature" *Punch* declared its intention to "remodel the art of Parliamentary reporting. The only difference between Mr. Punch's reports and those of his contemporaries' would be that, "his will be read, and theirs will not."⁸² Even in the formative years, there was an assured confidence in the role the magazine had to play. However, it was not until the appointment of Shirley Brooks, a fellow dramatist of the *Punch* brotherhood, that the "Essence of Parliament" became a regular contribution.⁸³ The introduction of this new feature and the return of Father Thames to the main cut underpinned the educative role that *Punch* held by 1855.

The reappearance of Father Thames in the main cut of 1855 was the culmination of a range of medical, social and scientific influences, bringing together the myriad of concerns and anxieties that had been charted across the pages of *Punch* and indeed the popular press as a whole. Problems of how to communicate the need for reform could be seen in the variety of discourses which increasingly informed the stylised rhetoric and motifs that *Punch* developed and which continued to retain cultural relevance throughout the century. Debates about the source of disease and the regulation and inspection of nuisances came together with the formation of the Metropolitan Board of Works, also in 1855. This was only the beginning of a final era in the campaign for sanitary reform which moved towards the more comprehensive Public Health Act of 1875. The end of the second phase of reform realised by the 1858 Metropolis Management Amendment Act, completed the preparatory work begun by the 1855 Act. Though the popular press actively sought to advocate the initiatives promised by the Metropolitan Board of Works, their faith proved to be ill founded as the Board

⁸² *Punch* 16 (1849), p.21.

⁸³ *Punch* Collection, British Library, PUN/A/BRAD/AB 03

continued to be divided by vested interests. It was only with the Removal of Smithfield Market in 1855 and the building of the new City of London Cemetery at Little Ilford in 1856 that the Thames and its associated problems could systematically be addressed. Despite significant changes in the City's organisation, Father Thames remained dirty and dishonoured resulting in his revenge, the Great Stink of 1858.

PART FOUR

Chapter Seven

Uniting Approaches to Reform: Father Thames' Revenge and the Great Stink of 1858

On June 14 1858 the Houses of Parliament had to postpone their session, unable to endure the noxious odours rising from the polluted Thames. *Punch's* response was a dramatic rise in its attention to public health reform, dedicating at least one piece per page to the topic for the weeks following. Parliament also devoted increased consideration to the public health question, building on the earlier work of the Metropolitan Management Act of 1855, by passing the Metropolis Management Amendment Act 1858 which immediately released the funds necessary for Bazalgette to finally begin work on the Metropolis' sewer system.¹ Both responses were indicative of a new era of change when literature, art and science were brought together with the formation of such groups as the Social Science Association in a more systematic and public examination of social reform. The enduring popularity of the motif of Father Thames and the extent to which it was used in response to the Great Stink clearly demonstrates *Punch's* commitment to developing a verbal visual rhetoric that could be used to address a variety of social issues.

The nature of the renewed scrutiny on matters of public health in *Punch* is quantifiable from a search of the *Punch Database on Public Health*. Of the 549 references, 65 were from 1858, constituting 11.8% of the database's returns. A variety of forms from one line quips and observations, to visual sketches and narrative verses, demonstrate the unity of the magazine's response. Of the four main cuts logged for 1858, only two directly related to the topic of the Thames. Instead, the verbal visual depictions of the subject were found in a range of styles from initial letters to small sketches, as a study of Father Thames reveals. The consistency of *Punch's* approach is further reinforced if the *Punch Database on Public Health Reform* is read alongside entries in the *Punch* Ledgers, where only 39% of the total entries in the database can be attributed to a particular author. It is clear that by 1858 it was not only the medical men of the magazine, Leech and Taylor, who were writing on public health, but the majority of the *Punch* staff. New members of the salaried staff were also contributing to this

¹ 1858 Metropolis Management Amendment Act c. 104 s. 1 (See Appendix Seven). <www.justis.com> [accessed April 2008].

narrative thread, including Henry Silver who was only appointed in August 1857.² The implications of this increasingly cohesive humanitarian response both for the future of the magazine and simultaneously for public health reform are the subject of this chapter.

“From the journal of Bohemia to the mouthpiece of Mayfair”:³ The *Punch* Brotherhood in 1858

From its origins *Punch* notably changed in both organisation and form moving towards “a greater evenness of standard.”⁴ The early years of the magazine have been characterised as ‘Bohemian’, since the verbal narratives borrowed from the traditions of the street, using burlesques and ribald forms of humour.⁵ *Punch* outlived many of its contemporaries and by 1850 had acquired a cultural status and recognition that afforded a shift in power and subsequently form. An examination of public health debates reveals that this was not a radical change, rather a reassertion of purpose. *Punch* did not lose the heritage of satire that it had drawn upon in its early years. The problems of how to communicate the need for reform in the 1840s were addressed in the 1850s through repetition and reinforcement of new motifs and emblems such as Father Thames, resulting in the increased power of visual forms of communication. This paved the way for the golden age of illustration in the 1860s and the affirmation of *Punch* as a cultural institution.

Of the references for 1858 which can be attributed to a particular author, it is clear that besides the salaried staff identified in the Introduction there had been a number of new appointments. There remained contributions from the original advocates of public health reform, Taylor and Leigh, but alongside them were increased contributions from Horace ‘Ponny’ Mayhew and two new staff from the late 1850s, Shirley Brooks and Henry Silver. Both Brooks and Silver had originally been articled to solicitors and brought a meticulous training in drawing up documentation and record keeping to their work on *Punch*.⁶ As with the earlier pieces of Gilbert á Beckett, who was also qualified in the field of law, this discipline complemented the approach of the medical men on the staff. Many of the contributors on the *Punch* staff were professionally educated and this added to the proficiency of their approach to writing

² M. H. Spielmann, *The History of ‘Punch’* (London: Cassell and Co., 1895), p.66.

³ Arthur William á Beckett, *The á Becketts of ‘Punch’: Memories of Father and Sons* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1903), p.86.

⁴ R. G. G. Price, *A History of Punch* (London: Collins, 1957), p. 79.

⁵ Beckett, op. cit., p.86.

⁶ Spielmann, op. cit., pp.347 & 357.

pieces on more serious matters, such as politics and reform. However, Brooks and Silver were not the only writers to join the *Punch* team at this time. Charles Keene began submitting sketches and drawings in 1851, but did not formally join the staff until 1860.⁷ As with Brooks and Silver he was educated in the law, however because he was not registered on the salaried staff, his entries between 1851 and 1860 are not included in the *Punch* ledgers. Such omissions reveal how united the *Punch* brotherhood were in the topics they addressed, the emblems they created and used. Together, they formed the voice of *Punch*.⁸ The different educational and professional backgrounds of each of the writers and artists, named and unnamed, allowed them to conjoin their experiences to suit the purpose of each different crusade and object of scrutiny. This was the advantage that *Punch* enjoyed over its contemporaries and which made its contributions to public health debates, from a variety of perspectives, so distinct from other magazines of the period.

After a consistent campaign proselytising for reform, the Great Stink provided *Punch* with the opportunity to intensify its examination, directing its attack on the negligence of the upper and middle classes who could no longer feign ignorance as to the true extent of the river's pollution. *Punch* began examining the range of potential causes for disease, by directly problematising the condition of the Thames on the 26th of June 1858 from a miasmatic perspective with a poem entitled "Piff-Piff! An Ode to The Thames".⁹ From July to December the magazine continued its diatribe of satire with a series of articles from Brooks entitled "The Scentral Board". In form and style the three articles published under this title drew on the success of Brook's signatory contribution, "*Punch's* Essence of Parliament", which had been running since 1855. The popularity and subsequent repetition of both pieces reinforced the more focused political scrutiny that was typical of *Punch* from the 1850s. "The Scentral Board" mocked the numerous 'Boards' and 'Commissions' who were continually failing to achieve any amelioration of the conditions which plagued the Metropolis.¹⁰ In identifying 'Thwaites' as the Chairman, Brooks was clearly parodying the retarded progress of the Metropolitan Board of Works.¹¹ In the first of the three pieces, Mr. Punch continued to reinforce his position as educator, borrowing from the verbal

⁷ Arthur Prager, *The Mahogany Tree: An Informal History of Punch* (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1979), p.116.

⁸ Spielmann, op. cit., p.477.

⁹ *Punch* 34 (1858), p.253.

¹⁰ This continued the tradition established by Leigh in "Summoning an Evil Spirit" *Punch* 35 (1858), p. 21 and "Committee on the Thames" *Punch* 35 (1858), p. 22.

¹¹ Benjamin Thwaites was Chairman of the Metropolitan Board. See Chapter Six.

register of reportage, stating that “Mr. *Punch* has promised to assist the Board in every way, and has great pleasure in announcing that he has been unanimously elected its reporter”.¹² In this way Mr. Punch was able to assert himself as a figure of authority, sufficiently informed to advocate the need for reform. However, as this thesis has demonstrated, he was not the only personified character in the magazine. Whilst he is the most commonly recognised symbol, an examination of Father Thames’ role in pieces on the Great Stink reveals more about the lesser known verbal visual dynamics which were characteristic of *Punch*.

Father Thames as a Signifier of Change

The personified figure of Father Thames appeared in 20% of the pieces referenced for 1858. Over half of these contributions combined text and image. There were four principal ways in which Father Thames was illustrated. Firstly as a small sketch in “Our Nasal Benefactors”;¹³ second in an initial letter in “Slow but Sewer”;¹⁴ third in a social cut in “How Dirty Old Father Thames was Whitewashed”;¹⁵ and finally in the traditional main cut form with “Father Thames Introducing his Offspring to the Fair City of London”.¹⁶ The variety of guises in which he appeared was a testament to the importance of this cultural figure as an enduring motif for commenting on change. Alongside narrative poems, epistolary narratives and one line quips *Punch* consistently drew on Father Thames as a mouthpiece from which to advocate reform. In style and shape he was representative of the magazine’s approach to reform, consistently monitoring and inspecting the progress that was being made in the campaign to clear the polluted Thames.

Chronologically the first Father Thames piece to appear in 1858 was the more familiar main cut (see Figure 1). “Father Thames Introducing his Offspring to the Fair City of London” was the only main cut utilising this important motif since “Faraday Giving his Card to Father Thames” in 1855.¹⁷ As with the 1855 cartoon, “Father Thames Introducing his Offspring” was a stand-alone illustration with no accompanying narrative except the title. Its sub-heading “(A Design for a Fresco in the New Houses of Parliament)” satirically played on the disruption of Parliament which could not work

¹² *Punch* 35 (1858), p. 81.

¹³ *Punch* 35 (1858), p.12.

¹⁴ *Punch* 35 (1858), p.71.

¹⁵ *Punch* 35 (1858), p.41.

¹⁶ *Punch* 35 (1858), p.5.

¹⁷ *ibid.*, p.5.

with the stench of the river coming through its ventilation system. The figure of Father Thames himself had not changed significantly from earlier representations, though the background was more heavily pencilled, resulting in a comparatively gloomy mood as befitted the severity of the situation in 1858. Father Thames' offerings "to the fair city of London" were the emaciated bones of dead cats and dogs, the pollutants of domestic and industrial waste, which had for too long floated along his byways carrying disease in their wake.

Fig. 1¹⁸

PUNCH, OR THE LONDON CHARIVARI.—JULY 3, 1858.



FATHER THAMES INTRODUCING HIS OFFSPRING TO THE FAIR CITY OF LONDON.
(A Design for a Fresco in the New Houses of Parliament.)

"Father Thames Introducing his Offspring to the Fair City of London" highlighted not only the consistency of *Punch's* approach to the topic, but also the magazine's relationship with its contemporaries, specifically *The Times*.¹⁹

Richard Scha uses the term "iconic language" to describe a language which is capable of "setting a virtual scene before the eyes of the readers", a language that is "of

¹⁸ *ibid.*, p.5.

¹⁹ *The Times* also drew on this rhetorical strategy, opening their editorial on June 17 1858, "Old Father Thames is now in his glory. This is the week of his final triumph . . . he is at once the glory and the shame of this great empire". *The Times*, Thurs., June 17, 1858; pg. 8; Issue 23022; col. E.

a highly natural quality or a pictorial quality that is life-like".²⁰ *Punch* provided a verbal visual counterpart to the iconic language of fellow writers and artists of the period. In "Father Thames Introducing his Offspring to the Fair City of London" the meaning of the main cut was to be derived from a variety of associated and recognisable motifs, as well as Father Thames. Around the feet of Britannia floated the rotting mass of society's discharge. At her left elbow was a steamer, a constant source of pollution with smoke belching from its chimney; a familiar symbol to readers who had followed *Punch's* earlier pieces about the smoke question in the early 1850s. In the background was the recognisable industrial landscape of Victorian London, the smoky factories pouring pollution out of every tributary, the dome of St. Paul's at the heart of the City visible in the top left corner.

In Figure One, Father Thames is personified in the form of a Grim Reaper, a foreboding and threatening image which overshadows the virginal figure of Britannia, clad in white, to the left of the image. The naming of his offspring as 'diphtheria', 'scrofula' and 'cholera' conformed to the contagionist perspective.²¹ As Chapter Six has demonstrated Simon's Reports to the City of London marked a transition in understanding the etiology of disease, resolving the problems of how to communicate the need for reform which had hindered Chadwick's campaign in the first era of reform 1841 – 1848. There was an increased understanding that science could offer a resolution to the question of what caused disease.²² Father Thames' offspring had been created as a direct result of the sewage and refuse that were polluting the river, as the named diseases indicated.

Cholera's symptoms included diarrhoea, vomiting and dehydration, accompanied by agonising cramps and gripes as the grimace of pain on the face of the child to the right of the image illustrated. The emaciated figure of scrofula personified a disease which affected the lymphatic nodes and was common in children.²³ Both the image of the child and the connotations of this particular disease reinforced the cameralist ethos that had underpinned *Punch's* depiction of children as innocents affected by poor health through no fault of their own. As Simon himself had declared

²⁰ For further discussion of this term, see Richard C. Sha, *The Visual and Verbal Sketch in British Romanticism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), p.21.

²¹ This is also further evidence of the magazine's perceivable awareness of how disease was transmitted, following on from earlier pieces, even in the same edition, such as "Joint Stock River Banks" which discussed the role of the Thames in the spread of Typhus and Cholera. *Punch* 35 (1858), p. 3.

²² See "Science and Smell: to Professor Faraday" *Punch* 35 (1858), p.48.

²³ "Scrofula" <<http://dictionary.reference.com>> [accessed July 2009].

“the *death-rates of young children* are, in my opinion, among the most important studies in sanitary science”.²⁴ The choice of named illnesses clearly demonstrated *Punch’s* engagement with advancements in medicine and the growing knowledge of how bacteria developed and spread. Diphtheria was a relatively new disease having only been identified in 1857 by physician Pierre Bretonneau in France.²⁵ A tough membrane formed in the throat which caused breathing difficulties, as evident from the choked expression on the face of the third child in the centre of the image. However, *Punch’s* knowledge of the disease, also known as “Boulogne sore throat”, was more personal. Both Gilbert á Beckett and Douglas Jerrold holidayed in Boulogne and in 1856 Gilbert á Beckett and his son both died from the disorder that his colleagues sketched in this cartoon.²⁶ Father Thames was used as the voice for the brotherhood’s indignation on both a public and personal level.

Father Thames was not drawn again in this form in the main cuts of 1858. However he does appear to be the figure implied by the main cut that was printed the following week entitled “The ‘Silent Highway’ - Man” (see Figure 2). This was a cartoon which shared the same dark, gothic mood of the previous cut and, though there was no direct reference, the presence of the skeletal shape could be assumed to be Father Thames. This provided a more demonic image in comparison to the weary father figure depicted in earlier representations. However, the mood of “Father Thames Introducing his Offspring to the Fair City of London” reflected the magazine’s change of perspective from the opening of volume 35. The move from presenting impending death to the actual embodiment of it was a logical development. If the threat of July 3rd had been warning about the imminent approach of disease, by July 10th, the message was clearly more foreboding; negligence of the Thames’ condition would result in death for all, from the worker in the lodging house to the MP in Parliament. The phrase ‘silent highway’ was emphasised, connoting the stealth and quietness of Death’s approach. The subheading, “your MONEY or your LIFE” drew on myths about highwaymen such as Dick Turpin from the ‘penny dreadfuls’ at the turn of the century, but also alluded to the vested interests of Aldermen which had been the target of

²⁴ “Papers Relating to the Sanitary State of the People of England” in *Public Health Reports by John Simon, CB FRS &c. Edited for the Sanitary Institute of Great Britain by Edward Seaton MD Lond., FRCP* (London: Offices of the Sanitary Institute, 1887), p.460.

²⁵ “Diphtheria”. *Online Etymology Dictionary*. Douglas Harper. Historian <<http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/diphtheria>> [accessed: June 27 2008].

²⁶ Beckett, op. cit., p.101. John Leech had also spent a considerable amount of time in Boulogne with Dickens in 1854, see J. W. T. Ley, *The Dickens Circle* (1918; 2nd ed., London: Chapman and Hall, 1919), p.234.

Punch's criticism from early in its career. Either the City invested in sanitary reform or further lives would be lost.

Fig. 2²⁷

PUNCH, OR THE LONDON CHARIVARI, JULY 10, 1858.



THE "SILENT HIGHWAY"-MAN.
"Your MONEY or your LIFE!"

Foregrounded in "The 'Silent Highway'- Man" was the spectral image of 'death'; an illustrative device that originated from the medieval allegory, contemporary with the Black Death, known as the "Dance of Death". As Edward Lucie-Smith argues:

The Dance of Death was [. . .] gruesome and apocalyptic, it also contained strong elements of social criticism and sardonic humour. In all its version it pointed the same moral - that death was the universal leveller in a rigidly hierarchical society.²⁸

This was not the first time that the sinister image of the 'skeleton' had been used in *Punch*. Leech, as Briggs observes, "was always adept at integrating 'legend' and picture";²⁹ the most notable of Leech's cartoons, "Cheap Clothing" (1845) and "General Fevrier turned Traitor" (1855) both used the image of the skeletal spectre of death.

²⁷ *Punch* 35 (1858), p.15.

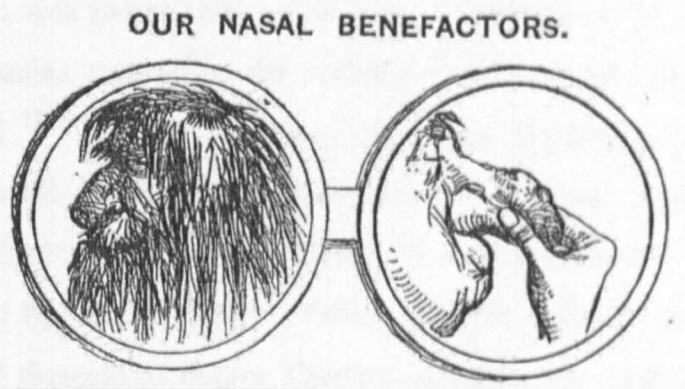
²⁸ Edward Lucie-Smith, *The Art of Caricature* (London: Orbis Publishing, 1981), p.31.

²⁹ Susan and Asa Briggs (eds.), *Cap and Bell: Punch's Chronicle of English History in the Making 1841 - 1861* (London: MacDonald, 1972), p.xxi.

“The ‘Silent Highway’ - Man” remained consistent with this tradition but also drew on the newer motifs developed in earlier cartoons examining the health of the metropolis; the smoking chimneys, the dome of St. Paul’s and the bloated carcasses of the animals who were both poisoned by the Thames and were in themselves a source of pollution.

The more recognisable form of Father Thames as a filthy and dishevelled character was used in the same edition as “The ‘Silent Highway’- Man” in an accompanying illustration to “Our Nasal Benefactors” by Henry Silver (see Figure 3).³⁰

Fig. 3³¹



On the left of the image, the dark, shaggy figure was identifiable from previous *Punch* pieces, however the suggestion for giving a ‘medal’ to anyone who dared to traverse the Thames presented a further level of meaning for the piece.

Shall we institute forthwith an Order of Nasal Valour, and decorate the heroes who survive to wear it? Or would it be more suitable to erect them, each, a statue? or strike a medal to commemorate their distinguished nasal service? On one side might be shown the head of Father Thames, seen in his most filthy and disgusting aspect; while the other might be graven with the outline of a nose, pressed rather tightly with a thumb and forefinger.³²

Punch was once again demonstrating the close affinity it shared with *The Times* which ran a story on a Parliamentary Committee which had undertaken a steamboat excursion to “test the state of the Thames [though] the Commercial public are not sanguine that the question of purification is likely to make any real progress”.³³ In parodying this story, the focus of *Punch*’s narrative returned to the issue of smell as a source of pollution. As Simon and other critics had observed though, it was not that easy to

³⁰ *Punch* Collection, British Library, PUN/A/BRAD/AB 03

³¹ *Punch* 35 (1858), p.12.

³² *Punch* 35 (1858), p.12.

³³ *The Times*, Tuesday, Jun. 22, 1858; pg.10; Issue 23026; col. A.

separate the effects of miasma and direct contagion as they were both interrelated. In contrast to the contagionist allusions of “Father Thames Introducing his Offspring to the Fair City of London”, *Punch*’s return to the subject of the lethal smell of the Thames was not a regression to the earlier miasmatic theories of reformers like Chadwick; rather it was evidence of a constant commitment to presenting all aspects of the debate in order to raise the profile of the public health question as a whole.

This breadth of perspective was also apparent in “How Dirty Old Father Thames was Whitewashed” (1858), a half page social cut in the style of the main cut (Figure 4).³⁴ Though there was no monogram or record to indicate who sketched the cartoon, a consistency of form was maintained. The cartoon replicated the pose adopted by the statue of Father Thames created by the sculptor Rafaele Monti for the Crystal Palace Exhibition of 1851.³⁵ Further evidence of Father Thames’ place in the popular imagination continued with the publication of Edward Hugessen Knatchbull-Hugessen’s book *River Legends: or, Father Thames and Father Rhine* published in 1875 and illustrated by Gustav Doré. *Punch* was not the first popular form to work with the personified rhetoric of Father Thames, however the variety of guises in which he was depicted contributed to the enduring popularity of the motif.

“How Dirty Old Father Thames was Whitewashed” was a standalone social cut. ‘Old Father Thames’ was depicted as a traveller carrying the troubles of London on his back. ‘Whitewashing’ referred directly to the Government’s response to the Great Stink, however it also implied that this merely covered over the surface of the problem, presenting a facade for a solution. *Punch*’s cynicism at the government response was shared by *The Times* which had noted that, “the Government is throwing a little lime into the river to dispel the stench at its own doors, but doing nothing really to remedy the evil, and avert this threatened pestilence”.³⁶ *Punch*’s belief that it held a role in policing reform, through constant scrutiny and surveillance, was reinforced by the figure of Mr. Punch in the rear left of the image, monitoring the whitewashing process. There was a clear concern that short term, ad-hoc reform was inadequate, failing to contribute to a more structured and long-term consideration of the problem. The

³⁴ *Punch* 35 (1858), p.41.

³⁵ <www.richmond.gov.uk/thameslandscape/news> [accessed 11 April 2002]. The statue of Father Thames now resides at the mouth of the highest lock, St John’s Lock, at Lechlade in the Cotswolds, after having been moved there in 1974.

³⁶ *The Times*, Wednesday, Jun. 30th, 1858; pg.9; Issue 23033; col. D. For further examples of pieces commenting on the futility of adding lime to the rivers see “Delicacies of the River” *Punch* 35 (1858), p.11.

reference to smell, connoted by the man holding his nose in the centre of the image, signified repulsion at the miasmatic odours but was balanced with the image of the lime which would combat direct contagion, again addressing both aspects of the debate as to how disease was transmitted.

Fig. 4³⁷

JULY 31, 1858.]

PUNCH, OR THE LONDON CHARIVARI.

41



HOW DIRTY OLD FATHER THAMES WAS WHITEWASHED.

The more unkempt figure of Father Thames returned the following month in an initial letter, again emphasising how adaptable the motif was for scrutinising responses to reform (Figure 5). Entitled “Slow but Sewer” the subject of the narrative poem it accompanied, as with many of the contemporary periodicals and papers of the time, was whether the Metropolitan Board of Works would respond to the problems made manifest by the Great Stink. The report of Messrs. Bidder and Bazalgette printed in response to these enquiries had been the object of much scrutiny, especially in *The Times*. *Punch* continued this theme:

BAZALGETTE and his Board of Works
 Must be benighted as the Turks,
 . . . In no one project will you find
 So many fallacies combined
 As in this tunnel-scheme:
 Its cost, immense: its profit, nil:

³⁷ *Punch* 35 (1858), p.41.

The sewage lost: the river still
A starved and stinking stream.³⁸

The ‘tunnel scheme’ was a proposal to undertake deep channel gravitation which would take the sewage out to Sea Reach, the alternative being a system of pumping and deodorizing.³⁹ Once again the cost of procrastination was highlighted.

Fig. 5⁴⁰



Whilst the content of the text retained currency referring to projects as they evolved, the image continued *Punch*'s critique of the use of lime and whitewash. Father Thames was not directly referenced in the poem, but the form and style of the motif, used as an initial letter, was consistent with earlier representations.

The persuasive rhetoric of the verbal pieces, written from the perspective of a personified Father Thames is crucial in understanding how the images functioned on a multiplicity of levels. *Punch*'s role in 1858 was to mediate events to the public, to represent the range of debates waged by different interest groups. However, the tone of Father Thames' voice at this time was one of admonishment. Writing in the style of Scudamore from "Visit of the Thames and Medway" in 1853, Horace Mayhew wrote "The Humble Petition of Father Thames" in response to the Great Stink.⁴¹ He used the popular epistolary form, addressed "To the Lord Mayor and Court of Conservancy", to question how far the City Conservator was fulfilling his duties. Father Thames objected

³⁸ *ibid.*, p.71.

³⁹ *The Times*, Saturday, July 31, 1858; pg. 9; issue 23060; col. F.

⁴⁰ *Punch* 35 (1858), p.71.

⁴¹ *Punch* 35 (1858), p.10.

about “being made the receptacle of everything that is nasty, impure, repulsive, and pestilent”, complaining that “his career has been made, not only distasteful to [himself], but positively offensive to others”.⁴² The futility of attempting to maintain cleanliness in the face of such dire circumstances discouraged people from taking pride in their home and work place, Father Thames argued. In signing off his letter he regretted that until such time as he was cleared, “he must ever prey on the weak and the delicate, and all the poor of heart and body, whose poverty of pocket compels them to dwell in his corrupt neighbourhood.”⁴³ Read in conjunction with main cuts such as “Father Thames Introducing his Offspring to the Fair City of London”, it was the children, the innocents, which *Punch* consistently identified as ‘the weak and the delicate’ and most in need of help.

The figure of Father Thames continued to be used in text and image, up to July 1858 with contributions from many of the *Punch* brotherhood. In the July 31st edition, Tom Taylor wrote a detailed narrative poem entitled “How Father Thames Appeared to the Cabinet, On the Road to the Whitebait Dinner, and What He Said to Them”.⁴⁴ As with Taylor’s more stylised pieces discussed in Chapter Six, the poem was rich in allusions. The title was a metaphoric reference to Saul’s conversion on the road to Damascus only in this passage it was Father Thames who sought to convert the City Commissioners. Unlike the dazzling light that Saul saw, Father Thames brought more foreboding news to the Common Council and emerged in a dark cloud.

And now the Isle of Dogs was past,
And the Trafalgar rose to view,
When suddenly a cloud was cast,
That shut the Hospital from view.⁴⁵

As in earlier examples, the image of an apparition was used to reveal to the Metropolis the error of their ways.⁴⁶ Father Thames had assumed a more authoritative role, no longer just the victim but the person in the most informed position to offer a warning about the social cost of further neglect. Written in eight line stanzas with a consistent rhythm, the poem drew on a range of stylistic devices, particularly the use of alliterative

⁴² *ibid.*, p.10.

⁴³ *ibid.*, p.10.

⁴⁴ *Punch* 35 (1858), p. 47.

⁴⁵ *ibid.*, p. 47.

⁴⁶ A stylistic device previously utilised in the short story “Father Thames” in *Household Words*. See Chapter Six for further discussion.

and onomatopoeic language to describe Father Thames. The dark mood of “Father Thames Introducing his Offspring to the Fair City of London” was developed in Taylor’s poem, continuing the more ‘gothic’ depiction of the popular motif.

And on the deck before them, lo!
A grisly form appeared to view!

A trailing robe of sludge and slime,
Fell o’er his limbs of muddy green,
And now and then, a streak of lime
Showed where the Board of Works had been;⁴⁷

The currency of debates about lime depicted in “Slow but Sewer” were extended in Taylor’s text, reinforcing the integral and sustained relationship between verbal and visual allusion.

By 1858 the image of Father Thames was clearly being used as a figure of retribution that had instigated the Great Stink as an act of revenge. *Punch*’s castigation of the Corporation of London was also directed at Ministers in Parliament who had obstructed reformers like Morpeth since the 1847 Health of Towns Bill and before. The House of Commons chamber had only been in operation since 1852 following the fire in 1834 (the House of Lords chamber was opened in 1847).⁴⁸ Since its building, various efforts at ventilation had been made combining fire assisted and steam jet circulation to create an up-draught and thermal flow.⁴⁹ The result of this was that air was constantly circulated from outside, taking in odours from the fetid river that flowed below the windows of Parliament. The smell was so pervasive, it was impossible to shut it out, as Taylor captured:

“I lurked behind your terrace wall,
I breathed athwart your window blind;
Up through your chimneys I would crawl,
Or through your air-shafts entrance find:
Thanks to me, the Session’s done, . . .⁵⁰

⁴⁷ *Punch* 35 (1858), p. 47.

⁴⁸ “A Brief Chronology of the House of Commons” (2009). <http://www.parliament.uk/parliamentary_publications_and_archives/factsheets.cfm> [accessed 30 April 2009].

⁴⁹ Brian Roberts, “Historic Building Engineering Systems and Equipment: Heating and Ventilation” (English Heritage, 2009). <<http://www.helm.org.uk/upload/pdf/HeatingVentilation.pdf>> [accessed 30 April 2009].

⁵⁰ *Punch* 35 (1858), p. 47.

The conclusion of Taylor's poem was more threatening than many other pieces discussed. This shift of tone was attributable to *Punch's* more proactive methods for proselytising reform in the 1850s and to Taylor's increased public profile as a result of his work for the General Board of Health. As more was learnt about how diseases could be transmitted, the more malignant the admonishing figure of Father Thames had become.

Punch's cultural status was firmly established by 1858. Indeed in a letter to Engels dated 31 March 1857 Marx stated that, in the light of Taylor's appointment to a post on the Board of Health at a salary of £1000, he believed that *Punch* was an instrument of Palmerston's government.⁵¹ This belief provides evidence of how popular *Punch* was and how far its social message was perceived to reach. However, consistent criticism of both Parliament and the Corporation of London in *Punch* makes this accusation against Taylor unfounded. His critique of the Metropolitan Board of Works at the close of "How Father Thames Appeared to the Cabinet" presented the government of the metropolis in far from a favourable light. The *Punch* brotherhood, including Taylor, rarely disguised whom they wished to lampoon, drawing attention to the people it held responsible for piecemeal reform and the endless commissions that hindered progress.

Yours is the scheme my course that girds
With miles of sewer where fever lurks:
London till now, bored by their words,
Will be bored henceforth by their works!"⁵²

The figure of Father Thames was used to vehemently reject procrastination in favour of direct action. The synonym 'bored' drew attention to the actual Board that had neglected its duties to improve the drainage of the Metropolis since its appointment in 1855.⁵³ In so doing, Taylor's work conjoined with Brooks' criticism of the Commissioners in "The Scentral Board". Whilst the content of articles in periodicals like *Household Words* may have left readers feeling uncomfortable, the outspoken 'truths' of *Punch* and the manner in which they were delivered clearly had the potential to stir controversy and provoke discussion. As Asa Briggs observes, "it is not always easy in practice to distinguish between *Punch's* three self-appointed tasks of 'teaching',

⁵¹ *Marx and Engels Collected Works*, v.40, p.113 – I am indebted to Patrick Leary, Indiana, for this reference, Summer 2008.

⁵² *Punch* 35 (1858), p. 47.

⁵³ For further discussion of the Metropolitan Board of Works and *Punch's* criticism, see Chapter Six

'reforming' and 'jollifying'.⁵⁴ Using Father Thames as a stylistic method for reproach ensured that reform remained a key discussion in the public forum for a considerable period after the summer of 1858. However, the variety of guises in which he was depicted were sensitive to cultural change, reinforcing the necessity of a more systematic scrutiny of how the motif evolved as opposed to the selective use of popular main cuts like "Father Thames Introducing his Offspring to the Fair City of London" and "The 'Silent Highway' – Man".⁵⁵

The Great Stink had provided all forms of creative writing and the periodical press with ample ammunition to capitalise on the social embarrassment of the 'baking' polluted river.⁵⁶ Associative images, alongside the figure of Father Thames, remained in the public's imagination long after the event. Even *The Times* noted in the Summer of 1858 that the 'State of the Thames' had been the subject of study for many years, yet it was only when the problems became proximate to those who were hindering reform in Parliament, that solutions were imminent, for "both Houses of Parliament are full of the subject. There was a debate on "The State of the "Thames" by both Lords and Commons yesterday. The Lords, it appears, cannot go into their own library, and the Duke of BUCCLEUCH, who has lived by the river for 30 years, is fairly vanquished at last".⁵⁷ *The Times'* ongoing association with the themes foregrounded in *Punch* continued in their article of June 30th. Though Father Thames was not referenced directly by name the implication of his personification was still maintained from their piece of June 17 discussed at the beginning of this chapter.

Our indignant British river, furious at being neglected, makes his presence felt like a forgotten corpse. The guilty senators who have brought him to this pass stand half suffocated before him . . . One sniff of his potent breath, and all opposition ceases.⁵⁸

This article further emphasised the extent to which the subject of 'Old Father Thames' retained recognition and relevance in the popular imagination beyond its representation in *Punch*.

⁵⁴ Briggs, op. cit., p.xxx.

⁵⁵ In an article on the national problem of binge drinking in March 2009, *The Times* drew parallels with the public outcry surrounding the condition of the Metropolis in the nineteenth century – the cartoon they used to depict this was "The 'Silent Highway' – Man". *The Times*, Tuesday March 17th (2009), pp.18-19.

⁵⁶ For further images of the 'baking' river see "To the Thames (After Tennyson)" *Punch* 35 (1858), p.7.

⁵⁷ *The Times*, Saturday, June 26, 1858; pg.9; Issue 23030; col. B.

⁵⁸ *The Times*, Wednesday, June 30, 1858; pg.9; Issue 23033; col. D.

The closure of Parliament, as Halliday notes, ensured that “the proximity to the source of the stench concentrated their attention on its causes in a way that many years of argument and campaigning had failed to do and prompted them to authorise actions which they had previously shunned”.⁵⁹ *Punch*’s consistent scrutiny of the subject, particularly through the stylised rhetoric of Father Thames, established what Altick has labelled as a “visual equivalent of *The Times*’ leading articles”.⁶⁰ As the motif of Father Thames became more widely used and recognised in the periodical press and newspapers, *Punch* continued to adapt its verbal and visual representation.⁶¹ So popular did this motif become that it was used throughout the long nineteenth century and into the twentieth century.⁶²

The Future of *Punch* and Public Health Reform

The Great Stink of 1858 categorically reaffirmed the immediacy of the threat to health posed by poor drainage and inadequate sewers. There was a move by doctors and reformers to establish that both miasma and direct contagion could simultaneously spread disease. The Metropolis Management Amendment Act of 1858 resulted in a more consistent approach to policing nuisances, the disposal of refuse and the organisation of local reform. Though the aims of this Act did not find full articulation until the Public Health Act of 1875 when authorities were brought under one centralised umbrella of administration, 1858 was a crucial moment in how local reform was coordinated. Though the 1858 Local Government Bill enabled localities to voluntarily adopt the Act, it was superseded by the Public Health Bill later the same year which transferred the power to respond to epidemics and the duties of the Medical Officers into the control of the Privy Council.⁶³ The move towards a more centralised response to reform, affording local government individual powers within this structure, was

⁵⁹ Stephen Halliday, *The Great Stink of London: Sir Joseph Bazalgette and the Cleansing of the Victorian Metropolis* (1999; reprint, Somerset: Sutton Publishing, 2000), p.xi.

⁶⁰ Richard D. Altick, *Punch: The Lively Youth of a British Institution, 1841-1851* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1997), p.127.

⁶¹ Father Thames returned to the main cut in the summer of 1859, a year after the Great Stink in “The Consciousness of the River” *Punch* 36 (1859), p.249.

⁶² The personification of Father Thames continued to be used in *Punch* throughout the long Victorian period, beyond 1858 when my analysis concludes. For further examples, see:

“Father Thames ‘Himself’ Again” *Punch* 48 (1865).

“Who’s To Blame?” *Punch* 72 (1877).

“Father Thames (to Henley Naiads)” *Punch* 114 (1898).

“They Order These Things Better in France” *Punch* 124 (1903).

“Welcome, Little Strangers” *Punch* 132 (1907).

“‘At Home’ to the Fleet” *Punch* 136 (1909).

“The Surrey Riviera” *Punch* 144 (1913).

⁶³ Royston Lambert, *Sir John Simon 1816 – 1904 and English Social Administration* (London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1963), pp270-273.

accompanied by further social and scientific advances in understanding the etiology of disease. After the death of John Snow in 1858, his work was carried on by William Farr who went on to collaborate with John Simon on the Committee for Scientific Enquiries investigating disease “meteorologically, microscopically, chemically and medically”.⁶⁴ Like *Punch* they sought to examine all possible explanations of disease in order to find the cause. In 1866, following the fourth and final major epidemic of cholera, Farr found the correlation between the provision of water and contamination from pollutants.⁶⁵ Simon was swiftly converted to Farr’s perspective as his 1870 Report to the Privy Council confirmed, writing to explain why Snow’s work of 1849 was so pivotal but how, at that time, there was not sufficient public understanding to implement the necessary systems for sewers and drainage. This acknowledgement was vital in paving the way for the 1875 centralised Public Health Act which reformers had been campaigning for and which brought together over twenty years of advocating a more systematic approach to public health reform.

Crucial to the organisation and dissemination of knowledge on how disease was spread were the networks of communication which the periodical press established. *Punch*’s embodiment of the science of policing from 1849 to 1858 had contributed to readers’ breadth of knowledge and awareness of the interconnected issues involved in public health reform. The widespread frustration that was revealed by *Punch* and the press was not that the cause of disease remained elusive but that those in the position to advance reform remained locked into protecting their own vested interests at the social cost of the metropolis’ health. The more systematic approach to social medicine which *Punch* had created found practical realisation in the number of sanitary associations which began to emerge at the end of the 1850s.

1857 was the year that both the Social Science Association and the Ladies’ Sanitary Association were formed, signifying a move to more public lectures, publications and a structured understanding of how knowledge and change was mediated in the decades that followed. The core principles of debate and discussion advocated by *Punch* remained and informed the organisation of such new groups. Indeed the formation of the Social Science Association was itself the subject of “To the Temple of Fame” in October 1858 (Figure 6). The significance of Mr. Punch’s

⁶⁴ *ibid.*, p.228.

⁶⁵ Halliday, *op. cit.*, pp.137-143.

declaration to Lord Brougham, one of the organisers of the Association, "After you, my Lord" acknowledged the mutual role that the periodical press and the new association would share. Lord Brougham must lead on for in his 'speech for the promotion of social science' he embodied the aims of the public health campaign as a whole. Though times may have been changing and such Associations were to take the lead in the dissemination of knowledge, the presence of Mr. Punch in this cartoon clearly foregrounded the role that the magazine believed it had established and would continue to hold.

Fig. 6⁶⁶



TO THE TEMPLE OF FAME.

MR. PUNCH (with the Greatest Respect).—"AFTER YOU, MY LORD!"

It had not been *Punch*'s responsibility to suggest the methods by which reform was to be achieved but rather to ensure that the need was acknowledged and debated, for "none [of the *Punch* men] were reformers in the sense that they kept a list of practical remedies for the evils they helped to bring to public attention, finding solutions was the business of Parliament and whatever other institutions were devoted at least in theory, to the

⁶⁶ *Punch* 35 (1858), p.167.

common good”.⁶⁷ Rather, *Punch*’s desire had been, since Volume One, to be a “weekly sheet of pleasant instruction”.⁶⁸ It was their duty to educate and entertain their readers on a range of social issues, Mr. Punch perceiving himself to be the voice and representative for the people of the Metropolis. On the subject of public health, *Punch* had not only contributed to creating a shared language for talking about reform, but also demonstrated the need for consistent scrutiny and focus.

The growing independence of the visual and the importance of the *Punch* brotherhood was categorically affirmed in 1859 with the release of the weekly periodical *Once a Week*. In tandem with their work for *Punch*, staff contributed to Bradbury and Evans’ new magazine, “A Miscellany of Literature, Art, Science, and Popular Information”.⁶⁹ Illustration was to be a particular feature and contributors had the option to sign their work, raising the profile of each artist and writer. Chief Illustrator and Art Supervisor 1859 to 1861 was John Leech, working alongside Tenniel, Charles Keene, Hablot K. Brown (Phiz) and George Du Maurier amongst others. Shirley Brooks was registered as the third staff member, writing works of fiction for the new periodical. Fellow authors included Mark Lemon, Tom Taylor, Charles Reade and Harriet Martineau. As with *Punch* the new periodical had “no obligation to support the view of any party or school”, seeking “information on the popular aspects of Science and of new Inventions”.⁷⁰ Samuel Lucas, editor of the magazine from 1859 – 1865, had previously written art reviews for *The Times*. Like *Punch* “the ‘characteristic feature’ of Lucas’ critical pronouncements was a demand for unity: unity of conception and execution”.⁷¹ *Once a Week* heralded a new era in illustration, the 1860s being characterised by even higher standards of draughtmanship.⁷² Formed in 1859 it confirmed the power of the visual that *Punch* had already attained, evident from the key role that many of the brotherhood played in piloting Bradbury and Evans’ new project. Commercially the magazine was not viable due to the cost of production, however, its aims emerged from a rise in visual literacy and social knowledge which *Punch* had been central in establishing.

⁶⁷ Altick, op. cit., pp.186-187.

⁶⁸ *Punch* 1 (1841), p.1.

⁶⁹ William E. Buckler, “*Once a Week* Under Samuel Lucas, 1859 – 65” *PMLA* 67:7 (Dec. 1952), p.926.

⁷⁰ *ibid.*, p.926.

⁷¹ *ibid.*, p.927.

⁷² John Buchanan-Brown, *Early Victorian Illustrated Books: Britain, France and Germany 1820 – 1860* (London: British Library, 2005), p.281.

As this chapter has demonstrated, the increase in legislation from 1858 was synonymous with the raised profile that public health reform had received across the periodical press throughout the 1850s and a direct response to the Great Stink of June that year. At the centre of *Punch*'s reaction was the personified figure of Father Thames, in a variety of guises, establishing the motif as crucial in the formation and development of the magazine's character. Though Parliament finally began to acknowledge the urgent necessity of clearing the Thames, there still remained other areas in need of reform. *Punch* closed 1858 by adapting the motifs it had created for examining Smithfield and the Thames to inspect debates around food adulteration, specifically in response to the scandal of a Bradford manufacturer of confectionery who had poisoned a large number of customers.⁷³ The skeletal figure of 'Death' from "The 'Silent Highway' - Man" returned in November 1858 in a main cut entitled "The Great Lozenge-Maker",⁷⁴ followed by a series of shorter narrative articles entitled "Death in the 'Sweetie' Pot"⁷⁵ and "The Plague of Adulteration".⁷⁶ These pieces are significant for they show *Punch*'s continued currency and ability to respond to events as they happened, as well as highlighting the flexibility of their verbal visual form for analysing a range of different social problems.

⁷³ "The Wholesale Poisoning at Bradford", *The Times*, Friday, Nov. 05, 1858; pg.4; Issue 23143; col. D. and "The Bradford Tragedy", *The Times*, Monday, Nov, 08, 1858; pg.4; Issue 23145; col. C.

⁷⁴ *Punch* 35 (1858), p.207.

⁷⁵ *Punch* 35 (1858), p.211.

⁷⁶ *Punch* 35 (1858), p.214.

Conclusion

All too often *Punch* cartoons have been used out of the context in which they were produced, resulting in only partial appreciation of the magazine's distinctiveness and social function.¹ *Punch* is not a periodical that can be selectively drawn upon as a mere visual supplement, yet this is frequently how it is utilised. In two interdisciplinary studies of sanitation, *Cholera and Nation: Doctoring the Social Body in Victorian England* by Pamela Gilbert and *Cleansing the City: Sanitary Geographies in Victorian London* by Michelle Allen in 2008, both authors use a *Punch* main cut for the cover of their book.² However, neither Allen nor Gilbert analyse *Punch*'s contribution to sanitary debates, which, as this thesis has demonstrated, was considerable. Whilst Allen briefly discusses the image used on the front cover ("New London", 1888 *Almanack*), along with a passing reference to another *Punch* main cut, "The 'Silent Highway' – Man" (1858), Gilbert does not mention "A Court for King Cholera" (1852) and there is only one reference to *Punch* in the entire text. Though both books have distinct contributions to make to an understanding of Victorian public health, their use of *Punch* is consistent with that of other scholars who only dip into the magazine.

Gale Cengage's digitisation of *Punch* in 2007 is further confirmation of scholars' continued fascination with *Punch* and its interdisciplinary importance.³ Whilst traditional archival research will reveal *Punch*'s distinct form was generated through its direct and ludic engagement with issues of the day, the arrival of digital technology signals a new era for periodical research. Digitisation facilitates scholars' organisation of material in a more structured way enabling the researcher to identify recurring tropes and narratives in a comparatively accessible method through databases and interactive indices. The diversity of debates with which *Punch* engaged was a fundamental part of its character and yet the magazine's response to social and cultural change was inherently complex due to the social networks in which it was both produced and consumed. An alternative approach is required to identify the foundations of *Punch*'s appeal, namely the verbal visual dynamic which was the source of its

¹ Another recent example of this was Jeremy Paxman's *The Victorians: Their Story in Pictures*. The first episode of the series discussed the Great Stink of London, 1858, using a *Punch* cartoon of Father Thames from 1859 - *The Victorians: Their Story in Pictures* (Jeremy Paxman, BBC Television, 2009), BBC1.

² Pamela K. Gilbert, *Cholera and Nation: Doctoring the Social Body in Victorian England* (New York: SUNY, 2008) and Michelle Allen, *Cleansing the City: Sanitary Geographies in Victorian London* (Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2008).

³ *Nineteenth Century UK Periodicals Online*. <<http://find.galegroup.com/ukpc>> [accessed July 2009].

distinctiveness. My research identifies the importance of this relationship in the references logged in the *Punch Database on Public Health* which has been created to accompany this thesis. Though a more basic structure of database compared to those compiled by Gale Cengage, it demonstrates the utility of technology in assisting a more systematic analysis of the matrix of discourses that a magazine like *Punch* was drawing upon. It also provides a model for studying other satirical periodicals like *Fun* (1861 – 1901) which sought to emulate *Punch*'s success.

Punch's unique style and the relationship it shared with contemporary publications have been examined in this thesis through a consideration of one specific social crisis and common experience, the sanitary condition of the metropolis. The polluted River Thames in particular was at the heart of many texts looking at the sanitary condition of Victorian London. However, a systematic inspection of *Punch*, facilitated by the *Punch Database on Public Health*, reveals a series of narrative patterns which confirm that Smithfield market was central to its vocabulary of reform. Utilising this close textual approach to re-assess the magazine's engagement with contemporary debates reinforces the necessity of moving beyond the main cuts to study the marginalia, social cuts and one-line quips in order to locate the origins of many of the motifs and emblems which have become synonymous with *Punch*. As the mutual relationship between text and image evolved so too did *Punch*'s form and style resulting in the growing independence of the image and the increased visual literacy of its readership. *Punch* is at once familiar to scholars of the Victorian period and yet also elusive. An examination of the campaigns for the Removal of Smithfield Market and the clearing of the River Thames has identified a range of motifs which endured, in a variety of guises, into the twentieth century. A number of these figures, such as Britannia, were recognisable from their use in other newspapers and periodicals, appealing to more occasional readers of *Punch*. However, regular readers were rewarded with a level of familiarity and shared narratives which ranged from the personification of Mr. Punch himself, to Father Thames and the Smithfield Bull. Such motifs need to be considered because of their multiple personalities which are sensitive indicators of a changing cultural climate.

As many researchers have noted, *Punch* created a new way of visualising the city and urban change, engaging with contemporary debates raised across newspapers and the periodical press. Social reform was not realised until people could imagine and

speculate on the form that this change would take. *Punch* directed the public's ideas to how this could happen. To fully appreciate the breadth of its representation the magazine must be read alongside contemporary pamphlets, sermons, reports, fiction and the legislation that followed. In this way it is clear to see that a new form of social medicine was developing in the 1840s and 1850s which *Punch* was keen to proselytise. Such problems as sanitation could not be resolved until there had been an evolution of moral, scientific and urban thought. This can be traced in two distinct eras of reform, 1841 – 1848 and 1849 – 1858.

The struggle to establish a shared language by which to articulate anxieties, fear and aspirations, ran parallel with the evolution of *Punch*'s form. The first era of reform, 1841 – 1848 was about "discovery", about rethinking what exactly was meant by public health and how this could be communicated.⁴ Simultaneously *Punch* was in the process of identifying its readers and establishing a verbal and visual dynamic which could address the interests and concerns of the Victorian reading public. In the field of sanitary reform, it was a period that focused on systems of organisation and rationalization which paralleled the Germanic practices of cameralism and that sought to establish an administrative body for the maintenance of the nation's public health. Magazines like *Punch* counteracted this bureaucratic response by depicting the very people affected by ill-health and disease. Though the *Punch* staff collectively concurred that the metropolis was in need of reform they adopted a much more humanitarian perspective in their representations, evident in "A Court for King Cholera" (1852). This change of attitude contributed to another shift in approaches to reform.

By the second era of reform, 1849 – 1858, the work of social investigators, doctors and the periodical press had raised the profile of sanitary reform in the popular imagination. Subsequently, who was being addressed had changed as systems of communication became more established. Concurrently so did the scope of *Punch*'s readership expand to adopt the more familial role ascribed by critics like R. G. G. Price. *Punch* could therefore enter wider debates on health to represent the increasingly shared anxieties about the condition of the Metropolis. The appointment of the Committee for Scientific Inquiries in 1854/55 epitomised the shift in attitudes to reform and the publication of Simon's *Sanitary Papers* in 1858 marked a renewed spirit of enquiry into

⁴ Christopher Hamlin, *Public Health and Social Justice in the Age of Chadwick Britain 1800 – 1854* (Cambridge: CUP, 1998), p86.

sanitary fundamentals. A final age of mid-Victorian public health administration was emerging: the culmination of work by a network of reformers, including the *Punch* brotherhood, throughout the 1850s.⁵

Crucial to the magazine's success and the shared cultural appreciation of their style and characters, was the brotherhood of contributors who worked for *Punch*. Initially trained in a range of professions, from the medical to the legal, simultaneously working across a variety of popular genres, from melodrama to art, each writer brought a diversity of experience and knowledge to their work. Much has been written about the 'social circle' of writers like Dickens and yet comparatively little has been said about his relationship with the *Punch* writers and artists, or indeed how far the brotherhood of *Punch* actually extended. Yet it was the brotherhood's breadth of skills and range of artistic influences and contacts that was so fundamental to *Punch*'s character. Combined with the distinctive verbal visual mode of representation that the staff consistently used to examine a range of topical issues, it is easy to understand why *Punch*'s success endured into the twentieth century.

This thesis is the beginning of a much wider project which would be needed to truly evaluate the central importance of *Punch* for understanding Victorian popular culture and how social change was mediated. Whilst periodical research involves returning to the text, using the content of each magazine and newspaper to reveal what was believed to be important and of interest to its readers, so too are there other influential factors which must be considered. The mode and costs of production, the people that were involved in creating each edition, where it was sold and how it was sold, who its readers were, both real and assumed, all play a part in understanding the character and appeal of a publication. To even begin to find the answers to these questions a range of other sources must be consulted, from letters and correspondence, to ledgers and printing records. Where this material is not available alternative methods of research can highlight how the role of the artist and writer, and subsequently, the purpose of the publication evolved. Unlike contemporary periodicals like *Blackwoods*, *Punch* is one such source that lacks an abundance of contextual archival resources.

⁵ Royston Lambert, *Sir John Simon 1816 – 1904 and English Social Administration* (London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1963), p.261.

The digitisation of *Punch* and other magazines by Gale Cengage has removed the obstacles to accessing the text but has presented scholars with a host of new conceptual, methodological and interpretative challenges in examining the Victorian periodical press and its readership. Already, resources such as the *Reading Experience Database 1450 -1945* demonstrate that the basic principles of scholarship are shifting from a traditional archival model to one of shared digital communities, skills and approaches.⁶ However, even a basic search on “*Punch*” only returns 90 references to the magazine with many of these being for the period 1900-1945. For the formative years of 1800 – 1849 there is only one entry pertaining to “Song of the Shirt” and for 1850 – 1900, though there are around twenty returns many of these are related to John Buckley Castieau. Locating the ‘real’ readers for *Punch* continues to remain problematic but the potential for further study is limitless. For scholars of *Punch* such developments as *RED* will be crucial in beginning to unlock the mysteries of the magazine’s production and consumption and enable comprehensive rather than selective use of its myriad depiction of Victorian life.

⁶ Reading Experience Database 1450-1945. <www.open.ac.uk/Arts/reading> [accessed July 2009].

Appendix One

The Purpose of the *Punch* Database on Public Health

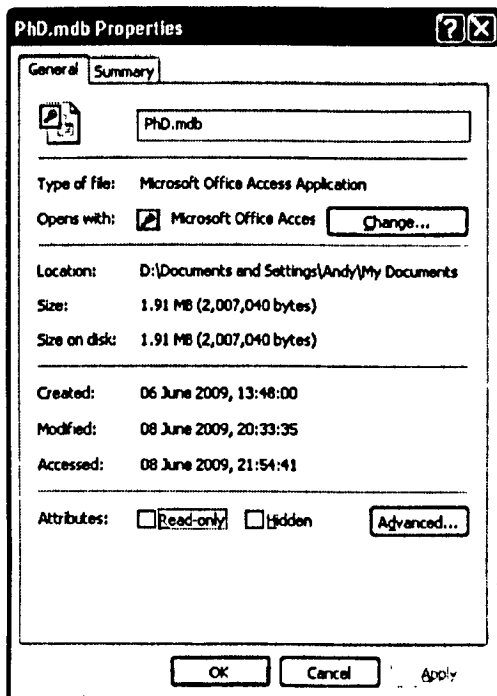
- To enable systematic examination of *Punch*'s contributions to Public Health debates by providing the references necessary to locate the relevant material in the magazine.
- To perform filtered searches on thematic strands throughout *Punch*; specifically the campaigns for the removal of Smithfield Market and the clearing of the polluted River Thames.
- To unlock the relationship between verbal and visual representation through quantitative analysis of query results.
- To direct scholars in how to move beyond analysis of the traditionally studied main cuts to consider the lesser known marginalia, one-line quips and social cuts.
- To provide the model for a larger and more systematic study of periodicals like *Punch*.

The Parameters and Capabilities of the Database.

This database has been constructed from a close reading of *Punch* between 1841 and 1858. A relational database by its nature allows the user to construct a matrix of related references rather than a linear catalogue or list. Each text and image pertaining to Public Health has been categorised in this database against ninety nine relevant keywords. Information about the style of the piece has been recorded, whether it was text or an image, whether it was a main cut or was stylised with a caricatured initial letter. This search criterion enables analysis of the variety of approaches that the magazine took on any one subject. The Database can be used to investigate the changing dynamic of *Punch*'s stylistic representation of Public Health and the recurring motifs used to reinforce the message of reform. The following guide will demonstrate how the search engines will work whilst the thesis shows how such returns can be embedded within more traditional scholarly analysis.

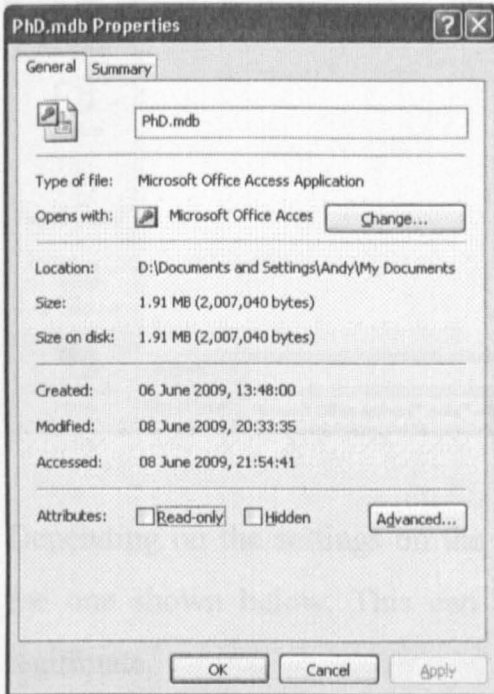
Initial Checks of the Database file

This guide assumes that the database file PhD.mdb has been copied to the My Documents folder of the local machine. The database file needs to be readable to allow queries to dynamically update, i.e. it needs the Read-only attribute turned off under file properties. To check this, open Windows Explorer and locate the PhD.mdb file in My Documents. Right click the file and select Properties to bring up the following window. Ensure that the Read-only Attribute is **not** ticked. It should be as shown below.

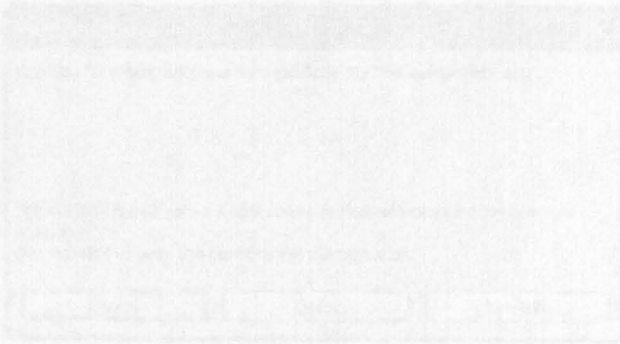


Initial Checks of the Database file

This guide assumes that the database file PhD.mdb has been copied to the My Documents folder of the local machine. The database file needs to be readable to allow queries to dynamically update, i.e. it needs the Read-only attribute turned off under file properties. To check this, open Windows Explorer and locate the PhD.mdb file in My Documents. Right click the file and select Properties to bring up the following window. Ensure that the Read-only Attribute is **not** ticked. It should be as shown below.



★ Click Open.

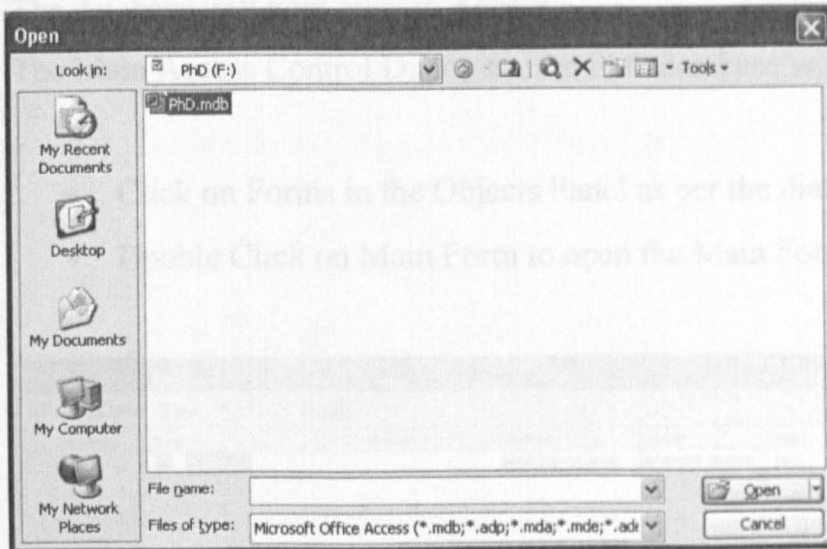


The next message will only occur if the Database is incorrectly set to be Read Only. This situation must be corrected in order to use the Database.

- ★ Click OK and when the Access Main Form opens select File > Open.
- ★ Refer back to the previous section: Initial Checks of the Database File.

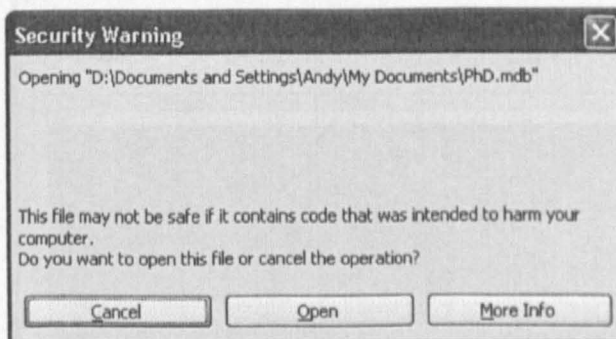
Opening the Database

- Start Microsoft Access 2003
- From the File menu select: Open
- Navigate the File Control to locate and select the PhD database from the My Documents Folder and Open it.



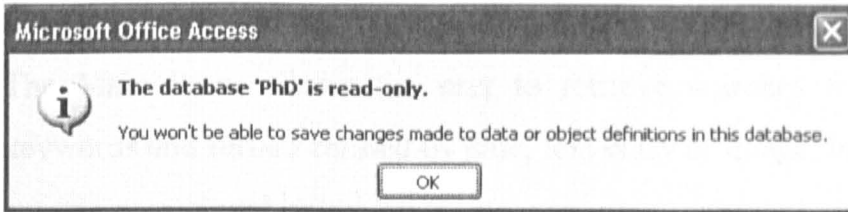
Depending on the settings on the PC this may generate a Security Warning similar to the one shown below. This can be safely ignored as we know that the database is legitimate.

- Click Open.



The next message will only occur if the Database is incorrectly set to be Read Only. This situation must be corrected in order to use the Database.

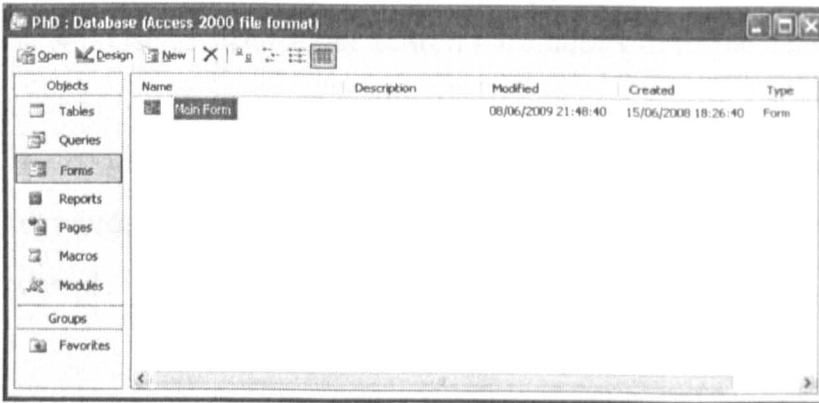
- Click OK and when the Access Main Form opens select File->Exit.
- Refer back to the previous section: Initial Checks of the Database File.



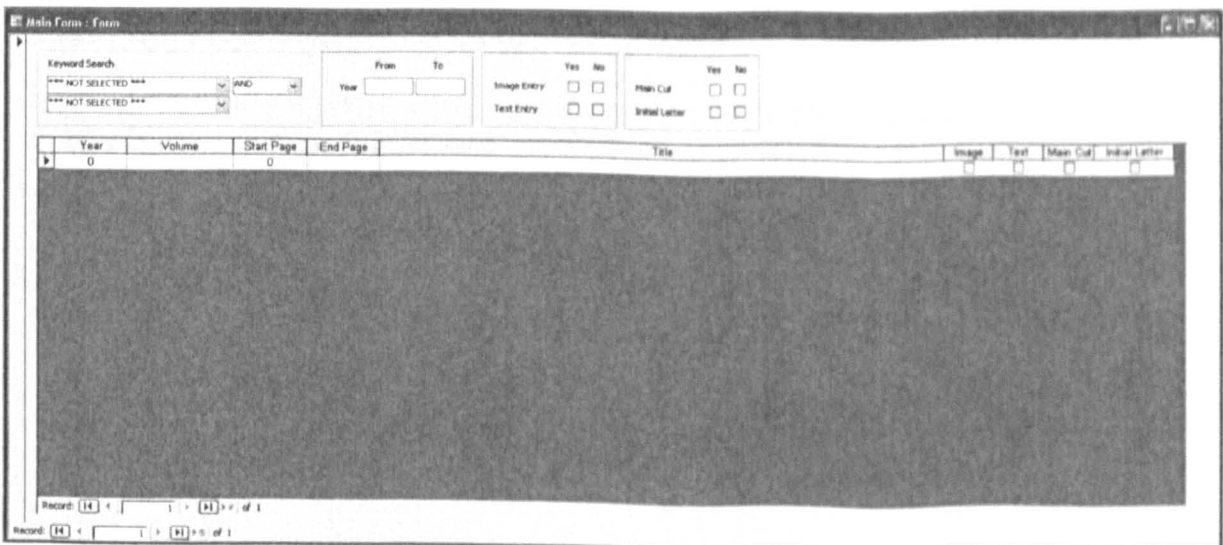
The database will now open in Access.

The Main Access Control Dialog for the PhD database will be displayed

- Click on Forms in the Objects Panel as per the dialog depicted below.
- Double Click on Main Form to open the Main Form Dialog.



The Main Form Dialog will open as below



Using the Database Main Form

The Main Form allows the user to retrieve searches from the database based on keywords and further refined by date, text entry or image, including whether it is a main cut or a caricatured initial letter.

Examples of use.

As a demonstration of the flexibility in data searches that can be achieved with this database this guide will examine the following example searches:

- Direct Use of Keywords
- Use of Date to limit searches
- Use of Additional Search Parameters to refine searches

The combo boxes used in the Main Form allow the user to enter text matching a known keyword, or to select from a list via the drop down menu on the right hand side of the control.

To access a known keyword it is often quicker to type in the first unique letters of the keyword. In the case of keyword *Father Thames* the first three letters F, A, T will resolve to the keyword.

Direct use of keywords: Father Thames & Dead Cats and Dogs

- Click on the first Keyword Search combo box and select: *Father Thames*
- The database updates the query and returns the 44 entries that are associated with the keyword *Father Thames*.

The screenshot shows a search interface with the following fields: Keyword Search (Father Thames), AND, From, To, Image Entry, Text Entry, Main Cut, and Initial Letter. The results table is as follows:

Year	Volume	Start Page	End Page	Title	Image	Text	Main Cut	Initial Letter
1842	2	178	178	"The Thames"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1842	3	165	165	"The Thames and its Tributaries"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1848	15	136	136	"Ode on the Thames"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1848	15	151	151	"Dirty Father Thames"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1848	15	155	155	"Here's To You"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1849	16 (Almanack)	0		"Political Pantomimes"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1849	17	179	179	"A Bargee's Ballad"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1849	17	184	184	"Father Thames and his Royal Visitors"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1849	17	209	209	"The Great Unwashed"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1849	17	228	228	"The Sad Fate of the Civic Narcissus"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1850	18	13	13	"The Threatened Inundation"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1850	18	19	19	"The High Teles Heave"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1850	18 (Almanack)	0		"Sanitary and Insanitary Matters"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1850	19	78	78	"Down Go the Bridges, Old"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1851	19	125	125	"Turn on, Old Thames"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1851	21	184	184	"What is the Water-Spell?"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1852	23	52	52	"Those Who Run May Smell"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1852	23	128	128	"Father Thames's Epitaph"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1852	23	238	238	"The Freaks of Father Thames"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1853	25	235	235	"Visit of the Thames and Medway to the Royal Commissioners of the City"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1854	26	150	150	"The Tide of Opposition"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1855	29	23	24	"Punch's Essence of Parliament"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

- Click on the second Keyword Search combo box and select: *Dead Cats and Dogs*
- With use of the conjoining combo box set to *AND* the search parameters are now set for all entries which have both *Father Thames* and *Dead Cats and Dogs* associated to them. The database has updated the query and returned the more selective 11 entries where both keywords are associated.

The screenshot shows the search interface with the second keyword 'Dead Cats and Dogs' added. The results table is as follows:

Year	Volume	Start Page	End Page	Title	Image	Text	Main Cut	Initial Letter
1842	3	165	165	"The Thames and its Tributaries"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1848	15	151	151	"Dirty Father Thames"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1849	17	179	179	"A Bargee's Ballad"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1849	17	228	228	"The Sad Fate of the Civic Narcissus"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1850	18 (Almanack)	0		"Sanitary and Insanitary Matters"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1850	19	125	125	"Turn on, Old Thames"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1852	23	52	52	"Those Who Run May Smell"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1855	29	27	27	"Faraday Giving His Card To Father Thames"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1855	29	50	50	"Dirty Old Father Thames"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1855	29	76	76	"Thames Prizes"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1858	36	5	5	"Father Thames Introducing His Obeying to the Fair City of London"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

- Click on the conjoining combo box and instead select: *OR*

The search parameters now reflect the wider search for any entries relating to either or both of the two search terms. There are 60 of them, the original 44 *Father Thames* entries and a further 16 under *Dead Cats and Dogs*.

Year	Volume	Start Page	End Page	Title	Image	Text	Main Cut	Initial Letter
1842	1	129	129	"Bunk's Discoveries in the Thames"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1842	2	178	178	"The Thames"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1842	3	166	166	"The Thames and its Tributaries"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1848	15	136	136	"Ode on the Thames"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1848	15	151	151	"Dirty Father Thames"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1848	16	156	156	"Here's To You"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1849	16	89	89	"A Substitute for the Seaside"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1849	16 (Almanack)	0		"Political Pantomimes"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1849	17	179	179	"A Barges's Ballad"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1849	17	184	184	"Father Thames and his Royal Visitors"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1849	17	209	209	"The Great Unwashed"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1849	17	226	226	"The Sad Fate of the Civic Narcissus"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1849	17	229	229	"The City Narcissus"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1850	18	13	13	"The Threatened Inundation"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1850	18	19	19	"The High-Tides Hoax"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1850	18	81	81	"A Monument to Sir Peter Laune"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1850	18 (Almanack)	0		"Sanitary and Insanitary Matters"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1850	19	22	22	"How to Fend High-Water at London Bridge"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1850	19	78	78	"The Terrors of the Thames"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1850	19	125	125	"Down Go the Bridges, Oh!"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1850	19	216	216	"Turn on, Old Thames!"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1850	19	216	216	"Extra-Mural Inseam!"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

- Click on the conjoining combo box and select: *AND NOT*

The search parameters are now narrowed to search purely for entries that are associated to *Father Thames* but not *Dead Cats and Dogs*. As this logic is the direct inverse of our original double keyword search above it will show the 33 entries that are left when the 11 found to be common between the two keywords above are removed from the 44 entries for keyword *Father Thames*.

Year	Volume	Start Page	End Page	Title	Image	Text	Main Cut	Initial Letter
1842	2	178	178	"The Thames"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1848	15	136	136	"Ode on the Thames"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1848	15	156	156	"Here's To You"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1849	16 (Almanack)	0		"Political Pantomimes"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1849	17	184	184	"Father Thames and his Royal Visitors"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1849	17	209	209	"The Great Unwashed"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1850	18	13	13	"The Threatened Inundation"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1850	18	19	19	"The High-Tides Hoax"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1850	19	78	78	"Down Go the Bridges, Oh!"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1851	21	184	184	"What is the Water-Bird?"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1852	23	128	128	"Father Thames's Epitaph"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1852	23	238	238	"The Froaks of Father Thames"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1853	25	236	236	"Visit of the Thames and Medway to the Royal Commissioners of the City"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1854	26	160	160	"The Tide of Opposition"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1855	29	23	24	"Punch's Essence of Parliament"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1855	29	35	35	"Why Abuse the Thames?"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1855	29	51	51	"Go to Bath"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1855	29	59	59	"An Appointment Sewer Genere"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1855	29	85	85	"A Disgraceful Abettor of Intemperance"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1855	29	75	75	"Latin for Thames"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1856	31	232	232	"The Londoner's Petition"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1856	35	10	10	"The Humble Patron of Father Thames"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Use of Date to limit searches: 1841-1848, 1849 onwards and 1849 only

Click on the Year To box and clear its contents

- Click on the first Keyword Search combo box and select: *Thames*
- Click on the conjoining combo box and select: *AND*
- Click on the second Keyword Search combo box and select: **** Not Selected ****

All entries for the keyword *Thames* are returned. There are 142 of them dating from 1842 through to 1859.

Keyword Search: Thames AND *** NOT SELECTED ***

From: Year To: Year

Image Entry: Yes No
Text Entry: Yes No
Main Cut: Yes No
Initial Letter: Yes No

Year	Volume	Start Page	End Page	Title	Image	Text	Main Cut	Initial Letter
1842	1	129	129	"Bunk's Discoveries in the Thames"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1842	2	178	178	"The Thames"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1843	4	99	99	"Metropolis Improvements"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1845	8 (Almanack)	0	0	"Tax Gatherers' June"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1847	12	9	9	"War Song of the City"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1847	12	248	248	"The Rising of the Thames"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1847	13	14	14	"Salubrity of Smithfield"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1848	15	127	128	"The Waterman's Dinner"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1848	15	136	136	"Sanitarism and Insanitarism"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1848	15	151	151	"Ode on the Thames"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1848	15	234	234	"Dirty Father Thames"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1849	17	59	59	"Soft Soap and Cloac Sewerage"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1849	17	99	99	"A Handbook to the Thames"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1849	17	101	101	"The Romance of the Sewers"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1849	17	102	102	"Melodies of the Metropolis"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1849	17	134	134	"Manners and Customs of Ye Englyshe in 1849 No 26 -Blackwall Showynge ye public a drynng of Whytstait"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1849	17	140	140	"The Old House and the New"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1849	17	144	145	"The Old Churchwarden's Complaint Against Sanitary Reform"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1849	17	159	159	"The Water that John Drinks"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1849	17	179	179	"A Thames Drinking Song"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1849	17	184	184	"A Bargee's Ballad"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1849	17	184	184	"Father Thames and his Royal Visitors"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Record: 142 of 142

- Click on the Year From box and type: *1841*
- Click on the Year To box and type: *1848*
- Press Return or Tab to update the data query.

All 12 entries for the period 1841-1848 for the keyword *Thames* are returned.

Keyword Search: Thames AND *** NOT SELECTED ***

From: Year To: Year

Image Entry: Yes No
Text Entry: Yes No
Main Cut: Yes No
Initial Letter: Yes No

Year	Volume	Start Page	End Page	Title	Image	Text	Main Cut	Initial Letter
1842	1	129	129	"Bunk's Discoveries in the Thames"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1842	2	178	178	"The Thames"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1843	4	99	99	"Metropolis Improvements"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1845	8 (Almanack)	0	0	"Tax Gatherers' June"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1847	12	9	9	"War Song of the City"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1847	12	248	248	"The Rising of the Thames"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1847	13	14	14	"Salubrity of Smithfield"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1848	15	127	128	"The Waterman's Dinner"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1848	15	136	136	"Sanitarism and Insanitarism"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1848	15	151	151	"Ode on the Thames"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1848	15	234	234	"Dirty Father Thames"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
0	0	0	0	"Soft Soap and Cloac Sewerage"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Record: 12 of 12

Use of Additional Search Parameters to Limit Search

Four additional search parameters can be applied to query results:

- *Image Entry*
- *Text Entry*
- *Main Cut*
- *Initial Letter*

Selecting *Yes* for any of the four additional search parameters causes the Database search to be refined to only report entries that have this parameter. For example ticking the *Yes* selection box for *Main Cut* will only return the matching entries that are main cuts. Selecting *No* will adversely only return entries that are not main cuts.

Leaving both of the *Yes* and *No* selection boxes un-ticked for an additional search parameter causes that parameter to be ignored in the Database returns.

- Click on the first Keyword Search combo box and select: *Bull*.
- Click on the Year From box and type: *1846*.
- Click on the Year To box and type: *1847*.
- Press Return or Tab to update the data query.

The results returned reflect a selection of 14 entries.

The screenshot shows a search interface with the following fields and options:

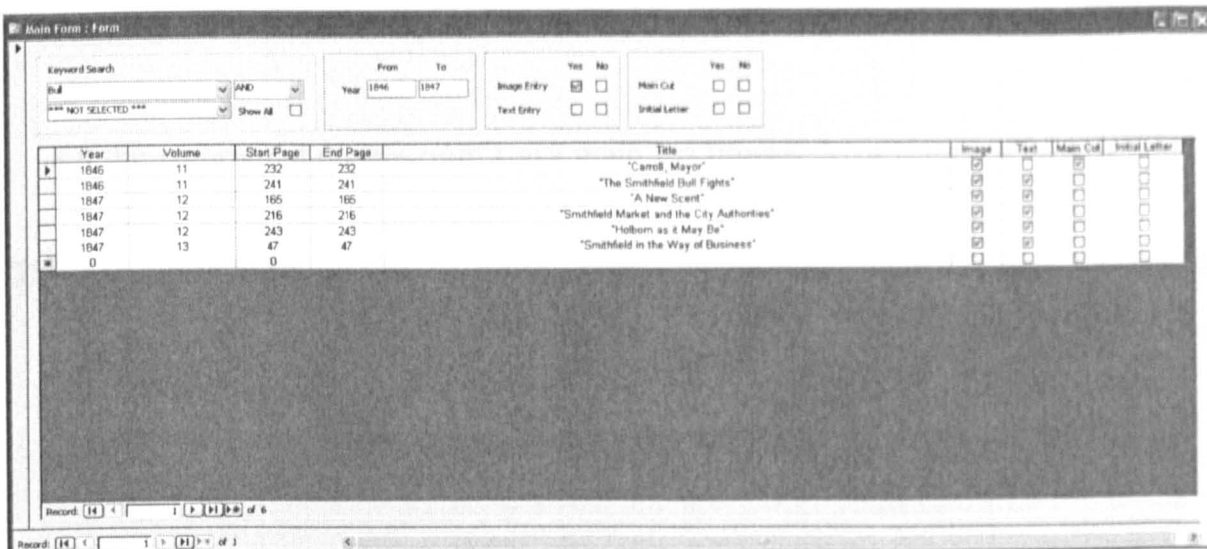
- Keyword Search: *Bull* (selected), AND (operator), NOT SELECTED (status), Show All (checkbox)
- From: 1846, To: 1847
- Image Entry: Yes (checkbox), No (checkbox)
- Text Entry: Yes (checkbox), No (checkbox)
- Main Cut: Yes (checkbox), No (checkbox)
- Initial Letter: Yes (checkbox), No (checkbox)

Year	Volume	Start Page	End Page	Title	Image	Text	Main Cut	Initial Letter
1846	11	232	232	"Carroll, Mays"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1846	11	241	241	"The Smithfield Bull Fights"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1847	12	30	30	"A Stand-Up for Smithfield"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1847	12	54	54	"Smithfield Bulletins"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1847	12	116	116	"Smithfield Martyrs - Smithfield Salubrity"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1847	12	152	153	"The Rising Generation of Smithfield"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1847	12	165	165	"A New Scent"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1847	12	168	171	"Penn Punch and the Smithfield Sewages"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1847	12	205	205	"The Horse of a Dilemma"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1847	12	216	216	"Smithfield Market and the City Authorities"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1847	12	243	243	"Holborn as it May Be"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1847	13	37	37	"Probable Use of Smithfield"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1847	13	47	47	"Smithfield in the Way of Business"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1847	13	59	59	"The Dulock, The Pig and the Wether"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
0		0						

Record: [14] of 14

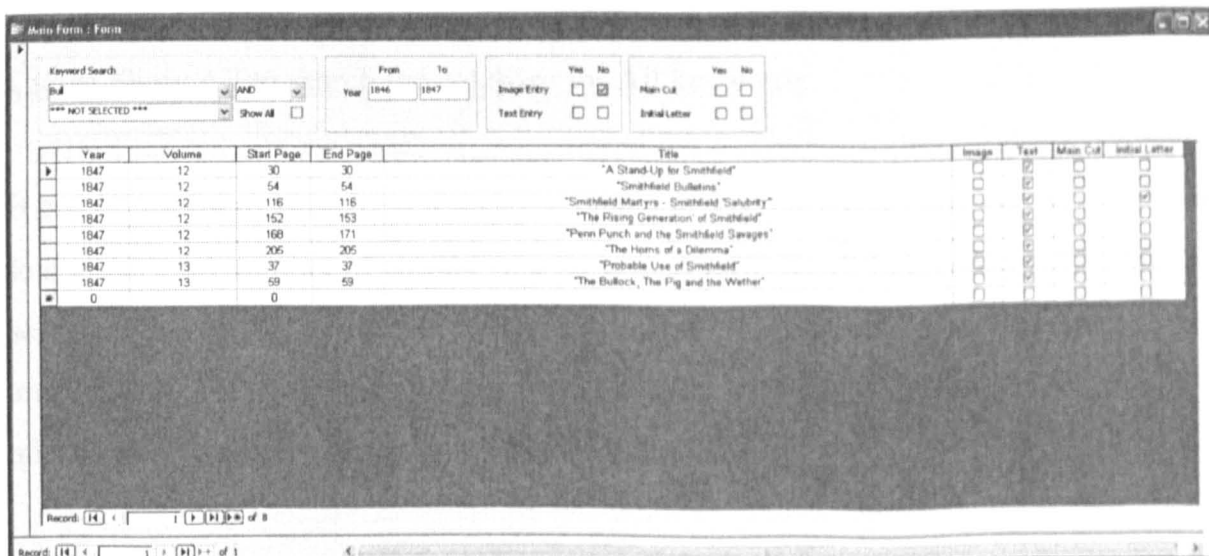
- Click on the *Yes* selection box for Image Entry.

Only the 6 entries with Images are shown.



- Click on the *No* selection box for Image Entry.

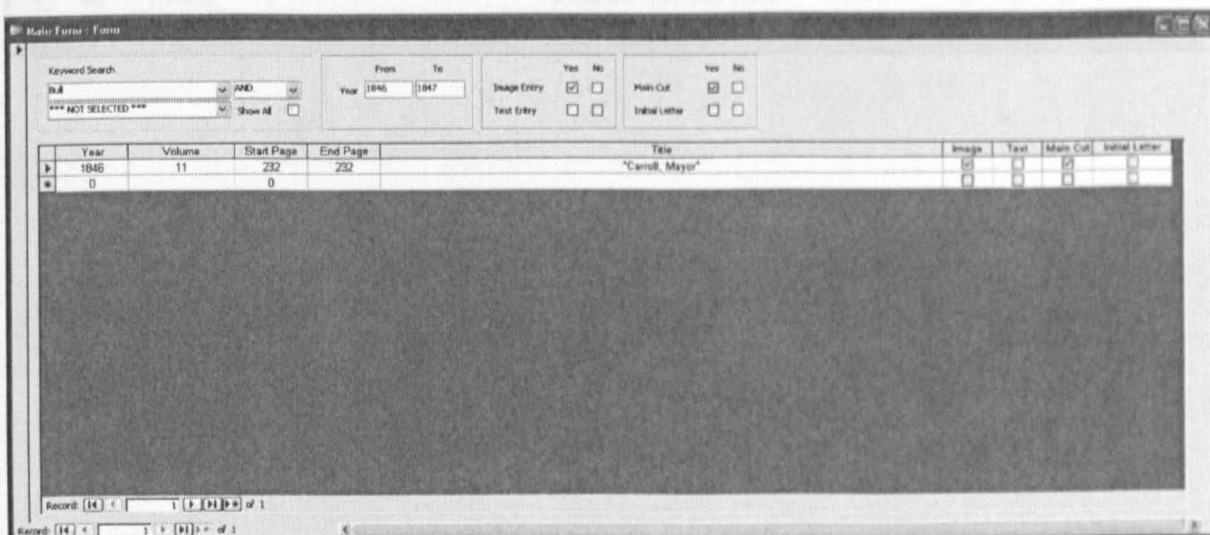
Only the 8 entries without Images are shown.



The same process applies to each of the four additional search parameters. They can also be used in conjunction together.

- Click on the *Yes* selection box for Image Entry and on the *Yes* selection box for Main Cut.

Of the 16 original entries only 1 is a main cut Image.



Use of Show All to search the database for All keywords

It can be useful to be able to search the database irrespective of keywords. For example to compare the number of entries year on year regardless of their content. The Show All selection box in the Keyword Search Panel allows the user to bypass specific keywords and instead use them all. This query can then be optionally limited by use of the additional parameters as explained in the section above.

- Click on the Year To box and clear its contents.
- Click on the Year From box and clear its contents.
- Remove all Ticks from the Additional Parameters
- Click on the *Show All* selection box.

All 549 entries are returned. The Year To, Year From and Additional Parameters options remain available to further limit the query however.

Main Form - Form

Showing 20 of 549 records

From: To:

Image Entry Yes No

Text Entry Yes No

Main Cut Yes No

Initial Letter Yes No

Year	Volume	Start Page	End Page	Title	Image	Text	Main Cut	Initial Letter
1841	1	141	141	"Metropolitan Improvements"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1842	1	129	129	"Bunk's Discoveries in the Thames"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1842	2	178	178	"The Thames"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1842	3	9	9	"The Health of the Metropolis"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1842	3	150	151	"Cold Water Curing Society"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1842	3	151	151	"The Vested Rights of Death"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1842	3	151	151	"The Election for Lord Mayor"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1842	3	165	165	"The Thames and its Tributaries"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1843	4	99	99	"Metropolis Improvements"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1843	5	92	92	"The Ministerial White Bat Dinner"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1844	6	229	229	"The Health of the Metropolis"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1844	6	229	229	"Song of the Session"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1844	6	229	229	"A Caw from the Rookery"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1844	7	72	72	"The Ministerial White Bat Dinner"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1844	7	162	162	"Gog and Magog in Mourning"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1844	7	163	163	"Gog and Magog in Mourning"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1845	8	39	39	"The Agricultural Question Settled"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1845	8	43	43	"An Alderman Missing"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1845	8	92	92	"The Poor Man's Friend"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1845	8	107	107	"Plea of a Pump"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1845	8	202	202	"The Starved Out Aldermen"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1845	8 (Almanack)	0	0	"The Completion of Royal Exchange" November	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Record 14 of 549

Choice of Keywords

The choice of keywords for the *Punch Database on Public Health* required a consideration of the concepts used by later historians writing on public health in mid-Victorian Britain, and the language (technical terms and metaphoric tropes) used by contemporaries. A literature review of the core secondary texts analysing public health in the nineteenth century provided a starting point for beginning to construct a list of relevant key words for the *Punch Database on Public Health*. Having identified the main issues in the period 1841 – 1858 that were considered relevant by historians and other commentators, a line by line perusal of *Punch* was undertaken. Whilst many of the entries on public health reform did correspond with those terms already identified, it was decided that a more flexible and comprehensive approach was required. There were topics that were raised in the magazine that were not evident from the initial literature review. However, it was decided that it was crucial that the criteria for searching also included terms employed by the magazine as there were clearly issues that were of importance to contemporary audiences though they did not feature in many of the secondary histories. A prime example was the subject of Smithfield Market. Very few histories of public health do justice to the extent of the debates surrounding the condition of Smithfield and its associated trades. Recurrent references in the magazine, cross-referenced with analysis of other contemporary pamphlets and periodicals, did indeed confirm that this was an important and relevant topic. The decision to include this topic though reveals the degree of judgement required creating such digital resources as databases and indices since it could equally have been decided not to reference this topic as readers not familiar with the *Punch* of that period might well not be aware of it.

The motivation for creating the *Punch Database on Public Health* was to encourage researchers to look at the magazine in ways which they may not previously have done. To do this, the *Database* had to not only meet scholar's expectations but also to challenge them and present them with data they may not be familiar with. The keywords detailed below are derived from a selection of material taken from across the period 1841 and 1858 and can in no way be comprehensive beyond this period. There are limitations in that the index requires a knowledge of debates about contagion and miasma, for example. This could be rectified by creating an annotated index which contextualises the significance of each keyword. In this way, this keyword index can

only ever make a partial contribution to identifying appropriate pieces and there remains further work to be undertaken to realise the full potential of such digital repositories of references.

Keywords
Keyword
*** NOT SELECTED ***
Aldermen
Atmosphere
Board of Health
Board of Works
Bone Boilers
Bull
Burial Grounds
Butchers
Cattle Markets
Centralisation
Cesspools
Chadwick
Chancellor of the Exchequer
Charnel Houses
Children
Chimneys
Cholera
Church Yards
City of London
Cleanliness
Commissioners of Sewers
Corporation of London
Dead Cats and Dogs
Death
Dirt
Disease
Disinfecting

Keywords
Keyword
Drainage
Dwellings
Effluvia
Epidemic
Factories
Father Thames
Fever
Filth
Gas Works
Gog and Magog
Graveyards
Guano
Gut Dressers
Gutter
Health
Health of Towns
Industry
Infection
Inspection
Knackers' Yards
Limewash
Lord Mayor
Lord Morpeth
Malaria
Mammon
Manure
Mayoral Dinners
Medical Officer of Health
Metropolis
Metropolitan Board of Works
Miasma
Ministers
Mr Dixon

Keywords
Keyword
Mr Simon
Mr Sydney
Mud
Nuisance
Odours
Over Crowding
Pens
Plague/Pestilence
Poisonous
Pollution
Poor
Public Health Act
Pumps
Rubbish
Sanitary Reform
Scarlatina
Self-Government
Sewer/Sewerage
Sir Peter Laurie
Slaughter Houses
Slime
Smithfield
Smithfield Market Removal Bill
Smoke Bills
Smokey
Soap Works
Tax
Temperance
Thames
Thames Purification Bill
Tidal
Turtle/Whitebait
Typhus

Keywords
Keyword
Undertakers
Vested Interest
Water
Water Companies
Windows

Acknowledgments

The idea for a fully searchable database of *Punch* references originated from my frustration with the indices held at the *Punch* library, Harrods. Knowing where to start with *Punch* given the range of topics it was dealing with, not just public health reform, will always be a problem for scholars. However, a more systematic approach, I felt, would allow the magazine to actually dictate what needed to be studied, what was actually interesting readers at the time. Whilst I had a rudimentary knowledge of how databases worked, I consulted with the library technicians at Liverpool John Moores University, Avril Roberts Library for advice on how to actually start building the database. The initial model I had was very basic. With the proliferation of digital projects from 2006 alongside developments in my own research, I decided I needed to make the database more integral to the overall argument of the thesis, demonstrating the verbal visual dynamic of *Punch*. I sought further advice from a technical assistant to help me amend and restructure the dataset I had already compiled. Using the search criteria of Gale Cengage's *Nineteenth Century Periodicals Online* as a model, I requested that the *Punch Database on Public Health* was amended to make it more user-friendly. Though the actual framework has had to be built with technical assistance, I can confirm that all data, origins and purpose are the intellectual property of Clare Horrocks, submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Liverpool John Moores University, July 2009.

Appendix Two
Punch Database on Public Health

Year	Volume	Start Page	End Page	Title	Image	Text	Main Cut	Initial Letter
1841	1	141	141	"Metropolitan Improvements"	N	Y	N	N
1842	1	129	129	"Bunk's Discoveries in the Thames"	Y	Y	N	N
1842	2	178	178	"The Thames"	Y	Y	N	N
1842	3	9	9	"The Health of the Metropolis"	N	Y	N	N
1842	3	150	151	"Cold Water Curing Society"	Y	Y	N	N
1842	3	151	151	"The Vested Rights of Death"	Y	Y	N	N
1842	3	151	151	"The Election for Lord Mayor"	N	Y	N	N
1842	3	165	165	"The Thames and Its Tributaries"	Y	Y	N	N
1843	4	99	99	"Metropolis Improvements"	N	Y	N	N
1843	5	92	92	"The Ministerial White Bait Dinner"	N	Y	N	N
1844	6	229	229	"The Health of the Metropolis"	N	Y	N	N
1844	6	229	229	"Song of the Session"	N	Y	N	N
1844	6	229	229	"A Caw from the Rookery"	N	Y	N	N
1844	7	72	72	"The Ministerial White Bait Dinner"	Y	Y	N	N
1844	7	162	162	"Gog and Magog in Mourning"	N	Y	N	Y
1844	7	163	163	"Gog and Magog in Mourning"	N	N	Y	N
1845	8	39	39	"The Agricultural Question Settled"	N	Y	Y	N
1845	8	43	43	"An Alderman Missing"	N	Y	N	Y
1845	8	92	92	"The Poor Man's Friend"	N	Y	Y	N
1845	8	107	107	"Plea of a Pump"	N	Y	N	N
1845	8	202	202	"The Starved-Out Aldermen"	Y	Y	N	N
1845	8 (Almanack)			"The Completion of Royal Exchange" November	Y	Y	N	N
1845	8 (Almanack)			"Tax Gatherers" June	N	Y	N	N

1846	10	139	139	"The Smoke Nuisance"		N	Y	N	N
1846	10	185	185	"Poison Gas-Works"		N	Y	N	N
1846	10	223	223	"Smithfield Intelligence"		N	Y	N	N
1846	11	87	87	"The Sanitary Condition of the City"		Y	Y	N	N
1846	11	175	175	"Dombey and Son!' Great Dramatic Meeting"		N	Y	N	Y
1846	11	209	209	"Smithfield Rights of Cattle"		N	Y	N	N
1846	11	232	232	"Carroll, Mayor"		Y	N	Y	N
1846	11	235	235	"The Smithfield Abomination"		N	Y	N	N
1846	11	241	241	"The Smithfield Bull Fights"		Y	Y	N	N
1846	11	249	249	"The Petition of the Sticks"		Y	Y	N	N
1846	11	253	253	"A Delicious Non-Sequiter"		N	Y	N	N
1847	12	9	9	"War-Song of the City"		N	Y	N	N
1847	12	26	26	"Prospects of the Session"		N	Y	N	N
1847	12	30	30	"A Stand-Up for Smithfield"		N	Y	N	N
1847	12	33	33	"Who is Lord Mayor?"		N	Y	N	N
1847	12	40	40	"The Rising of the Thames"		N	Y	N	N
1847	12	44	44	"The Value of Health at Liverpool"		N	Y	N	Y
1847	12	49	49	"Absenteeism"		N	Y	N	N
1847	12	54	54	"Smithfield Bulletins"		N	Y	N	N
1847	12	62	62	"The Battle of Life"		N	Y	N	N
1847	12	71	71	"The Ox and the Alderman"		N	Y	N	N
1847	12	74	74	"Punch and the Aldermen of London"		N	Y	N	N
1847	12	103	103	"Stoppage in the City"		N	Y	N	N
1847	12	116	116	"Smithfield Martyrs - Smithfield 'Salubrity'"		N	Y	N	Y
1847	12	127	127	"Smithfield and St. Bartholomews"		N	Y	N	N
1847	12	134	134	"Protection for British Quackery"		Y	Y	N	N
1847	12	151	151	"The Bullfight of Smithfield"		Y	Y	N	N
1847	12	152	153	"The Rising Generation' of Smithfield"		N	Y	N	N

1847	12	165	165	"A New Scent"		Y	Y	N	N	N
1847	12	168	171	"Penn Punch and the Smithfield Savages"		N	Y	N	N	N
1847	12	169	169	"Punch and the Smithfield Savages"		N	Y	Y	N	N
1847	12	177	177	"Smithfield Market Prize Show"		Y	Y	N	N	N
1847	12	186	186	"Sweets to the Sweet"		N	Y	N	N	N
1847	12	190	190	"The Dirty London Alderman"		N	Y	N	N	N
1847	12	191	191	"The Dirty London Alderman"		N	Y	Y	N	N
1847	12	205	205	"The Horns of a Dilemma"		N	Y	N	N	N
1847	12	216	216	"Smithfield Market and the City Authorities"		Y	Y	N	N	N
1847	12	236	236	"The Health of Towns Bill"		N	Y	N	N	N
1847	12	243	243	"Holborn as it May Be"		Y	Y	N	N	N
1847	12	248	248	"Salubrity of Smithfield"		Y	Y	N	N	N
1847	13	3	3	"Dirty City!"		N	Y	N	N	N
1847	13	14	14	"The Watermen's Dinner"		N	Y	N	N	N
1847	13	19	19	"The St.Stephen's Bills of Mortality"		N	Y	N	N	N
1847	13	29	29	"Dreadful Explosion"		Y	Y	N	N	N
1847	13	30	30	"The Mishaps of Ministers"		N	Y	N	N	N
1847	13	33	33	"The Health of Towns"		Y	Y	N	N	N
1847	13	37	37	"Probable Use of Smithfield"		N	Y	N	N	N
1847	13	39	39	"The Ministerial Whitebait Dinner"		Y	Y	N	N	N
1847	13	47	47	"Smithfield in the Way of Business"		Y	Y	N	N	N
1847	13	59	59	"The Bullock, The Pig and the Wether"		N	Y	N	N	N
1847	13	75	75	"Dombey and Son"		N	Y	Y	N	N
1847	13	80	80	"Our Flight with Russell"		Y	Y	N	N	N
1847	13	87	87	"A new chapter for The Seven Champions of Christendom"		N	Y	N	Y	Y
1847	13	97	97	"Parish Pumps"		N	Y	N	N	N
1847	13	102	102	"A Row in the Buildings"		N	Y	N	N	N
1847	13	128	128	"London Graveyards"		Y	Y	N	N	N

1847	13	170	170	"Another Failure"	N	Y	N	N	N
1847	13	192	192	"Things are Not Quite so Bad in the City"	N	Y	N	N	N
1847	13	218	219	"The Mustering of the Hobbies"	Y	Y	N	N	N
1847	13	237	237	"King Death's Discomfiture"	N	Y	N	N	Y
1848	14	24	24	"Sanitary Victims"	N	Y	N	N	N
1848	14	25	25	"The Sun-Light and Gas-Light"	Y	Y	N	N	N
1848	14	54	54	"Finery, Dirt and Disease"	N	Y	N	N	N
1848	14	59	59	"Splendid Opening for a Young Medical Man"	N	Y	Y	N	N
1848	14	72	72	"The Pride of the City"	N	Y	N	N	N
1848	14	74	74	"Panels and Penalties"	N	Y	N	N	N
1848	14	77	77	"If he had a Heart for Windows Framed"	N	Y	N	N	N
1848	14	77	77	"Mottoes for the Taxes"	N	Y	N	N	N
1848	14	79	79	"Lord John and the Chancellor of the Exchequer Packing their Carpet Bag"	N	Y	Y	N	N
1848	14	83	83	"Window-Breaking in London"	N	Y	N	N	N
1848	14	86	86	"Pastimes of the City Police"	N	Y	N	N	N
1848	14	87	87	"The Window-Tax"	N	Y	N	N	Y
1848	14	130	130	"The Effects of our Own Revolution"	Y	Y	N	N	N
1848	14	167	167	"Special Constable Punch"	N	Y	Y	N	N
1848	14	211	211	"The Hour and the Man"	N	Y	Y	N	N
1848	14	226	226	"Quite Correct"	N	Y	N	N	N
1848	14	231	231	"Sanatory Measures"	N	Y	Y	N	N
1848	15	65	65	"Lord Morpeth to his Love"	N	Y	N	N	N
1848	15	78	78	"Self-Government"	N	Y	N	N	N
1848	15	98	98	"Right About St. Stephen's!"	N	Y	N	N	N
1848	15	118	118	"The Smithfield Nuisance 'Enlarged'"	N	Y	N	N	N
1848	15	127	128	"Sanitarianism and Insanitarianism"	N	Y	N	N	N
1848	15	136	136	"Ode on the Thames"	N	Y	N	N	N
1848	15	138	138	"A Nice Calculation"	N	Y	N	N	N

1848	15	151	151	"Dirty Father Thames"	N	Y	Y	N	N
1848	15	155	155	"Here's To You"	N	Y	Y	N	N
1848	15	160	160	"A Peep at London through a Telescope"	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1848	15	168	168	"Physic for the 'Morning Post'"	N	Y	Y	N	N
1848	15	172	172	"The Alderman and the Apothecary"	N	Y	Y	N	N
1848	15	173	173	"The Alderman and the Apothecary"	N	Y	Y	Y	N
1848	15	188	188	"The City Medical Officer - A Mess Well Mended"	N	Y	Y	N	N
1848	15	198	198	"A Hint for the Sanitary Board"	N	Y	Y	N	N
1848	15	200	200	"Medical Officers and Poor Law Paymasters"	N	Y	Y	N	N
1848	15	207	207	"A Sanitary Police"	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1848	15	233	233	"Very Hungry Commissioners"	N	Y	Y	N	Y
1848	15	234	234	"Soft Soap and Civic Sewerage"	N	Y	Y	N	N
1848	15	260	260	"A Snake in the Sewers"	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1849	16	22	22	"Cattle and Corporation"	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1849	16	34	34	"A Rus on Urbe; or, The Green Hills (Rents) of Smithfield"	N	Y	Y	N	N
1849	16	81	81	"The Smithfield Arcadia"	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1849	16	88	88	"Song in Favour of Smithfield"	N	Y	Y	N	N
1849	16	89	89	"A Substitute for the Seaside"	N	Y	Y	Y	N
1849	16	95	95	"The Fight Between the Pet of the Press and the Smithfield Champion"	N	Y	Y	N	Y
1849	16	101	101	"Bribery of the Press"	N	Y	Y	N	N
1849	16	102	102	"A Libel on Punch"	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1849	16	154	154	"Manners and Customs of ye Englyshe in 1849 No 5 ~Smythfield Cattle Markete"	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1849	16	176	176	"The Smithfield Promenade"	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1849	16	179	179	"Paine's Whole Duty"	N	Y	Y	N	N
1849	16	200	200	"The Window-Tax"	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1849	16	242	242	"The Smoke Nuisance"	N	Y	Y	N	N
1849	16 (Almanack)			"Political Pantomines"	Y	N	Y	N	N
1849	17	0	0	Opening Page	Y	Y	Y	N	N

1849	17	14	14	"Our Unhealthy Courts"		N	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	35	35	"Smithfield Sports"		N	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	36	36	"The Great Smoke Question"		N	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	36	36	"The Butcher's Pet"		N	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	49	49	"Law, Filth and Physic"		N	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	55	55	"A Cheap Excursion to Smithfield And Back for One Shilling"		N	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	57	57	"The Political Morgiana Throwing Cold Water (not boiling oil) on the Impatient Banditti"		N	Y	Y		N
1849	17	59	59	"A Handbook to the Thames"		Y	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	65	65	"The Downfall of Smithfield Market"		Y	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	80	80	"A Smithfieldite Excursion"		Y	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	99	99	"The Romance of the Sewers"		N	Y	N	N	Y
1849	17	101	101	"Melodies of the Metropolis"		N	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	102	102	"Manners and Customs of Ye Englyshe in 1849 No 26 ~Blackwall Showyng ye public a dinyng of Whytebait"		Y	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	103	103	"A British Bull-Fight"		Y	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	105	105	"Glorious Chance"		N	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	105	105	"The 'Profession' and the Prevalent Epidemic"		N	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	109	109	"A Very Mad Bull"		N	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	111	111	"An Elegy, Written in A London Churchyard"		N	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	115	115	"The Black Flag of St. Saviour's"		N	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	115	115	"Together Let us Range the Field"		N	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	116	116	"To Bumbledom Belligerents"		N	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	120	120	"New Use for Gutta Percha"		Y	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	121	121	"Precautions Against Pestilence"		N	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	125	125	"Posterity on Intramural Interments"		N	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	131	131	"A Sanitary Dictator"		N	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	131	131	"Needs Must when Smithfield Drives"		N	Y	N	N	N

1849	17	134	134	"The Old House and the New"	N	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	134	134	"A Good Excuse"	Y	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	135	135	"How to Purify the Sewers"	N	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	137	137	"Water! Water! Everywhere; and not a Drop to Drink"	N	Y	Y	Y	N
1849	17	140	140	"The Old Churchwarden's Complaint Against Sanitary Reform"	N	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	144	145	"The Water that John Drinks"	Y	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	145	145	"Hamlet in the London Churchyard"	N	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	147	147	"Hamlet in the London Churchyard"	N	Y	Y	Y	N
1849	17	150	150	"Follow My Leader"	Y	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	153	153	"A Rare Beverage"	Y	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	155	155	"Pleasant Neighbourhood"	N	Y	N	N	Y
1849	17	159	159	"A Thames Drinking Song"	N	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	159	159	"Sanitary Street Nomenclature"	N	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	160	160	"Good Men, Spare That Tree"	N	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	161	161	"Modern Smithfield Martyrs"	N	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	161	161	"Eau de Mort"	N	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	166	166	"The Cholera and its Quarters"	N	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	171	171	"A Nice Look-Out"	N	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	174	174	"Wilful Waste of Water"	N	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	175	175	"Motto for Sewer Commissioners"	N	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	179	179	"A Bargee's Ballad"	N	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	181	181	"The Corporation Ragged Schools"	Y	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	184	184	"Father Thames and his Royal Visitors"	N	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	189	189	"Defective Smelling - New Discovery"	N	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	190	190	"Disagreement of the Doctors"	N	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	195	195	"Simon Summed Up"	N	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	205	205	"Anecdotes of the Thames"	N	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	206	206	"Britannia's Thanksgiving Day Dream"	N	Y	N	N	N

1849	17	207	207	"Britannia's Thanksgiving Day Dream"	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1849	17	209	209	"The Civic Pageant Improved"	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
1849	17	209	209	"The Great Unwashed"	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1849	17	209	209	"Long Lane"	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1849	17	224	224	"The Last Squeak of Smithfield"	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1849	17	228	228	"The Sad Fate of the Civic Narcissus"	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1849	17	229	229	"The City Narcissus"	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
1849	17	231	231	"The Smithfield of the Future"	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1849	17	232	232	"The Great Wash"	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1850	18	12	12	"The Best Tidings"	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1850	18	13	13	"The Threatened Inundation"	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1850	18	19	19	"The High-Tides Hoax"	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1850	18	28	28	"London Milk and London Water"	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1850	18	33	33	"The Smithfield Philharmonic Concerts"	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1850	18	38	38	"The Hercules Cheap Paletot"	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1850	18	41	41	"Coats! - The Novelty of the Season"	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1850	18	62	62	"The Water Kings"	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
1850	18	63	63	"Thames Water in the Nursery and the Garden"	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1850	18	80	80	"Hint to Water Companies"	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1850	18	81	81	"The Sun's Walk"	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1850	18	81	81	"A Monument to Sir Peter Laurie"	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
1850	18	98	98	"Death out of Town"	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1850	18	109	109	"Draining the Metropolis"	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1850	18	119	119	"Cheap Bricks for the Cottage"	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1850	18	119	119	"New Light for London"	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1850	18	128	128	"Wood v Brick"	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1850	18	133	133	"The Metropolitan Water Butt"	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1850	18	153	153	"Strongholds of Filth and Pestilence"	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N

1850	18	165	165	"A Vision of the Repeal of the Window-Tax"		N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1850	18	170	170	"Golden London. - A Civic Superstition"		N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1850	18	183	183	"A Grave Responsibility"		N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1850	18	185	185	"The Starved-Out Undertakers"		N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1850	18	188	189	"The Wonders of a London Water Drop"		Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1850	18	192	192	"Civic Inconsistency"		N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1850	18	193	193	"Londoners and their Lungs"		N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1850	18	194	194	"A Rotten Cause"		N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1850	18	199	199	"The Sanitary Reformer to his Executor"		N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1850	18	202	202	"The Window-Tax - The Greatest Absorbent of Light"		N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1850	18	207	207	"The Battle for Intra-Mural Church Yards"		N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1850	18	207	207	"A Thames Water Lily"		Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1850	18	215	215	"The Song of the Undertaker"		N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1850	18	219	219	"Silence, pray, Silence!"		N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1850	18	222	222	"Down Among the Dead Men"		N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1850	18	239	239	"Metropolitan Melodies"		N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1850	18 (Almanack)			"Costume for Sewer Commissioners"		N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1850	18 (Almanack)			"Calumniated Creatures"		N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1850	18 (Almanack)			"Rent Day. - The Cellar and Model Lodging House"		Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1850	18 (Almanack)			"Dangerous Dealings"		N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1850	18 (Almanack)			"Domestic Sanitary Regulations"		Y	N	N	N	N	N
1850	18 (Almanack)			"How to Find High-Water at London-Bridge"		N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1850	18 (Almanack)			"Sanitary Measures"		N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1850	18 (Almanack)			"Smithfield"		Y	N	N	N	N	N
1850	18 (Almanack)			"A Con for the Corporation"		N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1850	18 (Almanack)			"A Change for the Worse"		N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1850	18 (Almanack)			"Sanitary and Insanitary Matters"		Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1850	18 (Almanack)			"An Obvious Truism"		N	Y	Y	Y	N	N

1850	19	10	10	"Sincerity in Black"	N	Y	N	N
1850	19	22	22	"The Smoke Nuisance"	N	Y	N	N
1850	19	22	22	"The Terrors of the Thames"	N	Y	N	N
1850	19	27	27	"The Puff Direct"	N	Y	N	N
1850	19	53	53	"The Smithfield Life Pill"	N	Y	N	N
1850	19	57	57	"The Fortification of Smithfield"	N	Y	N	N
1850	19	58	58	"A Word or Two on Water"	N	Y	N	N
1850	19	69	69	"The City Committee's Report of Smithfield Market"	N	Y	N	N
1850	19	73	73	"The Whitebait's Invitation to the Ministers"	N	Y	N	N
1850	19	78	78	"Down Go the Bridges, Oh!"	N	Y	N	N
1850	19	83	83	"The Tournaments of Smithfield"	N	Y	N	Y
1850	19	88	88	"The Bull-fights in Paris"	N	Y	N	N
1850	19	103	103	"The Renovation of the Thames"	N	Y	N	N
1850	19	125	125	"Turn on, Old Thames"	N	Y	N	N
1850	19	130	130	"The Court that is Always Adjourning"	N	Y	N	N
1850	19	191	191	"The Exhibition Plague"	N	Y	N	Y
1850	19	194	194	"The Lord Mayor's Show"	N	Y	N	N
1850	19	195	195	"Taking the Nonsensus of the Country"	N	Y	N	N
1850	19	199	199	"Cheap Gas, and Why Not Cheap Water?"	N	Y	N	N
1850	19	205	205	"An Old Saw Newly Set"	N	Y	N	N
1850	19	206	206	"The Lament of the Man in Brass"	Y	Y	N	N
1850	19	211	211	"Omissions from the Lord Mayor's Show"	N	Y	N	N
1850	19	216	216	"Extra-Mural Interment"	N	Y	N	N
1850	19	239	239	"Rules for the Prevention of the Promised Plague Next Year"	N	Y	N	N
1850	19	251	251	"The Darkest Injustice"	N	Y	N	N
1850	19	259	259	"Smithfield Club Cattle Show"	N	Y	N	N
1850	19	262	262	"Smithfield for Ever"	N	Y	N	N
1850	19	264	264	"Christmas Beef in the City"	N	Y	N	Y

1850	19	264	264	"Foresight of our Ancestors"		N	Y	N	N	N
1850	19	265	265	"Our Model of Smithfield Market"		N	Y	N	N	Y
1851	20	4	4	"Drainage of London"		N	Y	N	N	N
1851	20	9	9	"The Schoolmaster Abroad in the City"		N	Y	N	N	N
1851	20	9	9	"Parliamentary Obstructives"		N	N	N	N	N
1851	20	10	10	"A Foreigner's Notion of the Window Tax"		N	Y	N	N	N
1851	20	14	14	"A Sonnet Scratched on a Window Pane up a Court"		N	Y	N	N	N
1851	20	21	21	"The Premier's Fiscal Guide"		N	Y	N	N	N
1851	20	30	30	"An Appeal of the Scavenger"		N	Y	N	N	N
1851	20	37	37	"A Light Grievance"		N	Y	N	N	N
1851	20	42	41	"Lights and Shadows of Taxation"		N	Y	N	N	N
1851	20	49	49	"The Complaint of the Cistern"		N	Y	N	N	N
1851	20	54	54	"Arcadia in Smithfield"		N	Y	N	N	Y
1851	20	55	55	"Put Out the Light! And Then -"		N	Y	N	N	N
1851	20	56	56	"Intramural Burying - Alive"		N	Y	N	N	N
1851	20	59	59	"Dramas for Every Day Life - The Minister Puzzled"		N	Y	N	N	N
1851	20	76	76	"Smithfield as it is to be: A Pastoral"		N	Y	N	N	Y
1851	20	83	83	"London with a Clean Front On"		N	Y	N	N	Y
1851	20	105	105	"A Capital Smithfield Joke"		N	Y	N	N	N
1851	20	106	106	"The Humble Petition of the Oxen, Cows, Calves, Pigs and Sheep"		N	Y	N	N	N
1851	20	156	156	"Sidney for Slaughterhouses"		N	Y	N	N	N
1851	20	157	157	"The Metropolitan Members"		N	Y	N	N	N
1851	20	161	161	"Bray from Smithfield"		N	Y	N	N	N
1851	20	163	163	"Smithfield Sympathy"		N	Y	N	N	N
1851	20	165	165	"The Two Arcadias"		N	Y	N	N	N
1851	20	167	167	"Removal of the Bribery Market"		N	Y	N	N	Y
1851	20	172	172	"The Fall of Smithfield - an elegie"		Y	Y	N	N	N
1851	20	186	186	"The Conscript Fathers in Smithfield"		N	Y	N	N	N

1851	20	199	199	"A Boat Race in a Sewer"		N	Y	N	N	N
1851	20	251	251	"The Coffee House of Commons"		N	Y	N	N	N
1851	20	(Almanack)		"Sanitary Conviviality"		N	Y	N	N	N
1851	21	16	16	"The Last Days of Smithfield"		N	Y	N	N	N
1851	21	63	63	"The Vested Interests of Old Women"		N	Y	N	N	N
1851	21	84	84	"Mr Punch's Review of the Session"		Y	Y	N	N	N
1851	21	103	103	"Public Works and Public Idleness"		N	Y	N	N	N
1851	21	112	112	"Good News for the Nostrils"		N	Y	N	N	N
1851	21	146	146	"An Idea for Greek St."		N	Y	N	N	N
1851	21	184	184	"What is the Water-Baliff?"		N	Y	N	N	N
1851	21	253	253	"City Reform"		N	Y	N	N	N
1852	22	33	33	"They Won't Mend Their Ways"		N	Y	N	N	N
1852	22	45	45	"When Found, Make a Note of -"		Y	Y	N	N	N
1852	22	138	138	"Alarming"		Y	Y	N	N	N
1852	22	151	151	"A Petition (As it Ought to Be)"		N	Y	N	N	Y
1852	22	167	167	"How to Ventilate the House of Commons"		N	Y	N	N	N
1852	22	167	167	"Airy Nothing"		N	Y	N	N	N
1852	23	52	52	"Those Who Run May Smell"		N	Y	N	N	N
1852	23	56	56	"The Incurrible River"		N	Y	N	N	N
1852	23	122	122	"The Pride of London"		N	Y	N	N	N
1852	23	128	128	"Father Thames's Epitaph"		N	Y	N	N	N
1852	23	138	138	"King Cholera to his Liege Friends in England"		N	Y	N	N	N
1852	23	139	139	"A Court for King Cholera"		N	Y	Y	N	N
1852	23	142	142	"An Unmarketable Market"		N	Y	N	N	Y
1852	23	146	146	"Some Account of My Travels in Search of Self-Government by One of the Old School"		N	Y	N	N	Y
1852	23	153	153	"To Epidemics in Search of a Situation"		N	Y	N	N	N
1852	23	182	182	"The Leading Men in the City"		Y	Y	N	N	N

1852	23	208	208	"No Lord Mayor's Dinner - Frantic Joy of Turtles"		Y	Y	N	N
1852	23	238	238	"The Freaks of Father Thames"		Y	Y	N	N
1853	24	78	78	"Punch, The City Giant-Killer"		Y	Y	N	N
1853	24	169	169	"The Graveyards of London"		N	Y	N	Y
1853	25	10	10	"A Good Dirty Job"		N	Y	N	N
1853	25	14	14	"Drinking Health"		N	Y	N	N
1853	25	29	29	"Poisonous Puffs"		N	Y	N	N
1853	25	53	53	"Our Muddy Metropolis"		N	Y	N	N
1853	25	62	62	"The Real Smoke Nuisance"		Y	Y	N	N
1853	25	64	64	"Sunday Among the Sewers"		N	Y	N	N
1853	25	80	80	"Important Meeting of Smoke Makers"		Y	Y	N	N
1853	25	91	91	"Fumigation of the Thames"		N	Y	N	N
1853	25	124	124	"A City Without Smoke"		N	Y	N	N
1853	25	127	127	"Puritans in Request"		N	Y	N	N
1853	25	133	133	"King Cholera's Procession"		N	Y	N	N
1853	25	137	137	"Vested Right"		N	Y	N	N
1853	25	146	146	"The Plague Within Our Gates"		N	Y	N	N
1853	25	157	157	"The Lord Mayor's Show for 1853!"		N	Y	N	Y
1853	25	167	167	"Larvae of the City of London"		N	Y	N	Y
1853	25	175	175	"Infection Glebe"		N	Y	N	N
1853	25	177	177	"The Starved-Out Commission of Sewers"		N	Y	N	N
1853	25	183	183	"Plato, Gog, and Magog"		N	Y	N	N
1853	25	185	185	"Not Cheap but Extremely Nasty"		N	Y	N	N
1853	25	186	186	"Centralization"		N	Y	N	N
1853	25	187	187	"Dolours of St. Dunstan's in the West"		N	Y	N	N
1853	25	197	197	"A Letter and An Answer"		N	Y	N	N
1853	25	198	198	"A Regular Nuisance"		N	Y	N	N
1853	25	199	199	"A Nuisance in the City that Must be Got Rid Of"		N	Y	Y	N

1853	25	208	208	"Flushing a Sewer - A Citizen's Dream"	N	Y	N	N
1853	25	209	209	"Flushing the Great City Sewers"	N	Y	Y	N
1853	25	212	212	"Materials for a Museum of City Antiquities"	Y	Y	N	N
1853	25	213	213	"Reform in the City"	N	Y	N	N
1853	25	215	215	"Municipal Labours"	N	Y	N	N
1853	25	216	216	"The City Inquisition"	N	Y	N	Y
1853	25	217	217	"Cure for Smoky Children"	N	Y	N	N
1853	25	232	232	"Obituary A Little in Advance"	N	Y	N	N
1853	25	235	235	"Visit of the Thames and Medway to the Royal Commissioners of the City"	N	Y	N	N
1853	25	242	242	"The Turtle Benevolent Association for the Relief of Destitute Aldermen"	Y	Y	N	N
1853	25	242	242	"Shortcoming of the City"	N	Y	N	N
1853	25	243	243	"Improvement at Guildhall"	N	Y	N	N
1853	25	245	245	"Conservatives in Ill Odour"	N	Y	N	N
1853	25	246	246	"Corporation Table Talk"	N	Y	N	Y
1853	25	255	255	"A Case of Real Distress"	Y	Y	N	N
1853	25	261	261	"A Fit Punishment"	N	Y	N	N
1854	26	4	7	"The Domestic Reformer; or, how Mr. Paterfamilias made home happy" Scene 1	Y	Y	N	N
1854	26	12	13	"The Domestic Reformer; or, how Mr. Paterfamilias made home happy" Scene 2	N	Y	N	N
1854	26	13	13	"More Free than Welcome"	N	Y	N	N
1854	26	14	14	"The Health of the City of London"	N	Y	N	N
1854	26	22	23	"The Domestic Reformer; or, how Mr. Paterfamilias made home happy" Scene 3	N	Y	N	N
1854	26	32	33	"The Domestic Reformer; or, how Mr. Paterfamilias made home happy" Scene 4	N	Y	N	N
1854	26	42	43	"The Domestic Reformer; or, how Mr. Paterfamilias made home happy" Scene 5	N	Y	N	N
1854	26	58	59	"The Domestic Reformer; or, how Mr. Paterfamilias made home happy" Scene 6	N	Y	N	N
1854	26	70	71	"The Domestic Reformer; or, how Mr. Paterfamilias made home happy" Scene 7	N	Y	N	N
1854	26	80	81	"The Domestic Reformer; or, how Mr. Paterfamilias made home happy" Scene 8	N	Y	N	N
1854	26	91	91	"The Domestic Reformer; or, how Mr. Paterfamilias made home happy" Conclusion	N	Y	N	N
1854	26	105	105	"Suicide of the Sewers"	N	Y	N	N

1854	26	140	140	"A Bed of 'Cold Pisen"	N	Y	N	N
1854	26	150	150	"The Tide of Opposition"	N	Y	N	N
1854	26	151	151	"A Sanitary Regulation"	N	Y	N	N
1854	26	152	152	"The Sewers Alive and Kicking"	N	Y	N	N
1854	26	167	167	"The Lungs of the House of Commons"	N	Y	N	N
1854	26	260	260	Cartoon on smoking	Y	Y	N	N
1854	26	269	269	"Malaria in Westminster Hall"	N	Y	N	N
1854	27	9	9	"City of London Cement"	N	Y	N	Y
1854	27	13	13	"Lord Palmerston's Parties"	N	Y	N	N
1854	27	28	28	"The Burial of the Session's Business"	N	Y	N	N
1854	27	54	57	"Imaginary Conversation"	N	Y	N	N
1854	27	55	56	"Smoke"	N	Y	Y	N
1854	27	59	59	"A Grand Subject for a Picture"	N	Y	N	N
1854	27	79	79	"A Word for Mr Walker"	N	Y	N	N
1854	27	84	84	"King Smoke"	Y	Y	N	N
1854	27	86	86	"Who Shall Decide when Doctors Disagree"	N	Y	N	N
1854	27	95	95	"Alderman in the Water"	N	Y	N	N
1854	27	102	102	"The One Power"	N	Y	N	N
1854	27	142	142	"The Sanitary To-Morrow"	N	Y	N	N
1854	27	158	158	"Our Mean Metropolis"	N	Y	N	N
1854	27	184	184	"The Bottle-Holder and the Bottle of Smoke"	N	Y	N	N
1854	27	200	200	"Open to All the World"	N	Y	N	N
1854	27	204	204	"The Model Court"	Y	Y	N	N
1854	27	207	207	"What a Londoner has Reason to be Proud of"	N	Y	N	Y
1854	27	252	252	"The Great Debate Nuisance"	N	Y	N	N
1855	28	12	12	"(Sewer)Age Before Honesty"	N	Y	N	N
1855	28	44	44	"Punch's Essence of Parliament"	N	Y	N	Y
1855	28	79	79	"The House of Interests"	N	Y	N	N

1855	28	81	81	"Punch's Essence of Parliament"	N	Y	N	N	N
1855	28	161	161	"Punch's Essence of Parliament"	N	Y	N	N	Y
1855	28	213	214	"Punch's Essence of Parliament"	N	Y	N	N	N
1855	28	252	252	"The Poet in Smithfield"	N	Y	N	N	N
1855	28	253	254	"Punch's Essence of Parliament"	N	Y	N	N	N
1855	29	23	24	"Punch's Essence of Parliament"	N	Y	N	N	N
1855	29	26	26	"King Thames"	N	Y	N	N	N
1855	29	27	27	"Faraday Giving His Card To Father Thames"	N	Y	Y	Y	N
1855	29	30	30	"A Question for the City"	N	Y	N	N	N
1855	29	32	32	"The Watery-Grave of London"	N	Y	N	N	N
1855	29	33	33	"Punch's Essence of Parliament"	N	Y	N	N	N
1855	29	34	34	"Parliamentary Night-Work"	N	Y	N	N	N
1855	29	35	35	"Why Abuse the Thames?"	N	Y	N	N	N
1855	29	39	39	"The Rose and the River"	N	Y	N	N	N
1855	29	39	39	"The Whitebait's Revenge"	N	Y	N	N	N
1855	29	42	42	"Cave Canem!"	N	Y	N	N	N
1855	29	43	44	"Punch's Essence of Parliament"	N	Y	N	N	N
1855	29	49	49	"Money Market and Sanitary Intelligence"	N	Y	N	N	N
1855	29	50	50	"Dirty Old Father Thames"	N	Y	N	N	N
1855	29	51	51	"Go to Bath"	N	Y	N	N	N
1855	29	51	51	"Sink - we Scento"	N	Y	N	N	N
1855	29	51	51	"Meat, Drink, and Manure"	N	Y	N	N	N
1855	29	51	51	"An Epistolary Vegetable"	N	Y	N	N	N
1855	29	52	52	"The Lord Mayor in Danger"	N	Y	N	N	N
1855	29	53	53	"By the Margin of Thames' Dirty Waters"	N	Y	N	N	N
1855	29	59	59	"An Appointment 'Sewer Generis'"	N	Y	N	N	N
1855	29	62	62	"The Thames and its Tributaries"	N	Y	N	N	N
1855	29	64	64	"A Thames Ditty"	N	Y	N	N	N

1855	29	65	65	"A Disgraceful Abettor of Intemperance"	N	Y	N	Y
1855	29	66	66	"Dirty Little Boys"	Y	Y	N	N
1855	29	66	66	"The Head at the Banquet"	N	Y	N	N
1855	29	67	67	"The Ministerial Whitebait Dinner - In Vino Veritas"	N	Y	Y	N
1855	29	75	75	"Latin for Thames"	N	Y	N	N
1855	29	76	76	"Thames' Prizes"	N	Y	N	N
1855	29	84	85	"The Rime of the Ancient Alderman"	Y	Y	N	N
1855	29	100	100	"A Complaint from the Paddle-Box"	N	Y	N	N
1855	29	114	114	"The Bane and the Antidote"	N	Y	N	N
1855	29	223	223	"The Silent Highway"	N	Y	N	N
1856	30	21	21	"Sentiment in the Sewers"	N	Y	N	N
1856	30	22	22	"Seal for the Senate of Sewers"	N	Y	N	N
1856	30	40	40	"The Central Board in Danger"	N	Y	N	N
1856	30	92	92	"Cholera and Cant"	N	Y	N	N
1856	30	113	113	"Our Special Correspondent in Whitehall"	N	Y	N	N
1856	30	122	122	"Ode to Sir Benjamin Hall"	N	Y	N	N
1856	30	134	134	"The Song of the Bumble Bee"	N	Y	N	N
1856	30	137	137	"Where are the Water-Carts?"	N	Y	N	N
1856	30	147	147	"Smithfield a 'graceful gift'"	N	Y	N	N
1856	30	165	165	"The End of Gog and Magog, or Things Very Bad in the City"	N	Y	Y	N
1856	30	226	226	"Spiritualism in the City of London"	N	Y	N	Y
1856	30	244	244	"Eau, Eau, What Can the Matter Be?"	N	Y	N	N
1856	30 (Almanack)			"An Insanitary Commundrum"	N	Y	N	N
1856	31	21	21	"Punch's Essence of Parliament"	N	Y	N	Y
1856	31	44	47	"Ye Ghosts of the Innocents (A Ballad of Blackwall)"	N	Y	N	N
1856	31	45	45	"Autumn Leaves"	N	Y	Y	N
1856	31	47	47	"A Pen and Ink Parliament"	N	Y	N	N
1856	31	54	54	"Nursing the Little Bills"	N	Y	N	N

1856	31	55	55	"Mr Bull and His Valet"	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1856	31	59	59	"The Session of 1856"	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1856	31	93	93	"Save us From Our Friends"	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1856	31	193	193	"A Well-Earned Wiggling"	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
1856	31	200	200	"The Two Bens"	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1856	31	232	232	"The Londoner's Petition"	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1856	31	251	251	"Rampant Idiots"	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1856	31	254	254	"Waits"	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1857	32	9	9	"Our Filth and Our Felons"	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1857	32	20	20	"A Board on its Beam Ends"	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1857	32	73	73	"Plain Speaking"	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1857	33	27	27	"The River and its Rulers"	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1857	33	30	30	"Dirty River, Dirty River"	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1857	33	193	193	"The Corporation Itself Again"	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
1857	33	203	203	"Sweep for the Sweeps"	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1857	33	225	225	"Humours of the City Commission of Sewers"	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1858	34	19	19	"Anything but Transporting"	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1858	34	240	240	"Aerial Drainage"	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1858	34	250	250	"The Last Wish"	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1858	34	253	253	"Piff-piff! An Ode to the Thames"	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1858	34	254	255	"Punch's Essence of Parliament"	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1858	35	0	0	"Political Summary"	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1858	35	2	2	"Mr Punch, Perspiring, debatheth of Dinner"	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1858	35	3	3	"Punch's Essence of Parliament"	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
1858	35	4	4	"The Thames in its true Colours"	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1858	35	5	5	"Father Thames Introducing his Offspring to the Fair City of London"	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1858	35	7	7	"To the Thames (after Tennyson)"	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
1858	35	8	8	"The Song of the Dying Swan to the Thames"	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N

1858	35	8	8	"An Open Question"		N	Y	N	N
1858	35	9	9	"The House Moved by the Thames"		N	Y	N	N
1858	35	10	10	"The Humble Petition of Father Thames"		N	Y	N	N
1858	35	11	11	"Mutato Nomine de Fabula Narratur"		N	Y	N	N
1858	35	11	11	"Delicacies of the River"		N	Y	N	N
1858	35	12	12	"Our Nasal Benefactors"		Y	Y	N	N
1858	35	13	13	"Punch's Essence of Parliament"		N	Y	N	N
1858	35	14	14	"Why is the Thames like a Confirmed Sot?"		N	Y	N	N
1858	35	15	15	"The 'Silent Highway' Man"		N	Y	Y	N
1858	35	18	19	"The 'Last Man' in the House"		N	Y	N	N
1858	35	20	20	"The Queen on the River"		N	Y	N	N
1858	35	20	20	"Flow on Thou Stinking River"		N	Y	N	N
1858	35	21	21	"Summoning an Evil Spirit"		N	Y	N	Y
1858	35	22	22	"Committee on the Thames"		N	Y	N	N
1858	35	22	22	"Encouragement of Pestilence"		N	Y	N	N
1858	35	23	23	"Punch's Essence of Parliament"		N	Y	N	Y
1858	35	27	27	"Scented Salts"		N	Y	N	N
1858	35	27	27	"The Meeting of the Waters"		N	Y	N	N
1858	35	28	28	"To the Lords and Commons"		N	Y	N	N
1858	35	29	29	"Self-Conserving Conservers"		N	Y	N	N
1858	35	31	31	"Non Redolet Sed Olet, Nec Redolere Solet"		N	Y	N	N
1858	35	31	31	"A Nice New Feast for the Calendar"		N	Y	N	N
1858	35	32	32	"The MP En Permanence"		N	Y	N	N
1858	35	32	32	"Moto for the Thames Abuses"		N	Y	N	N
1858	35	32	32	"The Giaour's Potion"		N	Y	N	N
1858	35	33	33	"Punch's Essence of Parliament"		N	Y	N	Y
1858	35	38	38	"Maine Law"		N	Y	N	N
1858	35	41	41	"How Dirty Old Father Thames was Whitewashed"		Y	Y	N	N

1858	35	41	41	"Call a Spade a Spade"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	42	43	"Punch's Essence of Parliament"	N	Y	N	N	Y
1858	35	47	47	"Change of Name"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	47	47	"How Father Thames Appeared to the Cabinet on the Road to the Whitebait Dinner and What he Said to Them"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	48	48	"Science and Smell"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	49	49	"Geographical Contradiction"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	49	49	"Geographical Parallel"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	49	49	"The Beginning of the End"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	49	49	"As Clear as Thames Mud"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	51	51	"Effects of the Thames Water on the Pretty White Swans"	Y	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	63	63	"Nomenclature and the Nose"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	70	70	"Source of the Thames"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	71	71	"Slow but Sewer"	N	Y	N	N	Y
1858	35	75	75	"Mechi the Mourner"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	81	81	"The Scentral Board"	N	Y	N	N	Y
1858	35	84	84	"Flowing Comparisons"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	89	89	"The Scentral Board"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	95	95	"The Scentral Board"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	102	102	"Some French Fun"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	124	124	"The Thames as it Should Be"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	135	135	"The Growth of London"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	141	141	"The Book of the Thames"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	167	167	"To the Temple of Fame"	N	Y	Y	Y	N
1858	35	177	177	"One Good Turn Deserves Another"	N	Y	Y	Y	N
1858	35	196	196	"Utilisation of Social Sewage"	N	Y	Y	N	N

Appendix Three
Keyword Query "Smithfield"

Year	Volume	Start Page	End Page	Title	Image	Text	Main Cut	Initial Letter
1842	3	165	165	"The Thames and Its Tributaries"	Y	Y	N	N
1846	10	223	223	"Smithfield Intelligence"	N	Y	N	N
1846	11	209	209	"Smithfield Rights of Cattle"	N	Y	N	N
1846	11	235	235	"The Smithfield Abomination"	N	Y	N	N
1846	11	241	241	"The Smithfield Bull Fights"	Y	Y	N	N
1846	11	249	249	"The Petition of the Sticks"	Y	Y	N	N
1846	11	253	253	"A Delicious Non-Sequiter"	N	Y	N	N
1847	12	30	30	"A Stand-Up for Smithfield"	N	Y	N	N
1847	12	54	54	"Smithfield Bulletins"	N	Y	N	N
1847	12	62	62	"The Battle of Life"	N	Y	N	N
1847	12	71	71	"The Ox and the Alderman"	N	Y	N	N
1847	12	116	116	"Smithfield Martyrs - Smithfield 'Salubrity'"	N	Y	N	Y
1847	12	127	127	"Smithfield and St. Bartholomews"	N	Y	N	N
1847	12	151	151	"The Bullfight of Smithfield"	Y	Y	N	N
1847	12	152	153	"The Rising Generation' of Smithfield"	N	Y	N	N
1847	12	165	165	"A New Scent"	Y	Y	N	N
1847	12	168	171	"Penn Punch and the Smithfield Savages"	N	Y	N	N
1847	12	169	169	"Punch and the Smithfield Savages"	N	Y	Y	N
1847	12	177	177	"Smithfield Market Prize Show"	Y	Y	N	N
1847	12	205	205	"The Horns of a Dilemma"	N	Y	N	N
1847	12	216	216	"Smithfield Market and the City Authorities"	Y	Y	N	N
1847	12	243	243	"Holborn as it May Be"	Y	Y	N	N
1847	12	248	248	"Salubrity of Smithfield"	Y	Y	N	N

1847	13	3	3	"Dirty City!"		N	Y	N	N	N
1847	13	37	37	"Probable Use of Smithfield"		N	Y	N	N	N
1847	13	47	47	"Smithfield in the Way of Business"		Y	Y	N	N	N
1847	13	59	59	"The Bullock, The Pig and the Wether"		N	Y	N	N	N
1848	14	86	86	"Pastimes of the City Police"		N	Y	N	N	N
1848	15	118	118	"The Smithfield Nuisance 'Enlarged'"		N	Y	N	N	N
1849	16	22	22	"Cattle and Corporation"		Y	Y	N	N	N
1849	16	34	34	"A Rus on Urbe; or, The Green Hills (Rents) of Smithfield"		N	Y	N	N	N
1849	16	81	81	"The Smithfield Arcadia"		Y	Y	N	N	N
1849	16	88	88	"Song in Favour of Smithfield"		N	Y	N	N	N
1849	16	89	89	"A Substitute for the Seaside"		N	Y	Y	N	N
1849	16	95	95	"The Fight Between the Pet of the Press and the Smithfield Champion"		N	Y	N	Y	N
1849	16	101	101	"Bribery of the Press"		N	Y	N	N	N
1849	16	102	102	"A Libel on Punch"		Y	Y	N	N	N
1849	16	154	154	"Manners and Customs of ye Englyshe in 1849 No 5 ~Smythfield Cattle Markete"		Y	Y	N	N	N
1849	16	176	176	"The Smithfield Promenade"		Y	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	0	0	Opening Page		Y	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	35	35	"Smithfield Sports"		N	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	36	36	"The Butcher's Pet"		N	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	55	55	"A Cheap Excursion to Smithfield And Back for One Shilling"		N	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	57	57	"The Political Morgiana Throwing Cold Water (not boiling oil) on the Impatient Banditti"		N	Y	Y	N	N
1849	17	65	65	"The Downfall of Smithfield Market"		Y	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	103	103	"A British Bull-Fight"		Y	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	109	109	"A Very Mad Bull"		N	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	115	115	"Together Let us Range the Field"		N	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	116	116	"To Bumbledom Belligerents"		N	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	131	131	"Needs Must when Smithfield Drives"		N	Y	N	N	N

1849	17	145	145	"Hamlet in the London Churchyard"		N	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	155	155	"Pleasant Neighbourhood"		N	Y	N	N	Y
1849	17	160	160	"Good Men, Spare That Tree"		N	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	161	161	"Modern Smithfield Martyrs"		N	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	181	181	"The Corporation Ragged Schools"		Y	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	189	189	"Defective Smelling - New Discovery"		N	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	207	207	"Britannia's Thanksgiving Day Dream"		N	Y	Y	N	N
1849	17	209	209	"Long Lane"		N	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	224	224	"The Last Squeak of Smithfield"		N	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	231	231	"The Smithfield of the Future"		Y	Y	N	N	N
1850	18	33	33	"The Smithfield Philharmonic Concerts"		N	Y	N	N	N
1850	18	192	192	"Civic Inconsistency"		N	Y	N	N	N
1850	18 (Almanack)			"An Obvious Truism"		N	Y	N	N	N
1850	18 (Almanack)			"Dangerous Dealings"		N	Y	N	N	N
1850	19	53	53	"The Smithfield Life Pill"		N	Y	N	N	N
1850	19	57	57	"The Fortification of Smithfield"		N	Y	N	N	N
1850	19	69	69	"The City Committee's Report of Smithfield Market"		N	Y	N	N	N
1850	19	83	83	"The Tournaments of Smithfield"		N	Y	N	N	Y
1850	19	88	88	"The Bull-fights in Paris"		N	Y	N	N	N
1850	19	194	194	"The Lord Mayor's Show"		N	Y	N	N	N
1850	19	195	195	"Taking the Nonsensus of the Country"		N	Y	N	N	N
1850	19	206	206	"The Lament of the Man in Brass"		Y	Y	N	N	N
1850	19	211	211	"Omissions from the Lord Mayor's Show"		N	Y	N	N	N
1850	19	259	259	"Smithfield Club Cattle Show"		N	Y	N	N	N
1850	19	262	262	"Smithfield for Ever"		N	Y	N	N	N
1850	19	264	264	"Christmas Beef in the City"		N	Y	N	N	Y
1850	19	264	264	"Foresight of our Ancestors"		N	Y	N	N	N
1850	19	265	265	"Our Model of Smithfield Market"		N	Y	N	N	Y

1851	20	9	9	"The Schoolmaster Abroad in the City"	N	Y	N	N	N
1851	20	54	54	"Arcadia in Smithfield"	N	Y	N	N	Y
1851	20	76	76	"Smithfield as it is to be: A Pastoral"	N	Y	N	N	Y
1851	20	83	83	"London with a Clean Front On"	N	Y	N	N	Y
1851	20	105	105	"A Capital Smithfield Joke"	N	Y	N	N	N
1851	20	106	106	"The Humble Petition of the Oxen, Cows, Calves, Pigs and Sheep"	N	Y	N	N	N
1851	20	157	157	"The Metropolitan Members"	N	Y	N	N	N
1851	20	161	161	"Bray from Smithfield"	N	Y	N	N	N
1851	20	163	163	"Smithfield Sympathy"	N	Y	N	N	N
1851	20	165	165	"The Two Arcadias"	N	Y	N	N	N
1851	20	167	167	"Removal of the Bribery Market"	N	Y	N	N	Y
1851	20	172	172	"The Fall of Smithfield - an elegie"	Y	Y	N	N	N
1851	20	186	186	"The Conscript Fathers in Smithfield"	N	Y	N	N	N
1851	21	16	16	"The Last Days of Smithfield"	N	Y	N	N	N
1851	21	63	63	"The Vested Interests of Old Women"	N	Y	N	N	N
1851	21	84	84	"Mr Punch's Review of the Session"	Y	Y	N	N	N
1852	23	142	142	"An Unmarketable Market"	N	Y	N	N	Y
1852	23	182	182	"The Leading Men in the City"	Y	Y	N	N	N
1853	25	187	187	"Dolours of St. Dunstan's in the West"	N	Y	N	N	N
1853	25	232	232	"Obituary A Little in Advance"	N	Y	N	N	N
1854	27	204	204	"The Model Court"	Y	Y	N	N	N
1855	28	252	252	"The Poet in Smithfield"	N	Y	N	N	N
1855	28	253	254	"Punch's Essence of Parliament"	N	Y	N	N	N
1856	30	147	147	"Smithfield a 'graceful gift'"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	22	22	"Committee on the Thames"	N	Y	N	N	N

Appendix Four
Keyword Query "Thames"

Year	Volume	Start	End	Title	Image	Text	Main	Initial
1842	1	129	129	"Bunk's Discoveries in the Thames"	Y	Y	N	N
1842	2	178	178	"The Thames"	Y	Y	N	N
1843	4	99	99	"Metropolis Improvements"	N	Y	N	N
1845	8 (Almanack)			"Tax Gatherers" June	N	Y	N	N
1847	12	9	9	"War-Song of the City"	N	Y	N	N
1847	12	40	40	"The Rising of the Thames"	N	Y	N	N
1847	12	248	248	"Salubrity of Smithfield"	Y	Y	N	N
1847	13	14	14	"The Watermen's Dinner"	N	Y	N	N
1848	15	127	128	"Sanitarianism and Insanitarianism"	N	Y	N	N
1848	15	136	136	"Ode on the Thames"	N	Y	N	N
1848	15	151	151	"Dirty Father Thames"	N	Y	Y	N
1848	15	234	234	"Soft Soap and Civic Sewerage"	N	Y	N	N
1849	17	59	59	"A Handbook to the Thames"	Y	Y	N	N
1849	17	99	99	"The Romance of the Sewers"	N	Y	N	Y
1849	17	101	101	"Melodies of the Metropolis"	N	Y	N	N
1849	17	102	102	"Manners and Customs of Ye Englyshe in 1849 No 26 ~Blackwall Showynge ye public a dinynge of Whytebait"	Y	Y	N	N
1849	17	134	134	"The Old House and the New"	N	Y	N	N
1849	17	140	140	"The Old Churchwarden's Complaint Against Sanitary Reform"	N	Y	N	N
1849	17	144	145	"The Water that John Drinks"	Y	Y	N	N
1849	17	159	159	"A Thames Drinking Song"	N	Y	N	N
1849	17	179	179	"A Bargee's Ballad"	N	Y	N	N
1849	17	184	184	"Father Thames and his Royal Visitors"	N	Y	N	N
1849	17	195	195	"Simon Summed Up"	N	Y	N	N
1849	17	205	205	"Anecdotes of the Thames"	N	Y	N	N
1849	17	228	228	"The Sad Fate of the Civic Narcissus"	N	Y	N	N
1849	17	229	229	"The City Narcissus"	N	Y	Y	N

1849	17	231	231	"The Smithfield of the Future"	Y	Y	N	N
1850	18	12	12	"The Best Tidings"	N	Y	N	N
1850	18	13	13	"The Threatened Inundation"	N	Y	N	N
1850	18	19	19	"The High-Tides Hoax"	N	Y	N	N
1850	18	63	63	"Thames Water in the Nursery and the Garden"	N	Y	N	N
1850	18	81	81	"The Sun's Walk"	N	Y	N	N
1850	18	98	98	"Death out of Town"	N	Y	N	N
1850	18	188	189	"The Wonders of a London Water Drop"	Y	Y	N	N
1850	18	207	207	"A Thames Water Lily"	Y	Y	N	N
1850	18	239	239	"Metropolitan Melodies"	N	Y	N	N
1850	18	(Almanack)		"How to Find High-Water at London-Bridge"	N	Y	N	N
1850	19	22	22	"The Terrors of the Thames"	N	Y	N	N
1850	19	58	58	"A Word or Two on Water"	N	Y	N	N
1850	19	73	73	"The Whitebait's Invitation to the Ministers"	N	Y	N	N
1850	19	103	103	"The Renovation of the Thames"	N	Y	N	N
1850	19	205	205	"An Old Saw Newly Set"	N	Y	N	N
1851	20	49	49	"The Complaint of the Cistern"	N	Y	N	N
1851	20	199	199	"A Boat Race in a Sewer"	N	Y	N	N
1851	21	84	84	"Mr Punch's Review of the Session"	Y	Y	N	N
1851	21	184	184	"What is the Water-Baliff?"	N	Y	N	N
1852	22	45	45	"When Found, Make a Note of -"	Y	Y	N	N
1852	22	151	151	"A Petition (As it Ought to Be)"	N	Y	N	Y
1852	23	122	122	"The Pride of London"	N	Y	N	N
1852	23	153	153	"To Epidemics in Search of a Situation"	N	Y	N	N
1853	25	53	53	"Our Muddy Metropolis"	N	Y	N	N
1853	25	80	80	"Important Meeting of Smoke Makers"	Y	Y	N	N
1853	25	91	91	"Fumigation of the Thames"	N	Y	N	N
1853	25	209	209	"Flushing the Great City Sewers"	N	Y	Y	N
1853	25	216	216	"The City Inquisition"	N	Y	N	Y
1853	25	235	235	"Visit of the Thames and Medway to the Royal Commissioners of the City"	N	Y	N	N
1853	25	245	245	"Conservatives in Ill Odour"	N	Y	N	N

1853	25	246	246	"Corporation Table Talk"	N	Y	N	Y
1853	25	261	261	"A Fit Punishment"	N	Y	N	N
1854	26	140	140	"A Bed of 'Cold Pisen'"	N	Y	N	N
1854	27	158	158	"Our Mean Metropolis"	N	Y	N	N
1854	27	184	184	"The Bottle-Holder and the Bottle of Smoke"	N	Y	N	N
1854	27	200	200	"Open to All the World"	N	Y	N	N
1854	27	204	204	"The Model Court"	Y	Y	N	N
1854	27	207	207	"What a Londoner has Reason to be Proud of"	N	Y	N	Y
1855	29	26	26	"King Thames"	N	Y	N	N
1855	29	30	30	"A Question for the City"	N	Y	N	N
1855	29	32	32	"The Watery-Grave of London"	N	Y	N	N
1855	29	33	33	"Punch's Essence of Parliament"	N	Y	N	N
1855	29	34	34	"Parliamentary Night-Work"	N	Y	N	N
1855	29	39	39	"The Whitebait's Revenge"	N	Y	N	N
1855	29	39	39	"The Rose and the River"	N	Y	N	N
1855	29	49	49	"Money Market and Sanitary Intelligence"	N	Y	N	N
1855	29	51	51	"Meat, Drink, and Manure"	N	Y	N	N
1855	29	51	51	"An Epistolary Vegetable"	N	Y	N	N
1855	29	51	51	"Sink - we Scento"	N	Y	N	N
1855	29	52	52	"The Lord Mayor in Danger"	N	Y	N	N
1855	29	53	53	"By the Margin of Thames' Dirty Waters"	N	Y	N	N
1855	29	62	62	"The Thames and its Tributaries"	N	Y	N	N
1855	29	64	64	"A Thames Ditty"	N	Y	N	N
1855	29	65	65	"A Disgraceful Abettor of Intemperance"	N	Y	N	Y
1855	29	75	75	"Latin for Thames"	N	Y	N	N
1855	29	76	76	"Thames' Prizes"	N	Y	N	N
1855	29	84	85	"The Rime of the Ancient Alderman"	Y	Y	N	N
1855	29	100	100	"A Complaint from the Paddle-Box"	N	Y	N	N
1855	29	114	114	"The Bane and the Antidote"	N	Y	N	N
1855	29	223	223	"The Silent Highway"	N	Y	N	N
1856	30	122	122	"Ode to Sir Benjamin Hall"	N	Y	N	N

1856	30	244	244	"Eau, Eau, What Can the Matter Be?"	N	Y	N	N	N
1856	30 (Almanack)			"An Insanitary Commundrum"	N	Y	N	N	N
1856	31	93	93	"Save us From Our Friends"	N	Y	N	N	N
1856	31	200	200	"The Two Bens"	N	Y	N	N	N
1857	33	27	27	"The River and its Rulers"	N	Y	N	N	N
1857	33	30	30	"Dirty River, Dirty River"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	34	19	19	"Anything but Transporting"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	34	250	250	"The Last Wish"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	34	253	253	"Piff-piff! An Ode to the Thames"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	34	254	255	"Punch's Essence of Parliament"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	2	2	"Mr Punch, Perspiring, debateth of Dinner"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	4	4	"The Thames in its true Colours"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	7	7	"To the Thames (after Tennyson)"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	8	8	"An Open Question"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	8	8	"The Song of the Dying Swan to the Thames"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	9	9	"The House Moved by the Thames"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	11	11	"Mutato Nomine de Fabula Narratur"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	11	11	"Delicacies of the River"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	12	12	"Our Nasal Benefactors"	Y	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	13	13	"Punch's Essence of Parliament"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	14	14	"Why is the Thames like a Confirmed Sot?"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	15	15	"The 'Silent Highway' Man"	N	Y	Y	Y	N
1858	35	20	20	"Flow on Thou Stinking River"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	20	20	"The Queen on the River"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	21	21	"Summoning an Evil Spirit"	N	Y	N	N	Y
1858	35	22	22	"Committee on the Thames"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	22	22	"Encouragement of Pestilence"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	27	27	"Scented Salts"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	27	27	"The Meeting of the Waters"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	29	29	"Self-Conserving Conservers"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	31	31	"A Nice New Feast for the Calendar"	N	Y	N	N	N

1858	35	31	31	"Non Redolet Sed Olet, Nec Redolere Solet"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	32	32	"The MP En Permanence"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	32	32	"Moto for the Thames Abuses"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	32	32	"The Giaour's Potion"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	33	33	"Punch's Essence of Parliament"	N	Y	N	N	Y
1858	35	38	38	"Maine Law"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	41	41	"Call a Spade a Spade"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	47	47	"Change of Name"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	48	48	"Science and Smell"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	49	49	"The Beginning of the End"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	49	49	"As Clear as Thames Mud"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	49	49	"Geographical Contradiction"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	49	49	"Geographical Parallel"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	51	51	"Effects of the Thames Water on the Pretty White Swans"	Y	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	70	70	"Source of the Thames"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	81	81	"The Scentral Board"	N	Y	N	N	Y
1858	35	84	84	"Flowing Comparisons"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	89	89	"The Scentral Board"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	95	95	"The Scentral Board"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	102	102	"Some French Fun"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	124	124	"The Thames as it Should Be"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	135	135	"The Growth of London"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	141	141	"The Book of the Thames"	N	Y	N	N	N

Appendix Five
Keyword Query "Father Thames"

Year	Volume	Start Page	End Page	Title	Image	Text	Main Cut	Initial Letter
1842	2	178	178	"The Thames"	Y	Y	N	N
1842	3	165	165	"The Thames and Its Tributaries"	Y	Y	N	N
1848	15	136	136	"Ode on the Thames"	N	Y	N	N
1848	15	151	151	"Dirty Father Thames"	N	Y	Y	N
1848	15	155	155	"Here's To You"	N	Y	N	N
1849	16 (Almanack)			"Political Pantomines"	Y	N	N	N
1849	17	179	179	"A Bargee's Ballad"	N	Y	N	N
1849	17	184	184	"Father Thames and his Royal Visitors"	N	Y	N	N
1849	17	209	209	"The Great Unwashed"	N	Y	N	N
1849	17	228	228	"The Sad Fate of the Civic Narcissus"	N	Y	N	N
1850	18	13	13	"The Threatened Inundation"	N	Y	N	N
1850	18	19	19	"The High-Tides Hoax"	N	Y	N	N
1850	18 (Almanack)			"Sanitary and Insanitary Matters"	Y	Y	N	N
1850	19	78	78	"Down Go the Bridges, Oh!"	N	Y	N	N
1850	19	125	125	"Turn on, Old Thames"	N	Y	N	N
1851	21	184	184	"What is the Water-Baliff?"	N	Y	N	N
1852	23	52	52	"Those Who Run May Smell"	N	Y	N	N
1852	23	128	128	"Father Thames's Epitaph"	N	Y	N	N
1852	23	238	238	"The Freaks of Father Thames"	Y	Y	N	N
1853	25	235	235	"Visit of the Thames and Medway to the Royal Commissioners of the City"	N	Y	N	N
1854	26	150	150	"The Tide of Opposition"	N	Y	N	N
1855	29	23	24	"Punch's Essence of Parliament"	N	Y	N	N
1855	29	27	27	"Faraday Giving His Card To Father Thames"	N	Y	Y	N

1855	29	35	35	"Why Abuse the Thames?"	N	Y	N	N	N
1855	29	50	50	"Dirty Old Father Thames"	N	Y	N	N	N
1855	29	51	51	"Go to Bath"	N	Y	N	N	N
1855	29	59	59	"An Appointment 'Sewer Generis'"	N	Y	N	N	N
1855	29	65	65	"A Disgraceful Abettor of Intemperance"	N	Y	N	N	Y
1855	29	75	75	"Latin for Thames"	N	Y	N	N	N
1855	29	76	76	"Thames' Prizes"	N	Y	N	N	N
1856	31	232	232	"The Londoner's Petition"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	5	5	"Father Thames Introducing his Offspring to the Fair City of London"	N	Y	Y	N	N
1858	35	10	10	"The Humble Petition of Father Thames"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	12	12	"Our Nasal Benefactors"	Y	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	22	22	"Encouragement of Pestilence"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	23	23	"Punch's Essence of Parliament"	N	Y	N	N	Y
1858	35	28	28	"To the Lords and Commons"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	29	29	"Self-Conserving Conservers"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	33	33	"Punch's Essence of Parliament"	N	Y	N	N	Y
1858	35	41	41	"How Dirty Old Father Thames was Whitewashed"	Y	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	42	43	"Punch's Essence of Parliament"	N	Y	N	N	Y
1858	35	47	47	"How Father Thames Appeared to the Cabinet on the Road to the Whitebait Dinner and What he Said to Them"	N	Y	N	N	N
1858	35	71	71	"Slow but Sewer"	N	Y	N	N	Y
1858	35	81	81	"The Scentral Board"	N	Y	N	N	Y

Appendix Six
Parliamentary Papers Relating to Public Health 1823 – 1859
<http://parlipapers.chadwyck.co.uk>

DATE	TITLE
1823	(542) Select Committee on Powers of Coms. of Sewers in Metropolis. Report, Minutes of Evidence
1828	(145) Com. for inquiring into State of Supply of Water to Metropolis; Correspondence between Coms. and Home Dept.
1828	(267) Royal Com. on State of Supply of Water in Metropolis. Report, Appendix
1828	(567) Select Committee on system of supplying Water to Metropolis. Report, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix
1830	(148) Communications between Home Office and Chairman of Committee to Investigate Supply of Water to Metropolis, and Water Companies
1834	(571) Select Committee on Supply of Pure Water to Metropolis, Report, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix
1834	(584) Select Committee on Metropolis Sewers, Report, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix
1839	(132) Bill to consolidate and amend Laws relating to Sewers
1839	(308) Bill to consolidate and amend Laws relating to Sewers, as amended by Committee
1839	(480) Bill for better Regulation of Metropolis Sewers
1840	Session 1 (134) Bill to amend Act to amend Laws relating to Sewers
1840	(94) Bill to consolidate and amend Laws relating to Sewers: as amended by Committee
1840	(354) Select Committee of House of Lords on Supply of Water to Metropolis, Report, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix
1840	(384) Select Committee on Health of Towns, Report, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, Index
1841	Session 1 (350) Bill for better Drainage of Towns and Villages
1842	(006) Coms. on Sanatory Condition of Labouring Population of Great Britain Report, Appendices
1842	(007) Coms. on Sanatory Condition of Labouring Population of Great Britain: Local Reports on England
1842	(327) Select Committee on Improvement of Health of towns: Report on Effect of Interment of Bodies in Towns, Minutes of Evidence
1843	(139) Com. for inquiring into most effectual Means of improving Metropolis and providing Increased Facilities of Communication
1843	[509] Coms. on Sanatory Condition of Labouring Population of Great Britain: Supplementary Report on Result of Special Inquiry into Practice of Interment in Towns, by E. Chadwick
1844	[572] Royal Com. for inquiring into State of Large Towns and Populous Districts. First Report, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, Index
1845	[602] [610] Royal Com. for inquiring into State of Large Towns and Populous Districts: Second Report, Minutes of Evidence,

	Appendices
1846	(308) Report of sir H. De la Beche, G. Stephenson and L. Playfair, on Metropolitan Sewage Manure Company
1846	(338) Statement to Coms. Of Woods and Forests, respecting Metropolitan Sewage Manure Company
1846	(474) Select Committee to consider Plans for application of Sewage of Metropolis to Agricultural Purposes, Report, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, Index
1847	(86) Bill for Consolidating Acts authorizing Making of Waterworks for supplying Towns with Water
1847	(112) Bill for Consolidating Acts authorizing Making of Waterworks for supplying Towns with Water: (as amended by Committee)
1847	(201) Bill for consolidating Acts for paving, draining, cleansing, lighting and improving Towns
1847	(265) Bill for Consolidating Acts authorizing Making of Waterworks for supplying Towns with Water: (Amendments by Lords)
1847	(341) Bill for consolidating Acts for paving, draining, cleansing, lighting and improving Towns: (as amended by Select Committee)
1847	(504) Select Committee on Thames Conservancy (Re-committed) Bill, Report, Resolutions, Minutes of Proceedings, and Bill, as amended
1847	(614) Bill to provide for Conservation of River Thames and Regulation, Management and Improvement (as amended by Committee, on Re-commitment, and on Second Re-commitment)
1847	(623) Committee on Thames Conservancy Bill, Minutes of Proceedings
1847	(640) Select Committee on Smithfield Market, Report, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, Index
1847-48	(533) Bill to consolidate Metropolitan Coms. of Sewers
1847-48	(637) Bill to consolidate Metropolitan Coms. of Sewers as amended by Committee
1847-48	[888][895] Royal Com. on Improvement of Health of Metropolis. First Report; Minutes of Evidence
1847-48	[911][921] Royal Com. on Improvement of Health of Metropolis; Second Report; Minutes of Evidence
1847-48	[979] Royal Com. on Improvement of Health of Metropolis: Third Report
1849	(338) Bill for further amending Laws relating to Sewers
1849	(420) Select Committee on Smithfield Market: Report, Proceedings, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, Index
1849	(492) Bill for confirming certain Provisional Orders of General Board of Health, and other Matters relative to Public Health, and Improvement of Towns
1849	(511) Bill to amend Metropolitan Sewers Act
1849	(545) Bill for confirming certain Provisional Orders of General Board of Health, and other Matters relative to Public Health, and Improvement of Towns: (as amended by Committee)
1849	[1115] Report by General Board of Health on Measure for execution of Nuisances Removal and Diseases Prevention Act, and Public

	Health Act, to July 1849
1850	(19) Com. for inquiring into Smithfield Market, and Markets in City of London for Sale of Meat
1850	(403) Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders of General Board of Health
1850	(463) Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders of General Board of Health: as amended by Committee
1850	(506) Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders of General Board of Health, and for other purposes in relation to Public Health Act, 1848
1850	(673) Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders of General Board of Health: as amended by Committee
1850	(678) Letter To City Remembrancer, June 1850, enclosing Report of Smithfield Market Coms.
1850	(683) Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders of General Board of Health, and for other purposes in relation to Public Health Act, 1848: Amendments
1850	[1140] Extract Minute from Proceedings of General Board of Health, February 1850, respecting Supply of Water to Metropolis by proposed new Companies
1850	[1217] Royal Com. to make Inquiries relating to Smithfield Market, and Markets in City of London for Sale of Meat, Report
1850	[1218] Report by General board of Health on Supply of Water to Metropolis
1850	[1273] [1274] [1275] General Board of Health, Report on Epidemic Cholera 1848 and 1849, Maps and Diagrams; appendix (A.) by Doctor Sutherland; Appendix (B.) by Mr. Grainger
1850	[1281][1282][1283][1284] Report on Supply of Water to Metropolis. Appendix I, Returns to Queries to Metropolitan Water Companies; Appendix II, Engineering Reports and Evidence, Plans and diagrams; Appendix III, Report and Evidence, Medical, Chemical, Geological and Miscellaneous; Plans; Appendix IV. Cesspool System in Paris
1851	(60) Bill for providing Metropolitan Market in lieu of Cattle Market at Smithfield
1851	(157) Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders of General Board of Health: as amended by Committee
1851	(249) Bill for Better Supply of Water to Metropolis
1851	(363) Bill for constituting Coms. For Supply of Water to Metropolis
1851	(371) Bill for providing Metropolitan Market in lieu of Cattle Market at Smithfield: as amended by Select Committee
1851	(376) Select Committee on Smithfield Market Removal bill, Report, Proceedings, Minutes of Evidence, Index
1851	(560) Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders of General Board of Health: as amended by Committee
1851	(578) Bill to continue and amend Metropolitan Sewers Acts
1851	(613) Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders of General Board of Health: as amended by Committee
1851	(643) Select Committee on Metropolis Water Bills: Minutes of Evidence, Index

1852	(33) Bill to make better provision respecting Supply of Water to Metropolis
1852	(35) Bill for vesting Water Supply and Drainage of Metropolis in Coms. representing Inhabitants
1852	(65) Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders of General Board of Health: as amended by Committee
1852	(313) Bill to make better provision respecting Supply of Water to Metropolis: (as amended by Select Committee)
1852	(395) (395-1) Select Committee on Metropolis Water Supply Bill, Minutes of Evidence (Chelsea Waterworks) (New River, Lee River, E. London Waterworks, Wandle Water and Sewage Bills)
1852	(445) Bill to continue and amend Metropolitan Sewers Acts
1852	(494) Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders of General Board of Health: as amended by Committee
1852	(527) Select Committee on Metropolis Water Bills: Minutes of Evidence
1852-53	(56) Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders of General Board of Health: as amended by Committee
1852-53	(123) Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders of General Board of Health: (as amended in Committee)
1852-53	(167) Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders of General Board of Health: (as amended in Committee, and on Consideration of Bill as amended)
1852-53	(541) Letters and Resolutions of Coms. on Great London Drainage Scheme; Reports by J. Simpson on Victoria-Street Sewer; Plans
1852-53	(629) (629-1) Select Committee on Great London Drainage Bill. Minutes of Evidence, Index
1852-53	(667) Return from Metropolitan Com. of Sewers of Sums expended for Works, Local Supervision and Compensation Damages
1852-53	(668) Reports of Mr. Bazalgette to Metropolitan Com. of Sewers on Application, State and Examination of Tubular-pipe Drains or Sewers
1852-53	(765) Bill to continue and amend Metropolitan Sewers Acts
1852-53	(810) Return of Debt and Liabilities of Metropolitan Com. of Sewers
1852-53	(905) Bill to establish Metropolitan Board of Sewers, and to effect more perfect System of Sewerage and Drainage of London
1854	(83) Correspondence on Removal of Smithfield Market, between St. Bartholomew's Hospital, Coms. of Woods and Treasury
1854	(84) Reports from Engineers to Metropolitan Sewers Coms. on Sewage Interception and Main Drainage of Districts N. and S. of River Thames
1854	(180) Reports and Communications by Board of Health to Secretary of State for Home Dept., on Drainage of Metropolis; Correspondence, Plans and Estimates
1854	(192) Bill to continue and amend Metropolitan Sewers Acts
1854	(238) Bill to continue and amend Metropolitan Sewers Acts: as amended in Committee
1854	[1768] Report of General Board of Health on Administration of Public Health Act, and Nuisances Removal and Diseases Prevention

	Acts, 1848 - 54
1854	[1772] Royal Com. to inquire into State of Corporation of City of London. Report, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, Index
1854	[1776] Reports of Metropolitan Water Companies
1854-55	(125) Reports of Metropolitan Water Companies
1854-55	(125-1) Report of Lambeth Waterworks Company
1854-55	(255) Letters to General Board of Health, complaining of Omission of any Notice of Returns, in relation to Treatment of Cholera; Correspondence between President of Board and Medical Council
1854-55	(282) Reports of surveyors of Metropolitan Coms. of Sewers as to Difficulties in executing Improved Works of House-Drainage and Water Supply
1854-55	[1893] Letter of President of General Board of Health to Secretary of State for Home Dept.: Report from Doctor Sutherland on Epidemic Cholera in Metropolis, 1854
1854-55	[1980] Committee for Scientific Inquiries. Report in relation to Cholera Epidemic of 1854
1854-55	[1989] Report of Medical Council to President of General Board of Health, in relation to Cholera Epidemic of 1854
1854-55	[1990] Report on Results of Methods of Treatment pursued in Epidemic Cholera in England and Scotland in 1854, Supplemental to Metropolitan Report by Treatment Committee of Medical Council
1854-55	[1996] Committee for Scientific Inquiries: Appendix to Report in relation to Cholera Epidemic of 1854
1856	(77) Bill for better Regulation of Corporation of City of London
1856	[2103] Report on last two Cholera Epidemics of London, as affected by Consumption of Impure Water, by J. Simon
1856	[2115] Treasury Committee to inquire into Appropriation of site of Smithfield, and Establishment of new Metropolitan Meat Market, Report
1856	[2103] Report on last two Cholera Epidemics of London, as affected by Consumption of Impure Water, by J Simon
1856	[2137] Reports to President of General Board of Health on Metropolitan Water Supply, under provisions of Metropolitan Water Act
1857	Session 1 (17) Report to First Com. of works by Cmdr. Burstal, on State of River Thames from Putney to Rotherhithe, January 1857
1857	Session 1 [2203] Report to President of General Board of Health on Microscopical Examination of Metropolitan Water Supply, under Metropolitan Water Act
1857	Session 2 (234) Report of Metropolitan Board of Works, 1856-57
1857	Session 2 (257) Correspondence on State of River Thames, and Pollution of Atmosphere on Banks of Thames and Houses of Parliament
1857-58	(8) Bill for better Regulation of Corporation of City of London
1857-58	(13) Letter from Metropolitan Board of Works to Sir B. Hall containing Objections to Plan for Main Drainage of Metropolis in Report

	of July 1857
1857-58	(21) Report of G. Gurney to First Com. of Works, on State of Thames in Neighbourhood of Houses of Parliament
1857-58	(25) Communication from Metropolitan Board of Works to First Com. of works, requesting further Information relative to Plan for Main Drainage of Metropolis
1857-58	(86) Bill for better Regulation of Corporation of City of London: as amended by Select Committee
1857-58	(88) Bill for vesting in Privy Council certain Powers for Protection of Public Health
1857-58	(149) Bill for vesting in Privy Council certain Powers for Protection of Public Health; as amended in Committee
1857-58	(216) Bill to alter and amend Metropolis Local Management Act, 1855, and to extend Powers of Metropolitan Board of Works for Purification of Thames and Main Drainage of Metropolis: (Lords' Amendment)
1857-58	(273) Select Committee on London Corporation Regulation Bill, Minutes of Proceedings
1857-58	(336) Return of Balance of Monies paid by Com. of Sewers to Metropolitan Board of Works; sums assessed and received from Parishes, and sums expended, 1855-58
1857-58	(350) Abstract of Receipts and Expenditure of Corporation of City of London; Amount of Debt due by Corporation, January 1854-58
1857-58	(403) Letter from Government Referees for Main Drainage of Metropolis
1857-58	(419) Report to Metropolitan Board of Works by Messrs. Hawksley, Bidder and Bazalgette, 1858; Plans
1857-58	(442) Select Committee to consider Mr. Gurney's Report on River Thames, Report, Proceedings, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, Index
1857-58	(471) Observations of Messrs. Bidder, Hawksley and Bazalgette on answer of Government Referees to their Report relative to Metropolitan Main Drainage
1857-58	(515) Report of Metropolitan Board of Works, 1857-58
1857-58	[2372] Royal Com. to inquire into Best Mode of distributing Sewage of Towns. Preliminary Report
1857-58	[2415] Papers relative to Sanitary State of People of England (Results of Inquiry into Proportions of Death produced by Diseases in different Districts in England, by E.H. Greenhow)
1859	Session 1 (26) Letter from government Referees for Main Drainage of Metropolis, on Observation of Messrs, Bidder, Hawksley and Bazalgette
1859	Session 2 (227) Return of Communications, Proposals, Tenders and Resolutions for preventing Sewage of Metropolis from passing into River Thames within Metropolis, 1857-59
1859	Session 2 (235) (235-1) Returns relative to Operations for preventing Occurrence of Noisome Effluvia from River Thames; from Metropolitan Waterworks Companies of Daily Quantities of Water delivered in 1858-59; Communications as to embanking River Thames

Appendix Seven
Legislation Relating to Public Health 1841 – 1858
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DATE	CHAPTER/SECTION	TITLE OF ACT	CHAPTER HEADINGS/CLAUSES
1841	c.45 s. XII	Sewers Act	Regulating Meetings of Commissioners of Sewers
	c.45 s. XIII		Saving Powers of Courts of Sewers
	c.45 s. XV		This Act not to prejudice any local Act
	c.45 s. XVI		Saving the Rights of the City of London
1842	c.19 s. XLII	Hyde Park Act	Saving the Rights of Commissioners of Sewers
1844	c.84 s. LI	Metropolitan Building Act	Drainage of Houses Making Drains according to Schedule (H). Penalties Communications with Sewers Saving Powers of Commissioners of Sewers
1846	c.96	Nuisances Removal, etc. Act	
	c.96 s. V		Privy Council, &c. in England and Ireland, empowered to issue Orders at any Time to prevent the spreading of contagious or epidemic Diseases.
	c.96 s. VII		Penalty for Violation of Orders
1847	c.14 s. XV	Markets and Fair Clauses Act	Penalty for selling or exposing for sale unwholesome Meat, &c.. Penalty on obstructing Inspector
	c.14 s. XIX		Penalty on slaughtering Cattle, &c. elsewhere than in an authorised Slaughter –houses
	c.14 s. XX		Inspector may enter and inspect Slaughter-houses
	c.14 s. XLII		The Undertakers may from Time to Time make such Bye Laws as they think fit for all or any of the following Purposes; (that is to say, For regulating the Use of the Market Place and Fair, and the Buildings, Stalls, Pens, and Standings therein, and for preventing Nuisances or Obstructions therein, or in the immediate Approaches thereto:
1847	c.17 s. XXXV	Waterworks Clauses	A constant Supply of Water to be kept for domestic Purposes at high Pressure – unless

		Act	it be provided by the Special Act that the water to be supplied by the Undertakers need not be constantly laid on under Pressure
	c.17 s. XXXVII		Supply of Water to be kept for cleansing Sewers, Drains, &c, and for other public Purposes
	c. 17 s. XLIII		Penalty for Refusal to fix, &c. Fire-plugs, or occasional Failure of Supply of Water
	c.17 s. LIII		Supply of Water for domestic Purposes – “to demand and receive from the Undertakers a sufficient Supply of Water for his domestic Purposes.
	c.17 s. LVIII		Penalty for allowing Persons to use the Undertakers Water
	c.17 s. LXVIII		Rates to be payable according to the Value of the Premises – “paid by and recoverable from the Person requiring, receiving, or using the Supply of Water
1847	c.34 s. XIII	Towns Improvement Clauses Act	Commissioners to cause a Map of the District within the Limits of the special Act to be made, and to be open to Inspection – “to be marked thereon the Course of all the existing Sewers and Drains belonging to them or under their Care or Management
	c.34 s. XVII		Commissioners to cause Plans to be prepared of Alterations of new Works or Alterations of existing Works
	c.34 s. XXII		Management of Sewers and other Works vested in the Commissioners
	c.34 s. XXIII		Drainage Districts to be formed, subject to Approval of Inspector
	c.34 s. XCIV		Commissioners to cause Streets to be watered, and Wells, Pumps &c. to be provided (including Sewers and Drains)
	c.34 s. CIV		Justices may order Nuisances to be abated – “If any Candle-house, Melting-house, Melting-place, or Soap-house, or any Slaughter-house, or any Building or Place for boiling Offal or Blood, or for boiling or crushing Bones, or any Pig-stye, Necessary House, Dunghill, Manure Heap, or any Manufactory, Building, or Place of Business within the Limits of the special Act, be at any Time certified to the Commissioners by the Inspector of Nuisances or Officer of Health, or if for the Time being there be no Inspector of Nuisances or Officer of Health, by any Two Surgeons or Physicians, or One Surgeon and One Physician, to be a Nuisance or injurious to the Health of the Inhabitants, the Commissioners shall direct Complaint to be made before Two Justices; and any Justice may summon before any Two Justices the Person by or on whose Behalf the Work complained of is carried on, and such Justices shall inquire into such

			Complaint, and they may, by an Order in Writing under their Hands, order such Person to discontinue or remedy the Nuisance within such Time as to them shall appear expedient: Provided always, that if it appear to such Justices that in carrying on any Business complained of the best Means then known to be available for mitigating the Nuisance or the injurious Effects of such Business have not been adopted, they may suspend their final Determination, upon Condition that the Person so complained against shall undertake to adopt within a reasonable Time such Means as the said Justices shall judge to be practicable and order to be carried into effect for mitigating or preventing the injurious Effects of such Business.”
	c.34 s. CXXI		Power to Commissioners to construct public Cisterns and Pumps for Supply of Water to Baths and Washhouses. Commissioners not to construct such new Works without Approval
	c.34 s. CXXV		The Commissioners may license such Slaughtering-houses and Knackers Yards as they from Time to Time think proper for slaughtering Cattle within the Limits of the special Act.
	c.34 s. CXXVI		No new Slaughtering-houses in future to be erected without a Licence
	c.34 s. CXXVII		Existing Slaughtering-houses &c. to be registered
	c.34 s. CXXVIII		Commissioners may make Bye Laws for Regulation of Slaughtering-houses, &c.
	c.34 s. CXXIX		Justices may suspend Licence of Slaughtering-houses, &c., in addition to Penalty imposed
	c.34 s. CXXX		Penalty for slaughtering Cattle during Suspension of Licence, &c.
	c.34 s. CXXXI		Officers may enter and inspect Slaughtering-houses, &c.
1847	c.38 s. XVII	Land Drainage Act	Nothing to Affect Rights of Commissioners, &c. of Sewers or Drainage Persons interested in Lands authorized to be drained under any local Act may have the same drained under the Provisions of this Act
1847	c.65 s. XVIII	Cemeteries Clauses Act	Power to make Sewers, Drains, &c. in about the Cemetery
1848	C A P. LXIII	Public Health Act	Parts to which this Act may be applied – “Whereas further and more effectual Provision ought to be made for improving the sanitary Condition of Towns and populous Places in England and Wales, and it is expedient that the Supply of Water to such Towns and Places, and the Sewerage, Drainage, cleansing and paving thereof,

			should, as far as practicable, be placed under one and the same local Management and Control”
	c. 63 s. VIII		Upon Petition of a certain Proportion of Householder, &c., or when the Deaths in any City, &c. appear upon the Registrar General’s Returns to be above a certain Proportion, Superintending Inspector to make local Inquiry – “a Superintending Inspector to visit such City, Town, Borough, Parish, or Place, and to make public inquiry, and to examine Witnesses, as to the Sewerage, Drainage, and Supply of Water, the State of the Burial Grounds, the Number and sanitary Condition of the Inhabitants”
	c. 63 s. X		Cases in which Act shall be put in force by Order of Her Majesty in Council. Cases in which Act shall be put in force by Provisional Order of General Board, and sanctioned by Parliament. Exception with respect to certain Local Acts for supplying Water, Consent of Town Council, &c. in certain Cases
	c.63 s. XL		Power to appoint an Officer of Health. Local Offices. And be it enacted, That the Local Board of Health may from Time to Time, if they shall think fit, appoint a fit and proper Person, being a legally qualified Medical Practitioner or Member of the Medical Profession, to be and be called the Officer of Health, who shall be removable by the said Local Board, and shall perform such Duties as the said General Board shall direct; and the same Person may be Officer of Health for Two or more Districts; and the Local Board or Boards of Health of the District or Districts respectively for which any such Officer is appointed may pay to him, out of the General District Rates to be levied under this Act, such Remuneration by way of annual Salary or otherwise as the said Local Board or Boards may by Order in Writing determine and appoint, and (in case of a joint Appointment for Two or more Districts) in such Proportions as the said General Board may by Order in Writing determine and appoint: Provided always, that the Appointment and Removal of the Officer of Health shall be subject to the Approval of the said General Board.

	c.63 s. XLIII c.63 s. LXI		Sewers, &c. vested in Local Board Slaughter-houses to be registered Slaughter-houses, &c. – “And be it enacted, That every Building or Place used as a Slaughter-house shall, within <u>Three Months</u> after this Act is applied to the District in which it is situate, or, in the Case of a Building or Place newly used as a Slaughter-house after that Time, within <u>Three Months</u> after the Commencement of such User, be registered by the Owner or Occupier thereof at the Office of the said Local Board, in a Book which shall be kept by such Board for that Purpose; and whosoever uses or suffers to be used any Building or Place as a Slaughter-house without its being registered as required by this Act shall be liable for every such Offence to a Penalty not exceeding <u>Five Pounds</u> , and a further Penalty not exceeding <u>Ten Shillings</u> for every Day during the Continuance of the Offence after written Notice thereof from the said Local Board.”
	c.63 LXII		Local Board may provide Slaughter-houses, and make Bye Laws with respect to Slaughter-houses in general – “And be it enacted, That the Local Board of Health may from Time to Time, if they shall think fit, provide Premises for the Purpose of being used as Slaughter-houses; and they shall make Bye Laws for and with respect to the Management and Charges for the Use of the Premises so provided, and with respect to the Inspection of all Slaughter-houses, and for keeping the same in a cleanly and proper State: Provided always, that nothing herein contained shall prejudice or affect the Rights, Privileges, Powers, or Authorities of any Persons incorporated by any Local Act of Parliament passed before the passing of this Act for the Purpose of making and maintaining Slaughter-houses for the Accommodation of any City, Town, Borough, or Place.”
	c.63 LXIII		Power to Inspector of Nuisances to enter Places used for Sale of Butcher’s Meat &c. Slaughter-houses &c. – “And be it enacted, That the Inspector of Nuisances may, and he is hereby empowered, at all reasonable <u>Times</u> , with or without Assistants, to enter into and inspect any Shop, Building, Stall, or Place kept or used for the Sale of Butcher’s Meat, Poultry, or Fish, or as a Slaughter-house, and to examine any Animal, Carcase, Meat, Poultry, Game, Flesh, or Fish which may be therein; and in case any

		Animal, Carcase, Meat, Poultry, Game, Flesh, or Fish appear to him to be intended for the Food of Man, and to be unfit for such Food, the same may be seized; and if it appear to a Justice, upon the Evidence of a competent Person, that any such Animal, Carcase, Meat, Poultry, Game, Flesh, or Fish is unfit for the Food of Man, he shall order the same to be destroyed, or to be so disposed of as to prevent its being exposed for Sale or used for such Food; and the Person to whom such Animal, Carcase, Meat, Poultry, Game, Flesh, or Fish belongs, or in whose Custody the same is found, shall be liable to a Penalty not exceeding Ten Pounds for every Animal or Carcase, Fish, or Piece of Meat, Flesh, or Fish, or any Poultry or Game, so found, which Penalty may be recovered before Two Justices in the Manner herein-after provided with respect to Penalties the Recovery whereof is not expressly provided for.”
	c.63 s. LXXV	Local Board to provide sufficient Supplies of Water, and may erect Waterworks, &c. Supply of Water. Water may be kept constantly under Pressure. Local Board not to construct Waterworks, &c. if any Waterworks Company within their District be able and willing to supply Water under Terms
	c.63 s. LXXVI	Local Board may require that Houses be supplied with Water, &c. in certain Cases
	c.63 s. LXXVII	ONUS ON OCCUPIER – SUBJECT TO FINES
	c.63 s. LXXVIII	Water for public Baths, or trading or manufacturing Purposes – by the Local Board of Health “if they shall think fit”
	c.63 s. LXXX	Maintenance and Construction of public Cisterns for gratuitous Use – “Inhabitants to be continued, maintained and plentifully supplied with Water” Penalties on Persons for causing Water in Reservoirs to be fouled; “any Stream, Reservoir, Conduit, Aqueduct, or other Waterworks under the Management or Control of the Local Board of Health” – there shall not be any “cause to enter therein any Animal, Rubbish, Filth, Stuff, or Thing of any Kind whatsoever, or shall cause or permit or suffer to run or be brought therein the Water of any Sink, Sewer, Drain, Engine, or Boiler, or other
	c.63 s. XCIII	Water Rate
	c.63 s. XCIV	Water Rate payable in advance Power to stop Water in case of Nonpayment of Rates

1848	c.107 s. XXI		Contagious Disorders (Sheep), etc. Act	Act not to effect the Rights &c of the City of London
1848	c.112		Metropolitan Commissioners of Sewers Act	An Act to consolidate and continue in force for Two Years and to the end of the then next session of Parliament, the Metropolitan Commissions of Sewers
	c.112 s. IV			Lord Mayor and Four Persons, being Members of the Common Council, to be appointed Commissioners in the Act
	c.112 s. XII			Lord Mayor and Persons appointed by common Council may Vote on Questions affecting the City of London: such questions to be discussed only at Special Courts, and Notice to be given thereof -
	c.112 s. XXXIX			Commissioners of Sewers for the City of London to execute Works required by the Commissioners under this Act
	c. 112 s. XL			How Expenses of Works required to be executed in the City of London are to be paid
	c.112 s. XLIII			If Commissioners of Sewers for the City of London do not execute the Works required the Commissioners under this Act to execute them
	c.112 s. LXVI			Power to purchase Lands &c. and contract for Supply of Water
				Power to Commissioners to purchase Lands, &c. for the Purposes of this Act; and to contract with any Company for Supply of Water
1848	c.123 Preamble		Nuisances Removal, etc, Act	An Act to renew and amend an Act of the Tenth Year of Her present Majesty, for the more speedy Removal of certain Nuisances, and the Prevention of contagious and epidemic Diseases
	c.123 s. V			Not to apply to Districts and Places in which the Public Health Act is in force
	c.123 s. VII			Drainage into open Ditches from new Houses a Misdemeanour, &c.
	c.123 s. IX			Privy Council, &c. empowered to issue Orders for putting in force the Provisions of this Act relative to the Prevention of epidemic Disease &c.
	c.123 s. X			After Order by Privy Council, General Board of Health, &c. may issue Directions and Regulations.
	c.123 s. XI			One Medical Member of General Board of Health may be appointed
	c.123 s. XII			Poor Law Commissioners, &c. may compel, Guardians, &c. to execute Regulations

			and Directions of the General Board of Health, &c.
	c.123 s. XIII		Power of Entry for the Purpose of enforcing Regulations of the General Board of Health, &c.
	c.123 s. XVI		Penalties for obstructing Execution of this Act
	c.123 s. XXIV		Act may be amended, &c.
1849	c.50 Preamble	Sewers Act	Powers to Commissions of Sewers to partition Districts into Sub-Districts
	c.50 s. II		Power to Commissioners to make a separate Rate for each District
	c.50 s. VI		Power to Commissioners to impose Fines not exceeding 40s
	c.50 s. VII		For Recovery of Sewer Rates and Fines
1849	c.93	Metropolitan Sewers Amendment Act	Metropolitan Commissioners of Sewers Act to be called The Metropolitan Sewers Act 1848 amended by The Metropolitan Sewers Amendment Act 1849
	c.93 II		Provision for Cases where Parts within existing Commissions are included in Metropolitan Commission
	c.93 s. XVIII		Act of 1848 and this Act to be One Act – ‘Note, this act is listed in the Chronological Table of Statutes as the Metropolitan Sewers Act, 1849
1849	c.111 Preamble	Nuisances Removal and Diseases Prevention Amendment Act	This Act to be construed with Nuisances Removal and Diseases Prevention Act 1848, as One Act
	c.111 s. II		Power to summon Witnesses, &c. in certain Cases
	c.111 s. III		Secretary of Board of Health may institute and carry on Prosecution for Violation or Neglect of Regulations
	c.111 s. VI		Guardians of the Poor, &c. may take certain Proceedings upon the Certificate of Medical or Relieving Officer
	c.111 s. VIII		Guardians of Unions or Parochial Boards may charge Expenses of removing Nuisances on Parishes, &c. where Premises situated
	c.111 s. IX		General Board of Health may cause Inquiry into State of Burial Grounds, and may direct Measures of Precaution
	c.111 s. X		Where Churchyard is dangerous to Health Churchwardens may agree for the Burial of Parishioners in the Ground of any Cemetery Company or in the Burial Ground of any

			other Parish
	c.111 s. XI		General Board of Health may direct Inquiries, where it may be expedient to inhibit Interment
1850	c.111 s. XII c.33 s. XLVIII	Police (Scotland) Act	Upon Report, Board of Health may frame a Scheme for providing new Burial Grounds Powers and Duties of Commissioners MORE COMPREHENSIVE VERSION OF THE 1848 ACT IN ENGLAND – LINK TO JURISPRUDENCE PRECEDENT AT THE UNIVERISTY – A COMPLETE SYSTEM OF MEDICAL POLICE
	c.33 s. CXLIX c.33 s. CLV		Commissioners to cause Streets to be watered, and Wells, Pumps &c. to be provided Beds of running Streams to be kept clear
	c.33 s. CLXXVI c.33 s. CCXCIV		Commissioners may make Bye Laws for Regulation of Slaughter-houses, &c. Power to Commissioners to construct public Cisterns and Pumps for Supply of Water to Baths and Wash-houses
	c.33 s. CCXCV c.33 s. CCXXVI		Commissioners may contract for Water For ascertaining Price to be paid for Water in case of Dispute
	c.33 s. CCXCVIII		Commissioners may provide Supplies of Water, and erect Water-works, &c. Water may be kept constantly under Pressure. Commissioner not to construe Waterworks &c. if any Waterworks Company within the Burgh be able and willing to supply Water upon Terms
	c.33 s. CCXCIX c.33 s. CCC		Service Pipes to be laid by Owners Water to be used only for domestic and ordinary Purposes unless by Agreement with the Commissioners
	c.33 s. CCCII		Penalties on Persons for causing Water in Reservoirs to be fouled;
1851	c.61 s. IV	Metropolitan Market Act	Commissioners to provide for the Supply of Water and Drainage – “the Commissioners shall cause the said Market Places, Slaughter-houses, and Lairs to be sufficiently drained
	c.61 s. X		Commissioners to report to Secretary of when Markets provided who is to publish Notice thereof, and of closing of Smithfield, in London Gazette – “an no new Market for the Sale of Cattle or Horses shall be opened in the City of London or Westminster, or the Liberties therefore, or the Borough of Southwark, or at any Place distant less

1851	c.75		Metropolitan Sewers Act	than Seven Miles in a straight line from Saint Paul's Cathedral in the City of London
1852	c.64 s. III		Metropolitan Sewers Act	Metropolitan Sewers Act (11 & 12 Vict. c.112, 12&13 Vict. c.93) to continue in force for One year
1852	c.85 s. XLIII		Burial Act	Metropolitan Sewers Acts continued till 7 th August 1853
1852	c.84 s. I		Metropolis Water Act	The Commissioners of Sewers of the City of London to be a Burial Board for the parishes in the City and its Liberties - Restriction as to Sources of Supply of Water to the Metropolis – from 31 August 1855
	c.84 s. V			Company to give Notice to Board of Trade before resorting to new Sources of Supply, who may appoint an Inspector to report
	c.84 s. VIII			If Board of Trade disapprove, Company not to use new Source of Supply
	c.84 s. XV			Provision for constant Supply of Water by every Company – “after the Expiration of Five Years from the passing of this Act, every Company shall, subject to the Provisions of the Special Act relating to such Company, provide and keep, in the District Mains already laid down or hereafter to be laid by them, a constant Supply of pure and wholesome Water sufficient for the domestic Use of the Inhabitants of all Houses supplied by such Company, at such Pressure as will make the Water reach the top Story of the highest of such Houses”
	c.84 s. XXIII			Cisterns, &c. to be constructed to prevent Waste, or the Flow or Return of impure Matter into the Mains, &c.
	c.84 s. XXVII			Parish Officers, with Consent of Vestry, may require Inhabitants to procure Supply of Water
1853	c.125 s. I		Metropolitan Sewers Act	Metropolitan Sewers Act continued till 7 th August 1854
1854	c.111 s. I		Metropolitan Sewers Act	Metropolitan Sewers Act continued till 31 st August 1855
1855	c.30 Preamble		Metropolitan Sewers Act	An Act to empower the Commissioners of Sewers to expend on House Drainage a certain sum out of the Monies borrowed by them on the Security of the Rates, and also to give to the said Commissioners certain other Powers for the same Purpose

1855	c.120 s. LXXIII	Metropolis Management Act	Vestry or District Board in certain Cases may compel Owners, &c. of Houses to construct Drains into the Common Sewer Penalty on Owner, &c. for Neglect No House to be built without Drains constructed to the Satisfaction of the Vestry or District Board
	c.120 s. LXXV		Penalty on erecting or rebuilding Houses without proper Waterclosets, &c. Power to Vestry, &c. to require Owners, &c. to provide sufficient Waterclosets, &c. If Owners fail, Vestry &c. to cause the Work to be done at their Expense
	c.120 s. LXXXI		Power for Vestries and District Boards to authorize Inspection of Drains, Privies, and Cesspools
	c.120 s. LXXXII		Penalty on Persons improperly making or altering Drains
	c.120 s. LXXXIII		As to the watering of Streets – “to be watered as often as they think fit”
	c.120 s. CXVI		Main Sewers vested in the Metropolitan Board of Works, and Power to such Board to make Sewers – “The Sewers mentioned in Schedule (D.) to this Act, being the Main Sewers now vested in Metropolitan Commissioners of Sewers respectively . . . shall be vested in the Metropolitan Board of Works”
	c.120 s. CXXXV		Powers of Metropolitan Commissioners of Sewers to cease
	c.120 s. CXLV		Property vested in Metropolitan Commissioners of Sewers (except Sewers transferred to Vestries and District Boards) transferred to Metropolitan Board of Works
	c.120 s. CXLVIII		Power to Metropolitan Board, or any One authorized by them, to inspect Rates made for County or Part of County within the Metropolis
	c.120 s. CLXXI		Payment of Sums assessed upon the City – “The Chamberlain of the City of London shall, out of any Monies in the Chamber of the said City, pay to the Treasurer of the Metropolitan Board of Works, or otherwise as they may direct, the sums required by their Precepts
	c.120 s. CLXXIII		Nothing in this Act shall divest the Commissioners of Sewers of the City of London of any Powers or Property vested in them in relation to such Parts of any of the Parishes mentioned in Schedule (B.) to this Act as are within the City of London, nor shall such Parts be subject to be rated or assessed by an District Board, but shall be subject to all the Powers of the Metropolitan Board of Works as other Places in the City of London.
	c.120 s. CCXXII		

1855	c.121 s. III	Nuisances Removal Act for England	The Local Authority to execute this Act in Places as herein stated.
	c.121 s. VIII		<p>The word 'Nuisance' under this Act shall include-</p> <p>Any Premises in such a State as to be a Nuisance or injurious to Health:</p> <p>Any Pool, Ditch, Gutter, Watercourse, Privy, Urinal, Cesspool, Drain, or Ashpit so foul as to be a Nuisance or injurious to Health:</p> <p>Any animal so kept as to be a Nuisance or injurious to Health:</p> <p>Any Accumulation or Deposit which is a Nuisance or injurious to Health:</p> <p>Provided always, that no such Accumulation or Deposit as shall be necessary for the effectual carrying on of any Business or Manufacture shall be punishable as Nuisance under this Section, when it is proved to the Satisfaction of the Justices that the Accumulation or Deposit has not been kept longer than is necessary for the Purposes of such Business or Manufacture, and that the best available Means have been taken for protecting the Public from Injury to Health thereby.</p>
1857	c.35 Preamble	City of London Burial Act	An Act to amend an Act passed in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Years of the Reign of Her present Majesty Queen Victoria 15+16 Vict. C.85
1858	c.98 s. XLV	Local Government Act	the Powers and Authorities vested in the Burial Boards under the said Act, and have provided and constructed a large and spacious Cemetery in the Parish of Little Ilford in the County of Essex at an expense of Seventy-five thousand pounds
1858	c.98 s. XXV	Local Government Act	Certain Provisions of 10 & 11 Vict c.34. incorporated with this Act – with respect to Precautions during the Construction and Repair of the Sewers, Streets and Houses; with respect to the Supply of Water, except the Proviso thereto; with respect to Slaughter-houses
			Disqualification of Members of Local Boards – (3) It shall be lawful for One of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State to dispense any Case with the Prohibition contained in the Nineteenth Section of the Public Health Act, 1848, by which no Member of a Local Board, being a Shareholder in any Company or Concern established for the Supply of Water, or for the carrying on of any other Works of a like public Nature, is entitled to vote upon any Question in which such Company or

1858	c.104 s. I	Metropolis Management Amendment Act	<p>Concern is interested</p> <p>The Metropolitan Board shall cause to be commenced as soon as may be after the passing of this Act, and to be carried on and completed with all convenient speed according to such Plan as to them may seem proper, the necessary Sewers and Works for the Improvement of the Main Drainage of the Metropolis and for preventing, as far as may be practicable, the sewage of the Metropolis from passing into the River Thames within the Metropolis</p> <p>On complaint of Nuisance, Secretary of State may order Prosecution</p>
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Appendix Eight
Aldermen of the City of London 1840-1858¹

Date	Aldersgate	Aldgate	Billinggate	Bishopsgate
1840	Sir Peter Laurie	Thomas Farncomb	Anthony Brown	William Taylor Copeland
1841	Sir Peter Laurie	Thomas Farncomb	Anthony Brown	William Taylor Copeland
1842	Sir Peter Laurie	Thomas Farncomb	Anthony Brown	William Taylor Copeland
1843	Sir Peter Laurie	Thomas Farncomb	Anthony Brown	William Taylor Copeland
1844	Sir Peter Laurie	Thomas Farncomb	Thomas Sidney Girdler (Sept 26)	William Taylor Copeland
1845	Sir Peter Laurie	Thomas Farncomb	Thomas Sidney Girdler	William Taylor Copeland
1846	Sir Peter Laurie	Thomas Farncomb	Thomas Sidney Girdler	William Taylor Copeland
1847	Sir Peter Laurie	Thomas Farncomb	Thomas Sidney Girdler	William Taylor Copeland
1848	Sir Peter Laurie	Thomas Farncomb	Thomas Sidney Girdler	William Taylor Copeland
1849	Sir Peter Laurie	Thomas Farncomb	Thomas Sidney Girdler	William Taylor Copeland
1850	Sir Peter Laurie	Thomas Farncomb	Thomas Sidney Girdler	William Taylor Copeland
1851	Sir Peter Laurie	Thomas Farncomb	Thomas Sidney Girdler	William Taylor Copeland
1852	Sir Peter Laurie	Thomas Farncomb	Thomas Sidney Girdler	William Taylor Copeland
1853	Sir Peter Laurie	Thomas Farncomb	Thomas Sidney Girdler	William Taylor Copeland
1854	Sir Peter Laurie	Thomas Farncomb	Thomas Sidney Girdler	William Taylor Copeland
1855	Sir Peter Laurie	Thomas Farncomb	Thomas Sidney Girdler	William Taylor Copeland
1856	Sir Peter Laurie	Thomas Farncomb	Thomas Sidney Girdler	William Taylor Copeland
1857	Sir Peter Laurie	Thomas Farncomb	Thomas Sidney Girdler	William Taylor Copeland
1858	Sir Peter Laurie	Thomas Farncomb	Thomas Sidney Girdler	William Taylor Copeland

¹ A. B. Beaven *The Aldermen of the City of London: Volume One* (London: Corporation of London, 1908-1913).

Date	Castle Baynard	Cheap	Coleman Street	Cordwainer
1840	Samuel Wilson	William Thompson	William Heygate	Thomas Wood
1841	Samuel Wilson	William Thompson	William Heygate	Thomas Wood
1842	Samuel Wilson	William Thompson	William Heygate	Thomas Wood
1843	Samuel Wilson	William Thompson	William Hunter (May 31)	Thomas Wood
1844	Samuel Wilson	William Thompson	William Hunter	Thomas Wood
1845	Samuel Wilson	William Thompson	William Hunter	Thomas Wood
1846	Samuel Wilson	William Thompson	William Hunter	Thomas Wood
1847	Samuel Wilson	William Thompson	William Hunter	David Salomons (Dec 6)
1848	Samuel Wilson	William Thompson	William Hunter	David Salomons
1849	Samuel Wilson	William Thompson	William Hunter	David Salomons
1850	Samuel Wilson	William Thompson	William Hunter	David Salomons
1851	Samuel Wilson	William Thompson	William Hunter	David Salomons
1852	Samuel Wilson	William Thompson	William Hunter	David Salomons
1853	Henry Muggerridge (July 4)	William Thompson	William Hunter	David Salomons
1854	Henry Muggerridge	Richard Hartley Kennedy (Mar 25)	William Hunter	David Salomons
1855	Henry Muggerridge	Richard Hartley Kennedy	William Hunter	David Salomons
1856	Henry Muggerridge	Richard Hartley Kennedy	Warren Stormes Hale (Oct 3)	David Salomons
1857	Henry Muggerridge	Richard Hartley Kennedy	Warren Stormes Hale	David Salomons
1858	Henry Muggerridge	Richard Hartley Kennedy	Warren Stormes Hale	David Salomons

Date	Cornhill	Cripplesgate	Dowgate	Farringdon Within
1840	John Pirie	Matthew Wood	John Johnson	Thomas Kelly
1841	John Pirie	Matthew Wood	John Johnson	Thomas Kelly
1842	John Pirie	Matthew Wood	John Johnson	Thomas Kelly
1843	John Pirie	Thomas Challis (Oct 6)	John Johnson	Thomas Kelly
1844	John Pirie	Thomas Challis	John Johnson	Thomas Kelly
1845	John Pirie	Thomas Challis	John Johnson	Thomas Kelly
1846	John Pirie	Thomas Challis	John Johnson	Thomas Kelly
1847	John Pirie	Thomas Challis	John Johnson	Thomas Kelly
1848	John Pirie	Thomas Challis	John Johnson	Thomas Kelly
1849	John Pirie	Thomas Challis	Robert Walter Carden (Jan 11)	Thomas Kelly
1850	John Pirie	Thomas Challis	Robert Walter Carden	Thomas Kelly
1851	John Carter (Mar 10)	Thomas Challis	Robert Walter Carden	Thomas Kelly
1852	John Carter	Thomas Challis	Robert Walter Carden	Thomas Kelly
1853	John Carter	Thomas Challis	Robert Walter Carden	Thomas Kelly
1854	John Carter	Thomas Challis	Robert Walter Carden	Thomas Kelly
1855	John Carter	Thomas Challis	Robert Walter Carden	Edward Eagleton (Sept 19)
1856	John Carter	Thomas Challis	Robert Walter Carden	Edward Eagleton
1857	John Carter	Thomas Challis	Robert Walter Carden	Benjamin Samuel Phillips (June 15)
1858	John Carter	Thomas Challis	Robert Walter Carden	Edward Eagleton

Date	Farringdon Without	Langbourn	Lime Street	Portsoken
1840	Sir James Duke (Dec 1)	John Kay	Charles Farebrother	Thomas Johnson
1841	Sir James Duke	John Kay	Charles Farebrother	Thomas Johnson
1842	Sir James Duke	John Kay	Charles Farebrother	Thomas Johnson
1843	Sir James Duke	John Kay	Charles Farebrother	Thomas Johnson
1844	Sir James Duke	John Kay	Charles Farebrother	Francis Graham Moon (Oct 21)
1845	Sir James Duke	John Kay	Charles Farebrother	Francis Graham Moon
1846	Sir James Duke	John Kay	Charles Farebrother	Francis Graham Moon
1847	Sir James Duke	John Kay	Charles Farebrother	Francis Graham Moon
1848	Sir James Duke	John Kay	Charles Farebrother	Francis Graham Moon
1849	Sir James Duke	John Kay	Charles Farebrother	Francis Graham Moon
1850	Sir James Duke	John Kay	Charles Farebrother	Francis Graham Moon
1851	Sir James Duke	William Cubitt (May 10)	Charles Farebrother	Francis Graham Moon
1852	Sir James Duke	William Cubitt	Charles Farebrother	Francis Graham Moon
1853	Sir James Duke	William Cubitt	Charles Farebrother	Francis Graham Moon
1854	Sir James Duke	William Cubitt	Charles Farebrother	Francis Graham Moon
1855	Sir James Duke	William Cubitt	Charles Farebrother	Francis Graham Moon
1856	Sir James Duke	William Cubitt	Charles Farebrother	Francis Graham Moon
1857	Sir James Duke	William Cubitt	Charles Farebrother	Francis Graham Moon
1858	Sir James Duke	William Cubitt	John Joseph Mechi (Apr 7)	Francis Graham Moon

Date	Queenhithe	Tower	Vintry	Walbrook
1840	John Kinnersley Hooper (Aug 8)	Matthias Prime Lucas	William Magnay	Michael Gibbs
1841	John Kinnersley Hooper	Matthias Prime Lucas	William Magnay	Michael Gibbs
1842	John Kinnersley Hooper	Matthias Prime Lucas	William Magnay	Michael Gibbs
1843	John Kinnersley Hooper	Matthias Prime Lucas	William Magnay	Michael Gibbs
1844	John Kinnersley Hooper	Matthias Prime Lucas	William Magnay	Michael Gibbs
1845	John Kinnersley Hooper	Matthias Prime Lucas	William Magnay	Michael Gibbs
1846	John Kinnersley Hooper	Matthias Prime Lucas	William Magnay	Michael Gibbs
1847	John Kinnersley Hooper	Matthias Prime Lucas	William Magnay	Michael Gibbs
1848	John Kinnersley Hooper	Thomas Quested Finnis (Jan 10)	William Magnay	Michael Gibbs
1849	John Kinnersley Hooper	Thomas Quested Finnis	William Magnay	Michael Gibbs
1850	John Kinnersley Hooper	Thomas Quested Finnis	William Magnay	Michael Gibbs
1851	John Kinnersley Hooper	Thomas Quested Finnis	William Magnay	David Williams Wire (Feb 12)
1852	John Kinnersley Hooper	Thomas Quested Finnis	William Magnay	David Williams Wire
1853	John Kinnersley Hooper	Thomas Quested Finnis	William Magnay	David Williams Wire
1854	William Anderson Rose (May 4)	Thomas Quested Finnis	William Magnay	David Williams Wire
1855	William Anderson Rose	Thomas Quested Finnis	William Magnay	David Williams Wire
1856	William Anderson Rose	Thomas Quested Finnis	William Magnay	David Williams Wire
1857	William Anderson Rose	Thomas Quested Finnis	Thomas Gabriel (June 30)	David Williams Wire
1858	William Anderson Rose	Thomas Quested Finnis	Thomas Gabriel	David Williams Wire

Date	Mayors	Sheriffs
1840	Thomas Johnson (Port)	Thomas Farncomb (Ald)
1841	John Pirie (Corn)	Michael Gibbs (Wal)
1842	John Humphrey	John Kinnersley Hooper (Queen)
1843	William Magnay (Vin)	John Musgrove (Broad)
1844	Michael Gibbs (Wal)	Thomas Sydney (Bill)
1845	John Johnson (Dow)	William Hunter (Coleman)
1846	Sir George Carroll (Candle)	Thomas Challis (Cripp)
1847	John Kinnersley Hooper (Queen)	William Cubitt (Lang)
1848	Sir James Duke (Farr W/Out)	Thomas Quested Finnis (Tower)
1849	Thomas Farncombe (Ald)	William Lawrence (Brd)
1850	John Musgrove (Broad)	Robert Carden (Dow)
1851	William Hunter (Coleman)	
1852	Thomas Challis (Cripp)	John Carter (Corn)
1853	Thomas Sydney (Bill)	
1854	Francis G Moon (Port)	Henry Muggidge (Candle)
1855	David Salomons (Cord)	Richard Hartley Kennedy (Cheap)
1856	Thomas Finnis (Tower)	
1857	Sir Robert Carden (Dow)	William Lawrence (Jnr) (Brd)
1858	David Wire	

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Appendix Ten

Conference Presentations and Publications Arising From PhD Research

Conferences/Seminars/Study Days

- June 2000 Edge Hill Departmental Research Forum.
Clare Horrocks “The Personification of Father Thames in the Victorian Periodical Press”.
- May 2001 Queen Margaret College, Edinburgh, English Departmental Research Forum.
Clare Horrocks “Raising the Victorian Public’s Awareness of the True Sanitary Condition of the Nation”.
- July 2001 Monuments and Dust Conference, Institute of Historical Research, London.
Clare Horrocks “Death, Disease and Decay in Victorian London: the work of Henry Mayhew and Charles Kingsley”.
- September 2001 British Association for *Victorian Studies Annual Conference*, Lancaster University.
Clare Horrocks “Performance and Politics: the Role of Lectures and Sermons in the Verbal and Visual Campaign for Public Health Reform” (Post-Graduate Prize Winner).
- March 2002 Charles Kingsley Study Day at Liverpool John Moores University organised by Clare Horrocks.
Clare Horrocks “Exploring the Slums of London in *Alton Locke*”.
- May 2002 Peter Wall Advanced Studies Unit Annual Conference, Narratives of Disease, Disability and Trauma, University of British Columbia, Vancouver
Clare Horrocks “The Diseased City: Narratives of Disease in the Verbal and Visual Campaign for Victorian Sanitary Reform”.
- July 2002 Infection and Contamination conference at Edge Hill College organised by Clare Horrocks.
Clare Horrocks “The Contaminated Metropolis: *Punch*’s Response to the Great Stink of 1858”.
- September 2002 7th Annual Dickens Symposium at Corpus Christie College, Oxford.

- Clare Horrocks “Detecting Disease in London’s Underworld: a Study of Dickens’ Shorter Fiction in *Household Words*”.
- April 2003 *Punch* Colloquium at Liverpool John Moores University organised by Clare Horrocks.
Clare Horrocks “Vested Interest and the Smithfield Market Campaign”.
 - July 2003 Monuments and Dust: A Conference on Victorian London at Regent’s College, London.
Clare Horrocks “Sewage and Slaughterhouses: Smithfield Market and the Public Health Campaign”.
 - July 2004 British Comparative Literature Association, Tenth International Conference, Leeds University– “Invention, Literature and Science”.
Clare Horrocks “Charles Kingsley and the ‘Science of Health’”.
 - April 2005 20th Annual Conference of Interdisciplinary Nineteenth Century Studies at Louisiana State University – “Impurities”.
Clare Horrocks “The Plight of the Smithfield Bull – *Punch*’s Campaign Against Disease and Disorder 1841 – 1858”.
 - November 2006 Victorian Studies Colloquium, Gladstone Centre Chester in association with the University of Liverpool.
Clare Horrocks “Victorian Periodical Research for the Twenty First Century: Reassessing *Punch*’s Contribution to an Understanding of Victorian Popular Culture”.
 - September 2007 British Association for Victorian Studies Annual Conference, Salford University.
Clare Horrocks “From ‘the Bugle of Belgravia to the Mouthpiece of Mayfair’: *Punch*’s evolution as a National Institution and Representative of Victorian Culture”.
 - September 2008 Research Society for Victorian Periodicals Annual Conference, University of Roehampton.
Clare Horrocks “The Character of the *Punch* Brotherhood”.
 - August 2009 Research Society for Victorian Periodicals Annual Conference, University of St. Thomas, Minneapolis.
Clare Horrocks “Widening Social Networks: the *Punch* Brotherhood and the Guild of Literature and Art”.

- January 2010 Northwest Nineteenth Century Studies Seminar with Salford University
Clare Horrocks “The Verbal Visual Dynamics of *Punch*”.

Publications

Clare Horrocks, “The Personification of ‘Father Thames’: Reconsidering the Role of the Victorian Periodical Press in the ‘Verbal and Visual Campaign’ for Public Health Reform” *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 36:1 (Spring, 2003), pp. 2-19.

Published by: The Johns Hopkins University Press on behalf of the Research Society for Victorian Periodicals.

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20083907>

Clare Horrocks, “Francis Burnand” and “Mark Lemon” in Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor (eds.), *Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Journalism* (London: Academia Press, 2009), pp.88 & 357.

Clare Horrocks, (ed.) “Special Edition: Research, Narrative and *Punch*” *Journal of Popular Narrative Media*, 2:1 (Spring 2009)

Published by: Liverpool University Press on behalf of the Association for Research in Popular Fictions.

Enclosed in a separate envelope marked “Appendix Eleven”.

Clare Horrocks, “Reading in Digital Environments – Review of Nineteenth Century British Pamphlets Online” *Journal of Victorian Culture* 15:1 (Spring, 2010).
Forthcoming.

Appendix 11

Special Issue – Research, Narrative and *Punch* (ed.) Clare Horrocks
Journal of Popular Narrative Media v.2:1 (2009)
Liverpool University Press
ISSN 1754-3819 (print) 1754-3827 (online)

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