

## *Bleak House* and Brown's Work: A Gaze upon the Poor

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### I

Three giants of political economy exerted their influence on Britain in the nineteenth century: Bentham in the Panopticon writings (1787, 1791),<sup>1</sup> Malthus in *An Essay on Population* (1798), and Chadwick in the *Sanitary Report* (1842). As is well-known, an awareness of the potential danger brought about by the existence of impoverished laboring classes tied these political economists together. When Pitt the younger decided not to amend the Poor Laws in such a way as to encourage large poor families in 1800, he is said to have had Bentham and Malthus in mind, since both stood opposed to an unrestricted growth of paupers (Flew 12); instead, the two argued that the population of the poor should be controlled by the state, which ought to abolish outdoor relief for the poor in preference for terrifying poorhouses, which passed for, as it were, “magic wands” to expel poverty and unemployment (Briggs, *Age of Improvement* 280). Chadwick, likewise, as a disciple of Bentham and as secretary to the Poor Law Commissions, undertook to realize the Poor Law of 1834. As Briggs suggested, it is of great importance that the three political economists were specifically concerned with the concept of “centralization” as indicated by such terms as “central inspection,” “central supervision” or “central audit,” despite the fact that the would-be central system of the New Poor Law of 1834 gradually gave way to local government, particularly in the second half of the nineteenth century. At any rate, a centralized system and national administration prompted by what is called “utilitarianism” provided Victorian Benthamites and Malthusians with the starting point to drive the poor exclusively into poorhouses.<sup>2</sup>

This interaction of social pressure upon the poor and the centralization of power seems omnipresent through the Victorian era. To bor-

row Foucault's term referring to Bentham's Panopticon, Victorian paupers were kept under "constant surveillance" (Foucault 199). The aim of the New Poor Law was to enclose the poor within poorhouses, thereby reducing "waste and idleness" (Porter, *Benefit* 409). Needless to say, this central power system, or, the image of centralization,<sup>3</sup> was the guiding principle behind Chadwick's monumental *Sanitary Report*, whereby the "Sanitary Idea" was so pervasive that even poets, moralists and artists as well as officials and administrators were equally inspired by the notion (Briggs, *Victorian Cities* 20). If poets were involved with the "Sanitary Idea" around the middle of the century, why should such a novelist as Dickens, whom many consider as not merely a novelist but a social historian,<sup>4</sup> have escaped being affected by so influential an idea? In this paper, I argue that one of Dickens's novels from this period falls into the category of works that, to some extent, envisaged the "Sanitary Idea" of the day.<sup>5</sup> *Bleak House* (1852–53), otherwise "a fable for 1852," (Butt & Tillotson 179) is the novel in question, for it is evident that in this novel two important factors are related in a way that the sanitary idea is highlighted: the poor and the power which controls them. Paupers are treated, or "gazed" at in the light of a Chadwickian sense of sanitary reform; in other words, the novel depicts how the impoverished working classes are "foregrounded"<sup>6</sup> and why the idea of public health intervenes throughout the novel to identify the poor as if being gazed at by "thousands of eyes" (Foucault 214).<sup>7</sup>

Interestingly enough, the omnipresence of the sanitary idea or the consciousness of public health in the mid-Victorian period also becomes manifest in a different but sister art: genre painting. Ford Madox Brown's *Work* (figure 1) has been regarded as a typical Victorian picture, partly because it delineates multifaceted life by virtue of a panoramic presentation of characters from different classes: for instance, at the apex of the picture, a father and daughter on horseback appear to suggest a luxurious upper class atmosphere: the father is said to be an MP. In the upper-middle part of the picture, on the left, one of the bourgeois ladies with a parasol is distributing religious tracts whose message reads: "The Hodman's Haven, or drink for thirsty souls" (Brown 153), while on the right, a little lower down from the ladies' position, two gentlemen are portrayed as, according to the painter, "brainworkers," contrasted with the excavating "navvies" in the center (Brown 152). Nearly at the bottom of the picture, four children, who appear to wander about in the vicinity as orphans, are

clearly pictured in the foreground, and, on account of their helpless state, they attract the viewer's attention. In fact, it is the painter who insists that we should look at these miserable creatures. Brown says: "I would beg to call your attention to my group of small, exceedingly ragged, dirty children in the foreground of my picture, where you are about to pass" (Brown 153). Thus, the position that characters in Brown's picture occupy roughly corresponds to their rank in society; to put this another way, what Brown represents here is a hierarchy with many persons of varied classes — from an orphan, a "Pariah" (a vagabond selling flowers on the left), up to those belonging to the upper-middle and gentry classes. Nevertheless, this is not quite the whole story, for there also appears what is called a "Foucaudian" gaze, whether conscious or not, upon the poor who are likely to cause an overflow of the population in Britain — the point made by Malthusian and Benthamite political economists. This specific treatment of the poor, rendering them conspicuous, can be found in the painter and the novelist. It is of note that both the novel and the picture were begun almost concurrently (i.e. around 1852). The coincidence of the novel's and the painting's involvement with the sanitary idea seems not accidental, but an inevitable consequence of the fact that the sanitary idea, or the cult of public health had become a priority of the age (Porter, *Benefit* 409).

## II

As is often the case, in *Bleak House* Dickens employs many sub-plots which spread like a tangled web, one of which may be termed the "Jo plot" — in which Jo, the crossing-sweeper,<sup>8</sup> living in an obscure and notorious district known as Tom-all-Alone's is seen to be constantly persecuted throughout the novel by the police. To use Jo's own word, he has been "chivied" by the police, or, to be more precise, by Inspector Bucket, who finding the ill Jo taken care of by Esther and Charley in Bleak House drives him away to be incarcerated in "horsepittle." Jo explains to Allan Woodcourt how Bucket mistreated him despite the fact that he "[N]ever done nothink" (Ch. 46, 575):

' . . . I'm a-moving on to the berrying ground — that's the move as I'm up to.'

'No, no, we will try to prevent that. But what did he do with you?'

'Put me in a horsepittle,' replied Jo, whispering, 'till I was discharged, then give me a little money — four half bulls, wot you

may call half-crowns — and ses “Hook it! Nobody wants you here,” he ses. “Don’t let me ever see you nowheres within forty mile of London, or you’ll repent it.” (Ch. 46, 575)<sup>9</sup>

Bucket’s persecution and blackmail sounded so distressing that Jo, frightened in the extreme, could not help “making his way with wary hand from brick to brick and from door to door like a scared animal” (Ch. 47, 577). One of the reasons Jo becomes terror-stricken is that Inspector Bucket’s “gaze” seems omnipresent: Jo says, “He [Bucket] is in all manner of places, all at wanst” (Ch. 46, 575).<sup>10</sup> This sense of ubiquitousness is, in some measure, reminiscent of Bentham’s vision of Panopticon by which Foucault’s meditations on the modes of power in modern European society have been deepened as well as developed. With its central tower capable of seeing the prisoners without being seen by them, the Panopticon realizes an ideal power system in which total and complete control over the prison’s inmates was made possible. This panoptic image provides the master metaphor for the inmates of many kinds of institution where a transparent power observes and controls them. The panopticon is therefore applied to institutions, or “observatories,” so that individuals whether they be madmen, criminals, patients, school children or even “beggars and idlers” are supervised in a place where “one sees everything without ever being seen.” Like the inmates of the Panopticon, Jo is kept “under constant surveillance” by the Inspector, and around him, “The gaze is alert everywhere,” and yet Jo cannot see this “disciplinary power” which marks his “exclusion” (Foucault 195–205).

But why is Jo so persistently persecuted by Bucket, a detective officer of the Metropolitan Police,<sup>11</sup> to the extent that he is excluded from the friendly society of Esther and Charley, driven finally to death, although he is “innocent” as far as crimes are concerned? Or, put another way, in what respect is Jo dangerous or a threat to society? Bucket goes as far as to say that Jo must not live “within forty mile of London.” What is of relevance here seems to be the sanitary reformist argument given momentum by Chadwick; the realization of his agenda came with the first British Public Health Act of 1848. Chadwick identified the horrors of urban poverty especially in the laboring population, pauperism causing disease, and the unhealthy living conditions (such as dirty water and poor drainage) which spread disease (*Great Benefit* 410–12). It is obvious that Jo is involved with this trilogy: he is strikingly poor, he becomes infected and also infects with disease (smallpox, to be precise), and this epidemic is bred in a slum

called Tom-all-Alone's where unsanitary conditions are conspicuous; hence, he ought to be pointed out as carrying these three dangerous things within his body: poverty, disease and filthiness. In a sanitary sense, he is a criminal against which the Chadwickian public health movement was struggling. This fight, however, turned out not to be a simplified punishment of the body, but a watchful gaze on a dangerous individual, restraining the object under strict surveillance; and the gaze, on account of its tendency to identify and control the person in question, inevitably foregrounds him or her.

This process of identification or specification in terms of sanitary regulations functions in the genesis of Jo and the "Jo plot." The third-person narrator in the novel overtly calls attention to "Poor Jo," when Jo is handed over to George's "Shooting Gallery" after he is found utterly helpless in Tom-all-Alone's. The narrator, alias Dickens, purposefully spotlights him: "Stand forth, Jo, in uncompromising colours! From the sole of thy foot to the crown of thy head, there is nothing interesting about thee" (Ch. 47, 581). The words, "stand forth" suggest the narrator's intention to foreground Jo. The straightforward phrase, "there is nothing interesting about thee" sounds, however, paradoxical because Jo cannot cease to excite the reader's interests, mainly because of his extraordinary unwholesomeness: he is not merely a "Miserable creature" but an intolerably unhealthy one "like a growth of fungus or any unwholesome excrescence" (Ch. 46, 573). Consequently, he is forced to "stand forth" and face the reader as if he were a strange monster. Thus pinpointing Jo, who is filthy, the melodramatic novelist then sets the stage for a flood of tears shed over Jo's last moment as he is murmuring his prayers:<sup>12</sup>

'Jo, can you say what I say?'  
 'I'll say anything as you say, sir, fur I knows it's good.'  
 'OUR FATHER.'  
 'Our Father! — yes, that's verry good, sir.'  
 'WHICH ART IN HEAVEN.'  
 'Art in Heaven — is the light a-comin, sir?'  
 'It is close at hand. HALLOWED BE THY NAME!'  
 'Hallowed be — thy —'

The light is come upon the dark benighted way. Dead!  
 Dead, your Majesty. Dead, my lords and gentlemen. Dead,  
 Right Reverends and Wrong Reverends of every order. Dead,  
 men and women, born with Heavenly compassion in your hearts.  
 And dying thus around us every day. (Ch. 48, 588–89)

Deeply impressed, many contemporaries (reviewers, for instance) did

not refrain from admiration for the scene. To name but a few would suffice to demonstrate what “general acclaim” (Dyson, “Introduction” 14) was given to Jo. First of all, it is worth remembering that Forster mentions “the good Dean Ramsay” who exclaimed in a letter to Forster, “What a triumph is Jo! . . . . To my mind, nothing in the field of fiction is to be found in English literature surpassing the death of Jo!” (Forster II: 117–18). The passion of Dean Ramsay was shared by many; one reviewer insisted that Jo “will be remembered always as one of the choice things that do honour to our literature” (*Bleak House Casebook*, 70), while for another he is “The gem of *Bleak House*” (*Bleak House Casebook*, 82); furthermore, “Poor Joe [*sic*], down in Tom-all-Alone’s, has become a proverb” (*Bleak House Casebook*, 79). But if he is a proverb, what kind of meaning does he encapsulate for us? In my view, as he appears an exclusive target upon which the watchful sanitarian gaze is directed, he acts to proclaim an unsanitary, dangerous or evil reality.

It deserves notice that in this death scene the narrator, not a little excited, tries to draw the reader’s special attention to “poor Jo” by addressing the Queen, peers, “Reverends,” men and women in general “born with Heavenly compassion.” Indeed, both metaphorically and literally, he is exceedingly poor, and his poverty and misery are linked with Tom-all-Alone’s which is none other than “the infernal gulf” (Ch. 22, 283). Slums were generally thought to be more or less breeding-grounds where poverty, disease and filthiness abounded. Hence in terms of the Chadwickian sanitary reformist argument, Jo is not innocent but guilty insofar as his hygienic condition is concerned. Some of the evils which Jo carries with him are overtly depicted. In the first place, it turns out that Jo is an evil spirit in that he infects Charley with his smallpox, which in turn ravages Esther’s spotless face. Of course, the disease is not necessarily to be defined as wholly bad, for the smallpox, which deprives Esther of her unsullied face, provides her with a touchstone by which she can evaluate the quality of Woodcourt’s love towards her, leading to the final denouement of marriage.<sup>13</sup> But what is of significance is that this disease is an epidemic, which was inescapably associated with a filthy and unhealthy slum, because slums were the arena for the fearful outbreaks of epidemics such as cholera, typhus, and smallpox.<sup>14</sup>

A deep-seated fear of such lethal epidemics is grimly shown at the beginning of Chapter 46 in which Jo, goaded by the merciless Bucket, reappears in the midst of Tom-all-Alone’s after his sudden disappear-

ance from Bleak House. In the passage, Jo is almost analogous to Tom who personifies the horrors of Tom-all-Alone's, and acts as a gruesome harbinger of whatever evils come with his "tainting, plundering, and spoiling":

But he [Tom] has his revenge. Even the winds are his messengers, and they serve him in these hours of darkness. There is not a drop of Tom's corrupted blood but *propagates infection and contagion* somewhere. It shall pollute, this very night, the choice stream (in which chemists on analysis would find the genuine nobility) of a Norman house, and his Grace shall not be able to say Nay to the infamous alliance. There is not an atom of Tom's slime, not a cubic inch of any pestilential gas in which he lives, not one obscenity or degradation about him, not an ignorance, not a wickedness, not a brutality of his committing, but shall work its retribution, *through every order of society*, up to the proudest of the proud, and to the highest of the high. Verily, what with tainting, plundering, and spoiling, Tom has his revenge.

(Ch. 46, 568, my italics)<sup>15</sup>

The quotation seems to be spellbound by Chadwick, since his legendary "miasmatic" re-echoes everywhere. His miasmatic theory presupposes that disease is caused by noxious gases emitted by rotten things: "That the various forms of epidemic, endemic, and other disease caused, or aggravated, or propagated chiefly *amongst the labouring classes* by atmospheric impurities produced by decomposing animal and vegetable substances, by damp and filth. . ." (Chadwick 422; my italics). The narrator in the novel, like Chadwick, gloomily announces that the winds are Tom's "messengers," who will propagate "infection and contagion." Chadwick proposed two principles for the improvement of hygienic conditions in general: one was the construction of sewage or drainage systems for the removal of refuse, and the other was the supply of clean water (Chadwick 422–23). It is noteworthy, however, that a third principle may be found in his discourse: namely, almost all sanitary evils were found in the "lowest districts" where most of the laboring population were living in such horrible slums as, say, St Giles or Jacob's Island. As Roy Porter observes, a middle-class or bourgeois "class-consciousness" paved the way for Public Health politics. The politics of Chadwickian hygiene was voiced from and supported by the "nobles and gentlemen, rich merchants, clergy and civic worthies" because their "economics and utility taught that neglecting disease ran counter to enlightened self-interest." It was believed that diseases readily spread from the poor to the better

off, and that poverty- or disease-stricken laborers proved inefficient employees (Porter, *Disease* 33). In brief, the spirit of public health was on bad terms with philanthropic altruism, but on good ones with bourgeois self-concern. The passage above has a lot in common with this egoism in that it reveals the horrors of Tom, whereas Tom's targets are, for instance, a "Norman house" and "the proudest of the proud."

But did Tom, or Jo, have revenge thoroughly? The answer to this may be negative, at least seemingly, since the line of smallpox infection did stop at Esther, who caught Charley's disease, which had been transmitted by Jo. As far as Esther, therefore, the horrifying disease, the origin of which is an abominable slum, rapidly ascends the ladder of a hierarchical society, but the noble characters in the novel, the Dedlocks, for instance, remain uninfected by smallpox or any disease relating to the lowest districts. Indeed, the horrors of Tom-all-Alone's are not experienced by aristocratic people. Nevertheless, this is not the end of the story, for it is possible to suppose that the Jo plot is symbolic or metaphoric in that the evils of urban poverty, noted by hygienists, are devouring the sacred face of Esther Summerson, who is the illegitimate child of Lady Dedlock; the Lady's secret relationship with Captain Hawdon, alias Nemo, casts a dark shadow over the mother's noble position. In this sense, the appalling horror of the infernal slum is not ended but permanently alive as long as Esther lives. As to Esther's disfigurement, Susan Sontag's remarks on the relation of disease and its damage to the face are worth citing; according to her, the deepest dread is aroused by illnesses that "deform the face," not by lethal ones like heart attacks. Referring to smallpox in particular, Sontag points out that the scar left by this disease functions as a marker of the survivor, and that marks of smallpox are "precisely the stigmata of a survivor" (Sontag 128). Esther's "stigmata," however, do not reveal a Christian holiness but suggest the Christian guilt of her mother, as the marks on her face indicate that her mother's sinful sexuality is not erased but is kept intact, threatening Lady Dedlock's stable position. Esther's stigmata crystallize three things in compacted form: first, the horrors of Tom-all-Alone's; second, Jo's or Tom's ferocious will to "revenge" on "the proudest of the proud, and to the highest of the high;" finally, the Lady's sinful past which produced Esther.

If this novel is interpreted, in part, as the tragedy of Lady Dedlock, who ends her life in despair in front of the graveyard where her ex-

lover Nemo is buried, the *hamartia* of the drama is, in essence, to be ascribed to the Lady's *hybris*:<sup>16</sup> *hybris*, in the form of her Ladyship's vanity to assume a dignified position as the spouse of Sir Leicester Dedlock, despite her comparatively lower rank in society: "A whisper still goes about, that she [Lady Dedlock] had not even family" (Ch. 2, 10). Her husband's greatness as a member of a very old family is stressed with sarcasm: "Sir Leicester Dedlock is only a baronet, but there is no mightier baronet than he. His family is as old as the hills, and infinitely more respectable" (Ch. 2, 10). And there is another *hybris*: her self-conceit of possessing a regal splendor: ". . . my Lady Dedlock has been at the centre of the fashionable intelligence, and at the top of the fashionable tree" (Ch. 2, 10). The picture of the *beau monde* thus far represented with the Lady commanding a panoramic view of society is well contrasted with the horrible picture of Tom-all-Alone's.

Esther's stigmata, left by the smallpox, therefore, indicates her survival, and her prolonged existence serves to prove her mother's sinful relation with Nemo; this disgrace, finally revealed by the wily Tulk-inghorn, led to the Lady's perdition. Thus, the fearful oracle by Esther's godmother (her real aunt) at the beginning, "It would have been better . . . that you had never been born" (Ch. 3, 16) becomes all the more significant if one bears in mind that the *hamartia* of the novel or the cause of the tragedy is altogether due to Esther's survival, which had precipitated her mother's disgraceful downfall. The web of the novel is finally completed; and in the center of the web there is an "infernal" slum from which every single thread of the plot had been extended so as to entrap, at least, three characters: "poor Jo," who died murmuring blissful prayers, Esther, who was disfigured, and Lady Dedlock, who was "fallen"<sup>17</sup> in spite of, or because of, her dignity.

### III

As has already been noted above, the hellishness of the infernal slum is suggested by and inseparably linked with the so-called Foucauldian or Benthamite conception of power which holds constant gaze without being seen and keeps strict surveillance upon inmates such as prisoners, patients, or schoolchildren. Hitherto, the poor, among others, have been specifically treated in order to demonstrate that they are foregrounded; and by the same token, in what follows, I intend to show that the poor in relation to the Foucauldian gaze can be dis-

cussed in a different but concurrent work of art: Ford Madox Brown's well-known picture *Work*, which was begun in 1852,<sup>18</sup> the year Dickens's *Bleak House* was started. As regards the gaze upon the poor, power is expected to keep a constant watch, chiefly because the aristocracy and bourgeoisie feared that the poor, whose main living domains were extremely unhealthy slums, would spread insanitary evils, notably epidemics such as cholera, typhus, scarlet fever and so forth "through every order of society." The frightful message of "with tainting, plundering, and spoiling, Tom has his revenge" in the novel, I shall argue, re-echoes in Brown's painting.

As in the novel, the first step in the painting is to foreground the poor in order to specify their likely dangerous or evil existence. In the painting, Jo's counterparts are four children, who are depicted, like Jo, as poverty-stricken and helpless: four "dirty children" represented at the very front of the painting. According to the painter, they have recently lost their dear mother — the loss indicated by the black ribbon worn by the baby held in the left arm of its elder sister. To be precise, Brown explains, they do have a father but he is virtually nothing to them, as he "drinks, and will be sentenced in the police-court for neglecting them" (Brown 153). It is important here that the correlation of drunkenness, immorality and poverty calls to mind Hogarth's enormously famous pair of plates entitled "Beer Street" (figure 2) and "Gin Lane" (figure 3) both of which exercised a great influence upon Brown's *Work*. A remarkable similarity between Hogarth's series and Brown's painting is found, for instance, in Brown's treatment of beer as good alcohol to improve health; in the picture "a prosperous beer-man" is depicted calling aloud, "beer ho!" According to Brown, this beer-man symbolizes "town pluck and energy," whereas "gin" is accused, partly because the beer-man's "hunchbacked" dwarfishness is due to gin's evil effect: as a child he was "stunted with gin" (Brown 154). It is therefore possible to suppose that the same social milieu that prompted Hogarth to create a pair of prints, admiring beer as the "Genius of Health," while denouncing gin as a "cursed Fiend" still existed almost a century later. And the fact that by and large in mid-Victorian England gin was regarded as a "cursed Fiend" is supported in prints by Cruikshank — a "fanatical teetotaler" (Johnson 331) — such as "The GIN Shop" (a family is trapped in the jaws of the vicious gin, figure 4 [1829]), "Gin Shops" (the Dickens-Cruikshank joint work asserting "Gin drinking is a great vice in England" [1835]), *The Bottle* (a series showing a workman's destruction because of gin

[1847]) and *The Drunkard's Children* (the sequel to *The Bottle*, the final plate depicting the girl's suicidal fall from London Bridge, figure 5 [1848]).<sup>19</sup> Figure 5, for example, discloses that Cruikshank owes much to Hogarth, for a falling girl may be compared to the baby dropped by its drunken mother. In these prints, the vices of gin are articulated as in the case of Hogarth's "Gin Lane": gin is the cause of poverty, misery and total destruction. Dickens, however, referring to *The Bottle* and *The Drunkard's Children*, maintains that drinking is not the cause of vices, but the result of social vice such as "foul smells, disgusting habitations . . . scarcity of light, air, and water" (Forster II: 40). In sum, he correlates gin drinking with the insanitary conditions of the lower classes. Given the close link between the unhealthy life of the wretched poor and gin drinking suggested by Dickens, it becomes clear that the invisible father in Brown's picture is probably drunk in slums like St Giles; and, interestingly enough, it was St Giles that Hogarth adopted as the stage for "Gin Lane" (Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works* 147). It is reasonable to think that the four miserable children in the picture come from some insanitary areas and are carrying with them smallpox, for example.

In any case, it is obvious that by erasing the drunken father from the canvas Brown rendered the four children virtually orphans with the eldest sister at the center of this vagrant family. Put differently, the orphanage was needful for the painter, for he doubtless thought he could draw the viewer's attention to the orphans by stressing their helpless state, with a subtle implication of their foul or evil backgrounds; the apparent message is that they have neither father nor mother. In addition, it is noteworthy that Brown's tone of compassion sounds even greater when he alludes to the eldest daughter, who, as a mother, holding the baby in her arm, scolds her naughty brother, who is playing with the workman's barrow; certainly she is forced to be a mother-like figure, but she is a mere girl: "The eldest girl, not more than ten, poor child! is very worn-looking and thin. . ." (Brown 153). The exclamation, "poor child!" is, as it were, Dickensian, because the subject of poor children is Dickens's "magic wand" thereby foregrounding them to be pitied, often with tears, by his readers. This can be illustrated by endless examples such as Oliver, Little Nell, Little Dorrit, Tiny Tim, Pip, little Davy, little Paul, and of course, Jo. Still, one more example from *Bleak House* should be mentioned in connection with Brown's four poor orphans: Charley. Hearing of Coavinses's death, which leaves his three children in a terrible plight, Esther, Ada

and Jarndyce go to the chandler's shop in Bell Yard where Coavinses's children pinch and scrape, and they find that the two children are locked in a poor room; Esther's narration runs as follows:

I tapped at the door, and a little shrill voice inside said, 'We are *locked in*. Mrs Blinder's got the *key*!'

I applied the key on hearing this, and opened the door. In a poor room, with a sloping ceiling, and containing very little furniture, was a mite of a boy, some five or six years old, nursing and hushing a heavy child of eighteen months. There was no fire, though the weather was cold; both children were wrapped in some poor shawls and tippets, as a substitute. (Ch. 15, 191, my italics)

One child is five- or six-year-old boy (Tom) and another is almost a baby (Emma); the brother and sister are "locked in," and the "key" is kept by the landlady (Mrs. Blinder). The relation of lock and key suggests a prison-like image, so metaphorically speaking at least, poor orphans, trembling with cold, are in a prison. Into this prison-like room, Charley rushes in a great hurry after her "out-a-washing." Charley's "fingers were white and wrinkled with washing, and the soap-suds were yet smoking which she wiped off her arms" (Ch. 15, 191–92). Upon seeing Charley entering, the brother and sister gather around her, and the baby "stretched forth its arms, and cried out to be taken by Charley." Awestruck by this piteous picture in which a mere girl was working for her brother and sister to earn "sixpence and shillings" to lead a mean life, Jarndyce groaned:

'Is it possible,' whispered my guardian, as we put a chair for the little creature, and got her to sit down with her load: the boy keeping close to her, holding to her apron, 'that this child works for the rest? *Look at this! For God's sake look at this!*'

*It was a thing to look at.* The three children close together, and two of them relying solely on the third, and the third so young and yet with an air of age and steadiness that sat so strangely on the childish figure. (Ch. 15, 192, my italics)

The orphans in extreme poverty are thus foregrounded with a somewhat excited tone of compassion by the narrator as well as Jarndyce, and, at the same time, the narrator (in this case, Dickens rather than Esther) seems, overtly, to direct the reader's or viewer's attention exclusively upon the group of poverty-stricken children, among whom Charley, as a little mother, takes care of her brother and sister, despite her own childishness (being "over thirteen").

This picture of the orphans in *Bleak House* is, beyond doubt, analo-

gous to that of Brown's in a way that, firstly, there are poverty-stricken orphans, with a mother-like sister standing at the center, around whom her siblings huddle together, secondly, those children are brought into focus by exclamatory expressions: "Look at this! For God's sake look at this!" on the one hand, while, on the other, Brown compassionately says, "The eldest girl, not more than ten, poor child!" The painter, also, staring at the orphans, requires us to share this compassion: "I would beg to call your attention to my group of small, exceedingly ragged, dirty children in the foreground of my picture" as though it were indispensable to throw a gaze upon them so that the orphans in the novel and the painting can be represented in the form of "foregrounding" linguistically as well as visually. The only difference between the orphans in the novel and in the painting may be the absence of the Chadwickian sanitary idea in the scene of the novel, as contrasted with the Brown's, where the construction of the waterworks is seen to be in progress in the background. In *Bleak House*, not in a literal but in an allegorical background, we can assume a sanitarian gaze upon Charley and her siblings. Indeed, Charley turns out to be a dangerous figure when later she catches Jo's smallpox, which infects Esther. Consequently Brown's picture and Dickens's novel have the "Sanitary Idea" in both their backgrounds, and also, the piteous but insanitary, dangerous children are overtly represented in the foreground.

It is worth remembering that, concerning Tom's revenge and the fear of it, bourgeois egotism or egocentricity considered insanitary conditions as social danger; the fear of paupers is articulated by both upper and upper-middle classes. Similarly, this kind of bourgeois egocentricity can be detected in Brown's *Work*, and particularly in his sonnet explaining the burden of his picture. Brown composed the accompanying sonnet to his *Work* in February 1865 when he held a "one-man exhibition of one hundred pictures and drawings" (Parris, *Pre-Raphaelite Papers* 143). The sonnet reads:

WORK! which beads the brow, and tans the flesh  
 Of lusty manhood, casting out its devils!  
 By whose weird art, transmuting poor men's evils,  
 Their bed seems down, their one dish ever fresh.  
 Ah me! For lack of it what ills in leash,  
 Hold us. It's want the pale mechanic levels  
 To workhouse depths, while Master Spendthrift revels.  
 For want of work, the fiends him soon immesh!  
 Ah! beauteous tripping dame with bell-like skirts,

Intent on thy small scarlet-coated hound,  
 Are ragged wayside babes not lovesome too?  
 Untrained, their state reflects on thy deserts,  
 Or they grow noisome beggars to abound,  
 Or dreaded midnight robbers, breaking through.

(Brown 151, 156)

It is evident that the “evils” of idleness are opposed to the virtue of work, with the latter highly admired, while the former is virulently criticized. The sonnet declares that “devils” and “evils” of manhood are found in the lack of “Work!” which “beads the brow, and tans the flesh.” By contrast, idleness or “want of work” soon sends a man “To workhouse depth, while Master Spendthrift revels.” This phrase referring to the horrors of the “workhouse” is reminiscent of Dickens’s *Oliver Twist* (Ch. 2, 13).<sup>20</sup> Brown, however, does not satirize workhouses like Dickens, but utilizes them to menace paupers, implying that if you do not work, you would only starve to death in workhouses. As Poovey has argued, the workhouses that the new Poor Law of 1834 institutionalized were to create the widespread impression that the “machinery” of the Poor Law would introduce a life less eligible than starvation” (Poovey 11, 110).<sup>21</sup> Brown makes use of this widespread fear of workhouses to encourage industry, while abusing the immorality of idleness, just as in Hogarth’s glorious twelve prints issued in 1747 “call’d INDUSTRY and IDLENESS: Shewing the Advantages attending the former, and the miserable Effects of the latter, in the different Fortunes of two APPRENTICES” (Paulson, *Hogarth II*: 289). However, to Brown, idleness was not only restricted to the poor but was true of the well-to-do, because the rich who do not work but waste money on luxurious things as “bell-like skirts” and “scarlet-coated hound” are as equally immoral as the idle poor. In *Work*, the wicked extravagance took the form of, say, the splendid or showy dresses with “bell-like skirts” worn by bourgeois ladies, the grand horses of an MP, a beautiful greyhound in a red jacket, and the pastry cook’s tray (a green box in the painting). As to this last, Brown especially referred to it as a “symbol of superfluity,” for he could not get over a “socialistic twinge” whenever he saw such pastry-cook’s tray in England (Brown 153). Brown was hence at odds with the wealthy who do nothing but waste money while forgetting or affecting to forget the suffering of the poor — envisaged as “ragged wayside babes” in the sonnet, and miserable orphans in the foreground of the picture. Moreover, he commented in the pamphlet that the rich never

work for the “bread of life”; and it was because of the praiseworthiness of this “bread-winning” labor that Brown adopted the theme of “excavation” and painted a young navvy who showed “manly health and beauty” to occupy “the place of hero” (Brown 152–53). This “socialistic tinge” and class consciousness in Brown naturally have encouraged art criticism of a Marxist orientation. There are ample reasons why art criticism has tended to center on Hogarthian, Carlylean and Marxist critiques of class-relations in the light of, broadly, what is called the “Puritan work ethic” as outlined by Max Weber.<sup>22</sup>

However, both sonnet and painting reveal, if unconsciously, a deep-rooted fear of the poor, especially the younger poor, that Brown as a middle-class artist was not immune from, in spite of the fact that, “middle by birth,” he in his youth suffered from poverty because of his father’s ill health (Newman & Watkinson 120). In lines 11–14, the poet warns against the dangerous presence of “ragged wayside babes” left alone to English “deserts” where the wealthy are more or less unwilling to rescue the poor from their lowly conditions, so that the deserts would proliferate “noisome beggars” or “midnight robbers.” Needless to say, beggars and robbers were the negative product of insanitary, poverty-stricken slums. If this sonnet and *Work* are placed side by side, it will become instantly clear that the targets Brown aims at as socially dangerous presences are not only the “babes” but the “exceedingly ragged, dirty children” in the foreground of the painting, because, as he says, those offspring, born into the lower classes or laboring population, bred on merciless English ground, a ground cultivated by bourgeois egocentricity, are likely to fall into degradation whether moral or physical. Bourgeois egotism is exemplified by “beauteous tripping dame with bell-like skirts” in the sonnet and the picture.

In fact, an awareness of the inseparable correlation between slums and degradation in mind and body was felt by anyone who was interested in the “Condition-of-England” question at all. Engels, among others, in his epochal *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (1845) underlines “the whirlpool of moral ruin” and the “demoralizing influence of want, filth, and evil surroundings,” citing a notorious slum, St Giles<sup>23</sup> in London, where, “filthy within and without,” live “the poorest of the poor . . . with thieves and the victims of prostitution” (Engels 71). Hence both in Engels and Brown a similar procedure of correlating the dangerous poor to their degradation is at work.

In any way, there is no denying the construction of waterworks (to

be strict, this was a sewer line)<sup>24</sup> was a reality in Hampstead of which Brown made a sketch in "hot July sunlight" in 1852. In the same year, *Bleak House* was commenced to be serialized in March, as "a fable for 1852" (Butt & Tillotson 179); heaviness of the novelistic "topicality" was owing to such "fashionable" things as "Chancery suits" or "Sanitary Idea." Nonetheless, it is too simplified to condemn Dickens and Brown as egocentric bourgeois proponents of the Chadwickian "Sanitary Idea." The omnipresence of an awareness of the public hygiene and the intensity of bourgeois egotism were perceived by many contemporaries such as Engels who accused the English bourgeoisie for the lack of educating the working-class poor to improve the "Condition of England":

So short-sighted, so stupidly narrow-minded is the English bourgeoisie in its egotism, that it does not even take the trouble to impress upon the workers the morality of the day, which the bourgeoisie has patched together in its own interest for its own protection!  
(Engels 142)

Elsewhere, in *The Morning Chronicle*, Oct. 18, 1849, just after the second outbreak of cholera in Britain, claiming 53,000 deaths, had ravaged in London,<sup>25</sup> an editorial expresses a concern about a shocking coexistence of the rich and the poor almost in the same place: "No man of feeling or reflection can look abroad without being shocked and startled by the sight of enormous wealth and unbounded luxury, placed in direct juxtaposition with the lowest extremes of indigence and privation." The same editorial also identifies the poor with "the dangerous class": ". . . the starving or mendicant state of a large portion of the people . . . if suffered to remain unremedied many years longer, will eat, like a dry rot into the very framework of our society, and haply bring down the whole fabric with a crash." Razzell, with reference to the editorial above, observes that "dangerous classes" is a phrase which appears frequently in *The Morning Chronicle* (Razzell 2). *The Morning Chronicle*, "the leading Liberal voice in the British press" (Slater xii) had some relation with Dickens, who was its permanent staff, contributed to the journal — the five "Street Sketches," for example, from September to November 1834, which were to form parts of his *Sketches by Boz*. Interestingly, there is a close relationship between the editorial of *The Morning Chronicle* and the beginning of Chapter 46 of *Bleak House* in which the gruesome message is announced that "Tom has his revenge"; Tom's "messengers" are his

“corrupted blood,” “pestilential gas” and “Tom’s slime”(Ch. 46, 568). Tom is, therefore, blackmailing; the burden of his message is to the effect that, as the writer of an editorial of *The Morning Chronicle* fears, “if suffered to remain unremedied” the poor or the laboring population “will eat . . . and haply bring down the whole fabric with a crash.” The equation of the poor with the “dangerous classes” can be seen as common bourgeois ideology thereby foregrounding the paupers to whom a watchful sanitarian gaze should be directed. Indeed, this cold-blooded egotism is operating behind the pitiful scenes of Charley and her siblings, Jo’s death, and the orphans in the oil painting. Nevertheless, it is also undeniable that the novelist, at least, with his tremendous verbal power to incite the reader’s sympathy did succeed not only in attracting a sanitarian attention toward the poor, but rendered such heart-breaking scenes as where Jo whispers his first but last prayers, or where Esther “saw two silent tears fall down” upon the face of Charley who was “looking at us” mutely (Ch. 15, 193). At these moments, the reader of the day would have felt a responsibility to do something that was over and above egotism. By the same token, we, living today, are unable to be indifferent to little but brave Charley, poor Jo, and the nameless orphans fairly claiming attention on the canvas.

### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Bentham’s conception of the panopticon was brought to the attention of the wider public in 1975 when Michel Foucault and Jacques-Alain introduced Bentham in their studies, *Surveiller et punir: Naissance de la prison (Discipline and Punishment: The Birth of Prison)* and “Le Despotisme de l’Utile: la machine panoptique de Jeremy Bentham” respectively. See Bozovic 1–27.

<sup>2</sup> Briggs states that the New Poor Law of 1834 which, at its outset aimed at a central system, had become nearly subject to local government by the second half of the century. Anthony Wood, however, argues that the Poor Law Amendment from the beginning heavily relied on the local systems of “Boards of Gurdians.” As for the abolition of outdoor relief, Altick points out that it was not abolished altogether, because, in 1839, for example, there were as many as 560,000 persons who received the dole in their own cottages. See Briggs, *Age of Improvement* 280, Wood 89–91, Altick, *Victorian People and Ideas* 122–23.

<sup>3</sup> The public health movement is often characterized by its “bureaucratization” and “state administration,” as Alison Bashford has noted (Bashford 3). The common correlation of the public health idea and centralization is, however, questionable according to some medical historians. Christopher Hamlin, for example,

insists that the Public Health Act of 1848 gave local government broad powers to promote sanitary reforms. Hence Dorothy Porter's suggestion that "the historical model of inevitable centralization of public health administration in industrial societies *requires serious revision*" (emphasis added). See Hamlin, "State Medicine in Great Britain" 144–45, and Dorothy Porter, "Introduction" 13.

<sup>4</sup> This aspect is described by, for example, Richard Altick, who defines Dickens as being "as topical . . . as any other novelist of his day." As for *Bleak House*'s actuality, the ground-breaking study by John Butt and Kathleen Tillotson shows the novel's close relationship with its time, concluding that three of the novel's subjects were highly topical: "Chancery," "the political chaos" and "London sanitation." See Altick, *The Presence* 52, 71, and Butt & Tillotson 177–200.

<sup>5</sup> Although much criticism deals with the relation between the sanitary idea and the novel, one of the best studies in this context, I think, is Schwarzbach's wide-ranging commentary on *Bleak House*; its discussion of the novel is full of information and insight; for instance, Schwarzbach relates Dickens's concern with the "housing issue" during the early 1850s to the "dissolving" houses in the novel, such as Chesney Wold, Bleak House, and the Jellyby house, insisting that the badly managed home becomes a key metaphor suggesting the necessity of building sanitary houses for the poor. See Schwarzbach 114–42.

<sup>6</sup> In my argument, terms such as "foreground" and "foregrounding" are basically used according to the poetics of the Prague school. This poetics presupposes that "background" is used in customary and predictable contexts; if something is specifically seen or treated intentionally so as to be highlighted against this background, the act of "foregrounding" is accomplished. For more details see Lodge 2–3.

<sup>7</sup> Broadly speaking, by the deconstructive strategy, while bearing in mind Foucault's key concepts of "surveillance," "discipline" and "power," D. A. Miller, regarding *Bleak House* as a "contradictory text," discusses how Chancery is replaced by the Police Detective, which by virtue of the omniscient Bucket is legitimized to exercise power over the hitherto supreme power of Chancery. Thus the novel envisages power within power, or the relationship between two powers: the law and the police. Similarly, inspired by Foucault's discussion of disciplinary technology inherent in the Panopticon society, Jeremy Tambling examines the relation of *Great Expectation*'s mode of autobiography and the novel's inescapable entanglement within a particular set of power relations. Because language itself is a mode of oppressive power making the writer prison-bound, the formation of identity or individuality by Pip is impossible as well as delusory; Tambling argues that the novel presents Pip's development as "no development." See D. A. Miller 58–106, Tambling 117–34.

As to a deconstructive reading of the novel, Hillis Miller's essay is a classic; by focusing on "self-contradiction" in the novel he argues that the work as a whole is an "allegory" made up of "cross references among signs" in which one meaning is constantly defined or referred to by another, so that meaning is made unstable or indeterminable; consequently, *Bleak House* is obsessed with "the interpretation of documents." Hillis Miller 11–34.

<sup>8</sup> One remarkable similarity between Jo and the crossing-sweepers in London that Mayhew witnessed is that those engaged in the job were, like Jo, always afraid of the police, for they could not "ask for money" if "there's a policeman

close at hand.” Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor* Vol. 2: 466, 494–98. John Sutherland anatomizes the composition of the London mud Jo is supposed to sweep, concluding that, although mud was mingled with much *merde* (i.e. shit), to think that mud/merde was an “ankle-deep tide of filth” is going too far. Sutherland 90–98.

<sup>9</sup> The text used here is that of the Dent Edition, ed. Andrew Sanders. Citations hereafter are first to chapter, then to page from this edition in parentheses.

<sup>10</sup> The omnipresence or ubiquity of Inspector Bucket is stressed elsewhere: “. . . extraordinary terror of this person [Bucket] who ordered him [Jo] to keep out of the way; in his ignorance he believes this person *to be everywhere, and cognisant of everything.*” (Ch. 47, 579; my italics)

<sup>11</sup> Norman Page notes that Inspector Bucket was “the first detective in English fiction,” who was based on Inspector Charles Field, whom Dickens referred to several times in his *Household Words* (14 June 1851, for instance). Andrew Sanders’s detailed note on Bucket is equally of importance. Norman Page, ed. *Bleak House* 960; Andrew Sanders, ed. *Bleak House* 825.

<sup>12</sup> Dorothy and Roy Porter argue that the key role of the physician particularly from the late eighteenth century onward at deathbeds was to attend the dying patient “not as doctors but as friends” in order to restore tranquility by removing bodily pain, thereby “orchestrating an end serene and blissful.” Doctors in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, at large, were expected to act as friends who attend to comfort the dying. This role as “priest” rather than medical doctor can be found in Doctor Allan Woodcourt, who gives prayers to the dying Jo. See Dorothy & Roy Porter, *Patient’s Progress* 144–52; Roy Porter, *Disease, Medicine and Society* 62.

<sup>13</sup> Miriam Bailin argues that sickness or the sickroom is of great importance in Victorian fictions in general, since the union of hero and heroine is accomplished under the secluded condition of the sickroom, which offered a “model of exchange” for love. See Bailin 23–26.

<sup>14</sup> As regards infectious diseases and the symbolic significance that such diseases evoke in relation to class-relations, the Leavises find a Carlylean echo, since in *Past and Present* “typhus fever” is considered as the sole link between high and low. F. R. Leavis touches upon mutual borrowings among Victorian novelists: “. . . the Victorian novelists read and used each other’s work quite as freely as Elizabethan and Jacobean dramatists did theirs” F. R. & Q. D. Leavis 166. Dyson finds in Esther’s smallpox another perspective, for the disease shows the “dangers inherent in virtue itself in our fallen world.” Dyson, *Inimitable Dickens* 180.

<sup>15</sup> The recurrence of “Tom-all-Alone’s” as a suitable title in Dickens’s working plans for this novel reveals that the “Sanitary Idea” as well as the Chancery gave the author imaginative inspiration; his social concern and awareness of the necessity for social reform, of course, indicates Dickens’s journalist aspect. Examples of the titles are, “Tom-All-Alone’s The Ruined House,” “Tom-All-Alone’s The Soritary House,” “Tom-All-Alone’s The Ruined Mill” and the like. See *Bleak House*, ed. Ford and Monod 773–75, Page, *Bleak House: A Novel of Connections* 13–14.

<sup>16</sup> Frye’s explanation concerning *hamartia* and *hybris* is true of Lady Dedlock’s downfall. Frye points out that *hamartia* must have an essential connection with sin or wrongdoing, and that *hamartia* is inevitably involved with *hybris* in

tragedies; *hybris* is a "soaring mind which brings about a morally intelligible downfall." In this sense, Lady Dedlock suffers according to tragic convention. Frye 210.

<sup>17</sup> The theme of the fallen women deserves attention, since it is one of Dickens's *topoi*. He is known to have been engaged in an institution named "Urania Cottage" for prostitutes. In this house they were educated with a view of shipping them to the colonies (mainly Australia) as eligible wives. Considering Emily's journey for Australia after her misconduct with Steerforth in *David Copperfield*, Emily is almost equivalent to one of the "fallen." In this context, Lady Dedlock can be also defined as "fallen" because her relation with Nemo was sexual. As for "Urania Cottage," see Schwarzbach 118.

<sup>18</sup> As far as I know, the only criticism which deals with the relationship between Brown's *Work* and public health is Christopher Hamlin's. He regards the work as celebrating "the act of public health rather than the idea." Hamlin's consideration of the Brown is, however, very short, covering only two pages. Hamlin, *The Age of Chadwick* 333–34.

<sup>19</sup> Many critics mention the frictional relationship between Cruikshank and Dickens from their first joint work for *Sketches by Boz* onwards. Cruikshank's *The Bottle* and *The Drunkard's Children* both disgusted Dickens, in spite of his veneration of Cruikshank's social realism; see, for instance, Schwarzbach 119, Harvey, James, Stone and Patten. The text of "Gin Shop" used here is *Sketches by Boz and other Early Papers 1833–39*, ed. Slater 180–85. Slater points out that "Gin Shop" and "The Pawnbroker's Shop" strike a grimmer note than any other of Boz's stories; the subject of the pawnbroker is again Hogarthian, since in "Beer Street" and "Gin Lane" a pawnbroker's shop is pictured; in the latter, the business is successful but in the former failing. See Slater xiii–xiv.

<sup>20</sup> Together with *Bleak House*, *Oliver Twist*, whose protagonist was born into a workhouse, obviously poses sanitary questions in the Malthusian or Chadwickian context. *Oliver Twist* is, in this sense, a precursor of *Bleak House*. Such words as orphan, poverty, filthiness, insanitary conditions, crime, moral degradation, and so forth in *Oliver Twist* indicate its close relationship with *Bleak House*.

<sup>21</sup> What is of importance in Poovey's discussion of Chadwick's *Sanitary Report* is her close, subversive reading of the text against the background of patriarchal Victorian society. Within the so-called feminist criticism at large, Poovey discloses a male chauvinistic standpoint in Chadwick's discourse, by pointing out that in his *Sanitary Report* Chadwick frequently stresses the importance of "domesticity," thereby drawing attention to the women's role and duty as a housewife who should keep their house tidy and clean, i. e., in good sanitary conditions. Poovey 115–131.

<sup>22</sup> Much art criticism, in line with the socialistic inclination Brown himself confessed concerning his *Work*, has found in the painting, firstly, Hogarthian subjects of the opposition between idleness and industry, secondly, a Carlylean critique of modern industrial society based on "capitalism" and "Mammonism"; Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus* (1832) and *Past and Present* (1843) in fact left their marks on Brown and the painting; Brown calls one of his characters "Bobus," the untrustworthy sausage maker in *Past and Present*. See Newman & Watkinson 119–30, Treuherz, *Victorian Painting* 87, Treuherz, *Pre-Raphaelite Painting* 49, Brown 151–56, Huefer 415, Bendiner, *Victorian Painting* 131, Paulson, *Hoga-*

*rth's Graphic Works* 145–48, 367–69, Paulson, *Hogarth III*: 17–26, Engels 129.

The more or less straightforward puritan work ethic that the picture supports is underscored by the biblical quotation on the frame: “In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread” (*Genesis* 3: 19). See Treuherz, *Pre-Raphaelite Painting* 41. It is a famous manifesto of Max Weber’s that capitalism and the protestant work ethic are in harmony because the idea of “*Beruf*” or “calling” promotes hard work with no intention of making money, only for the devotion of oneself to God; accumulation of wealth by protestants is a mere result of the belief in the gospel of work, not of a mercenary drive. This moral value of labor supported by protestants was shared and proclaimed by Carlyle to the extent that it became a “key tenet of the Victorian.” See Warner 98–100, and Weber.

<sup>23</sup> According to Andrew Sanders’ annotation, Tom-all-Alone’s is partly based on St Giles, where Dickens made an expedition with Inspector Field — a model for Bucket — and others in 1851, and partly on the “decaying area” around Wych Street. Still another possibility is suggested by John Butt, who relates the description of Tom-all-Alone’s in chapter 46 with Dickens’s visit to Bermondsey, and possibly, Jacob’s Island in the neighborhood on January 7, 1853. The installment including the chapter was published in April 1853. In any case, it is clear that Dickens was well versed in the appalling circumstances of the London slums. Concerning Bermondsey and Jacob’s Island, the well-known report entitled “A Visit to the Cholera District of Bermondsey” by Mayhew was published on September 24, 1849 in *The Morning Chronicle*. In his reportage, Mayhew offers a horrible, insanitary picture of the area, heavily alluding to miasmatism: “On entering the precincts of the pest island, the air has literally the smell of a graveyard” (Mayhew 32). See *Bleak House*, ed. Sanders 818, 825; Butt & Tillotson 192–95.

<sup>24</sup> In reality, the sanitary construction in progress in Hampstead which Brown witnessed was for drainage, despite Brown’s belief that the excavation “was connected with the supply of water.” And yet, it is notable that the site was linked with the sanitarian movement in the middle of the century, whether it was for drainage, or supply of water. See Treuherz, *Victorian Painting* 87.

<sup>25</sup> For further information on cholera epidemics in the nineteenth-century Britain, see Margaret Pelling, and Mayhew, “A Visit to the Cholera Districts” 31.

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fig. 1. Ford Madox Brown, *Work* (182-65) ©Manchester City Art Galleries

BEER STREET.

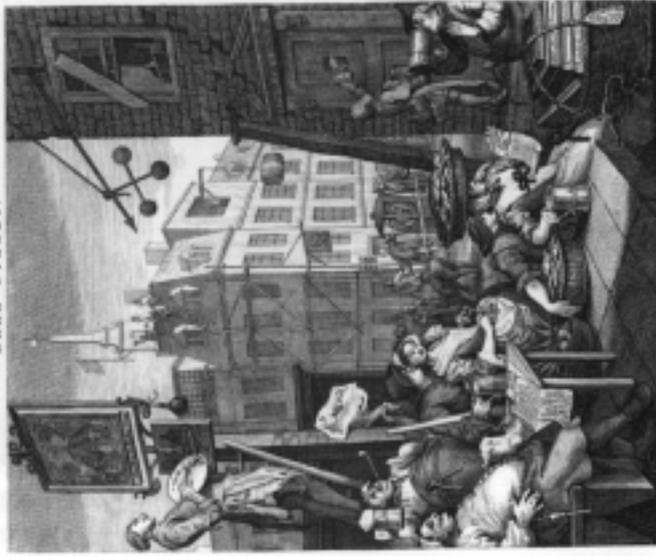


fig. 2 Hogarth, *Beer Street* (1751)

GIN LANE.



fig. 3 Hogarth, *Gin Lane* (1751)



The *GIN* Shop.

... how the man has shewn his strength  
They notice the gin from afar for sale.

They do it as a sign, for to be drunk  
And drink it up at two pence a quartion.

Original drawn by J. G. Kneller. ... 1829

fig. 4 Cruickshank, from  
*Scraps and Sketches* (1829)



fig. 5 Cruickshank,  
*The Drunkard's Children*, plate 8 (1848)