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Cover image: Rita Duffy, *Soften the Border*, 2017, installation on Blacklion-Belcoo bridge, dimensions variable.. Digital image courtesy of Rita Duffy (all rights reserved).

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British Art after Brexit

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Introduction by

British Art Studies Editorial Group,

Provocation

What does it mean to correlate art and art history with “nation”? At the time of publication, the full impact and effects of the United Kingdom’s withdrawal from the European Union are just beginning to manifest. In this feature, we are interested in the art-historical, historiographic, curatorial, political, legal, creative, and other aspects of how Brexit impacts on art making and the study of art history in relation to Britain. In light of Brexit and its attendant nationalist politics, we also envisage this Conversation Piece to be part of an ongoing dialogue about what it means to conceptualise a national art history, which in Britain’s case encompasses its pre-colonial and colonial pasts and neoliberal global presents.

The idea of “British art” has always been problematic. This has been highlighted in particular by art and architectural historians who work with material created before the concepts of “Britain” and “British” existed as commonly used signifiers of national identity, or implied meanings not carried by those terms today. Within art history, and the humanities more broadly, the rationale for using “nation” as an organisational category has long been scrutinised and discussed.¹ In 1994, in *Welcome to the Jungle: New Positions in Black Cultural Studies*, Kobena Mercer asked “Why the need for nation?”, underlining the critical energy that such questions brought to the activities of Black British artists and their ability to undermine racist and fascist constructions of nationhood.² In curatorial practice, the category of the nation appears to have been re-energised as a place of geopolitical critique, emerging more as a testing ground for questioning than as a descriptive, legal, or bureaucratic term.³ These efforts issue a challenge to redefine the relationship of art and its histories to nationhood from both within and beyond Britain. As Catherine Grant and Dorothy Price wrote in their “Decolonizing Art History” feature for *Art History* (2020),

the backdrop of Brexit cannot be ignored, along with the impact of austerity and precarity in the university and museum sectors, and the rise of nationalism and xenophobia in response to both economic and political migration. There is a sense of instability in the political landscape, and conversations are often harder to hear than accusations, condemnation or dismissal.⁴

We are “in” rather than “after” Brexit. Behind the theatre of the UK’s withdrawal from the European Union, many important mechanisms of collaboration in the arts have been, or are in the process of being, dismantled. Although much remains uncertain, immediate realities include the loss of around £40 million of EU arts funding per year, the UK’s withdrawal from the Erasmus scheme, and more complicated restrictions on moving, working, buying, and selling, between the UK and EU member states.⁵ If the UK becomes an expensive and prohibitive place to study, if access to EU research funding is not replaced, and if cultural institutions begin to see cross-Channel collaboration as a risk not worth taking, will these logistical borders be replicated in the future of how we understand art in Britain?



Figure 1.

Cornelia Parker, *A Side of England*, 1999, chalk retrieved from a cliff fall at Beachy Head, South Coast, England, wire, and mesh. Digital image courtesy of Christie’s Images / Bridgeman Images (all rights reserved).

Considering the wider cultural and political contexts of Brexit, we must also ask what it means to make, study, and curate “British” art in a neo-nationalist climate, particularly when the current UK Government exercises political control of the arts, intervening in decisions that curators and educators are trained to make.⁶ In so doing, the history of Britain’s resurgent and recurrent nationalisms simultaneously points to an orientation entwined, as Paul Gilroy has incisively shown over several decades, with the empire and its decline, racism, “postcolonial melancholia” and violence.⁷ This begs the question of why the compulsion to study national schools endures.

Brexit has amplified problems surrounding borders—physically and conceptually; within the UK and internationally—making Britain’s status as an island more palpable. While the character of these tensions has shifted over time, both the first referendum to leave the EU, in 1975, and the most recent one, in 2016, have made the distinctions between England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland more apparent and uncomfortable.⁸ We encouraged responses to this provocation that consider the impact of these reconfigurations on art making, the interpretation of historical and contemporary art, and the wider cultural field. How does Brexit change conceptualisations—past and present—of English, Northern Irish, Scottish, and Welsh art? How is the imagery and language of Brexit entering into the cultural imagination of Britain? How can art history account for the art and culture of the “borderlands”?⁹ What images and ideas of “British art” are being produced from beyond its physical borders? What can the longer histories of the artistic relationships between Britain and Europe tell us about how geographical and conceptual borders have been crossed, negotiated, and bypassed by cultural forms? And what can we learn from how the movement of European art historians to Britain in the past has shaped the field of art history? Finally, looking at the present, has Brexit instigated artists, writers, curators, and historians to imagine alternative forms of association and practice which reimagine or cast aside national frameworks?

Response by

Jenny Gaschke, Curator of European art pre-1900, Bristol Museum & Art Gallery

British Art Remains European art

“Si dans le contexte du Brexit, cette saison britannique trouve un écho particulier, elle n’en réaffirme pas moins avec force les liens indéfectibles tissés à travers l’histoire entre l’Angleterre et l’Aquitaine, restée toujours très anglophile”. ¹⁰

With these words, the Mayor of Bordeaux, Pierre Hurmic, introduces the sumptuous exhibition catalogue *Absolutely Bizarre! Les drôles d’histoires de l’Ecole de Bristol (1800–1840)*. The exhibition, which opened on 10 June 2021 and showcases eighty works by nineteenth-century artists including Francis Danby, Edward Bird, and Rolinda Sharples, has taken nearly five years to prepare (Fig. 2). It is a collaboration between the Musée des Beaux-Arts de Bordeaux, the Louvre, Paris, and Bristol Museum & Art Gallery, with additional loans from the Victoria Art Gallery in Bath and Tate. Work on this international project started just a few months after the Brexit referendum and successfully bridged the transition period and the final departure of the UK from the EU.



Figure 2.

Francis Danby, *Sunset at Sea After a Storm*, 1824, oil on canvas, 89.6 × 142.9 cm. Collection of Bristol Museum and Art Gallery (K5008). Digital image courtesy of Bristol Museum and Art Gallery (all rights reserved).

As a German curator of British and European art who works in the UK, Brexit has had more than a professional or academic impact on me. Even just focusing on the collections of British art in the UK and the ongoing work required to research, de-colonise, and interpret them—and make them accessible to all—it seems obvious to me that such essential curatorial tasks cannot be done outside a European context even after Brexit.

To me, maintaining this “European context” relates first to the continental European study and reception of British art, through projects such as Bordeaux’s exhibition: we need the external, yet informed and congenial perspective that side-steps British preconceptions of what British art is. Bristol and Bordeaux have been trading for centuries and have been twinned as cities for over seventy years—to our colleagues at the Musée des Beaux-Arts and their audiences, the Bristol School is not a minor regional phenomenon: it is simply British art history.

My hope is that the dedication required to stage such a major project, or even just the possibility for European researchers and curators to come to the UK and vice versa to discuss British art together, will continue despite new restrictions to travel and immigration. But I worry that a lack of foreign language confidence on the part of British art curators and museum professionals might make this work more difficult and could broaden the gap to Europe—what is the situation at British art history departments?

Secondly, it must be remembered that British art has never existed in isolation. Francis Danby, Irish-born, spent years working in Switzerland and France and brought continental thinking back with him when he returned to live in England—how about showing him alongside French artists? And for hundreds of years European artists (as well as art historians and curators) have come to Britain, co-exhibited, coexisted, co-shaped its art—even if this annoyed Britons as far back as William Hogarth. These contributors should not be written out of British art history.

There is no British art exceptionalism and there is no point in focusing solely on the local—a suggestion which some in the museum world might pander to in order to heal the Brexit divide. What is the local anyway? Over three million Europeans are still living in the UK and they too are our audiences, as are those who have come to the UK from around the globe. For the successful decolonisation of British art history which we owe our diverse audiences, we also need the comparison with other European art histories undergoing the same process.

Response by

Sarah Gould, Lecturer, Paris 1-Panthéon Sorbonne

Disorganization / Organization

As someone living in France, I first experienced Brexit through the delivery of a book on Thomas Gainsborough. I was surprised when the postman told me I owed an extra twenty-eight euros. It was a charge resulting from the new customs rules, he said. Meanwhile, I had noticed that British magazines took longer to arrive—when they arrived at all. These moments of friction may be anecdotal, but they have introduced a new form of temporality to cultural production and its accessibility, impacting bookshops, libraries, universities, and museums downstream. What does Brexit do to the study, the teaching of British art? In her important book *Transporting Visions: The Movement of Images in Early America* (2014), Jennifer Roberts proposed an alternative reading of artistic creation that looked at how the numerous physical displacements and removals to which a work of art may be subjected informs its very production. In this context, some exhibitions will no longer travel to Europe, and perhaps will never be organised in the first place. If we think about books or artworks as objects not only for themselves but also for their relations to the world, we have to reflect upon the pockets of meaning prompted by their circulation and, in the present Brexit-inspired case study, the time lag in the cross-cultural encounters they generate.

This is not just art theory. These new forms of temporal lag affect real people. Among the most noted consequences of Brexit is its interference with student exchange programmes. In the Turing scheme, which replaces the Erasmus programme in the UK, the emphasis is placed on *going* abroad. Very little is said, however, about incoming students, who, for now, will most likely have to pay exorbitant international fees. Anna Rossi is an artist who, as a student at the Beaux-Arts de Paris, was able to do her Erasmus exchange at the Slade, University College London (Fig. 3). People tend to forget that fine arts students also benefit from the program, as these exchanges are often made invisible by conventions on artist CVs.

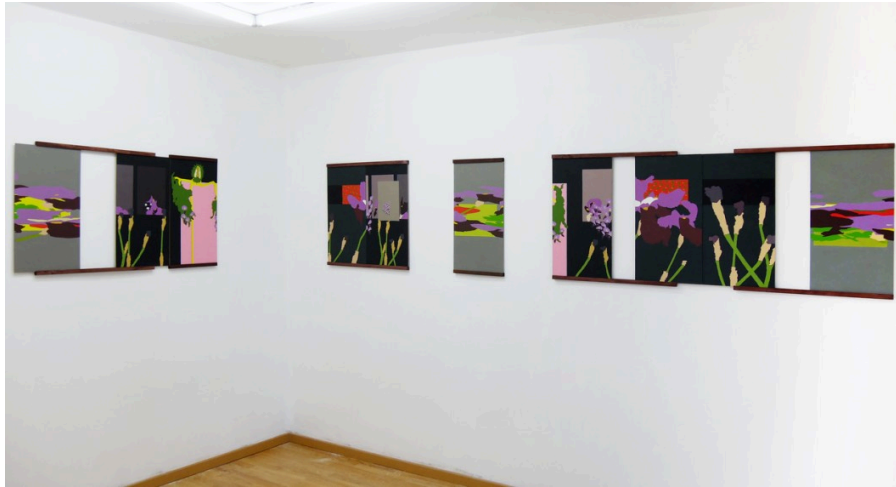


Figure 3.

Anna Rossi, *Espace Vert (Green Spaces)*, one of 52 panels (installation view), 2021, acrylic on wood panels, on rails, 12.5 × 23.5 in panels. Digital image courtesy of Anna Rossi (all rights reserved).

Equally, the consequences of Brexit have become almost inextricably tangled with the impact of the COVID-19 crisis, doubly tying up and suspending vital flows of cultural exchange. It is almost impossible to predict what restrictions will remain in place after the health crisis has passed. The pandemic-related restrictions are thus superimposed on the consequences of Brexit, forming a calcified and contradictory conjuncture: on the one hand, the hardening of nationalist ideology; on the other, a virus which knows no frontiers.

Thinking about who has access to British art shifts how we understand the academic field, the canon, and related teaching curricula. If we think about *organ*-isation and its corollary *dis-organ*-isation as a metaphor, perhaps we then should think about British art in terms of *organ*-isms. Could we consider things from the point of view of ecosystems, the molecular angle in which frontiers are not as rigid? Critical fields and artists that look to phenomena such as viruses or bacteria can prompt us to rethink the relationships between culture and the environments and territories in which we live. From this perspective, the study of Britain and British art can be less narrow and more rhizomic. The crises we are now living through require of us an expanded definition of national art, and of how we understand the term *nation* itself, drawing on different fields to construct non-hierarchical ontologies that question existing hegemonies in the present.

Response by

Gill Perry, Emeritus Professor of Art History at the Open University and Honorary Visiting Professor at Birkbeck College, University of London

Struggling with Plurals and “Island Artists”

As art institutions struggle with the harsh economic implications of Brexit, cultural debates have blossomed around controversial ideas of our “island nation”. The recent Brexit-related collusion of geography, history, and politics to reclaim an identity steeped in self-determination and “separateness” has enhanced the relevance of the island theme. Problems of definition notwithstanding, islands can be seen to have immutable borders (the sea) and uncontested geographies. Yet the idea of the island has been read as both open and closed, and, as such, they offer rich material for writers and artists. Recent debates have harnessed these imaginative possibilities in contradictory ways. The writer Madeleine Bunting has argued that being part of an island has been a central part of English nationalism. She points out that generations of children learned their history from H.E. Marshall’s *Our Island Story* (1905), despite the fact that the title is based on some obvious mistakes: “England shares an island with other nations, and the UK is actually an archipelago of about 6,300 islands. English nationalism struggles with plurals”. ¹¹

This historic inability to see Britain—and England—as part of a connected archipelago has informed the work of several contemporary British artists who have reimagined ideas of both nationhood and “islandness”. ¹² Several years before the 2016 referendum, the British artist Alex Hartley conceived of a multi-national island-state in his floating installation *Nowhereisland*, which was partly made up of rocks taken from a land mass that appeared in the Norwegian archipelago of Svalbard. Towed down the south-west coast of England during the 2012 Olympics, *Nowhereisland* boasted a portable embassy and invited all people to claim citizenship. ¹³ According to Hartley, during its development “we always talked about the idea of an island as a node of connectivity rather than a place alone and separated”. ¹⁴ This connectivity is also central to the work of the British artist Tania Kovats. Her *All the Islands of All the Seas* (2016) consists of thirty-six works, each containing up to ten different layered drawings of landmasses. Traced from atlases onto translucent paper, Kovats’s islands float across each other, giving up their geographic, cartographic, and cultural certainty—a system of plurals (Fig. 4).



Figure 4.

Tania Kovats, *All the Islands of All the Seas*, 2016, ink on layered matte acetate, 196 drawings, 32 parts, framed, 42 x 30 cm. Pippy Houldsworth Gallery. Digital image courtesy of Tania Kovats / Pippy Houldsworth Gallery (all rights reserved).

The label “island writers” is often used to identify a body of postcolonial writing from former British colonies in Caribbean, Indian, and Pacific archipelagos. These writers (including the St Lucian poet Derek Walcott) “have rendered island spaces as vital and dynamic loci of cultural and material exchange”. ¹⁵ As a series of small nations connected by the sea, they have profited from fluid, transcultural, diasporic, and regional alliances. Martiniquan writer Edouard Glissant has described the “openness” embodied by these islands: “the dialectic between inside and outside is reflected in the relationship between land and sea”. ¹⁶ For Kovats, Hartley and other contemporary British artists (including, for example, Simon Faithful and Tacita Dean), the sea is vital to the spatial scale of island imagination, enabling my parallel designation of “island artists”. In their work, the sea can act as a metaphor of connectivity within and beyond archipelagos. It can defy colonial and pro-Brexit narratives of separate island status and affirm the important role of art in the United Kingdom’s “struggle with plurals”.

Response by

Francesco Ventrella, Lecturer in Art History, University of Sussex and the 2019 Paul Mellon fellow, British School at Rome

British Art, Brexit, and the Black Mediterranean

In 2018, faced with the prospect of his own suicide driven by financial struggles, Roberto Pirrone instead shot another man, Idy Diene, a Senegalese vendor in Florence. Later, the white man told the police that he could not think straight when he had envisioned murder as an alternative to taking his own life. Pirrone's brutal logic cost him a thirty-year imprisonment (also taking him out of financial misery), while it cost Diene his life, "devalued by a racial calculus and a political arithmetic that were entrenched centuries ago".¹⁷ When the Italian police ruled out racism as the motive behind the killing, the Senegalese community in the city started to gather on the scene to demonstrate their anger. Some rubbish bins were kicked, a couple of flowerpots were broken. Commenting on the effects of the demo, the mayor defined the Senegalese protest as vandalism, thus shifting the national discussion away from racism and blaming the victims.

Diene was one of the many migrant workers and refugees who arrived in Europe via what Ida Danewid and others have termed the Black Mediterranean, not so much a geographical space as a historical condition of diaspora, shaped by the impact of centuries of French, Italian, and British colonial rule.¹⁸ One year after Diene's assassination, Phoebe Boswell, the Bridget Riley Fellow at the British School at Rome (BSR), exhibited a multimedia installation titled *Wake Work*, which included a four-panel group portrait drawn from press images of the Senegalese community members who protested in Florence, and three smashed flowerpots (Fig. 5).¹⁹

I took these pots from the fountain in the institution's courtyard, without permission, signalling directly to the institution, a provocation that prompted an internal discussion about what the BSR represents, how it functions, what it upholds, its inertia, and ultimately, how to decolonise the academy.²⁰



Figure 5.

Phoebe Boswell, Installation: *Wake Work I: Chinyere, You Are Loved (Rest in Power, Emmanuel Chidi Namdi)* (left), *In Solidarity and Remembrance* (centre), *Sing, Beloveds. Scream. Be Loud. Remember, We Were Never Meant to Survive (Rest in Power, Idy Diene)* (right), June Mostra exhibition, British School at Rome, 15–22 June 2019, 2019, graphite and chalk pencil on black paper, mounted on wood (left), broken flowerpots taken from the fountain of the British School at Rome (centre), graphite and white chalk on black paper, mounted on wood (right), variable. Digital image courtesy of Phoebe Boswell (all rights reserved).

As an act of both remembrance and re-enactment, the broken flowerpots remove the institutional gaze away from the discourse of race and re-centre it on the complex connections between history and property: the property of the municipal flowerpots damaged by the protesters; the colonial legacies of the British Schools across the Mediterranean; and the devaluation of Idy Diene's life subjected to "racial calculus". Britain's impending exit from the European Union in 2019 should be taken as a context to think about Boswell's work, but also as the text on which she intervenes to redact and annotate the role of British art institutions.²¹ While her initial project aimed to involve migrants and refugees in Rome marked by the experience of the Black Mediterranean, she quickly started to interrogate the relationship between the whiteness of the institution and Black optics—the structural limits which come to define the work of a Black artist only in relation to Blackness as spectacle. Interestingly, *Wake Work* is now part of Italian art history as well, having been taken on board by Black Italian artists and academics to mobilise the transnational coalitions of solidarity and resilience through which the installation has acquired even deeper meanings.²²

The institutional and political entanglements activated by the work demand that we use history to bridge the geographical distance between Dover and Lampedusa. Brexit does not originate anything new for British art and its institutions that does not already belong to the history of natural extraction and the calculus of life that have defined modernity in the advent of racial capitalism. And while I think about *Wake Work* and the lives that it commemorates and celebrates, I am reminded of the important difference in English between roots and routes: What transnational coalitions do we allow ourselves to form under the rubric of British art? Whose routes do we want British art to preserve and remember? Can we start to think, as Phoebe Boswell does, of artistic coalitions that engage with histories beyond the history of the nation? British art in the times of Brexit does not need to be defined by nationalism; it can be defined, instead, by the active resistance to that logic.

Response by

Kimberly Lamm, Associate Professor of Gender, Sexuality, and Feminist Studies, Duke University, Durham, NC

Brexit, Whiteness, and *The Arbor* (2010)

If the nation is a fiction made real by psychic investments in images of its cohesion, then Brexit exposes what people who have been subjected to Britain's imperial forays into the continents designated "dark" have known all along: the image of England coheres around whiteness. Clio Barnard's film *The Arbor* (2010) evokes some of the conditions that gave rise to the racism expressed and fueled by Brexit ([Fig. 6](#)). Funded by Artangel, which supports artwork that defies the boundaries of genre, *The Arbor* tells the story of Andrea Dunbar, a young white woman who lived, wrote, and died—prematurely, at the age of 29—on the Buttershaw estate, the notorious housing project in Bradford. Encouraged by a teacher, Dunbar garnered recognition for her skills as a playwright, as she represented the despair of England's post-industrial wasteland with insightful accuracy. Building on Dunbar's plays, Barnard's film attests to the compounded destruction brought about not by foreigners but by a culture of neglect justified by the neoliberal premise that people and places can be abandoned in the name of capitalist prosperity.



Figure 6.

Clio Barnard, *The Arbor*, 2010, film still. Digital image courtesy of Clio Barnard / Artangel (all rights reserved).

The Arbor is a documentary, but it is also an artwork that blurs the boundaries between reality and fantasy. It includes footage from an earlier documentary about Dunbar, presents interviews with people in her life, and restages scenes from her plays. The scenes that most stand out are those in which actors lip-sync the testimonies of Dunbar's children. The slight, Godard-like disconnect between the recordings and the images of the actors on screen creates an uncanny effect that destabilizes the voice as a sign of origin. Laura Mulvey describes these scenes as "bodily palimpsest[s]".²³ The testimony of Lorraine, Dunbar's half-Pakistani daughter, is the damaged heart of *The Arbor*. Engulfed by anger and alcoholism, Dunbar neglected all three of her children, but Lorraine was subjected to her mother's racist assaults, which inscribed her further within an orbit of misery. The portrayal of Lorraine narrating her life begs for a psychoanalytic reading: it reveals the violent words children inherit from their parents and the scars that repeat family narratives with cruel exactitude. Psychoanalysis is also pertinent to the slippage between the voice and the mouth of the actor, Manjinder Virk. Along with Lorraine's ability to, as Mulvey puts it, "articulate and analyze the most difficult aspects her life", this slippage opens possibilities for change.²⁴ Reflecting on her family's refusal to recognize her as Pakistani, Lorraine declares: "You don't have to be English to be part of a family".

The Arbor suggests that the exclusions Lorraine was subjected to within her own her family can be traced to her mother's fraught place in the racist world of the Buttershaw estate. Barnard recreates a scene from Dunbar's play, also called *The Arbor* (1980), in which "the girl" fends off the sexist and racist taunts of young white men who call her a "Dirty Slut" and a "Paki Lover". Dunbar and Barnard want viewers to see these men articulating the belief that they have a proprietary claim on the girl's life, body, and love. This belief is made possible by a definition of the white female body as a site for reproducing the fictions of racial stability and the delusions of white superiority. The penultimate scene of *The Arbor* is footage of Dunbar with Lorraine as a one-year-old infant traveling to London. As she bundles her daughter up, navigates getting her pushchair on to the train, and then wipes the steam from the window so they can look out of it together, viewers see Andrea's maternal care hinged to her movement into an independent future. The scene is, as Mulvey writes, "unbearably poignant in light of both their future lives".²⁵

Watching the conclusion to *The Arbor*, I thought of Brexit, but also Sigmund Freud. Narrowly escaping Nazi persecution, the British newspapers described Freud as a "poor refugee" when he arrived in London in 1938. Aided by Princess Marie Bonaparte and Ernest Jones, Freud's exceptional status saved him. And yet, reading about what Peter Gay describes as the "outpouring of kindness and sympathy" Freud received from "total strangers", one cannot help but think of an England that Brexit has boarded up and blocked from

view.²⁶ Freud brought with him the concept of the unconscious, as well as ideas and practices for rewriting its collective manifestations through nationalist aggressions. Elizabeth Danto shows that Red Vienna's experiment in democratic socialism impacted Freud's thinking, and in 1918 he gave a speech at the Fifth International Congress in Budapest in which he declared that psychoanalysis should be available to the poor. After this declaration, many of its practitioners across Europe thought of psychoanalysis as a social "right".²⁷ Free psychoanalytic clinics became part of a socialist vision in which healthcare, education, and art were not tools of exclusion but collectively available arenas for cultivating health. What if Dunbar and her daughter had been traveling in the England that welcomed Freud, and in turn, what if Freud had been able to realize the "right to psychoanalysis" on a national scale? Brexit mocks these questions, but *The Arbor* provokes us to ask them.

Response by

Jackson Davidow, Postdoctoral Fellow in the “Translating Race” Lab at the Center for the Humanities, Tufts University

Reframing AIDS, Reframing COVID-19

While the architects of Brexit could never have foreseen the calamity of COVID-19, the withdrawal from the European Union will forever be entangled with the pandemic in public memory. Grappling with these inseparable developments, many art historians have recently felt a stronger responsibility to decolonise the discipline, confront whiteness, and undo the tenacity of the nation state as an epistemological framework. Yet, these important intellectual projects, as the editors of *British Art Studies* have noted, are not new. In our scramble to contend with the interrelated biomedical, economic, and racial crises of today, it behooves us to reconsider a visionary archive of queer Black art, activism, and criticism.

One cultural work that remains chillingly relevant is Pratibha Parmar’s video *Reframing AIDS* (1987) (Fig. 7). At the height of Thatcherism, Parmar—a lesbian feminist Kenyan-born British of Indian descent—insisted that HIV/AIDS was structured by questions of race, gender, immigration, and representation. Analysing the disease, the torrential backlash against queers and people of color, and the emerging infrastructures of care and activism, *Reframing AIDS* stitched together an array of community and cultural workers across London.



Figure 7.

Reframing AIDS, 1987, video still. Digital image courtesy of Pratibha Parmar

Besides giving voice to women, Black people, individuals living with HIV, and artists—that is, those the mainstream media rarely gave the opportunity to speak for themselves—the video carved out a deeper context for understanding the virus as it operated on local, national, and global scales. The feminist activists Susan Ardill and Sue O’Sullivan discuss how the new national safe-sex campaigns completely missed the mark by neglecting women; the Labour politician Ken Livingstone criticised the climate of fear propagated by the government; and HIV-positive gay nurse George Cant shares his mixed experiences of support and discrimination in the NHS.

The HIV/AIDS pandemic fed into and intensified anti-Black racism, immigration control, and the lingering effects of colonialism. Parmar’s film illustrates this through interviews: the art historian and activist Simon Watney cites the fact that the UK and sixteen other countries restricted HIV-positive people from entering, and instituted mandatory testing for high-risk groups; the activist Dorian Jabri points out the rampant Africanization of AIDS in the media, a phenomenon on which the filmmaker Stuart Marshall and the critic Kobena Mercer also elaborate on. In dialogue with Grace Bailey, Mercer draws attention to the problematic cultural associations between the spread of germs and the intermixing of ethnic groups, especially Africans in Europe.

To reframe the AIDS crisis and support their vulnerable communities, as Parmar’s video posited and put into practice, cultural agents needed to transform the terms of representation—works of art, video, photography, and

criticism were fundamental to AIDS activism. Parmar's interviews with Sunil Gupta and Isaac Julien, whose respective photo series *Exiles* (1986) and video *This Is Not an AIDS Advertisement* (1987) were also featured, likewise reflect this conviction.

Because national imaginaries dangerously shape viral anxieties, the global perspectives of this brilliant cohort of Black and queer AIDS cultural activists can still offer guidance in the age of Brexit and COVID-19. Particularly as the virus comes under control in the Global North while continuing to wreak havoc on the Global South, we need to devise intersectional activist, scholarly, and creative projects that scrutinise the pandemic through the lens of decolonisation.

Response by

Isobel Harbison, Lecturer (Critical Studies), Department of Art, Goldsmiths, University of London

Fragmented Kingdom: Community Endeavors Reflect an Unstable Nation

In May 2021, the Turner Prize announced a list of nominees composed entirely of collectives. According to the jury's chair, it "captures and reflects the mood of the moment in contemporary British art".²⁸ The curated list comes in the long aftermath of Brexit and follows two years of disrupted awards. In 2020, the ceremony was cancelled, granting ten artists a £10,000 bursary. In 2019, the four nominees split the £40,000 award, reacting to a "political crisis in Britain" by declaring themselves a collective and issuing a joint statement, "in the name of commonality, multiplicity and solidarity".²⁹

This year's nominees includes Array, a group that responds to issues disproportionately affecting Northern Ireland including the decriminalisation of abortion and discrimination against queer communities, through performances, protests, exhibitions, and events (Fig. 8); Black Obsidian Sound System, a Queer, Trans, and Intersex Black and People of Colour collective championing sound-system culture across the African diaspora through club nights, art installations, technical workshops, and creative commissions; Cooking Sections, a London-based duo examining the ecological and geopolitical damages of food's mass-production through installation, performance, and video; Gentle/Radical, Cardiff-based artists, community workers, performers, faith practitioners, and writers adopting art as a tool for social change; and Project Art Works, a Hastings-based collective of neuro-diverse artists exploring art with and by neuro-minorities through exhibitions, events, films, and digital platforms.³⁰



Figure 8.

Members of the Turner-shortlisted Array Collective at an event on International Women's Day, 2019. Digital image courtesy of Alessia Cagnelli (all rights reserved).

While distinct in remit, each collective is localised—produced by specific groups determined by a shared sense of location, dislocation, or identity. They serve particular constituencies while also—in moments of visibility such as the Turner Prize—spotlighting under-recognised topics or challenging discrimination or marginalisation. Each group innovates distinct modes of public engagement, providing advisory or technical services beyond the auspices of participatory art. Discourse and activism are embedded within greater schemes of work, schemes that reach for financing beyond art's public funding bodies ailing under Conservative austerity.

While these praxes may be reflective of a distinctive present, they resemble the integrated practices of the British film workshop movement during the 1960s, later constituted by the "Workshop Declaration" of 1982.³¹ Bringing funding, recognition, and audiences to artist and filmmaking collectives, the Workshop Declaration, according to Claire M. Holdsworth, "sowed seeds that pluralised filmmaking in Britain, enabling a generation of innovative alternative filmmakers to make and show work, and convey perspectives not yet seen or heard, to ever wider publics".³² As well as producing films (of various formats, often broadcast by Channel 4), workshops were required to consider distribution, education, and community access to equipment. Workshops were also committed to racial diversity and local issues—a codified fusion of provision and representation disrupting an otherwise

predominantly white, middle-class, metropolitan political and media stronghold. Workshops included the Newcastle-based working-class collective Amber Films; the Black Audio Film Collective and Sankofa, both of which explored Black British identity and culture through film, video, and installation; Retake, Britain's first all-Asian film and video collective; and the Derry Film and Video Workshop, a women-led company with a focus on women's experiences in Ireland and Northern Ireland.

The Workshop Declaration's financial infrastructure was the result of complex negotiations with a previous Labour government, but came into effect as Britain toiled under Thatcher's slogan, "There Is No Alternative". Temporarily it appeared to provide just that—real funding for creativity, solidarity, and production.³³ It supported artists working locally and reparatively, as the state proceeded to govern heavily in the interests of the few. We're back here now, but while the Turner Prize nominees seem to return to similar focal points and group organising methods, rewards seem tokenistic by comparison to these earlier ventures. No real alternative, no real economy—not yet.

Response by

Edwin Coomasaru, Contributing Editor, *British Art Studies*

Brexit's Supernatural Borderlands

In 2017, the Northern Irish artist Rita Duffy collaborated with Catholic and Protestant women living on either side of the Irish border to create *Soften the Border*, an installation that straddled the geopolitical line running through Belcoo-Blacklion Bridge between County Fermanagh in the United Kingdom and County Cavan in Ireland (Fig. 9). A series of knitted orbs, votive dolls, and disembodied cats' heads were exhibited over the River Belcoo. Duffy worked with cross-community groups set up with European Union peace funding after 1998; the artwork is a testament to the links and bonds between border peoples that do not map neatly on to national boundaries.



Figure 9.

Rita Duffy, *Soften the Border*, 2017, installation on Blacklion-Belcoo bridge, dimensions variable. Digital image courtesy of Rita Duffy (all rights reserved).

Colonised by the Normans (and later the English) from 1169, Ireland was incorporated into a joint kingdom with Britain between 1801 and 1921, when it was partitioned by Westminster. A thirty-year civil war (1968-1998) between loyalists, republicans, and the British state was fought over whether Northern Ireland should remain in the UK or join the Republic of Ireland. During the conflict the border was often a site of violence, and in the 1970s

the British Army secretly staged black magic rituals near the border as a form of psychological warfare.³⁴ The geopolitical boundary line winds through 310 miles of countryside, occasionally splitting farms and even houses.

Ireland and the UK joined the European Economic Community on the same day in 1973, and the creation of an EU single market in 1993 helped ease some of the border's economic friction. The majority of voters in Northern Ireland voted to remain in the 2016 EU referendum. The 1998 peace agreement—the Good Friday Agreement—had granted those born in Northern Ireland access to both British and Irish citizenship, a conception of state-sanctioned identity that profoundly jarred the demands of Brexiteers that the UK “take back control” of its borders. The legacy of the conflict and the fragile peace process presented deep problems for those living in Ireland and Northern Ireland, and Northern Ireland's power-sharing government collapsed in the three years following the referendum. The Irish border also presented serious problems for British politicians pursuing a hard Brexit after 2016. Between 2016 and 2020, journalists and MPs proposed variously that the UK annex Ireland or “starve” the country (which had experienced the Great Famine in 1845–1852).³⁵

Before he became prime minister, Boris Johnson underplayed the border issue, criticizing the government for letting it dictate EU exit negotiations, or “allowing the tail to wag the dog”.³⁶ After election to the UK Government's highest office in 2019, Johnson conceded to the EU's original proposals for an economic border in the Irish Sea between Britain and Northern Ireland. The latter remains in the EU's regulatory orbit, giving the former the option to diverge, which has angered some unionists and loyalists. Duffy's installation on the Belcoo-Blacklion Bridge helped raise the profile of the Irish border during withdrawal negotiations, and reflected on how border peoples have been both profoundly impacted by and also long worked against national boundaries as they shift over time.

The UK's borders, like Britain itself, are neither natural nor atemporal: they are unstable expressions and structures of power, contested and challenged throughout history. The EU referendum and withdrawal negotiations both articulated and exacerbated a profound crisis of British identity, especially in England. Researching art in relation to Britishness means coming into contact or conflict with the power struggles and myths that shape the country's violent histories.

Artists and art historians making work in relation to Britain have long been complicit with or critical of imperial propaganda. In an attempt to try and justify centuries of oppression and theft, proponents of the British Empire claimed it represented order, progress, civilisation, rationality and modernity.

In 1895, the colonial secretary insisted that “the British race is the greatest of governing races the world has ever seen ... shown by the success which we have had in administering vast dominions”. ³⁷ These rhetoric strategies sought to rebrand the mass murder and material wealth British society was built on as benevolent custodianship. ³⁸ History as an intellectual discipline in Britain has also long been organised by narratives of linear progress indelibly shaped by empire. ³⁹

While imperialism remains pervasive throughout the UK, it seems possible that the political crises after 2016 caused more people in England to question widely naturalized narratives about Britain’s past and supposed superiority. In this context, Duffy’s votive dolls and occult symbols on the Belcoo-Blacklion Bridge draw on longer histories of supernaturalism across the British Isles to unravel rhetoric of rationality versus irrationality that shaped British imperialism. ⁴⁰ But even as Brexit supporters likened the UK leaving the EU to Ireland’s violent struggle for independence, the Irish border troubled the image held among British politicians and the press about the nation as a neatly bounded entity. ⁴¹

One Irish journalist observed that “the ‘peripheral peoples’ of the Irish borderlands have been the ghosts at the Brexit feast and their insistence on being heard has radically changed the tenor of English politics”. ⁴² Artworks such as *Soften the Border* tap into and trace deeper social shifts, revealing the ways in which artists and activists resist the conceptual narratives that have long underpinned normative ideas of Britishness. Any British art history must pay attention to such contestations, to think critically and self-reflexively about the ways in which the discipline is both complicit in or challenges structures of violence and oppression that underpin the UK’s past and present.

Response by

James Alexander Cameron, independent medieval architectural historian

Between British and English: Racial Shibboleths in Medieval Architecture

“British art” has been an awkward term for scholars of medieval architecture long before Brexit due to the Kingdom of England’s cultural separation from Scotland since the end of the thirteenth century.⁴³ Even when acknowledging the occupation of Wales as a principality and Ireland as a lordship, “English art” also has unfortunate structural problems in its methods and nomenclature.⁴⁴ Formative post-war studies that lay the groundwork, such as the *Oxford History of English Art*, edited by T. S. R. Boase, Alec Clifton-Taylor’s *The Pattern of English Building* (1962), and, of course, Nikolaus Pevsner’s *The Buildings of England* series (first published in 1951) could be accused of naively promoting a sense of a prelapsarian vernacular English building, untainted by British imperialism.⁴⁵ Consequently, the field of medieval architectural history today—overwhelmingly white and Oxbridge-educated—is complacent about the use of racial terminology, which is arguably more malignant than puerile nationalistic Union-Jack waving.

Early medieval literary studies has long been embroiled in a controversy over the terminology “Anglo-Saxon”, and its use by white supremacists to emphasise Germanic ancestry.⁴⁶ Terms that historians often take for granted, such as the “Anglo-Saxon Chronicle”, are most often recently invented labels, and ones that should be open to revision and change.⁴⁷ Yet, change in architectural history is unforthcoming. “Anglo-Saxon” is used in the most recent editions of *Pevsner Architectural Guides* to refer to anything Romanesque that has a pre-Norman style of construction, grouping the mid-eleventh-century tower of Earl’s Barton in Northamptonshire ([Fig. 10](#)) in with monuments as diverse in chronology as the Carolingian-period Brixworth church in what would then have been the Kingdom of Mercia (c.800) and sites as early as the seventh century.⁴⁸



Figure 10.

Parish church of All Saints, Earl's Barton, *Northamptonshire*. The originally free-standing tower was probably constructed in the 1050s, possibly as burhgeat: a tower required for the promotion of a ceorl to a thegn in pre-Conquest English law. The lord of Earl's Barton in 1066 was royal thegn Bondi the Staller, whose name suggests he had Danish parentage, 2018, photograph. Digital image courtesy of James Cameron (all rights reserved).

There is another persistent complacency in English medieval architecture studies: a reluctance to seriously reassess the work of John Hooper Harvey, who was perhaps third only in stature to Pevsner and Clifton-Taylor during the post-war years. This is despite the fact that it has been public knowledge for over a decade now that he was a member of the Imperial Fascist League—the most extreme British fascist party with strong links to Nazi Germany—and the author of vehemently anti-Semitic tracts.⁴⁹ Immediately after the Second World War, Harvey spent extended spells in Spain, admiring of its “intense conservatism [and] all-pervading feeling of nationality” under

Franco.⁵⁰ In the late 1970s, he maintained that the Crown court was correct in its 1255 judgement to execute nineteen Jews of Lincoln under accusation of the ritual murder of a young boy, who would be venerated as Little St Hugh under royal approval.⁵¹

It is not just a case of “separating the art from the artist” with Harvey. Beyond the barely disguised ethno-nationalism and authoritarianism of his survey *Gothic England* (1947), because of his overbearing belief in the creative genius of individual “great men” (most often called John, as it happens),⁵² his apparently forensic approach to dating buildings through documentary analysis is frequently deeply flawed. Chasing a name, Harvey’s scholarship misled Pevsner (and thus generations of readers of the *Wiltshire Buildings of England*) that Salisbury Cathedral’s iconic spire was built a generation later than it actually was.⁵³ Despite his manifest shortcomings as a historian and a person, I still frequently come across his critical judgements held in the highest regard by contemporary writers.⁵⁴

Terminologies in medieval architectural history, like public statues, should not be immune from disputation and, if necessary, retirement. I would argue that, rather than marking a turning point, Brexit represents only a continuing reluctance for self-reflection on issues of national identity, not just in the culturally conservative political and punditry establishment, but also in supposedly liberal UK academia. As familiar as the term “Anglo-Saxon” has become when referring to pleasingly ancient structures like the Earl’s Barton tower, correlation of architecture styles with racial bloodlines is irresponsible.

Response by

Imogen Hart, Adjunct Assistant Professor, History of Art Department,
University of California, Berkeley

British Craft Before the European Union

In September 2017, David Peters Corbett and I asked: “What is the role of art history in the Brexit era?”⁵⁵ A year after the Brexit referendum, it seemed essential to explore how art history could “shed light on the history of Britain’s interaction with other countries and cultures”.⁵⁶ Since then, as the editors note in their provocation, the UK government has attempted to set limits on the role of art historians. In 2021, our question takes on a new, more sinister meaning: how is art history being circumscribed in the Brexit era? One way to resist current efforts to depoliticize art history is to expose the ways in which objects have been mobilized to support the agendas of the state.

In 1942, the British Council sent an *Exhibition of Modern British Crafts* to tour North America (Fig. 11).⁵⁷ Planned before the United States’ entry into the Second World War, this exhibition was part of a program of cultural diplomacy that sought to win American sympathy for the Allies’ cause.⁵⁸ The exhibition attempted to reinforce Britain’s “special relationship” with the United States by presenting British craft as a symbol of Western democracy.⁵⁹ Framed by a narrative of Britain as the last European country to hold out against the onslaught of fascism, the objects on display were invested with principles of freedom and individuality.⁶⁰



Figure 11.

Muriel Rose Adjusts the Country Dining Room Installation at the Modern British Crafts exhibition, *Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York*, 21 May–19 July 1942, June 1945, photograph. Digital image courtesy of Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Photo: Art Resource, New York (all rights reserved).

As much as *Modern British Crafts* seemed to affirm the stability of national culture—displaying “jugs in traditional English shapes” and asserting that British crafts had not “greatly changed in character and quality” since opus anglicanum—it also demonstrated how dependent that culture was on international relationships.⁶¹ Far from strengthening the supposedly unchanging national craft tradition, isolation left British craft struggling to survive. All but a handful of the exhibits had been produced before the war. Craftspeople were redeployed to war work; materials were impossible to obtain because they were being used to make weapons or they could no longer be imported; craft galleries were forced to close; and, even for those few who could continue to practice, the market for their work had shrunk.⁶² British craft needed peace to thrive and it needed international consumers to make it sustainable.

Modern British Crafts was organized by the British Council rather than the Ministry of Information because it was not ostensibly political.⁶³ But numerous supporters on both sides of the Atlantic observed its political value, one claiming that it was “much more valuable than any more direct form of propaganda”.⁶⁴ Let this be a warning to us. A history of British art

that does not constantly critique the concept of Britishness and analyze art's role in constructing national identity will be "much more valuable" to the state than "any more direct form of propaganda".

Response by

Corinne Fowler, Professor of Postcolonial Literature, University of Leicester
and Director of Colonial Countryside: National Trust Houses Reinterpreted

***A Young Coachman.* British (English) School: Interpreting Country House Paintings in a Neo-Nationalist Era**

In 1840, a portrait was painted of a black coachboy, one of two black servants who served at Erddig Hall in North Wales ([Fig. 12](#)). The young man is dressed in a red and blue livery. His eyes meet the viewer of his portrait. The National Trust Collections website describes the portrait as British, but this should not detract from the global contexts in which such paintings were produced.⁶⁵ William Wilberforce is mentioned in the writing at top right of the painting, which recounts the coachboy's misfortunes. The painting shows the cultural impact of black and white abolitionists' campaigns during this period. It reflects a series of national and international conversations about slave-trading, slavery and the apprenticeship system. Apprenticeship was really slavery by another name: the 1833 Emancipation Act initially obliged enslaved people to work, unwaged, for an additional eight years. The issue of apprenticeship was resolved just two years before the painting's completion.



Figure 12.

British (English) School, John Meller's Black Coachboy, 1770-1799, oil on canvas, 114.3 x 91.4 cm. Collection of Erddig, Wrexham (NT 1151289). Digital image courtesy of National Trust Images (all rights reserved).

The prominence of Emancipation debates during this period provides a useful context for understanding the painting's resonance at the time. The painting is actually based on a much earlier portrait of a black servant, dated 1770, when slave-trading was at its peak. Although Britain was then mired in the slave-trade, many Britons nonetheless deplored the slavery business, including William Wordsworth, who was born in that same year. Also in 1770, Captain Cook dropped anchor in modern-day Sydney, renaming it Botany Bay and claiming "New South Wales" for Britain. On board his ship was Joseph Banks who had, in Tahiti, spotted the breadfruit. He saw the potential of this as cheap food for enslaved people in the Caribbean. Banks was an advocate of slavery because of its contribution to the British economy. Bank's attempts at transplanting breadfruit to feed the enslaved in the Caribbean was initially unsuccessful, but other attempts did meet with

success. Banks went on to become the unofficial director of Kew Gardens, which became an influential international knowledge and seed-exchange, at the heart of colonial botany. A network of plant hunters sprang up to serve wealthy patrons and gardeners' nurseries sold expensive "exotic" plants for healthy profits. These sorts of colonial activities had a real bearing on country house estates and portraits of this nature.

Paintings depicting black servants, often children, hang in country houses throughout Britain. The 1840 Erdigg portrait is unusual. It depicts the servant as a subject in his own right. More often, African and Indian servants were painted gazing up adoringly at their employers. As Paterson Joseph points out—and David Dabydeen before him—for decades art historians have overlooked the stories of black sitters, which remain largely unresearched and untold.⁶⁶

It is a challenge to research and tell these stories in the midst of a "culture war". This war was declared by a group of fifty-nine MPs and seven Peers, called the Common Sense Group, inspired by the European Research Group, which was influential on Brexit policy.⁶⁷ Brexit taught these politicians that nationalism wins votes. The Common Sense Group declared a "culture war" in the summer of 2020. Its leader, Sir John Hayes, repeatedly condemned the National Trust report on its properties' links to colonialism. He also said that an English Heritage report on the slavery connections of the built heritage "should be shredded".⁶⁸ His words typify the group's openly confrontational tone.

The relationship between government and curators has lately come under strain. Curators should—in principle at least—be protected from political interference by the customary government "arm's-length" principle. Regardless of the current political mood, there remains a body of country house paintings and a wealth of untold stories. It is our duty to tell them, whatever the pressures might be to keep them from view.

Response by

Alexander Massouras, artist and writer

The Present Order

In the twentieth century artists have clustered with remarkable geographic specificity: St Ives, Norwich, or London have all offered much more meaningful delineations than Britain or England. Even London resists usefulness as a defining territory, easily fragmenting into smaller constituencies: Hampstead in the 1930s was home to what Herbert Read called the “nest of gentle artists”.⁶⁹ The circle could be smaller still, confined to Parkhill Road, where residents for a brief period included John Cecil Stephenson, John Skeaping, and Piet Mondrian, who lived next door to Ben Nicholson and Barbara Hepworth. Or there is Dalston in the 1980s–1990s, a hub for the Black Audio Film Collective, whose founders, including John Akomfrah and Lina Gopaul, had originally met in Portsmouth.

And if such specific groupings are shifting and unstable, what chance is there that something as baggy as nationhood could carry useful definitional meaning? Ian Hamilton Finlay’s *Little Sparta* offers an array of works pertinent to these questions of geographic distinction, their potency heightened by the vicissitudes of recent politics. In the Pentland Hills outside Edinburgh (which may or may not be British in the future), *Little Sparta* documents a kind of retreat and insularism, which is offset by the ambition of its imagination and its reach through time. Hamilton Finlay had the advantage that his battle was, at least nominally, with relatively contained entities: Strathclyde local authority and the Scottish Arts Council. But his laconic, occasionally satirical responses fight a long and more universal fight.

Among *Little Sparta*’s works is *The Present Order*, conceived in 1983 (Fig. 13). It is a carving of a quotation by the French revolutionary Louis Antoine Léon de Saint-Just, realised in five iterations during the 1980s, in Dutch, English, French, German, and Italian. Each word of the quotation, “The present order is the disorder of the future” (as it is in English), is carved on a separate stone fragment. If it was not for their weight, their spacing would invite reordering, like magnetic poetry on a fridge door. The work’s historical connotations and many languages connect it to Europe, but each version also belongs to its landscape, its mud and grass. Likewise, the paradox of *The Present Order*’s own relationship to order. Despite window-dressing suggestive of disorder and variability—the edges of each slab, for instance, would not lock together—the text nevertheless appears in order and fixed in stone. Like much sculpture, it is editioned, following an internal order and the order and conventions of the market. Like many editions, the work is and is not plural, existing as a population of similar but unique objects. Looking at

The Present Order from what feels like the disorder of the future, the ambiguities of Hamilton Finlay's work allow it to be either a consolation or a bittersweet manifesto. It behaves like a ruin battered by time, but all except thirty years of that age is an illusion, a fiction like nationhood itself, and like the future Saint-Just imagined.



Figure 13.

Ian Hamilton Finlay, *The Present Order is the Disorder of the Future Saint-just*, 1983, carving. Little Sparta, Dunsyre, Scotland. Digital image courtesy of The Estate of Ian Hamilton Finlay: Photo: Victoria Miro Gallery (all rights reserved).

Sparta was a city state, which (to participate in Hamilton Finlay's time-travel) might be a description applied by future historians to London. We might wonder what were Sparta's own Hampsteads and Daltons and what qualities distinguished them to attract artists? Were those qualities Spartan, Peloponnesian, or more broadly dispersed, making the artists feel connected to the world beyond Sparta?

Footnotes

- 1 Mark Cheetham, *Artwriting, Nation, and Cosmopolitanism* (London: Routledge, 2016); Antoinette Burton, *After the Imperial Turn: Thinking with and Through Nation* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003); and William Vaughan, "The Englishness of British Art", *Oxford Art Journal* 13, no. 2 (1990): 11–23. The journal also addressed this subject in its inaugural issue: Richard Johns, "There's No Such Thing as British Art", *British Art Studies*, no. 1 (2015), doi:[10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-01/conversation](https://doi.org/10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-01/conversation).
- 2 Kobena Mercer, *Welcome to the Jungle: New Positions in Black Cultural Studies* (London: Routledge, 1994), 5.
- 3 Most recently, the British Art Network's Black British Art Research Group organised a workshop titled "Curating Nation", inviting artists, curators, and scholars to focus on expanded and more diverse narratives of British art that push the parameters of the nation. The event was led by Alice Correia, Elizabeth Robles, and Marlene Smith, in conversation with Hammad Nasar, curator of *British Art Show 9* (which will travel between Wolverhampton, Aberdeen, Plymouth, and Manchester in 2021–2022), see Cat Cooper, "Curating Nation: Call for Contributions", 22 January 2021, <https://www.arts.ac.uk/about-ual/press-office/stories/curating-nation-call-for-contributions>. For *British Art Show 9*, 13 May–14 September 2022, see <https://homemcr.org/exhibition/british-art-show-9/>.

- 4 Catherine Grant and Dorothy Price, "Decolonizing Art History", *Art History* 43, no. 1 (January 2020): 8-66, doi:[10.1111/1467-8365.12490](https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8365.12490).
- 5 Euclid, "Assessing the European Union's Contribution to the Arts, Museums & Creative Industries in England 2007-2016" (London: Arts Council England, 2018), <https://www.artscouncil.org.uk/publication/assessing-eu-s-contribution-arts-museums-creative-industries>.
- 6 In September 2020, the Department for Education prohibited teachers in England from using material created by organisations "that take extreme political stances on matters" such as "a publicly stated desire to abolish or overthrow ... capitalism", notably keeping materials from antiracist groups, such as Black Lives Matter, and environmentalist groups, out of classrooms. See Mattha Busby, "Schools in England Told Not to Use Material from Anti-Capitalist Groups", *The Guardian*, 27 September 2020, <https://www.theguardian.com/education/2020/sep/27/uk-schools-told-not-to-use-anti-capitalist-material-in-teaching>. Again, in September 2020, the government also instructed arms-length bodies such as museums and galleries to follow its position on contested heritage, which "does not support the removal of statues or other similar objects". See letter from Oliver Dowden to the Department for Digital, Culture, Media & Sport, "HM Government Position on Contested Heritage", File INT2020/19838/DC, 22 September 2020, https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/922293/22-09-20_Letter_to_DCMS_ALBs.docx. Most recently, the report from the government's Commission on Race and Ethnic Disparities calls for "all children to reclaim their British heritage" against "negative calls for 'decolonising' the curriculum". See Commission on Race and Ethnic Disparities, "Independent Report: Foreword, Introduction, and Full Recommendations", 28 April 2021, <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/the-report-of-the-commission-on-race-and-ethnic-disparities/foreword-introduction-and-full-recommendations>. For further examples, see Peter Walker, "Government To Appoint 'Free-Speech Champion' For English Universities", *The Guardian*, 14 February 2021, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/feb/14/government-to-appoint-free-speech-champion-for-universities-heritage-history-cancel-culture>; and Alex Barker, Nic Fildes, and George Parker, "Charles Dunstone Quit Museum Post over Government 'Culture War'", *Financial Times*, 1 May 2021, <https://www.ft.com/content/25642d90-d79c-416f-9ebe-30895790bfa9>.
- 7 Paul Gilroy, *Postcolonial Melancholia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005).
- 8 Robert Saunders, *Yes to Europe! The 1975 Referendum and Seventies Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), see especially "Introduction: A Fanfare for Europe", 1-26, <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108340915>.
- 9 Ysanne Holt, "On Watery Borders, Borderlands, and Tania Kovats' *Head to Mouth*", *Arts* 8, no. 3 (2019): 104-114, <https://doi.org/10.3390/arts8030104>.
- 10 "If, in the context of Brexit, this British season finds a particular echo, it nonetheless strongly reaffirms the unwavering links woven through history between England and Aquitaine, which has always remained very anglophile".
- 11 Madeleine Bunting, "Books About Our Island Mentality", *The Guardian Review*, 23 March 2019, no. 62, 38.
- 12 "Islandness" is a concept broadly used (and debated) in contemporary Island Studies to denote a sense of a separate or contained culture and identity. I explore this term in my forthcoming book: *Islands in Contemporary Art* (London: Reaktion Books, 2022).
- 13 Gill Perry, "Landscaping Islands: Alex Hartley's 'Nowhereisland' and Floating Histories in Contemporary British Art", *British Art Studies* 10 (November 2018), doi:[10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-10/gperry](https://doi.org/10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-10/gperry).
- 14 Email interview with the artist, 7 June 2021.
- 15 Elizabeth DeLoughrey, "Island Writing, Creole Cultures", in *The Cambridge History of Postcolonial Literature*, ed. Ato Quayson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 802-803.
- 16 Édouard Glissant, *Caribbean Discourse* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 1989), 139.
- 17 Saidiya Hartman, *Lose your Mother: A Journey along the Atlantic Slave Route* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007), 6.
- 18 Ida Danewid, "White Innocence in the Black Mediterranean: Hospitality and the Erasure of History", *Third World Quarterly* 38, no. 7 (2017), 1674-89; and The Black Mediterranean Collective, eds., *The Black Mediterranean: Bodies, Borders and Citizenship* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021).
- 19 Each flowerpot commemorates three recent victims of racism in Italy: Emmanuel Chidi Namdi, Pateh Sabally, and Idy Diene. Their portraits were also included in the show.
- 20 Phoebe Boswell, "Letter to Frank Bowling". Talk, Tate Britain, London, 26 June 2019.
- 21 Here I am paraphrasing from Christina Sharpe's discussion of "Black annotation" and "Black redaction" as new modes of writing that counter the detached optics and brutal architectures of state power over Black life; see Christina Sharpe, *In the Wake: On Blackness and Being* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016), 113-30.
- 22 Some elements of the installation *Wake Work* were exhibited in Florence in 2019 as part of *The Recovery Plan*, curated by Justin Randolph Thompson. In October 2019, Boswell returned to the BSR for a talk with the Italian scholar Angelica Pesarini (New York University), see 'Conversation with Phoebe Boswell and Angelica Pesarini', The BSR Podcast, 30 July 2020, <https://www.bsr.ac.uk/news/events-podcasts>.
- 23 Laura Mulvey, "Clio Barnard, *The Arbor*", in *Afterimages: On Cinema, Women, and Changing Times* (London: Reaktion, 2019), 160.
- 24 Mulvey, "Clio Barnard, 'The Arbor'", 162.
- 25 Mulvey, "Clio Barnard, 'The Arbor'", 161.
- 26 Peter Gay, *Freud: A Life for Our Time* (New York: Anchor Books, 1989), 631.

- 27 Elizabeth Ann Danto, *Freud's Free Clinics: Psychoanalysis and Social Justice, 1918-1938* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005).
- 28 Alex Farquharson, Director of Tate Britain and Chair of the Turner Prize, "Turner Prize Shortlist Announced", Tate, Press Release, 7 May 2021, <https://www.tate.org.uk/press/press-releases/turner-prize-shortlist-announced-0>.
- 29 Mark Brown, "Turner Prize Awarded Four Ways After Artists' Plea to Judges", *The Guardian*, 3 December 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2019/dec/03/turner-prize-2019-lawrence-abu-hamdan-helen-cammock-oscar-murillo-and-tai-shani-shared>.
- 30 In describing their commitments to and solidarity with "the queer communities", Array consistently adopt the lower-case, whereas B.O.S.S apply upper-case consistently with other identifiers. I maintain both cases within this sentence to reflect this diversity of approaches.
- 31 The Workshop Declaration was an agreement made in 1982 between Channel 4 (C4) and the trade union, Association of Cinematograph, Television and Allied Technicians (ACTT) in consultation with the Independent Film-Makers' Association (IFA), the British Film Institute (BFI), and regional arts associations. See Claire M. Holdsworth, "The Workshop Declaration: Independent and Organised Labour", in *Other Cinemas, Politics Culture and Experimental Film in the 1970s*, ed. Sue Clayton and Laura Mulvey (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), 307-12.
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Slade, London, Asia: Contrapuntal Histories between Imperialism and Decolonization 1945–1989 (Part 1)

Liz Bruchet and Ming Tiampo

Abstract

This feature takes the Slade School of Fine Art as the starting point for a global microhistory and reimagines ways of engaging with, co-constituting, and curating a research archive in pursuit of this endeavour. It consists of two parts: contributions in this issue of *British Art Studies* focus on the immediate post-war period, roughly 1945 to 1965, and a forthcoming second part will consider the 1960s to the 1990s. In this issue, the feature comprises a narrative history that interrogates the Slade's role as a contrapuntal node, and a companion archival feature that brings together materials from multiple institutional and personal archives in Asia and the United Kingdom (UK). Building upon Edward Said's use of the musical metaphor of contrapuntalism to address both the presence of empire in the metropolis and the construction of a transnational counterpoint with multiple voices, this project seeks to surface histories at the intersection of art education, imperialism, and decolonization. By using the Slade as a transversal line that connects multiple people and histories from Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Indonesia, Singapore, Nigeria, Sudan, Uganda, Britain and beyond, this essay proposes new ways of writing histories of contrapuntal—not multiple—modernisms, as well as understanding art in Britain itself as a product of empire.

Authors

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Introduction

The Slade School of Fine Art occupies a complex place in the global history of art education, art practice, empire, and decolonization. The Slade is both an art school and a department of University College London, an abolitionist institution and the first secular university in England.¹ From its inception in 1871, the Slade accepted students regardless of race, gender, or religion, and trained students from throughout the British Empire and around the world. As such, it was both an institution of imperial education and a contact zone where imperialism and decolonization existed cheek by jowl, co-constituting the futures of its students, staff, and their networks both in Britain and overseas.²

In the mid-twentieth century, many future artistic and cultural leaders of the postcolonial world would graduate from the Slade. As a result, the Slade is a site of contrapuntal histories that work against the singularity of official imperial narratives, as those who passed through its corridors built new artistic worlds after independence. Indeed, this phenomenon intensified after the end of the Second World War when, with the rise of independence movements throughout Asia and Africa, ambitious students seeking to build new national futures pursued higher education in London and endeavoured to put their learning to decolonial ends. In this context, Britain also began to consider its own post-imperial futures, and imagined itself at the centre of a commonwealth of nations connected through language and culture.³ Between 1950 and 1960, Britain sought to train a “successor generation” of future leaders in newly independent nations, and increased the number of overseas students in the UK from 10,000 to 50,000, and the number of such students at the Slade show it was no exception to this pattern.⁴ Indeed, as a part of the University of London, which had a privileged place in the British university system as the “imperial mother of universities”⁵, the Slade received many students sponsored through official government channels, and its administrative records reveal an increasing interest in promoting and accounting for the international character of its student population.

“Slade, London, Asia” documents how the Slade functioned during the post-war period (1945–1989), as a site of encounter, decolonization, and exploration for overseas artists, with a particular focus on Asian artists, their networks, and the worlds that they made and imagined, both during and after their time at this art school. It demonstrates how overseas students met the challenges of studying within a system still structured by colonial epistemologies, yet found ways to shape postcolonial futures, define contrapuntal visual vocabularies, and build affective communities.⁶ In many cases, overseas students returned to newly independent nations to establish art programmes that were at once in dialogue with Slade pedagogies and

also attuned to local histories, materials, and traditions. A number of these students would create artworks that contributed to the articulation of global modernisms, while others made links through their revolutionary practices between the student movements of the 1960s, decolonization, and the Black Arts Movement.

Although, as an institution, the Slade was not actively imagining ways to create a curriculum designed to accommodate global perspectives, certain conditions created fertile ground for artists from colonized or formerly colonized territories to critically engage with the education that they received, also exposing their fellow classmates and tutors to their evolving perspectives. First, with its overall emphasis on observational practice rather than drawing from antique models, Slade students were not taught to emulate a European past (which was foreign even to British students), but to articulate their own vision.⁷ Second, the teaching of art history at the Slade, although Eurocentric, was not formalist but contextual, encouraging students to situate themselves critically within it and, in some cases, alongside or against it. Third, the opportunities to meet other overseas artists, to travel, and to engage with London's global collections (themselves the result of colonial domination) provided a rich, albeit complex, transnational and transcultural environment in which Slade students could think critically and comparatively about their work.⁸

"Slade, London, Asia" also provides a model for rethinking discourses of global modernisms, as well as histories of art institutions in Britain. While the "global turn" in art history seeks to overcome the discipline's methodological nationalism, it has struggled with the tension between producing unifying narratives that lack historical and cultural specificity, and writing context-specific interventions that fail to provide a larger global architecture. This project examines the Slade as a repository of global microhistories that enable both historical precision and theoretical reflection.⁹

Although the Slade functions here as a site of transcultural entanglement, we self-consciously resist a centring of Slade histories, choosing instead to operationalize the Slade's institutional archive as a starting point and an initial node from which to write contrapuntal histories of empire and decolonization. In so doing, we are foregrounding a layered reading of Edward Said's notion of contrapuntalism, which he drew from musicology. In his book *Culture and Imperialism*, Said advocated re-reading the

cultural archive ... not univocally, but *contrapuntally*, with a simultaneous awareness both of the metropolitan history that is narrated and those of other histories against which (and together

with which) the dominating discourse acts. In the counterpoint of Western classical music, various themes play off one another, with only a provisional privilege being given to any particular one; yet in the resulting polyphony there is concert and order, an organized interplay that derives from the themes, not from a rigorous melodic or formal principle outside the work. ¹⁰

That is to say, in this interpretation, a contrapuntal method is used to reveal the role of the colony in imperial centres, revealing those centres as themselves contrapuntal. By reading the colonies back into the centres and their narratives, Said does not just argue for an inclusion of those voices into an imitative fugue, but for a reckoning with colonial pasts from which emerges a new polyphony.

We use this concept to inform our methods, but also to consider the Slade itself as a site, and the artists as agents of contrapuntalism. This last reading is taken from Said's earlier articulation of the concept in his 1984 essay "Reflections on Exile"—the contrapuntal awareness produced by exile, which here we extend to diaspora and migration. Said writes that:

most people are principally aware of one culture, one setting, one home; exiles are aware of at least two, and this plurality of vision gives an awareness of simultaneous dimensions, an awareness that—to borrow a phrase from music, is *contrapuntal*. ¹¹

More than just a generalized cosmopolitanism, contrapuntalism, as we are using it, is articulated within the context of empire and decolonization.

In order to theorize contrapuntal modernism as a phenomenon that extended across multiple national contexts rather than as separate, disconnected, "multiple modernisms", we are introducing the notion of transversals—connecting lines that in Euclidean geometry create equal angles at their points of intersection with parallel lines on the same plane. ¹² We trace the histories of artists from multiple decolonizing contexts at corresponding points of intersection in order to draw transversals—geographical (nations, cities, and neighbourhoods), institutional (art schools, universities, government bodies), pedagogical (life drawing, contextual art history), historical (decolonization, racial injustice, and the Black Arts Movement), and aesthetic (modernism, national styles)—that reveal shared conceptual structures and also act as points of connection and relationality. Seemingly disparate contrapuntal histories are made audible as themes in a free counterpoint, to continue Said's musical

metaphor, enabling a polyphonic analysis that goes beyond top-down and bottom-up analyses of global art history. By considering how the histories of artists from different parts of Asia, Africa, and beyond relate to one another in the context of their Slade education, this framework enables transversal comparisons that “bring ... into relation terms that have traditionally been pushed apart from each other due to ... the European exceptionalism that undergirds Eurocentrism”.¹³ This configuration allows us to write a transcultural history of decolonial modernism that grapples with the history of empire and decolonization, and enables individual figures and national histories, which have generally been understood as isolated from each other in the history of art, to emerge as revelatory of larger historical structures.

“Slade, London, Asia” brings together two long-term research projects: “Transnational Slade” and “London, Asia”.¹⁴ The rich digital environment of *British Art Studies* (BAS) supports this collaborative approach by facilitating the presentation of research as an alchemy of art history, and archival studies and practices. It has enabled us to publish our research across two interlinked formats: the “[Animating the Archive](#)” template, where readers can explore archival materials in a non-linear fashion, and the long-form essay format you see here. The constellation of archival objects, records, and narratives united here, serve to spotlight artists, artworks, and their accounts, in ways that shed light on the many interconnected and parallel histories, visual modalities, and pedagogical frameworks that are traceable through the Slade’s particular transnational context at the intersection of imperial, decolonial, and migration histories. The non-linear aspects of this digital, open-access publication format enable us to activate and make visible unexpected intersections we have encountered in the research. These records, and our activation of them, create threads between geographically disparate archives and histories.

“Slade, London, Asia” is built around ten thematic nodes, each encompassing multiple transnational narratives, allowing parallel stories to develop in ways that entangle with other themes and accounts. The features in this issue of *BAS* are the first in a two-part contribution, with this part focusing on the immediate post-war period, roughly 1945–1960. The second part will consider the 1960s to the 1990s, and will be published after the “London, Asia, Art, Worlds” conference in May–June 2021, hosted by the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art (PMC), as well as a series of workshops convened by the PMC and Asia Art Archive (AAA) on art school pedagogies.

Institutional Pathways and Documentary Trails

Working with archives, we enter into and contribute to a field of power relations.¹⁶ Archival records provide persistent representations of activities, and are deployed to serve as evidence of action, and support claims about the past.¹⁷ Archival logics and practices underpin and are enmeshed with colonial and imperial ontologies and epistemologies, both in the past and in the present.¹⁸ Archival studies, which we foreground as co-constitutive of the art histories illuminated here, encourages the telling of “archive stories”, placing value on the narratives of our archival research journeys, and on self-reflexive methodologies.¹⁹ Holding these considerations in mind, what then does it mean for us to approach the Slade’s archive looking for overseas students? How can we surface the Slade’s role as a contrapuntal node, linked to other art schools, individuals, and histories in other countries, through student records, photos, oral histories, pages of correspondence, and official records?

Throughout this research, we have sought to read the archive both against and along its grain.²⁰ In our work, student records, supporting an initial biographical approach, provided a necessary entry point. Slade student files are organized by surname, rather than date or country of origin, so we began by consulting the student registers in UCL Records Office, looking for the presence of Asian, African, and Latin American names. This involved moving against the intended logics of the records, attaching new aims to old information. This imperfect methodology was hindered by blind spots for those artists whose names had undergone colonization, such as Colin David from Pakistan and Winston Branch from St Lucia, or those subject to changing conventions of romanization which resulted in multiple spellings and misspellings. We also included British diasporic artists such as Chila Kumari Burman from Liverpool, in order to attend to questions of race and immigration in our study, as well as to probe the intersections between diaspora communities and other global contexts. This growing but tentative list of artists could then be cross-referenced with other documentary sources such as class photos, oral histories, other institutional archives, and published monographs.

During this process, we have paid attention not only to the granularity of the individual records, but also to the relationship between records and record types, and the structure, patterns, and constitution of the archive itself. Paper-based archival records are typically arranged according to the principles of provenance and “original order” in order to preserve the relationship between the content of the records and the context that gave rise to them. Like most Western bureaucratic archives, the records of the Slade have been organized and described hierarchically, reflecting the

institutional endeavours, priorities, and structures from which the records were generated. In their essence, they privilege the perspective of the administration, the tutors, and directors, as well as those actions undertaken in support of colonial and postcolonial educational projects the college participated in and co-constructed. The records of an art school such as the Slade can then be revelatory not only for the surface informational content inscribed, but also as testament to the specific procedures and actions that reflect larger operations and networks of relations at the intersections of imperial, decolonial, and migration histories. This approach has also helped attune us to the nuanced gestures and experiences of power by which artists were both enabled and constrained, in order to foreground the frictions of global connectivities.²¹

In this manner, we have sought to engage with the Slade's institutional archive, that is, not as a fixed or self-evident bank of evidence that can be configured together into some kind of narrative whole. Nor do we present it here with a view towards plugging the gaps in an otherwise linear story. Archives are, as archival theorist Verne Harris notes, only a "sliver of a sliver" of social memory and the documentary record.²² Moreover, the documentation we have relied on and cultivated is uneven and, like all records, these fragments are never neutral, direct conduits to the past, but rather come to us as selections that have been appraised, arranged, and often rearranged by archivists guided by historically and culturally situated archival theory and practices.²³ Here, through our mediation, they are further displaced from their particular context of creation, and configured into contingent scholarly "animations", in a context in which archival source material is increasingly circulating as digitally searchable, disintermediated entities, unbound by real-world geographies and national borders that would have previously grounded our research journeys.²⁴

Rather, we understand ourselves as co-constituting and reimagining the archive to create new potential histories.²⁵ We began with a view to understanding the art school as a literal contact zone for artists mediating contrapuntal histories of London and Asia. Throughout this feature, we have indicated the years of study for those artists who attended the Slade in order to articulate the art school as a transversal node and, additionally, to draw attention to connections between artists that may not be directly addressed in this feature. Yet, in the process, we also generated an archival contact zone in the form of a digitally collaborative site and an ever-evolving repository of names, places, and data points, which stretches far beyond the Slade and highlights an unwieldy and always contingent network of entanglements. The construction of this parallel research "archive" has necessitated an ongoing reassessment of its scope: these collated materials continue to exist dynamically in dialogue with other archives, and related

archival pursuits. The research journey has to date led us to an array of personal, family, institutional, and organizational archives (both formal and informal), as well as oral histories and workshops that extend well beyond the Slade's repositories, and which defy the clear parameters of "London, Asia".²⁶ This expansive and iterative approach has surfaced important alignments and transversals that extend beyond Asia, taking us to parts of Africa—to Egypt, Nigeria, Sudan, and Uganda. As the contours of this archive are continually re-envisioned, we embrace the knowledge that archives, archival records, and the pluralistic, "archival multiverse" in which we participate, are always in the process of becoming.²⁷

Slade Class Photos: Animating Sites and Networks

Every spring since the 1930s, a panoramic class photo has been taken on the lawn outside the Slade, located in the central quadrangle of UCL's campus in London. These images provided a springboard by which to animate the archive, inviting us to consider—and complicate—the Slade as an artistic, pedagogical, and institutional site and contact zone through which artists have moved, leaving a documentary trail of those journeys behind them.²⁸ In these photographs, we can locate artists in the same art school at a particular moment in time, hinting at possible convergences and synergies between them. The 1955 class photo, for instance, includes Ibrahim El-Salahi (1954–1957), A.M. El din Guinead (1954–1957), Menhat Helmy (1952–1955), Khalid Iqbal (1952–1955), Sam Ntiro (1952–1955), Tseng Yu (1952–1956), and Jamila Zafar (1954–1957) ([Fig. 1](#)). In 1957, we see Kulwant Aurora (1955–1958; 1964–1967), D.J. Banerjee (1956–1959), A.M. El Guneid [Abdullahi Al-Guneid], Ibrahim El-Salahi, Anwar Jalal Shemza (1956–1960), Phan van My (1955–1957), Wendy Yeo (1953; 1955–1959), and Jamila Zafar ([Fig. 2](#)). Three years later, sitters include: Amir Nour (1959–1962), Archana Lahiri (1959–1960), Shama Zaidi (1959–1960), Chengkim Lim (Kim Lim) (1957–1960; 1969–1970), Damyanti Chowla (1957–1960), Gnanasundari Swaminathan (1958–1962), A. Rahim (1959–1962), and Anwar Jalal Shemza and Maisie Tschang (1959–1963) ([Fig. 3](#)). Yet, these are misleading representations; we know that not all who studied or passed through the Slade posed for these photographs. We also know that life models often joined in and, on occasion, guests made appearances, such as Sam Ntiro, along with his wife Sarah Nyendwoha Ntiro, who in 1960, sat as a visiting alumnus. We know too that visiting artists such as Affandi (1952) (see [Fig. 24](#)) and Zainul Abedin (1951–1952) (see [Fig. 25](#)) passed through the Slade, and the documentation by which we have located them is more informal, unofficial, and often serendipitously encountered, defying any easy configurations of its transnational networks.

Slade Administrative Records and the Art School as Intermediary

Slade student files typically include an entry form and photograph (Figs. 4–6), information on courses taken and focus of study, reports from tutors, change of address forms, reference letters, and, on occasion, exhibition catalogues or press clippings. For those students coming from overseas, the documents often highlight the care offered by Slade staff, who liaised between students, the authorities, and their families abroad, who were often anxious for reassurances. William Townsend and Slade Secretary and Tutor Ian Tregarthen Jenkin, for instance, emerge as important advisors to international students, helping them settle into new terrain, sourcing accommodation, putting in a good word, or even directly managing students' wayward finances. At its best, this pastoral role is accented by a sense of collegiality, with students addressed as fellow artists. In some files, we are privy to correspondence between students and their tutors, with comments on exhibitions seen and critiqued, artworks created, and directions pursued, and peppered with gossip and news of others. Such exchanges often continued years after students had departed the Slade.

Yet equally, the documents within these files will have been coded or crafted to convey certain pieces of information towards particular aims. Tutors' reports, for instance, were designed as an internal tool for staff to address students' areas of activity and any issues encountered, and advise on future directions.²⁹ Overall, they capture moments of assessment and judgements of a student's progress and capability, which, while useful for the future writing of reference letters, also convey information in other registers. The tone of these reports is, unsurprisingly, often characterized by colonial-era phrasing and perspective. A tutor's report for Wendy Yeo, dated 1957, and penned by Sam (B.A.R.) Carter, notes: "Original and gifted. Finds it hard to paint in front of the subject. Local colour distracts her. She employs the Chinese approach."³⁰ In the oral history interview conducted for this project, Yeo responded to Carter's comments with some surprise. For her, the period of study at the Slade was characterized by her adopting what she described as a Western style. It was only on her return to Hong Kong, at the end of her studies in late 1960, that Yeo began to consciously foreground her knowledge of ink painting practices within the European approaches she had refined through her Slade training.³¹ It remains unclear to what extent the written notes reflect direct observations made by the tutor, or conversation points in which Yeo would have presented these as dilemmas encountered, but what is clear is that her practice was being considered as one at the intersection of different cultural traditions.

The Sudanese artist and film-maker Hussein Shariffe's (1957–1959) student file gives an impression of his particular disposition and circumstances. A tutor's report, dated 5 March 1958, reads, "Bad lecture record, bad

attendance record, v. good drawings—an artist—most interesting chap” (Fig. 7). This document, in context with the assemblage of documentary fragments that make up his student file, including frequent change of address forms, reflects the story of an often absent and restless artist whose orientation was as much outside of the Slade as within it. His academic pathway—initially modern history at Cambridge, followed by a brief period of studying architecture at the University of Sheffield—is indicative of the transdisciplinary explorations that would come to infuse his artistic practice, encompassing painting, poetry, and film, bridging both documentary and fiction.

The chronological accumulation of administrative files outline contact between artist and art school in ways that begin to illuminate the network of relations that are at once institutional, interpersonal, structural, and chronological, and that span well beyond the site and period of study. Within the file, we also find an exhibition brochure from Shariffe's third solo exhibition at Gallery One in 1963 (the first two were held in 1959 and 1960), with a photograph of him on the cover (Fig. 8), likely taken by Ida Kar whose other images of Shariffe were acquired by the National Portrait Gallery.³² Another document reveals how, over a decade after leaving the Slade, when Shariffe was Head at the State Corporation for Cinema in Khartoum, he also wrote to Ian Tregarthen Jenkin in 1971, asking his advice on applying to the UK's newly established National Film and Television School (NFTS) in Beaconsfield (Fig. 9). Shariffe's growing interest in film captured in this document was fortuitous: in 1972, he was invited by his friend, colleague, and fellow Slade graduate Ibrahim El-Salahi, then Director of the Sudanese Ministry of Culture and Information, to head the ministry's cinema department. There, Shariffe would direct his first film, an experimental documentary *The Throwing of Fire* (1973). After leaving the ministry, Shariffe returned to the UK to attend the NFTS, where he directed two films: *The Dislocation of Amber* (1975) about the Sudanese port of Suakin and its colonial history; and *Tigers Are Better Looking* (1979), an adaptation of a short story by Jean Rhys in which Shariffe counterposes poetic documentary scenes of Sudan with Great Britain as sites of colonialism, exile, racism, and cultural insularity.

Student records also make plain the role of governmental agencies through grants and scholarships. We know that Jawad Selim (1946–1949) came to the Slade through an Iraqi government grant; Krishna Reddy (1951–1952) received an Indian government scholarship; Menhat Helmy was supported by the Egyptian Ministry of Education; while both Abdullahi Al-Guneid [A.M. El Guneid] and Ibrahim El-Salahi received grants from the Sudanese Ministry of Education. Vivan Sundaram (1966–1969) received a Commonwealth Scholarship, and Naazish Ataullah (1984–1985), Colin David (1961–1962), Sam Ntiro, Anwar Jalal Shemza, Gazbia Sirry (1954–1955), K.G. Subramanyan

(1955–1956), and Damrong Wong-Uparaj (1962–1963) were all funded by the British Council.³³ Such channels are, of course, not benign. The British Council's founding aims, articulated in 1936, read,

[to] promote abroad a wider appreciation of British culture and civilisation, by encouraging the study and use of the English language, and thereby, to extend a knowledge of British literature and of the British contributions to music and the fine arts, the sciences, philosophical thought and political practice.³⁴

In short, their aims were to promote British interests through soft diplomacy and the assertion of cultural and linguistic power. From an educational perspective, the British Council positioned itself as an enabler of “the free flow of students from overseas to British seats of learning ... and of United Kingdom students in the reverse direction”. Indeed, within the context of decolonization and the Cold War, the British Council played a key role in Britain's post-imperial futures, seeking “to provide opportunities for maintaining and strengthening the bonds of the British cultural tradition throughout the self-governing Dominions. To ensure continuity of British education in the Crown Colonies and Dependencies”.³⁵

While these files convey artists as biographical subjects, they also foreground artistic figures as institutional subjects, in which the Slade functions as an authoritative intermediary. Junctures in students' lives are captured through administrative transactions, leaving documents that shed light on the wider colonial and postcolonial bureaucratic systems that fostered and influenced—but also restricted—individual and artistic endeavours. Reports to and from the Home Office in a number of student files remind us how the Slade, like all institutions of higher education, functioned as a literal gateway to London. Anxious letters and telegrams about arrival dates and securing visas show the mediation of patrician bureaucracies of foreign embassies and high commissions who dictated the terms of a student's stay in Britain, or the release of funds for further study. In a report to the British Council on Egyptian artist Gazbia Sirry, written by William Townsend in 1955, Townsend weighs in on the value of the British Council extending her scholarship for further postgraduate study at the Slade (Figs. 10 and 11). He notes that as an established artist who has “a fully formed style of her own”, the chief benefit of the Slade for Sirry was not the tuition, but rather how it provided her with a “centre where she has met other artists”. However, he notes, she has “reached a stage where full-time attendance at an art school is of little value to her. She requires only occasional contact with artists who can give advice, together with facilities for lithography”. In the end, her scholarship was not extended.

Such snippets of complex stories render the artist as subject, rather than author of the records, so we hear nothing of Sirry's perception on these events. By the same token, such records do often illuminate institutional thinking. A letter to the Aliens Department of the UK Home Office, dated 1952, requests visa authorization for prospective student Tseng Yu (Figs. 12 and 13). The letter is a gesture of persuasive bureaucracy, penned by Tregarthen Jenkin:

It is of very great advantage to us, and to all working at this school, to have a number of overseas students here to instil a new outlook and possibly to bring unusual styles of work to the school. As this school is well known throughout the world, we are constantly getting applications for admission from overseas and we believe that Mr. Tseng Yu would probably benefit more by being admitted as a student here than he would by studying at one of his local institutions.

While this document testifies to immigration policies and national boundaries, it is also a statement of institutional position, situating the Slade as a contact point, and site of cross-cultural exchange, both benefiting from the presence of overseas students, and being of benefit to foreign artists as a cosmopolitan site bestowing global access, influence, and prestige.

Records of Play and Postcolonial Fields

Alongside routine administrative tasks, archival records are also generated through other imperatives, such as the drive to document social events. An evocative example, accented with an overt interest in creating an art-historical record, is an autographed cricket bat found in the Slade archive, signed by the players of a friendly game between staff and students of the Slade and Camberwell College of Art in the summer of 1954 (Figs. 14–16). Signatories include William Coldstream, Barry Daniels, Khalid Iqbal, Myles Murphy, Claude Rogers, and William Townsend. Framed for perpetuity, the object captures a self-conscious moment of artistic sociality between two London art schools whose relationship is well established in British national art histories. At the time, Khalid Iqbal was a student at the Slade whose admission to the school had been facilitated “as a special case” through institutional networks with the University of the Punjab, Lahore (Figs. 17–19).³⁶ Yet the presence of Iqbal’s signature in particular asks us to reconsider the dynamics of this exchange and its milieu: a game which enables colonial power relations to be subverted, here played at an intersection of postcolonial artistic networks.³⁷

This record, emerging out of an extracurricular activity and invested with archival significance not through bureaucracy but through ritual and sociality, nonetheless prompted a new pathway of research. Our inquiry about Iqbal resurfaced long-standing networks linking the Slade and the National College of Arts, Lahore (NCA), where Iqbal would go on to teach after his time at the Slade (Figs. 20 and 21). In his 2013 oral history interview, Slade alumnus (and later Slade archivist) Stephen Chaplin recalls befriending Iqbal on their first day in the Slade Antiques Room in the autumn of 1952, noting how Iqbal sought to “paint the Indian countryside as an Impressionist” (Fig. 22). Demonstrating the intergenerational entanglements between Slade printmaking and NCA, Chaplin later related this story to another NCA alumnus in the 1990s, who confirmed that, indeed, Iqbal had become a professor at NCA after his time at the Slade. Such exchanges around a singular individual illuminate the Slade as one node set in relation to others along parallel and transversal trajectories connecting across generations. Shakir Ali (1946–1949), Colin David, Jamila Zaidi (née Zafar), and Khalid Iqbal all spent time at both the NCA and Slade. They taught Naazish Ataullah and Afshar Malik (1986–1988), who followed in their footsteps at the Slade, and in turn taught current NCA professors Laila Rahman (1991–1993) and Ali Kazim (2009–2011), both also Slade graduates.

Imagining Postcolonial States

The end of the Second World War brought a wave of decolonization and the rise of independence movements in Asia and throughout the former British Empire. Indonesia became independent in 1945; India and Pakistan were partitioned in 1947, with Bangladesh achieving independence in 1971; Burma and Ceylon became independent in 1948, Malaya in 1957, Singapore in 1965; and Hong Kong passed from British to Chinese control in 1997. Many of these newly independent, or soon to be independent, nations began to shape what Frantz Fanon later characterized as “national culture”, or the creation of postcolonial cultures that sought liberation from the “colonialist theory of pre-colonial barbarism”.³⁸ A key aspect of this postcolonial nation-building was the creation of national education systems, including for the arts, which was understood as a means of giving shape to national culture. At this moment of hope and new beginnings, many artists availed themselves of the opportunities for training and funding provided by their own governments and by the British government, via the British Council. Although it may seem contradictory to seek training in the colonial capital for postcolonial objectives, this tension points to the ways in which processes of cultural self-determination were themselves contrapuntal. Identifying the transversals that connect moments in postcolonial histories to each other and to Britain enables historians to productively analyse parallels and intersections in the articulation of national styles and national curricula in multiple and seemingly disconnected sites.

The documents presented in this section enable us to grasp the different visions for postcolonial artists and cultural education held by figures who were at once not only artists, but also bureaucrats, arts administrators, and key members of government. Many of these artists were mid-career when they arrived at the Slade, and did not necessarily complete an entire degree, as study abroad was often regarded as endogenous development by newly independent nations, and capacity building for those same nations by the British government. As such, art training at the Slade was perceived as serving a larger purpose beyond personal artistic development, be it on the level of teacher training, or building expertise in cultural and educational policy. This was certainly the case for Zainul Abedin, who was already the principal of what was then called the Government Institute of Arts, Dacca when he went to the Slade from 1951 to 1952, a visit profiled by the magazine *Commonwealth Today* (Fig. 23).³⁹ Khalid Iqbal was admitted to the Slade in 1952 after Anna Molka Ahmed, the department head at the University of the Punjab, Lahore, wrote to Tregarthen Jenkin to request help training more faculty for the university (see Fig. 21). Similarly, K.G. Subramanyan was already an established artist and teacher at the Faculty of Fine Arts at the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, which had been created as a “postcolonial corrective to the problem of art education in India”, when he attended the Slade from 1955 to 1956.⁴⁰ Others, such as Affandi from Indonesia, merely passed through the Slade on larger tours of European institutions in an effort to gather information for the establishment of arts infrastructure, and were supported at a political level in their countries of origin. This is particularly evident in the case of Affandi, whose travel from India to London was facilitated by a letter written in 1947 from Sukarno, the post-independence president of Indonesia, to Jawaharlal Nehru, the post-independence prime minister of India (Fig. 24). Indeed, an article in *The Diplomatist* linking Affandi and Abedin’s work demonstrates the diplomatic pathways that these two artists travelled, as well as the artistic resonances between their work (Fig. 25).

The formation of postcolonial cultures and art education practices entailed a variety of different responses to colonial art education, which was also not uniformly implemented across the empire. Although it varied from colony to colony, from school to school, and from period to period, art education under British colonialism consistently reflected a tension between its “civilizing mission”, which sought to disseminate the values, hierarchies, and aesthetic principles of the European tradition of fine art on the one hand, and on the other hand, to strengthen local visual practices, be it for the purposes of developing art industry, as in colonial India, or as salvage anthropology, as in East Africa, or as a means of “saving” Chinese culture from the threat of communism, as in late colonial Hong Kong.⁴¹ These latter tendencies were also filtered through the discourses of Orientalism in Asia and North Africa, and Primitivism in sub-Saharan Africa. Despite significant local variations, the

colonial education system thus hinged on one particular distinction (or transversal) that played out in different ways across the empire: the distinction between “fine art”, which was coded as Western; and local practices, which were coded as “craft”, applied art, or industrial art. This distinction, repeated across the empire, materialized ideological hierarchies between colonizer and colonized.

In the case of colonial India, four art schools were established in the four main colonial cities under the East India Company in order to provide training in mechanical and vocational skills: The Calcutta School of Art (est. 1854), the Industrial School of Arts in Madras (est. 1854), the Sir Jamsetji Jeejibhoy School of Art, Bombay (J.J. School of Art, est. 1857), and the Mayo School of Arts, Lahore (est., 1875). After the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 and the assertion of British governmental control through the Government of India Act in 1858, which established the British Raj, the Crown assumed control of the schools and reorganized their curricula. At this point, European hierarchies of fine art and craft were more systematically embedded into the educational system. There was thus a split, and the Calcutta School of Art and the J.J. School of Art took on training as “schools of art”, and the Mayo School of Arts and the Industrial School of Arts in Madras trained students in the *arts*, with a focus on developing local art industries. As Partha Mitter argues, this dual-track system created two separate realms, with the superiority of fine art, defined as Western, clearly articulated. ⁴²

At the beginning of the twentieth century, as Tapati Guha-Thakurta argues, a group that included anti-colonial nationalist Abanindranath Tagore, Orientalists E.B. Havell, A.K. Coomaraswamy, Sister Nivedita, and pan-Asian advocate Okakura Tenshin, reversed those hierarchies in a discourse that operated at the intersections of Orientalism and Hindu nationalism to define and foster the Bengal School at the Calcutta School of Art, and later at the Kala-Bhavan art school at Santiniketan. ⁴³ As Sonal Khullar points out, however, this gesture ironically maintained European epistemologies by preserving the separation between East and West, art and craft. ⁴⁴ Partly in response to Bengal School nationalism, as Simone Wille argues, a Muslim cultural space also began to be defined in Pakistan. Not directly associated with political nationalism, however, it operated at a slight distance from Pakistani nationalism, itself an ambivalent concept, particularly for artists such as Zainul Abedin from East Pakistan, which became Bangladesh in 1971. ⁴⁵

For artists imagining postcolonial states in the post-war period, the challenge thus entailed defining new relationships between practices that had been coded as separate while simultaneously making claims on both modernity and locational identity in the context of new independence struggles (as, for example, in the case of Bangladesh), and the competing cultural patronage

spheres of the Cold War. The case studies in this section provide lenses through which to see how the Slade became a contrapuntal site where diverse postcolonial modernisms were articulated and contributed to an artistic and discursive ecosystem.

Zainul Abedin and the Government Institute of Fine Arts, Dhaka

On the eve of partition, creating an art school in East Bengal became a priority, as it became clear that the three institutions which had been shaping the Bengali art world would be located in India: the Calcutta Art School, Kala-Bhavana of Santiniketan, and the Indian Society of Oriental Art. Abedin and a group of Bengali Muslim teaching staff from the Calcutta Art School thus founded the Government Institute of Fine Arts, Dhaka in 1948.⁴⁶ Abedin's work as a cultural bureaucrat, for which he had been rewarded with the position of Head Artist of the Information Ministry of the Central Government in Karachi, led to him undertaking a "cultural tour" funded by the Government of Pakistan, which included a period of study at the Slade from 1951 to 1952 (see Fig. 23). During that trip, he also travelled around Europe and the Middle East, and attended a UNESCO-sponsored conference in Venice on the role of the Modern Artist in Society.⁴⁷ Indeed, as a quintessential artist-bureaucrat, Abedin would have many opportunities for travel during his career, with a twelve-month long trip to Japan, the USA, Canada, Mexico, and Europe sponsored by the Rockefeller Foundation (1956–1957) as well as a visit to the USSR at the invitation of the Soviet government, where he was honoured with a gold medal (1961).

Zainul Abedin's notes on cultural policy from the 1960s, a draft perhaps written for the purposes of delivering a lecture or chairing a meeting, enables us to see a snapshot of his vision for a national culture, which at that time still included East and West Pakistan (Fig. 26).⁴⁸ These notes set out a plan that encompassed both public arts institutions and education, as well as an ambition to present "different artefacts relating to Fine Arts, such as Folk Art and Crafts, Drawing and Paintings, Music, Drama and Dance, and so on, as well as the aims and implications of each subject". In other words, although he does not advocate for a Bauhaus-style integration of Arts and Crafts, Abedin stressed relationalities between them. Indeed, as Lala Rukh Selim argues, for Abedin, Bengali folk heritage was a means of developing a collective identity that was common to the multiple religious communities living in Bengal, as opposed to the Muslim Mughal miniatures being advocated for in East Pakistan.⁴⁹ Education plays a central role for Abedin, not just at the professional level, but from the primary school level all the way up to university and art schools, as well as in the public sphere. In his notes, he advocates both for museum collections of "our well known painters' work in galleries (preferably attached to universities)" and

“research work, to set up folk museums in cities of both wings”.⁵⁰ Here, it is important to note his desire to establish folk museums in “cities of both wings”, indicating both his professional commitment to a Pakistani national culture, as well as a specific Bengali cultural sphere. This thought would metamorphose into his establishment of the Sonargaon Folk Art and Craft Museum containing objects of Bengali origin outside of Dhaka in 1975, just four years after Bangladeshi independence.

Jamila Zaidi (née Zafar) and the National College of Arts, Lahore

Shortly after she was hired as a faculty member at the National College of Arts, Lahore (NCA), Jamila Zaidi (née Zafar) was recruited to serve on the Pakistani national committee which determined secondary school curricula, and also to write a textbook for secondary school education in 1961 (see [Fig. 78](#)). In the documents collected here, we see both how the project of writing a textbook is framed by the chairman of the Board of Secondary Education as being of “national importance” ([Figs. 27 and 28](#)) and how Zaidi responds by writing that “the undersigned has no objection to undertaking this in the national interest” ([Figs. 29 and 30](#)). As a result of this commission, Zaidi was accorded special permission to travel to India on a study tour of historical monuments of India ([Fig. 31](#)). As is discussed in the “Contrapuntal Pedagogies” section of this feature, Zaidi introduced art and craft into the national secondary school curricula as well as at the NCA, departing from British colonial ideas of art and craft as separate. Zaidi’s thinking was developed at the intersection of post-independence nationalist ideas about culture; the NCA’s own history of being a school for the development of handicrafts and art industry; the Bauhaus-inspired context set by the first NCA principal American artist Mark Ritter Sponenburgh; and her own training, both at Punjab University and at the Slade.⁵¹ Engaging with both Sponenburgh’s craft-oriented paradigm and the Slade curriculum, Zaidi formulated a third path “in the national interest”, which charted a direction between art and craft. By doing so, Zaidi started off a process of postcolonial imagining in the curriculum that, although uneven, would have significant ramifications for future generations of artists and teachers both at the secondary level and at the NCA.

K.G. Subramanyan and Art Education in India

Although written retrospectively in 1997, K.G. Subramanyan’s “An Unfinished Agenda (Some Thoughts on Art Education in India)”, provides some insight into how Subramanyan approached the question of imagining postcolonial states, as well as his attitudes about education ([Fig. 32](#)). A Gandhian in his youth who was arrested for his nationalist activities in the Quit India movement in 1943, a student at Rabindranath Tagore’s nationalist art school in Santiniketan, and a young professor at the Faculty of Fine Arts at the

Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Subramanyan arrived at the Slade in 1955 with a strong sense of self based in nationalist discourses, both politically and aesthetically. Subramanyan's nationalism was not, however, an essentialist nationalism but one that, developed through the worldly environments of Santiniketan and Baroda, was informed by Chinese and Japanese aesthetics, as well as the history of art in India and Europe.⁵² Indeed, the principle of openness to change, to prevent cultural stagnation by nurturing "critical dissent and innovation" was central to Subramanyan. In his "agenda", he criticizes colonial mindsets that "ingrained in us certain stereotypical notions about our antecedents, as well as progress and change" (emphasis in original). He continues, taking a critical perspective on nationalist culture that was nurtured at the intersection of Orientalism and nationalism, writing, "Our picture of our antecedents harks back to a mythical golden age, and sticks together various highlights of our culture into a flamboyant collage. Our picture of progress corresponds to what is currently in vogue in the West."⁵³ The framework for postcolonial cultural identity that he developed was characterized by what Sonal Khullar has coined "worldly affiliations", exemplified by dynamic exchanges rather than unchanging essences.⁵⁴

As Siva Kumar Raman argues, Subramanyan utilized his time at the Slade as a research student to critically engage with the Slade's intellectual, technical, and aesthetic offerings.⁵⁵ Not interested in the type of painting that was being done at the Slade, Subramanyan made a choice that was surprisingly common for overseas students—to enter into the printmaking department. There, he became close with Anthony Gross, Victor Pasmore, and Ceri Richards. He also created work that introduced Santiniketan techniques of rendering three dimensions without using chiaroscuro into the Slade print rooms, where students and staff worked side by side in an environment of convivial exchange, and left their prints to dry in the common areas.

Late Imperial Contexts: Slade and the Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology, and Makerere College

The Asquith Commission report (1945) (Fig. 33), which led to the establishment of the Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies (IUCHEC), provides a useful context against which to analyse the Slade's support of postcolonial and colonial students in the UK, during a period when Britain imagined its own post-imperial futures, and sought to build British influence (Figs. 34 and 35). Between 1945 and 1953, the Council supported the foundation or post-war restarting of three universities (the University of Malta, the University of Hong Kong, and the University of

Malaya) and five university colleges (University College of the West Indies; the University College of the Gold Coast, Ibadan in Nigeria; Makerere College in East Africa; and the University College of Khartoum). ⁵⁶

Within this system, the Slade took a pastoral role in guiding the establishment of art education in colonial universities, particularly in Africa. Slade records show that Coldstream was consulted when colonial universities were seeking new faculty, and that he sometimes even played a role as an external examiner. His advice was not always appreciated. In 1958, two years after Nigeria achieved provisional independence from Britain, Coldstream received a letter from Slade alumnus Ben Enwonwu (1944–1947), who had become an art supervisor in Nigeria’s Information Services Department. Taking umbrage at Coldstream’s planned role in developing art institutions in Nigeria, he wrote to Coldstream (Fig. 36), repudiating Slade intervention into the Nigerian art school system:

I am to make recommendations to my Government on Nigerian Art and Culture generally and want to explore, in accordance with your own scheme, how much [the] Western system of Art Education may be helpful in achieving the cultural and artistic rebirth which we are working for. If our Art does not express African characteristics, then it can play no significant role in our development as a Nation. I am not sure that the entire influence of the Slade School would be a good thing.

Enwonwu was particularly concerned due to a recent visit to the Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology by Professor Alfred Gerrard, who had served as an external examiner at the college. It was there that the Zaria Art Society was formed in 1958, and whose members advocated for a “natural synthesis” of European modernist and African visual vocabularies. The Zarianists, for their part, regarded Enwonwu as overly influenced by primitivist aesthetics, and criticized his embrace of Négritude ⁵⁷ as a colonial hangover. ⁵⁸

The School of Art at Makerere College (Fig. 37), ⁵⁹ Kampala (in the former Ugandan Protectorate) was founded in the 1930s by Margaret Trowell, a Slade alumna and a Christian with missionary leanings and “evangelical zeal”, and was the first school in East Africa to offer “professional” European art training (Fig. 38). ⁶⁰ In 1949, the school was included among a network of colonial universities that was governed by the IUCHEC. This council established a “special relationship” with the University of London, which it turned to for advice and support in the establishment and testing of courses in colonial universities, in line with British degree-granting standards. ⁶¹ The

IUCHEC, made up of representatives from British universities, also had a significant role in staff recruitment for the colonial universities; encouraging secondment of staff from “home” universities; and supporting scholarship schemes and the development of teaching resources.⁶² Following Trowell’s vision, the art school at Makerere was modelled closely after the Slade, introducing figurative art and European art history while seeking to retain the influence of local traditions, conditions, and context, with the apparent aim of keeping it relevant to local needs (see [Fig. 38](#)). Yet, as in colonial India, where Bengal School idioms were defined at the intersection of Orientalism and nationalism, here, at Makerere College, Trowell’s definition of regional traditions was an invented one, inflected by primitivism.⁶³ Indeed, the artistic vocabularies favoured by Makerere College reflected Trowell’s own biases towards figurative art in a context where figuration was not part of local practices. Paradoxically, as Emma Wolukau-Wanambwa has argued, Trowell also rejected artworks that too closely followed modern Western models, preferring primitivist figuration which was also more popular on the art market.⁶⁴

Between 1951 and 1958, William Coldstream, then Slade Professor and Principal, supported Trowell’s plan by advising on the development of the new fine art diploma and validating it to relevant authorities. Indeed, Trowell wrote to Coldstream on 29 June 1955, requesting assurances for both Makerere’s Academic Board and the Director of Education in the three East African Territories, “who would like to have it on paper” that Coldstream had approved of the proposed plans for the course (see [Fig. 39](#)). He served as an external examiner, visiting the college in 1957, and implemented this arrangement with the Slade moving forward, and served on appointment committees for key members of Makerere College staff (see [Fig. 39](#)). The corresponding administrative file in the Slade archive illustrates the colonial structures and mindsets underpinning these pedagogical and artistic relationships. Yet equally, reflecting his interest in fostering multiple styles and approaches to making art within the Slade, Coldstream also advised Trowell that the imposition of British standards onto Makerere College would be counterproductive for the students, writing that “it is so difficult to correlate standards of what must be widely different types of work, though [*sic*] I think the whole question of standards is best left out of it” (see [Fig. 39](#)).

From 1952 to 1955, after studying at Makerere College, Sam Ntiro attended the Slade at the encouragement of Trowell. Once at the Slade, Ntiro was a popular and charismatic student, serving as the Slade representative of the Union Council (1954–1955), and as treasurer of the Slade Society (1954–1955). Upon graduation, Ntiro returned to teach at Makerere College, and kept up a friendly epistolary relationship with Coldstream, as well as with Slade Secretary Ian Tregarthen Jenkin (see [Figs. 45–50](#)). Ntiro’s enthusiasm at

Coldstream's impending visit to Makerere in 1956 is palpable in the letter from his student file, which expresses how all the staff and students are looking "forward to your visit as it is going to mean so much to the future of our Art School", and that "nothing would give me more 'kick' than to see you in person here!" (see [Fig. 45](#)).

Ntiro's position was, however, complex. Although he maintained warm relations with Coldstream as a mentor—and from the correspondence, it would suggest welcomed his involvement with Makerere College—he was under no illusions about colonialism. Of particular note is a letter that Ntiro wrote to Tregarthen Jenkin on 16 October 1958, after he had assumed duties as acting head of Makerere College, due to Trowell's illness. In it, he clearly states his hopes for self-government, and responds to an inquiry from Tregarthen Jenkin about the Capricorn Africa Society, writing, "You asked me about Capricorn Africa Society. It is regarded by Africans in East Africa as a means of pacifying Africans and keeping them from attaining self-government." He signs off the letter with a critique of Tanganyika's tripartite voting system, with reserved seats in government determined by race, stating that "In spite of that, Tanganyika will achieve self-government" (see [Figs. 49 and 50](#)). Ntiro went on to fight for independence, becoming the Republic of Tanganyika's first High Commissioner to the United Kingdom (1961–1964), and from 1967 to 1973 served as the Commissioner of Culture for the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania (see [Fig. 51](#)). The records speak to the fluidity of interpersonal registers between Ntiro and those at the Slade, expressing at once formalities and hierarchies ("Dear Sir William Coldstream"), but later marked by friendship ("My Dear Bill", and "My Dear Sam"). Notes exchanged share news of family and projects (see [Figs. 45–47, 54–56](#)), and are equally counterbalanced with reference requests ([Figs. 40–44](#)), and more formal dispatches, such as the note of congratulations sent on the occasion of Ntiro's appointment as High Commissioner on 4 April 1963 (see [Fig. 53](#)). That he should appear in both an individual student file and institution-to-institution ones is telling of the bridging role he held at the intersection of artist, mentor/mentee, pupil, postcolonial diplomat, and colleague, and the multivalent power dynamics that this engendered.

Contrapuntal World-Making

The experience of study in Britain was not a uniformly positive one for many overseas students, as they faced culture shock, racism, and loss of status in their new environments. Yet, they also found ways of life that provided them with more than just a Slade education. While in London, these artists befriended students from other countries; visited global museum collections, many containing objects purloined by agents of the British Empire; and they watched films from other places, giving them new frameworks for their

artistic practices. They travelled while they were at the Slade, visiting museums, monuments, and collections in Europe; even en route, they had adventures, stopping to explore other countries on the way. These encounters expanded their frames of reference, their mastery of multiple aesthetic systems and vocabularies, and made the condition of mobility central to their understanding of modernity. As Edward Said argues about the experience of exile, the “plurality of vision” opened up by the experiences that these artists had at the Slade and in London more generally, gave “rise to an awareness of simultaneous dimensions”, which they seized upon in acts of interpretation and creation to produce complex contrapuntal structures.⁶⁵ These contrapuntal interventions went beyond simple cosmopolitanism, as they were realized within an awareness of, and negotiation with, the British Empire. More often than not, they represented critical assertions of “simultaneous visions” in a context where the modernity of their aesthetic propositions was not fully acknowledged.⁶⁶ The entangled worlds that they made through their artistic practices resonated with those of other overseas artists in post-war and increasingly post-imperial Britain and beyond, creating a cultural and artistic fabric woven from the complex threads of post-Empire.

Ultimately, it is by looking at these works transversally that a contrapuntal fugue of post-Empire begins to emerge, exposing as reductive the analytical models that art historians have been using to understand the history of modern art, and revealing the complex cartographies produced through “London, Asia”. Here, we put this into practice looking at five particular artists who studied at the Slade.

Zainul Abedin

For Zainul Abedin, time at the Slade provided not just exposure to new pedagogical approaches in the life drawing room and printmaking formulas in the print room, but also to understand more about the logics of modernism through lectures, museum visits, and the critical responses to his two London exhibitions. Held at the Imperial Institute (1951) and at the Berkeley Galleries (1952) while he was in London, Abedin’s exhibitions drew critical praise, especially for the works from his acclaimed 1943 series on the Bengal Famine. Eric Newton commented that they “are brilliant drawings done at white heat under the immediate spur of a visible tragedy” (see [Fig. 25](#)). At a time when European and American art were heading towards pure abstraction, British art was, as James Hyman argues, looking for alternative models of realism, and Abedin provided a novel and powerful model.⁶⁷ In his London sketchbook ([Fig. 57](#)), Abedin demonstrates his virtuosity and experimentation with multiple visual vocabularies, from academic realism, to reduced, post-cubist experiments, as well as an expressive language of ink adapted from the Bengal School, itself a synthetic form created at the

Calcutta Government School of Art in relation to East Asian ink painting (Fig. 58).⁶⁸ Analytical in his approach, his dissection of cubist space in certain sketches (Fig. 59) provides rare insight into the series of paintings that he made at the Slade and shortly after, such as *Woman with a Pitcher* (1951) (Fig. 60).

Tseng Yu

For Tseng Yu, the question of representation was a contrapuntal symphony, in which artists invoking multiple historic traditions took up themes such as resemblance, expression, perspective, line, space, and colour in complementary fugues. As a student, Tseng was highly regarded and, in 1954–1955, shared the prize for Head Painting with Paula Rego.⁶⁹ Like Abedin, Tseng was committed to defining his own approach to realism, and wrote to Coldstream after he had moved to Paris to study at the École des Beaux Arts in Paris that he found Tachisme suffocating, writing in 1957 that “the pressure to conformity in Paris is so oppressive that [it] often makes me so totalitarian in a fatal attempt to defend my belief”.⁷⁰

A lecture that Tseng gave at the Slade in 1975 demonstrates the analytical ways in which he was thinking comparatively about Chinese and European aesthetic systems, dissecting different modes of defining line, space, form, time, and “spiritual resonance” in the two visual languages (see Fig. 99). *Interior with a Man Painting* (1955), made while a student at the Slade, engages cleverly with the artificiality of representation, multiple vocabularies of abstraction, and questions of race and identity (Fig. 61). In this work, which depicts a faceless and ambiguously racialized man with blue hair painting a still life of two fruits on a table, Tseng experiments with the use of negative space in order to define three-dimensional form. Where normally there would be a line defining shadows and volume on the tablecloth, and at the corners where the walls meet the ceiling, here Tseng uses empty space, what he calls “infinite space” in the lecture, which he describes as “gradually invading the solid quality of an object”.⁷¹ His depiction of fruit on a table with its surface tipped towards the picture plane makes reference to Paul Cézanne, whose work he identifies in the lecture with a disintegration of form similar to that found in twelfth-century Chinese painting. At once defining his own contrapuntal vocabulary of form and making a claim to Cézanne’s modernist innovations, Tseng resists the Orientalist expectation to perform difference, yet thematizes mobility and contrapuntal aesthetics in his modes of representation.

In a letter to the noted Sinologist and translator David Hawkes, from the collection of the Chinese University of Hong Kong Library, Tseng described the ambivalent subjectivities engendered by Britain’s colonial enterprise, both in the UK and overseas (Fig. 62). He wrote:

I thought of what you said to me last time. You said British people embody a double consciousness and belong to two different worlds: one within the UK and the other within Britain's overseas colonies. I started to realise what you meant by this when I set foot in the UK. Perhaps I am falling in love with this foggy, ancient country and her entitled residents.

Wendy Yeo

Wendy Yeo first attended the Slade for a brief period in 1953 as a short-term “external” student, when she accompanied her family to the UK at the age of sixteen, then still in secondary school. Hailing from a prominent medical family in British colonial Hong Kong with deep roots in the UK, being educated in Britain was a well-established pathway, although the pursuit of fine art was not. Later, Yeo returned to attend as a full-time student (1955–1959), after Slade alumna Madeleine Pearson (1927–1928) admired her work at an exhibition in Hong Kong and persuaded her reluctant parents to allow her to pursue her art practice at the Slade.

Yeo had been trained in both Chinese and Western painting before leaving Hong Kong, and won many awards at the Slade, later obtaining a place as a postgraduate student. Yeo's paintings at the Slade engaged playfully and cross-culturally with her lessons on mathematical perspective, bringing an understanding of aerial or axonometric perspective from her studies in Chinese painting, to her Euston Road inflected representations of presentness. In both *Townscape with Figures* (1958) (Fig. 63) and *Mountain Streams* (1958–1959) (reproduced in Fig. 64), Yeo uses aerial perspective to draw the viewer into her landscapes, encouraging an embodied and sustained interaction with the works that refuses the optical mastery of one-point perspective. She explored avenues that enabled her to articulate the “plurality of her vision” and journeyed through Europe on a scholarship in her final year at the Slade.⁷² At the recommendation of her tutor Anthony Gross, she spent time at Stanley William Hayter's Atelier 17 in Paris, where she assisted Hayter and Krishna Reddy (Slade 1951–1952), among others, to develop colour etching, and connected with other international artists, before returning to Hong Kong for two years, prior to settling in the UK (Fig. 64). These experiences informed her experimentations in technique at the intersections of abstraction and ink painting, and through combining materials such as oil and paint, paper, raw linen, and wax.

Anwar Jalal Shemza

Anwar Jalal Shemza's oft-repeated and devastating realization in Ernst Gombrich's class that Islamic art was not understood as art because it was functional opened his eyes to the limits of European universalism. In the artist's statement accompanying an exhibition of his paintings and drawings at the Gulbenkian Museum of Oriental Art, Durham in 1963 (Fig. 65), he wrote:

One evening, when I was attending a Slade weekly lecture on the history of art, Prof. Gombrich came to the chapter on Islamic Art—an art which was “functional”—from his book, “The Story of Art”.

All evening I destroyed paintings, drawings, everything that could be called “art”. All night I argued with somebody—as I was told next morning by my hostel neighbour. All day restlessness sent me from place to place, until I found myself in the Egyptian section at the British Museum. For the first time in England, I felt really at home.

For Shemza, the realization came all at once, that Islamic Art did not partake of “universal” European epistemologies and could not be called “art” within that system because it was functional. Having been educated at the Mayo School of Arts when it was still focused on art industry, before its transformation into an art school in the form of the National College of Arts, Lahore, Shemza received a commercial art diploma before going to the Slade to study. As a member of the Lahore Art Circle and a successful artist in Pakistan, it was not until that moment in Gombrich's class that the hierarchies of the colonial art system condensed into form for Shemza. That moment of alienation allowed Shemza to see the operations of art history, and enabled a decolonial critique, as well as the possibility of solidarity. Indeed, it is crucial to note that Shemza's response was not that of an essentialist assertion of national identity. He did not, for example, find himself at home in the South Asian collections of the British Museum, but rather in the Egyptian wing.

In the work *The Wall* (1958) created shortly after this crisis, Shemza created a painting that was at once abstract, representational, and decorative, piercing to the heart of the problem posed by Gombrich's analysis of Islamic art as functional (Fig. 66).⁷³ The work appears at first entirely abstract, placing a figure defined by graphic lines against a two-toned ground of thick, impasted paint in a manner that nods towards Paul Klee, an important reference point for Shemza. The title, *The Wall*, pulls the work back to a realm of representation, however, causing a shift in the viewer's perception

of form, as the figure resolves into what in some of his other works of the same period is explicitly identified as a city wall, ornamented with Islamic patterns that, in this context, call into question the distinction made in Western modernism between abstraction and Islamic decoration. It is as if in this work, Shemza is taking Gombrich's thinking about the openness of art's epistemologies to its logical conclusion, and using it to challenge his claims about Islamic art. By positing abstraction, realism, and decoration as three possible contradictory readings within the same work, Shemza questions their separability, positing the inextricability of modernism and its presumed others.

Kim Lim

Even before going to London, Kim Lim (Chengkim Lim)'s experience was already contrapuntal.⁷⁴ She was born in Singapore, spent much of her childhood in Malaysia during the war years and, as a result, attended Japanese school while under occupation. After the war, her family returned to Singapore, which became a British colony in 1946. Being asked to situate her own practice within the history of art taught at the Slade meant that she quickly understood its limitations. She commented, making her own interventions:

when I went to the Slade there was art history where you learnt that ... there was primitive art ... leading up to the kind of epitome of Western art, which is the Renaissance, and I still don't feel that way ... there were other things equally good ... so in the end, you just have to go according to your instincts.⁷⁵

Every summer, she would visit her family in Singapore, stopping along the way to pursue what she called her "real visual education" (Fig. 67). Study trips to Japan, India, Cambodia, and Egypt, among other stops, endowed Lim with a sense of space, vocabularies of ornament, and an understanding of the capacities of abstraction far beyond the Eurocentric models that she learned at the Slade.⁷⁶ In 1958, Lim won second prize in sculpture. An image of the work, found in an album of prize-winning works in the departmental archive, shows two heads in embrace, profiles abstracted through the delineation of textures, flat surface, and curvature (Figs. 68 and 69). A reference to Brancusi, the work was also an early experiment with salvaged stones, and an engagement with the surfaces of ruins that she saw in her far-ranging travels.⁷⁷ *Ronin* (1963) plays on the notion of the wandering samurai without a master as a metaphor for modernism's mobilities (Fig. 70). *Stack* (1976) (Fig. 71), for example, plays against and through the multiple vocabularies of grid and lattice that Lim observed on her travels to Fatehpur

Sikri in India, Kiyomizu Dera in Japan, and Karnak in Egypt, distilling form that is at once situated and multiple, hinting at the possibility of complex identities (Figs. 72–74).

Contrapuntal Pedagogies

This section conducts a transversal comparison of three groups of pedagogical artefacts from three different sites—Dhaka, Lahore, and the Sinophone world—in order to analyse the ways in which artists who passed through the Slade appropriated and transformed pedagogical and artistic models that they encountered there.

Given that these artists began their studies in other contexts, and that some of them were already teaching at or leading art institutions when they went to study abroad, the Slade School of Fine Art functioned as a contrapuntal node that contributed to, but did not fully determine, the formation of the artists who attended it. Here, the notion of journeying *through* modernism rather than *to*, as articulated by Lotte Hoek and Sanjukta Sunderason, is an important idea as it captures the significance of London as a site of critical engagement rather than as a pilgrimage destination.⁷⁸ Importantly, it also operated as a multivocal contact zone where, as Wendy Yeo related in an oral history interview, Slade students often learned as much from each other as from their tutors.⁷⁹

Until William Coldstream was appointed Slade principal in 1949, the Slade curriculum was based on a Beaux Arts model, which followed a strict progression from drawing from antique plaster casts to drawing in the life room, before painting and sculpture could be taken at more senior levels. This methodology stressed the pre-eminence—both visual and ideological—of classical European models, and left little room for other modes of representation. This was, for example, the curriculum that Ben Enwonwu (1944–1947) and Shakir Ali (1946–1949) encountered during their times at the Slade. Enwonwu’s response, explored already in the section “Imagining Postcolonial States”, was one of rejection, whereas Shakir Ali’s engagement with the Beaux Arts model (filtered through his time in Paris and Prague), led him to adapt and incorporate modernist approaches. Appointed the first Pakistani principal of the National College of Arts in 1961, Ali implemented curricular reform that entailed refusing the colonial curriculum of the Mayo School of Arts. For him, this required a greater focus on the fine arts, and a rejection of the craft orientation of both the Mayo School’s programme of industrial art and design and the Bauhaus-inspired reforms which had been implemented to integrate art and craft under the NCA’s first principal, Mark Ritter Sponenburgh, with the collaboration of Jamila Zaidi.⁸⁰ As Nadeem Omar Tarar argues, Ali’s postcolonial modernism followed

theories of modernisation and development, steering the NCA curriculum away from craft. Still, Ali moved beyond his Slade training, towards modernist epistemologies, drawing on his time at André Lhote's studio in 1948, and in leftist circles in Prague between 1947 and 1951.⁸¹ This represented Ali's own assessment of what constituted modernity after independence. As Iftikhar Dadi writes, Ali "modernized postcolonial subjectivity in Pakistan by persistently disregarding formulaic responses", imagining the possibility of a postcolonial subject that was not purely local.⁸²

Coldstream's arrival at the Slade in 1949 brought many changes. He reoriented the school's focus away from a Beaux Arts model towards methods of inquiry. As a result, in lectures on art history and in the studio, idealized aesthetics became less central. Coldstream was a painter of the Euston Road School, which sought to create works accessible to a larger public through observational realism and engagement with social issues. For Coldstream, the goal was not to continue in the academic tradition of the Beaux Arts, nor to transmit Euston Road School painting as a technique or follow current trends, but rather to create an environment where representation and form were aligned with research and society rather than style. Not long after the end of the Second World War, when the British art world was in a state of aesthetic flux, these reforms contributed to a pedagogical environment where the relationship between art practice and the history of European art was purposefully misaligned, pivoting students gently away from the history of Continental European art as the model for all art-making.⁸³ As Courtney Martin argues of Coldstream's impact on Shemza, "The Euston Road example would also have showed Shemza that there was more than one way to be modern".⁸⁴

The 1950–1951 UCL Course Calendar (Fig. 75) details some of Coldstream's reforms, including a pivot away from drawing from the antique towards observational practice as well as a less technical and more intellectual approach to anatomy and perspective (see also Fig. 93). Additionally, this revised curriculum placed a greater emphasis on the study of art history and complementary subjects in addition to studio practice, encouraging a variety of different artistic styles. As Coldstream commented in 1965, "A modern art school is run on the understanding that all sorts of ideas and approaches, good of their kind, have to be encouraged".⁸⁵ Unlike the Bauhaus curriculum—then a major pedagogical model that was gaining currency during this period in the UK, South Asia, and beyond—the Slade did not embrace the inclusion of craft into the curriculum, and continued a Beaux Arts focus on realism, albeit with a major epistemological shift away from idealized form. Critically, whereas Bauhaus pedagogy only provided instruction in art history in so far as it informed the teaching of historical

artistic techniques, art history has been taught consistently at the Slade since 1904, and was made into a central, foundational subject under Coldstream.⁸⁶ In the 1960 report of the National Advisory Council on Art Education headed by Coldstream, he advocates for the centrality of art history in British art schools, stating that “The presence of art historians ... [has] enabl[ed] the student to understand relationships between his own activities and the culture within which he lives.”⁸⁷ Within this pedagogical framework, students were not taught to revere an idealized past (although Eurocentric hierarchies and epistemologies were omnipresent, as discussed in the “Schema and Correction: Repositioning Art Histories” section), but to understand how to critically situate their work within the history of European art.

In this section, we examine three case studies that demonstrate some of the interconnected ways in which artists critically engaged with the Slade curriculum. In particular, this section surfaces how artists judiciously supplemented or disrupted instruction in European art and art history in various ways, provincializing Eurocentrism in the process. We consider curricular developments at the Government Institute of Arts in Dhaka following Zainul Abedin’s return from the Slade; curricular developments implemented at the National College of Arts, Lahore by Jamila Zaidi under Principal Mark Ritter Sponenburgh; as well as two art history textbooks translated by Tseng Yu.

Zainul Abedin and the Government Institute of Arts, Dhaka

Already the principal of the Government Institute of Arts, Dhaka (GIA) and an accomplished cultural bureaucrat by the time he arrived at the Slade in 1951, Zainul Abedin went to the UK with a mission to gather information about artistic and pedagogical methods towards the development of cultural policy and art education in Pakistan.⁸⁸ Indeed, it is possible to see how Abedin approached his encounter with Slade analytically, assessing and translating methodologies on the spot to determine how they might or might not be applicable in Pakistan. In his meticulous notes on printmaking, for example, Zainul Abedin identified methods of mixing printmaking ink from lampblack, polishing burnishers with knife polish, creating plate cleaning solvents with household ingredients, and identifying alternative resists for aquatint, seeking methods and materials that were practicable in Pakistan (Fig. 76). These notes capture the granularity of concerns that he expressed in letters home to his colleague Anwarul Huq, which reflect on how his experiences in London could be useful to the GIA.⁸⁹ More materially, Abedin also had two etching machines and a library of art books sent to Dhaka, establishing a fine arts library, which he stipulated was important for “develop[ing] knowledge of history of arts”.⁹⁰

When the GIA was established in 1948, it followed the curriculum of the Calcutta School of Art, where all of the founders of the GIA were teaching or studying before Partition. A two-year Elementary Course was followed by three years of specialization in Fine Art (Drawing and Painting), or Commercial Art (Graphic Design), and no theoretical subjects were offered.

⁹¹ The first-year course focused mainly on drawing, and the distinctions between fine art and commercial art reflected European categorizations of the arts that formed the basis of the British curriculum on which the Calcutta School of Art was founded. Abedin's year at the Slade (1951–1952) appears to have been a turning point, since upon his return, he proposed a new curriculum and, in 1955, the Department of Oriental Art was established (Fig. 77). ⁹² The syllabus takes some elements from the Slade undergraduate curriculum, yet introduces a contrapuntal perspective, lightly situating the curriculum within an art-historical framework, which Abedin intended to support with the creation of an art library. The syllabus maintains the GIA's previous emphasis on drawing as the foundation of all instruction, systematically introduces perspective and anatomy into the Elementary Course, and introduces instruction in the history of art. In addition, the new syllabus creates the Department of Oriental Art, and puts "Western" and "Oriental" art in dialogue, requiring all students to take both in the Elementary Course. Specialization would become possible in the third year, and a programme adapted from Bengal School methodologies provided instruction in Oriental drapery, fresco, and architecture, as well as theoretical instruction in the "methods of old masters, and history of Oriental painting". As Lala Rukh Selim observes, this programme was localized further by introducing outdoor sketching of landscape and figures, in the syllabus rendered as "outdoor study, flowers and foliage, and drawing from life". Focusing largely on the Bengali countryside, labourers, and artisans, this provided a leftist take on *plein air* training. ⁹³

The Mayo School of Arts, Lahore into the National College of Arts, Lahore

The Mayo School of Arts in Lahore was established in 1875 as one of four art institutions located in the major metropolises of colonial India. Under the leadership of its first principal, John Lockwood Kipling, the Mayo School became a pre-eminent centre for the development of craft and art industry (along with the Industrial School of Arts in Madras, established in 1854), offering courses such as woodworking and metalworking. Tellingly, it operated under the Department of Industries until it became the National College of Arts, Lahore, in 1958. As such, its original mandate was very different from that of art schools such as the Calcutta School of Art (established in 1854) and the Sir Jamsetji Jeejibhoy School of Art, Bombay (established in 1857). The transition from the Mayo School of Arts to the National College of Arts (NCA) was stewarded by Principal Mark Ritter

Sponenburgh (1957–1961), an American artist who had trained at the Arts and Crafts inspired Cranbrook Academy of Art, the École des Beaux Arts in Paris, and the American Research Centre in Cairo, and spent a year teaching at the Royal Academy of Art in London, prior to being hired as the NCA's first principal. Sponenburgh's vision for the NCA was, as Iram Zia Raja notes, "based loosely on the model of Bauhaus, yet rooted in the indigenous mores of arts and crafts".⁹⁴ Indeed, Sponenburgh took a major interest in the folk arts of the Swat valley, and organized the first national exhibition on that subject during his tenure as principal.

Drawing on resources made available through the Colombo Plan, Sponenburgh hired many foreign faculty members as well as artists who had been trained abroad. In 1960, he hired Jamila Zaidi, the first Pakistani woman to graduate from the Slade. Although Zaidi has not received as much attention as other NCA founding faculty, and although she was at the NCA for a short time, from 1960 to 1964, the archives demonstrate the important role that she assumed as the NCA representative on national curriculum committees, as a national curriculum textbook author (see [Figs. 27–31](#)), and as a thinker about art pedagogy ([Figs. 78 and 79](#)).

Studying at the Slade from 1954 to 1957, Zaidi overlapped with Khalid Iqbal, Kim Lim, Sam Ntiro, Gazbia Sirry, K.G. Subramanyan, Ibrahim El-Salahi, Anwar Jalal Shemza, Tseng Yu, and Wendy Yeo, who are all mentioned in this feature, as well as other overseas students. This particularly interesting moment of transversal crossings would have provided Zaidi with a comparative ecology against which to imagine other postcolonial pedagogies. When she was hired in 1960 by Sponenburgh, her thinking about art and education condensed into a vision that brought together her fine art training with Sponenburgh's interest in craft, challenging epistemological divisions between the two. Indeed, she proudly advocated for contrapuntal pedagogies that wove together art and craft: on her CV, Zaidi mentioned that she had made "art and craft" compulsory in secondary education, that she had written a textbook titled *Story of Art*, and had co-taught a course on "Folk Arts and Crafts in Pakistan" at the NCA (see [Fig. 78](#)).⁹⁵

The 1960–1961 curriculum for the foundation course "Intro to the Visual Arts" separates "related arts" from "applied and industrial design", placing Zaidi's Folk Arts and Crafts course in the latter category, with Architecture and Archaeology in Pakistan in the "related arts" term ([Fig. 80](#)). A syllabus for the History of Art and Architecture from the same set of documents provides further context, demonstrating a comparative and global approach to teaching art history, in the Fall term covering East Asia, South Asia, Egyptian, Mesopotamian, Greek, Roman, and Buddhist art, with only minimal attention paid to European prehistoric art ([Figs. 81 and 82](#)). History of Art II offers a

history of Architecture, Sculpture and Painting in France 1848–1960, along with sections on “Luministic Realism” in Tokugawa Japan and “Impressionism” in Islamic Art, in an effort to place French modernism within a global context (Figs. 83 and 84). These efforts to disrupt the Eurocentrism of art history also translated into the practice side of the curriculum, which we can see in a contemporaneous note setting out the syllabus for a third-year class on technical methods, which focuses on copying from miniature paintings, and introduces techniques such as brush and ink, wash, colour, and application of gold leaf (Fig. 85). Furthermore, when Zaidi presented the paper “Criticism in Art Education at the College Level” at the 16th All-Pakistan Science Conference as a delegate from the NCA in 1963, she addressed the importance of using critique as a pedagogical tool to help students navigate between multiple artistic systems (see Fig. 79). Although when Shakir Ali became principal in 1961, he shifted the curriculum towards European art and its methods, it is useful to trace this brief moment of contrapuntal pedagogy developed by Sponenburgh with Zaidi’s contribution.⁹⁶ They laid the groundwork for later developments in the Print department that will be discussed in Part 2 of this “Slade, London, Asia” feature, which will focus on the 1960s to the 1990s.

Tseng Yu and Art Education in Hong Kong and Taiwan

As a young student at the Slade, Tseng Yu developed strong relationships with both William Coldstream and William Townsend, evident in the archive through the warmth of their correspondence and, in the case of Townsend, a friendship that evolved to include visits to his home in Kent and the exchange of works of art. Tseng’s letters to Coldstream show him seeking to educate the Slade professor about contemporary Chinese art (see Figs. 97 and 98), and he later returned to the Slade in 1975 to give a lecture about Chinese painting to Slade students (see Fig. 99). Tseng saw himself as a contrapuntal mediator, bringing knowledge about Chinese art history and aesthetics to European audiences, and vice versa. Tseng was born in Shanghai, but had moved to Hong Kong by the time he applied to the Slade in 1952. After graduating from the Slade in 1956, he moved to Paris and studied at the École des Beaux Arts, spending some time at Stanley William Hayter’s Atelier 17 (another node for former Slade graduates), then moved to Rome in 1960, where he stayed for ten years before being hired as Department Head of Fine Arts at the Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK) in 1971.

The Department of Fine Arts at CUHK was founded in 1957 as a two-year Fine Arts Specialized Training Program at New Asia College, and was the first tertiary institution in Hong Kong to offer courses in Studio Practice and Art History. Founded by Principal Ch’ien Mu and other scholars from mainland China in Hong Kong, the New Asia College was an effort to establish Chinese

language, culture, and learning at the level of tertiary education within an ecosystem of British colonial education.⁹⁷ The Fine Arts programme was established by École des Beaux Arts-trained Chen Shi-wen and Tokyo School of Fine Arts-trained Ding Yanyong, and today “carries a special mission to promote the study of Chinese art and culture and the exchange of Chinese and Western art with dual emphasis on studio practice and art theories”.⁹⁸

Tseng was hired at a critical moment for the Department of Fine Arts and stewarded an important transition as department head. It was under Tseng that the department was separated from the Board of Studies in Philosophy and Fine Arts and established as its own independent Board of Studies. Furthermore, the 1971 CUHK *Bulletin* notes that (Figs. 86 and 87):

with these new appointments, it is possible to modify the curriculum so that it has greater emphasis on Chinese Art History. It is hoped that with the development of the programme, students of Fine Arts will have an opportunity to choose areas of concentration, initially between art history and theory as one area and practice of art (drawing, painting, sculpture, design, etc.) as another. It is also hoped that eventually the following four areas of concentration can be developed: Chinese Art History; Chinese painting; calligraphy and seal carving; Western painting, sculpture and prints; and design and ceramics.

Tseng’s pedagogical thinking was systemic and synthetic, and can be analysed through three art history textbooks he co-translated into Chinese: Michael Sullivan’s *The Arts of China* (Fig. 88 in 1985, H.W. Janson’s *History of Art* in 1991 (Fig. 89), and Giulio Carlo Argan and Maurizio Fagiolo’s *Guida a la storia dell’arte* in 1992 (Fig. 90). The combination of the three texts indicates Tseng’s belief in the importance of enabling contemporary artists to situate themselves within multiple histories of art. Argan and Fagiolo’s *Guida a la storia dell’arte*, a book on art history methodology, is of particular interest, as it is accompanied by a preface written by Tseng. Reflecting the department’s institutional separation from the Board of Studies of Philosophy, Tseng argues for a theoretical shift in Chinese art history, which he sees as too invested in aesthetics and poetry rather than history, society, and politics. As with Abedin, who identified the importance of establishing an art library for the purposes of teaching art history, Tseng identifies the creation of art libraries and photographic image libraries such as the one at the Courtauld Institute of Art for art students, for whom it was necessary to develop a contrapuntal language of art.⁹⁹

Schema and Correction: Repositioning Art Histories

Between 1949 and 1961, Art History at the Slade was taught by two eminent art historians, Rudolf Wittkower (1949–1956) and Ernst Gombrich (1956–1961). Both European émigré scholars were based at the Warburg Institute, and both were, in different ways, concerned with the history of the classical tradition. These two figures set the tone at the Slade by embracing new art-historical methods that emphasized the relationships between art and its social and historical contexts, leading to a cultural relativism that, although limited by its reliance upon Western epistemologies, was uncommon for its time.¹⁰⁰ This left open the possibility of what Gombrich termed “schema and correction”, or challenges to the status quo.¹⁰¹

Both Wittkower’s and Gombrich’s inaugural lectures at UCL (“The Artist and the Liberal Arts” in 1950; and “Art and Scholarship” in 1957, respectively) not only elucidate the historical and contemporary imperatives to ensure links between arts, humanities, and sciences, but they also used this platform as an opportunity to rationalize their “unusual situation” (to use Wittkower’s phrase) of being art historians lecturing to practising artists (Fig. 91). For his part, Gombrich advocates that scholars “turn to the working artist to learn what actually happens when somebody makes an image: What use does he make of tradition, what difficulties does he encounter?”¹⁰² This commonality between the two presentations foregrounds the art school as a site of encounter not only between artists of the past and those of the present, between historical and modern art, but pivotally, between contemporary artists and art historians. In this context, artists are understood by these scholars—conceptually at least—as having agency and expertise (whether or not this was acknowledged at the level of individual students). Artists make use of inherited “schemata”, comparing it to direct observation of their surroundings, and then set about correcting the schema. For artists familiar with more than one system of inherited schemata, understanding them as visual languages opened up the possibility of negotiating between multiple modes of representation. Even so, both Gombrich and Wittkower ultimately could not escape their own inherited schemata and privileged pictorial realism, expressing ambivalence with respect to modern art as well as to other artistic traditions.

Art history at the Slade also existed within a wider interdisciplinary context of the university, set alongside lectures on anatomy (for instance, “Growth and Form” by N.A. Barnicot and biologist J.Z. Young), the psychology of vision (A.R. Jonckheere), mathematical perspective (taught by B.A.R. Carter, who concurrently published with Wittkower on the topic),¹⁰³ and later film (Thorold Dickinson).¹⁰⁴ Gombrich’s lectures at the time were informed by the long gestation of ideas that would come to constitute *Art and Illusion*

(1960). In addition to being exposed to art and art histories as active and interdisciplinary academic subjects, students were invited to take subsidiary subjects from across the college, and attend lectures at the Courtauld Institute of Art and the Bartlett School of Architecture. The curriculum included a range of additional visiting lecturers in art history. As indicated by the 1953–1954 report to the Slade Committee alone, there were invited lectures by Ronald Alley, Michael Kitson, Gillo Dorfles, Oliver Miller, Charles Mitchell, Ellis Waterhouse, Margaret Whinney, Frances Yates, and Kenneth Clark, who, along with Anthony Blunt, also served on the college's Slade Committee (Fig. 92). Yet, even with this array, the focus of study remained squarely focused on classical, European, British, and American art, underpinned by the presuppositions of Western ways of seeing. This included the centrality of geometrical, single-point perspective as a hallmark skill students were accountable for, as shown by lecture notes for B.A.R. Carter's lectures on mathematical perspective and accompanying exam questions (Fig. 93). ¹⁰⁵

It was in this context of intellectual openness and deeply rooted Eurocentrism that overseas students critically engaged with—and often rejected—the false universalism of art-historical narratives taught at the Slade. Frustrated by the Eurocentrism of the Slade curriculum, for example, Ben Enwonwu supplemented his Slade degree with a postgraduate year studying West African ethnography at University College London. ¹⁰⁶ As discussed in the section “Contrapuntal World-Making”, for Anwar Jalal Shemza, the experience of hearing Gombrich characterize Islamic art as “functional” shattered him, and led him to destroy his previous works, paving the way for a pictorial language of decolonial modernism that questioned the distinction in European art between abstraction and decoration (see Fig. 65). Handouts from Gombrich's lecture in the Slade archive outline the art-historical paradigm Shemza would have encountered in his first year at the Slade (1956–1957) (Figs. 94 and 95). Accompanying these documents are Gombrich's own notes for lecture delivery, with annotations corresponding to slides that would have been screened as juxtaposed images for comparing and contrasting (Fig. 96). Although hard to make out, reading them for their form and structure encourages us to grasp these occasions as staged, live events, and moments of intellectual and visual encounter. These were performances generating an alchemy between delivery and reception that could support ambivalences, nuance, and critical engagement, even as they marginalized non-European artistic epistemologies.

The documents also show how students were encouraged to view artworks for themselves by visiting collections such as the British Museum, in a sense extending the pedagogical space. Yet, while these museums may have showcased global collections, and so in principle provided pathways to enrich and diversify the set curriculum, many of these artworks were displaced and

decontextualized, acquired through imperial and colonial exploitation and violence. Moreover, through the museum's discursive enterprises, these collections were deployed in ways that naturalized the dominant cultural narratives of progress and cultural superiority which sought to affirm Britain's global position. ¹⁰⁷

Even as a young student, Tseng Yu understood the limitations of his professors' knowledge bases—their schema—and sought to educate them in Chinese art and art history. In a letter to Coldstream in 1955, written when Tseng was in his third year of studies, Tseng introduced the Slade professor to the work of Ch'i Pai-Shih (Qi Baishi) and Hsü Pei Hung (Xu Beihong), two of the most celebrated modern Chinese artists of their generation (Figs. 97 and 98). Seeking to give Coldstream a lesson in contrapuntal modernism, Tseng explained how “by mingling the arts and craft elements and traditional elements together [Ch'i Pai Shih] created a very individual style”. Not content to leave the analysis at the level of particularized modernism, however, Tseng also cites Renoir as having engaged in a similar gesture, having “start[ed] as a porcelain painter, he started from the city's low arts and craft”. He then predicts and corrects Coldstream's response to Ch'i's modernity, which the senior painter would likely have perceived as derivative of European art, writing that: “Matisse must have seen his pictures, as their artistic approach is very alike. They are very modern in Europe.” ¹⁰⁸ Turning to Hsü Pei Hong, Tseng makes an even more radical correction, writing that Hsü's “combination of East and West, like Whistler's, is a very superficial one”, knowing that Hsü was likely known to Coldstream as the teacher of two former Slade students, Chang Chien-Ying (1949–1951) and Fei Chengwu (1950–1951).

In 1975, Tseng returned to the Slade, this time as a visiting lecturer, and delivered a lecture comparing Chinese and Western painting and aesthetics, focusing on the question of “how people look” at art (Fig. 99). In other words, by analysing ways of viewing, Tseng was addressing Gombrich's ideas about how schemas shape perception, and making his own corrections to both Gombrich's schema and to the Slade curriculum. In this lecture, Tseng addresses five points: line, intuition and measurement, disintegration of form, time and space, and spiritual resonance. Ultimately, Tseng argues that Chinese painting offers a “new way of looking”, and a competing schema that provincializes and relativizes European ways of viewing, knowing, and painting.

Similarly, for students of Gombrich who arrived with a developed postcolonial perspective, such as K.G. Subramanyan and Partha Mitter (the latter his student not at the Slade but University of London), Gombrich's theoretical frameworks proved useful rather than limiting, and have, in recent years, been appropriated and transformed in different contexts of global art and art

history.¹⁰⁹ As Mitter commented about Gombrich's former students, "We are not clones. We all have our own interests and concerns."¹¹⁰ Indeed, for both Subramanyan and Mitter, the relationship that they established with Gombrich's intellectual structures was precisely one of taking on Gombrich's schema and correcting it to address the world as they saw it.

For Subramanyan, Gombrich provided a vocabulary drawn from the psychology of perception that helped him develop his Santiniketan teacher Nandalal Bose's ideas about the semiotics of artistic expression (Fig. 100). As Sonal Khullar argues, "Gombrich's anti-Hegelian art history allowed for the possibility of divergent temporalities for art and for divergent representational forms, both nature-improving and nature-spiritualizing in Riegl's terms."¹¹¹ In other words, Gombrich's *Art and Illusion* established the *conventional* nature of representation, and opened the possibilities of art as language, which Subramanyan adopted in his own pedagogical practice. Appropriating theoretical schemas drawn from both Gombrich and Bose, Subramanyan made his own corrections when teaching "Fundamentals of the Visual Arts" as a world art history course at the Faculty of Fine Arts at the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda from 1959 to the 1970s.

Finally, for Partha Mitter, the methodological tools that he learned enabled him to make his own "corrections" to both Gombrich and to art history more generally (Fig. 101). Mitter had wanted to be an artist and attended a few classes at the Calcutta Art School but found it not sufficiently intellectual. Dreaming of going to art school in Paris, he ended up being admitted to an undergraduate programme in history at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) in 1962, and went to London instead, where he painted and did drawings in the evenings after classes at St Martin's School of Art. His very first lecture was delivered by Ernst Gombrich in the General History Lecture Series at Senate House, London University, which Mitter comments, "just bowled me over for his radical rethinking of Hegel ... He gave me a very new insight. I started looking for his books, then read *Art and Illusion*, which was central to my work" (Fig. 102).

Inspired by the lecture and his other interactions with Gombrich, Mitter eventually approached Gombrich to ask if he would supervise his dissertation on Paul Klee. Not considering himself an art historian, Gombrich demurred, suggesting that Mitter study with Anthony Blunt, but then posed a question to Mitter that would prove pivotal. "You know," said Gombrich, "I find the aesthetic principles and taste of Hindu temple sculpture and architecture very difficult to come to terms with and assimilate." Not understanding his own schemas, Gombrich asked Mitter if he would want to try to answer that question in his dissertation and offered to supervise him.

“I was at SOAS at a very important colonial moment”, Mitter comments, noting that it was populated by “ex-colonial teachers, army officers, orientalist”, who, although friendly, were “very patronising in a very kind way”. Between Gombrich’s unanswered question and Mitter’s immediate environment at SOAS, he began thinking about the intellectual structures of colonialism and racism, which eventually led to him teaching a course on the ideology of racism, giving a guest lecture on Indian art in Susan Hiller’s class at the Slade around 1965. From 1965–1970, Mitter pursued a PhD with Gombrich through a joint degree at the University of London between SOAS and the Warburg Institute, and his doctoral dissertation became the book *Much Maligned Monsters: A History of European Reactions to Indian Art* (Fig. 103). Published in 1977, one year before Edward Said’s *Orientalism* (1978), *Much Maligned Monsters* revealed the colonial schemas that demonized Indian art within European ways of knowing.

Conclusion

Drawing transversal connections and comparisons between the histories of Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Indonesia, Singapore, Nigeria, Sudan, Uganda, Britain, and beyond, this feature offers a methodological proposition for writing multi-perspectival or *worlded* global art histories.¹¹² Additionally, it reveals the contrapuntal histories of the Slade, partially restoring what Hammad Nasar calls the “empire-shaped hole” in British history and the British imagination.¹¹³

This feature situates itself between a worlded global art history and archival studies, in order to offer a methodological proposition that experiments with new forms of collaboration and knowledge co-creation that are necessarily generous and generative, working across archives, countries, languages, and disciplinary boundaries. It seeks to read and give form to archives both against and along the grain, co-constituting histories at their points of friction—generative intellectual spaces that, like rubbing two sticks together, produce sparks that can burn down or burn brightly. We use this metaphor, which refers creatively to Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing’s theorization of friction, to think through what it means to write a worlded global art history that contends with empire critically, narrating yet decentring histories that are both centripetal and centrifugal, caught between empire and decolonization.¹¹⁴

This feature is part of the “London, Asia” project at the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art headed by Sarah Victoria Turner and Hammad Nasar. It is a project that plays with scale, zooming in to the level of the urban and out to encompass the region, in order to shift the lenses through which we see transnational and transcultural histories. In this way, the nation is rendered

as a body of topics for discussion rather than as a fundamental organizational category, allowing us to find new ways of connecting the dots, new through lines and transversals that give birth to new histories. Following the “London, Asia, Art, Worlds” conference which took place in May and June 2021,¹¹⁵ and a forthcoming series of workshops on art pedagogy co-organized by the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art and Asia Art Archive, we will create a second part of this “Animating the Archive” feature in *British Art Studies*, which will address the period from the 1960s to the 1990s. We hope that you will join us in this ambitious endeavour to rethink how we write art history, and perhaps more importantly at this moment in history, how we imagine new forms of transnational connection and worlds beyond ethnic nationalisms.

Footnotes

- 1 University College London (UCL) was founded in 1826 by nonconformists as a liberal and secular alternative to the universities of Cambridge and Oxford. The founders and supporters including the poet Thomas Campbell, a lawyer and politician Henry Brougham, intellectual James Mill, and abolitionist Zachary Macaulay, and according to UCL calendars of the period, the founding abolitionist figures were the reason behind the school’s inclusive policies. See also Negley Harte, John North, and Georgina Brewis, eds., *The World of UCL* (London: UCL Press, 2018).
- 2 Sarah Victoria Turner, “Real Places and Imagined Journeys”, *Imagined Cosmopolis: Internationalism and Cultural Exchange, 1870s–1920s*, ed. Charlotte Ashby, Grace Brockington, Daniel Laqua, and Sarah Victoria Turner (London: Peter Lang, 2019), 231–249. Turner’s discussion of the coexistence of imperialism and internationalism at the turn of the century resonates with our argument here about the post-war period and the intersections between imperialism and decolonization. See also Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo and José Pedro Monteiro, “Pasts to be Unveiled: The Interconnections Between the International and the Imperial”, in *Internationalism, Imperialism, and the Formation of the Contemporary World: The Pasts of the Present*, ed. Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo and José Pedro Monteiro (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 1–29.
- 3 The Asquith Commission led to the establishment of the Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies in 1945, charged with developing a network of British-certified universities in the colonies, in preparation for post-independence futures. See The Colonial Office, “Report of the Commission on Higher Education in the Colonies” (June 1945), <https://obtienearchivo.bcn.cl/obtienearchivo?id=documentos/10221.1/29331/2/213787.pdf>. Another major organ of dissemination for British language and culture was the British Council. See Annabella Pollen, *Art without Frontiers: The History of the British Council and the Visual Arts* (New York: Art/Books, forthcoming 2021).
- 4 J.M. Lee, “Commonwealth Students in the United Kingdom, 1940–1960: Student Welfare and World Status”, *Minerva* 44, no. 1 (2006): 1–24. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41821340>.
- 5 Walter Adams, “Colonial University Education”, *Higher Education Quarterly* 4, no. 3 (May 1950): 283.
- 6 We borrow this concept from Leela Gandhi, *Affective Communities: Anticolonial Thought, Fin-de-siècle Radicalism, and the Politics of Friendship* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006).
- 7 Emma Chambers, “Prototype and Perception: Art History and Observation at the Slade in the 1950s”, in *The Concept of the “Master” in Art Education in Britain and Ireland, 1770 to the Present*, ed. Matthew C. Potter (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 197.
- 8 For a more detailed treatment of this subject, see Ming Tiampo, “Slade, London, Asia: Intersections of Decolonial Modernism”, Paul Mellon Centre for British Art lecture for “London, Asia”, 10 November 2020. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LF-eG5XqWV8>.
- 9 This project is informed by the emergent field of global microhistory. See John-Paul A. Ghobrial, “Introduction: Seeing the World like a Microhistorian”, *Past & Present* 242, Issue Supplement 14 (November 2019): 1–22, doi:[10.1093/pastj/gtz046](https://doi.org/10.1093/pastj/gtz046).
- 10 Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage, 1993), 51.
- 11 Edward Said, “Reflections on Exile and Other Essays”, in *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 398.
- 12 The concept of transversals was first used by Tiampo to theorize the relationships between histories that are both parallel and linked through a third term; see Ming Tiampo, “Slade, London, Asia: Intersections of Decolonial Modernism”, 10 November 2020, <https://www.paul-mellon-centre.ac.uk/whats-on/slade-london-asia>.
- 13 Shu-mei Shih, “Comparison as Relation”, in *Comparison: Theories, Approaches, Uses*, ed. Rita Felski and Susan Stanford Friedman (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 79.

- 14 For more information on, "Transnational Slade", see Slade School of Fine Art, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/slade/sladearchive/transnational-slade>; and for "London, Asia", see Paul Mellon Centre, <https://www.paul-mellon-centre.ac.uk/research/london-asia-art-worlds-conference>.
- 15 The first two workshops, on "histories" and "lived experiences" between the National College of Arts, Lahore, and the Slade School of Fine Art, took place 10 December 2020 and 4 February 2021.
- 16 Joan M. Schwartz and Terry Cook, "Archives, Records, and Power: The Making of Modern Memory". *Archival Science* 2 (2002): 1-19, doi:[10.1007/BF02435628](https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02435628); and Stuart Hall, "Constituting an Archive", *Third Text* 15, no. 54 (2001): 89-92, doi:[10.1080/09528820108576903](https://doi.org/10.1080/09528820108576903).
- 17 Geoffrey Yeo, "Concepts of Record (1): Evidence, Information, and Persistent Representations", *The American Archivist* 70, no. 2 (2007): 315-343, www.jstor.org/stable/40294573.
- 18 J.J. Ghaddar and M. Caswell, "'To Go Beyond': Towards a Decolonial Archival Praxis", *Archival Science* 19 (2019): 71-85, doi:[10.1007/s10502-019-09311-1](https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-019-09311-1).
- 19 Antoinette Burton, ed., *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions, and the Writing of History* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005).
- 20 Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008).
- 21 Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing, *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005).
- 22 Verne Harris, "The Archival Sliver: A Perspective on the Construction of Social Memory in Archives and the Transition from Apartheid to Democracy", in *Refiguring the Archive*, ed. Carolyn Hamilton et al. (Dordrecht: Springer, 2002), 135, doi:[10.1007/978-94-010-0570-8_9](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-010-0570-8_9).
- 23 Michelle Caswell, "'The Archive' is not an Archives: On Acknowledging the Intellectual Contributions of Archival Studies", *Reconstruction* 16, no. 1 (2016), UCLA, retrieved from <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/7bn4v1fk>.
- 24 Lara Putnam, "The Transnational and the Text-Searchable: Digitized Sources and the Shadows They Cast", *The American Historical Review* 121, no. 2 (April 2016): 377-402, doi:[10.1093/ahr/121.2.377](https://doi.org/10.1093/ahr/121.2.377).
- 25 Ariella Azoulay, *Potential History: Unlearning Imperialism* (London: Verso, 2019).
- 26 These include Affandi Museum; Asia Art Archive; Archives of the National College of Arts, Lahore; British Library Sound Archive; Archives of the Chinese University of Hong Kong; Slade Archive; Tate Archive; UCL Art Museum; UCL Special Collections; and the artists' archives include those of Zainul Abedin, Helen Ganly, Chila Kumari Burman, Kim Lim, Vivan Sundaram, and Wendy Yeo. Four workshops regarding "Slade, London, Asia" have now been hosted by the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art: two in London, addressing the histories and lived experiences of overseas artists at the Slade, and two between London and Lahore, bringing together the entangled histories and ongoing relationships between the Slade and the National College of Arts, Lahore.
- 27 See Anne J. Gilliland, Sue McKemmish, and Andrew J. Lau, eds., *Research in the Archival Multiverse* (Clayton, VIC: Monash University Publishing, 2016), <http://library.oapen.org/handle/20.500.12657/31429>. Rather than assuming a linear life cycle model of archives in which records are understood to be created and then archived into a static state from which evidence can be retrieved, the records continuum model in archival theory posits that records are in an ongoing state of activation, reactivation, and authentication along a continuum of creation, capture, organization, and pluralization. It is in this sense that archival records can be conceptualized as always in the process of becoming. Sue McKemmish, "Placing Records Continuum Theory and Practice", *Archival Science* 1, no. 4 (2001): 334.
- 28 These class photos were the inspiration for the 2013 *Crowdsourcing the Slade Class Photos*, a collaboration between UCL Centre for Digital Humanities and the Slade. The pilot website deployed face recognition software and social media platforms as a way to capture contributions from former students, staff, and scholars and identify sitters in the photographs. The resulting platform was also used in the first phase of the *Transnational Slade* project (2013-2014), led by Amna Malik and Melissa Terras.
- 29 Ian Tregarthen Jenkin interviewed by Linda Sandino, *National Life Stories: Artists' Lives*, Oral History, British Sound Archive, 2002, C466/133 Part 11: Tape 6, Side A, duration 31:06. <https://sounds.bl.uk/Oral-history/Art/021M-C0466X0133XX-0011V0>.
- 30 Student record for Wendy Yeo, UCL Records Office, used with permission.
- 31 Wendy Yeo, oral history interview with the authors, 27 November and 11 December 2020.
- 32 "Hussein Shariffe (1934-2005), Artist and Film-Maker", National Portrait Gallery, <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/person/mp88859/hussein-shariffe>.
- 33 These lists are provisional; access to archival records was disrupted due to the Covid-19 pandemic.
- 34 As quoted in Frances Donaldson, *The British Council: The First Fifty Years* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1984), 1-2.
- 35 As quoted in Donaldson, *The British Council*, 1-2.
- 36 See Amna Malik's profile on Iqbal, in "Transnational Slade: Khalid Iqbal", *Slade Archive Project*, 9 June 2014: <https://blogs.ucl.ac.uk/slade-archive-project/2014/06/09/transnational-slade-khalid-iqbal/>.
- 37 C.L.R. James, *Beyond A Boundary* (London: Stanley Paul/Hutchinson, 1963); Ashis Nandy, *The Tao of Cricket: On Games of Destiny and the Destiny of Games* (London, Viking: 1989); Arjun Appadurai, "Playing With Modernity: The Decolonization of Indian Cricket", *Modernity at Large Cultural Dimensions of Globalisation* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997); and Ian Baucom, "Put a Little English in It: C.L.R. James and England's Field of Play", *Out of Place: Englishness, Empire, and the Locations of Identity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999), 135-163.

- 38 Frantz Fanon, "On National Culture", in *The Wretched of the Earth*, translated by Constance Farrington (New York: Grove Press, 1963 [1961]), 209. Partha Mitter also addresses the reception of pre-colonial culture within colonial epistemologies in his book, *Much Maligned Monsters: A History of European Reactions to Indian Art* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977).
- 39 The Government Institute of Arts, Dacca, was established in 1948, in two rooms on the ground floor of the National Medical School building. In 1963, it became an affiliated college with Dhaka University, and changed its name to the East Pakistan College of Arts and Crafts. After independence in 1971, it became the Bangladesh Government College of Arts and Crafts. It became the Institute of Fine Art, a part of Dhaka University, in 1983. Nasimul Khabir, "Brief History of the Institute of Fine Arts, Dhaka", *Art, A Quarterly Journal* (October-December 1998), 14.
- 40 Sonal Khullar, *Worldly Affiliations: Artistic Practice, National Identity, and Modernism in India, 1930-1990* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2015), 139. Subramanyan was among the first group of faculty invited to teach at the Faculty of Fine Arts at the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda after it was upgraded from the Baroda College of Science (established in 1881) to the M.S. University of Baroda in 1949.
- 41 Partha Mitter, *Art and Nationalism in Colonial India, 1850-1922: Occidental Orientations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 29-62; Emma Wolukau Wanambwa, "Margaret Trowell's School of Art: A Case Study in Colonial Subject Formation", *Art Education Research* 15 (February 2019): 1-14; and So Mui Ma, "Identity and the Visual Arts Curriculum in Colonial and Postcolonial Hong Kong", *Visual Arts Research* 36, no. 1 (2010): 1-11.
- 42 Mitter, *Art and Nationalism in Colonial India, 1850-1922*, 29-62.
- 43 This argument is made and elaborated in Tapati Guha-Thakurta, *The Making of a New 'Indian' Art: Artists, Aesthetics, and Nationalism in Bengal, c.1850-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). The school at Santiniketan was founded as an alternative place for learning in 1901 by Rabindranath Tagore. In 1919, the Kala-Bhavan art school was founded under the leadership of Nandalal Bose, and became the Faculty of Fine Arts of the Visva-Bharati University, when it was founded in 1921. It was the first Faculty of Fine Arts at an Indian university.
- 44 Khullar, *Worldly Affiliations*, 131.
- 45 Simone Wille, *Modern Art in Pakistan: History, Tradition, Place* (New Delhi: Routledge, 2015), 6.
- 46 Lala Rukh Selim, "50 Years of the Fine Art Institute", *Art: A Quarterly Journal* 4, no. 2 (1998): 6.
- 47 J.P. Hodin, "The Artist in Modern Society: International Conference of Artists. Venice, 22-28 September 1952", *College Art Journal* 14, no. 3 (1955): 297-298, doi:[10.2307/772431](https://doi.org/10.2307/772431).
- 48 As Iftikhar Dadi and Sanjukta Sunderason argue, Abedin was situated between being an "artist bureaucrat" working for the Pakistani government, and an East Pakistani artist, see Iftikhar Dadi, *Modernism and the Art of Muslim South Asia* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 99-112; and Sanjukta Sunderason, "Shadow-Lines: Zainul Abedin and the Afterlives of the Bengal Famine of 1943", *Third Text* 31, nos. 2-3 (2017): 239-259.
- 49 Selim, "50 Years of the Fine Art Institute", 12.
- 50 Zainul Abedin, untitled, undated notes on cultural policy, ca. 1960s, Estate of Zainul Abedin.
- 51 Nadeem Omar Tarar, "From 'Primitive' Artisans to 'Modern' Craftsmen: Colonialism, Culture and Art Education in Late Nineteenth-Century Punjab", *South Asian Studies* 27, no. 2 (2011): 199-219; and Nadeem Omar Tarar, "Aesthetic Modernism in the Post-Colony: The Making of a National College of Art in Pakistan (1950s-1960s)", *The International Journal of Art & Design Education* 27, no. 3 (2008): 334, doi:[10.1111/j.1476-8070.2008.00587.x](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1476-8070.2008.00587.x).
- 52 Siva Kumar Raman, *K.G. Subramanyan: A Retrospective* (New Delhi: National Gallery of Modern Art and Brijbasi, 2003), 28.
- 53 K.G. Subramanyan, "An Unfinished Agenda (Some Thoughts on Art Education in India)".
- 54 Khullar, *Worldly Affiliations*, 133. See also Nilima Sheikh, "A Post-Independence Initiative in Art", in *Contemporary Art in Baroda*, ed. Gulammohammed Sheikh (New Delhi, Tulika Press, 1997), 53-144.
- 55 Raman, *K.G. Subramanyan*, 26-30. See Fig. 101 of this feature.
- 56 Walter Adams, "Colonial Universities To-Day", *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 101 (August 1953): 715-730.
- 57 Négritude was a political and cultural response to French colonialism in Africa and the Caribbean that asserted the importance and humanity of Black culture as a response to the dehumanization of colonialism. Major proponents included Léopold Sédar Senghor and Aimé Césaire. It has been critiqued, most notably by Frantz Fanon, as not adequately departing from the logics of European colonialism. Fanon, "On National Culture".
- 58 Enwonwu was challenged by the Zaria Art Society and their advocacy for a "natural synthesis" after independence in 1960. Prominent Zaria Art Society members included Uche Okeke, Bruce Onobrakpeya, and Demas Nwoko. See Chika Okeke-Agulu, *Postcolonial Modernism: Art and Decolonization in Twentieth-Century Nigeria* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015); Bea Gassmann de Sousa, "Decolonizing Nigerian Modernism: Ben Enwonwu's 'Identity in Politics'", *Tate Papers* 30 (Autumn 2018), <https://www.tate.org.uk/research/publications/tate-papers/30/decolonising-nigerian-modernism-ben-enwonwus-identity-politics>; and Matthew Lecznar, "Weathering the Storm: Ben Enwonwu's Biafrascapes and the Crisis in the Nigerian Postcolony", *Tate Papers* 30 (Autumn 2018), <https://www.tate.org.uk/research/publications/tate-papers/30/weathering-the-storm>.
- 59 This is now Margaret Trowell School of Industrial and Fine Arts, Makerere University.
- 60 Emma Wolukau-Wanambwa, "Margaret Trowell's School of Art or How to Keep the Children's Work Really African", in *The Palgrave Handbook of Race and the Arts in Education*, ed. Amelia M. Kraehe, Rubén Gaztambide-Fernández, and B. Stephen Carpenter II (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 86-7.

- 61 University of London is a federation of universities of which UCL and hence the Slade are part and was, at that time, the awarding body of its fine art degrees.
- 62 See the *Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies: Report* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1946-47).
- 63 Tapati Guha-Thakurta, *The Making of a New "Indian" Art: Artists, Aesthetics, and Nationalism in Bengal, c.1850-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 226-312.
- 64 Wolukau-Wanambwa, "Margaret Trowell's School of Art or How to Keep the Children's Work Really African".
- 65 Edward Said, "Reflections on Exile", 172.
- 66 See, for example, Courtney J. Martin, "Anwar Jalal Shemza's Art World in London: 1956-60", in *Anwar Jalal Shemza*, ed. Iftikhar Dadi (London: Ridinghouse, 2015).
- 67 James Hyman, *The Battle for Realism* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001).
- 68 Renamed the Government College of Art & Craft, Kolkata in 1951.
- 69 Thanks to Andrea Frederickson for this archival discovery.
- 70 Tseng Yu, letter to William Coldstream, 20 November 1957. UCL Special Collections.
- 71 Tseng Yu, audio recording of Lecture on Chinese and Western painting, Slade School of Fine Art, 1975. UCL Special Collections, 37:00.
- 72 Edward Said, "Reflections on Exile", 172.
- 73 Iftikhar Dadi, "Calligraphic Abstraction: Anwar Jalal Shemza", in *Anwar Jalal Shemza*, ed. Iftikhar Dadi (London: Ridinghouse, 2015), 14.
- 74 Joleen Loh, "Relocating Kim Lim: A Cosmopolitan Perspective", *Southeast of Now* 2, no. 2 (October 2018): 42-43, <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/707953>.
- 75 Kim Lim interviewed by Cathy Courtney, *National Life Stories: Artists' Lives*, Oral History, British Library Sound Archive, 20 October 1995, Kim Lim C466/51 Track 8: Tape 5: Side A, 95, <https://sounds.bl.uk/related-content/TRANSCRIPTS/021T-C0466X0051XX-0000A0.pdf>.
- 76 David J. Getsy, "Reduction as Abstraction: The Queer Capacities of Abstract Art", public lecture, 1 February 2021, ici Berlin. <https://www.ici-berlin.org/events/david-j-getsy/>. Getsy coined the phrase "capacities of abstraction" to capture the narrative content of abstraction that is coded in queer abstract painting.
- 77 Elena Crippa, "Kim Lim's Early Work: Reconfiguration and Reconciliation", paper given at "London, Asia, Art, Worlds", Paul Mellon Centre for British Art, 17 June 2021. Crippa's paper addressed the reparative engagement of Lim's early work with her childhood memories of the Japanese occupation of Malaya.
- 78 Lotte Hoek and Sanjukta Sunderason, "Journeying through Modernism: Travels and Transits of East Pakistani artists in Post-Imperial London", *British Art Studies* 13 (September 2019), doi:[10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-13/hoek-sunderason](https://doi.org/10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-13/hoek-sunderason).
- 79 Wendy Yeo, oral history interview with the authors, 27 November and 11 December 2020.
- 80 Tarar, "Aesthetic Modernism in the Post-Colony", 334.
- 81 Simone Wille, *Modern Art in Pakistan*, 19-21; Simone Wille, "South Asian Artists at the Académie André Lhote", in *André Lhote and his International Students*, ed. Zeynep Kuban and Simone Wille (Innsbruck: Innsbruck University Press, 2020), 195-200.
- 82 Dadi, *Modernism and the Art of Muslim South Asia*, 131.
- 83 Nigel Llewellyn, "Introduction: Histories and Contexts", in *The London Art Schools: Reforming the Art World, 1960 to Now*, ed. Llewellyn and Beth Williamson (London: Tate Publishing, 2015), 9-25.
- 84 Martin, "Anwar Jalal Shemza's Art World in London", 28.
- 85 William Coldstream, quoted in Emma Chambers, "Prototype and Perception", 203.
- 86 Walter Gropius, "Program of the Staatliche Bauhaus in Weimar", 1919, quoted in Matthew Shanley, "Tracing Bauhaus Pedagogy," M.Arch dissertation (Manchester School of Architecture, 2014), 53.
- 87 Ministry of Education, First Report of the National Advisory Council on Art Education (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1960), 11.
- 88 For a more in-depth discussion of Abedin's transnational career, see Hoek and Sunderason, "Journeying through Modernism".
- 89 Sayed Azizul Huq, *Zainul Abedin: Sristishil Jibonshomogro [Zainul Abedin's Creative Life]* (Dhaka: Prothoma Prokashon, 2015), 74.
- 90 GIA Curriculum, Estate of Zainul Abedin.
- 91 Nasimul Khabir, "Brief History of the Institute of Fine Art, Dhaka", *Art: A Quarterly Journal* (December 1998): 14.
- 92 The curriculum document reproduced here is very likely from 1956, when the Draughtsmanship department was established, as it is included in the document. The next major change to the curriculum came in 1964, when the course was discontinued, due to a similar programme being offered at the Tejgaon Polytechnic Institute.

- 93 Despite hewing closely to the Calcutta curriculum, Selim points out that the GIA introduced outdoor sketching of landscape and figures, especially labourers and artisans, which fostered an engagement with Bengali progressive politics. Selim, "50 Years of the Fine Art Institute", 8.
- 94 Iram Zia Raja, "Shakir Ali, an Enigma within a Layered Reality", *Pakistan Perspectives* 22, no. 2 (July–December 2017) 76. For details, see NCAA file no. 49-E, Annual Convocation Report of the National College of Arts (Part I & II), 1959–1961, H-26.
- 95 Zaidi developed these positions in the context of working with Mark Ritter Sponenburgh, an American sculptor who was the first principal of the National College of Arts, Lahore, and who introduced the NCA's modern curriculum in 1958. Sponenburgh was a champion of arts and crafts in Pakistan, and was known for his work on the Swat Valley. See, for example, Mark Sponenburgh, "Folk Arts of the Swat Valley", *Contemporary Arts in Pakistan* 2, no. 2 (Summer 1961). This was not purely Sponenburgh's initiative, however, and Zaidi took credit for her accomplishment, mentioning that "I got the subject of 'Art and Craft' made compulsory up to the 8th Class in all Schools of Pakistan" on her CV of ca. 1965. National College of Arts, Lahore Archives, Personal File of Ms. Jamila Zaidi, 1963–1985, page 84.
- 96 Ali first became temporary principal in 1961, after Sponenburgh's departure due to his wife's cancer diagnosis. See Tarar, "Aesthetic Modernism in the Post-Colony".
- 97 Chinese University of Hong Kong, *University Gallery: Dr. Ch'ien Mu*, https://www.cuhk.edu.hk/ugallery/en/story/chien_mu.html.
- 98 Chinese University of Hong Kong, *Sixty Years of Fine Arts Education*, <https://www.iso.cuhk.edu.hk/english/publications/CUHKUPDates/article.aspx?articleid=1909>.
- 99 Tseng Yu, Preface to Giulio Carlo Argan and Maurizio Fagiolo, *Yi Shu Shi Xue De Ji Chu [Guida a la storia dell'arte: Guide to Art History]*, trans. Tseng Yu and Tien-Tseng Yeh Liu (Taipei: Dong Tai Tu Shu Publishing, 1992). We gratefully acknowledge Gigi Wong's assistance with this research. As Sneha Ragavan has demonstrated in her work on the Faculty of Fine Arts at the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Rattan Parimoo also established an image library based upon the Courtauld model, but with a much wider global scope. Sneha Ragavan, Dhaka Art Summit, 2020.
- 100 Chambers, "Prototype and Perception", 197.
- 101 Ernst Gombrich, *Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1960).
- 102 Ernst H. Gombrich, "Art and Scholarship", *College Art Journal* 17, no. 4 (1958): 355, doi:[10.2307/774148](https://doi.org/10.2307/774148).
- 103 R. Wittkower and B.A.R. Carter, "The Perspective of Piero Della Francesca's 'Flagellation'", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 16, nos. 3–4 (1953): 292–302, www.jstor.org/stable/750368.
- 104 See Slade Annual Reports, UCL Records Office UCLCA/4/1/1
- 105 These documents are part of a fuller file of documents dating 1955–1959 including Gombrich's lecture notes, that were copied for the archive by Slade alumnus and former Slade Archivist, Stephen Chaplin when he interviewed Gombrich about his time at the Slade in 1994. See Slade Archive Reader, UCL Special Collections MS ADD 400.
- 106 Sylvester Okwunodo Ogbechie, *Ben Enwonwu: The Making of an African Modernist* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2008), 84.
- 107 Dan Hicks, *The Brutish Museums: The Benin Bronzes, Colonial Violence and Cultural Restitution* (London: Pluto Press, 2020).
- 108 Tseng Yu, letter to Coldstream, 20 January 1955, UCL Special Collections.
- 109 See, for instance, Yiqiang Cao, *The Legacy of Ernst Gombrich in China, in Art and Mind of Ernst Gombrich Mit dem Steckenpferd unterwegs*, ed. Sybille Moser-Ernst (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2018), 399–406.
- 110 Partha Mitter, Oral History Interview, 3 February 2021.
- 111 Khullar, *Worldly Affiliations*, 144.
- 112 *Worlding*, or the situated-ness of world-making, takes the shift from the adjectival form world to the gerund worlding in order to invoke the labour and contingency of world-making. This situated-ness, which is necessarily linked to the work of art, offers a corrective to top-down constructions of the global that fail to account for the production of multiple, sometimes competing, and often intertwined worlds. The starting point of the discourse on worlding (*welten*) has conventionally been philosopher Martin Heidegger's essay, "The Origins of the Work of Art" (1950). In the intervening years, this concept has been appropriated, expanded on, and deconstructed by thinkers from postcolonial theorist Gayatri Spivak (1985) to literary scholar Pheng Cheah, and anthropologists Marisol de la Cadena and Mario Blaser. Gayatri Spivak, "Three Women's Texts and a Critique of Imperialism", *Critical Inquiry* 12, no. 1, "Race", Writing, and Difference (Autumn 1985): 243–261; Pheng Cheah, *What Is a World? On Postcolonial Literature as World Literature* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016); and Marisol de la Cadena and Mario Blaser, *A World of Many Worlds* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2018). Our conception of worlding is informed by Ming Tiampo's participation as co-principal investigator (with Paul Goodwin) of the Trans-Atlantic Platform funded *Worlding Public Cultures* project.
- 113 A version of this comment was published in Hammad Nasar, "Opinion: In Order to be British We Must Acknowledge Our 'Indianness'", *Tate Etc.* 41 (Autumn 2017), <https://www.tate.org.uk/tate-etc/issue-41-autumn-2017/opinion-hammad-nasar-british-indianness>.
- 114 Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing, *Friction*.
- 115 For more details on the "London, Asia, Art, Worlds" conference, see Paul Mellon Centre, <https://www.paul-mellon-centre.ac.uk/research/london-asia-art-worlds-conference>.

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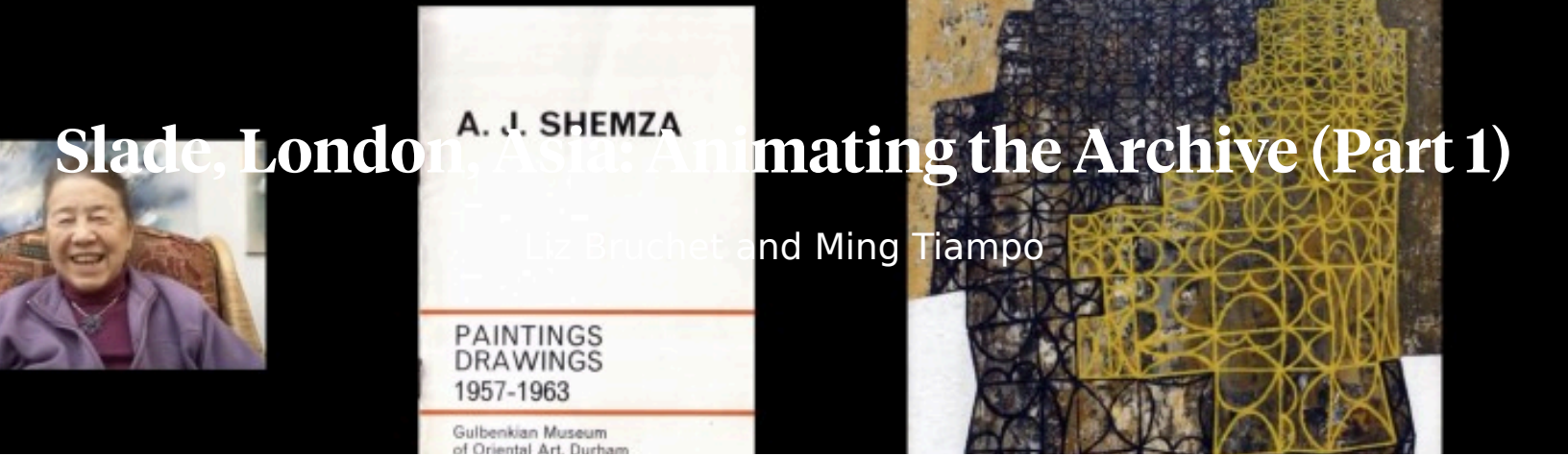
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Slade, London, Asia: Animating the Archive (Part 1)



Authors

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Introduction

From its inception in 1871, the Slade School of Fine Art in London attracted artists from around the world. *Slade, London, Asia: Contrapuntal Histories between Imperialism and Decolonization* takes the Slade as a starting point for a global microhistory and a reimagined and refigured archive. This feature surfaces how the Slade functioned during the post-war period as a site of encounter, decolonization, and expression for overseas artists; it also presents archival records which illuminate how the Slade occupies a complex place in the global history of art education, art practice, empire, and decolonization.

This feature consists of two interwoven parts. The first is a narrative history in the form of an academic essay that conceptualizes and interrogates the Slade's role as a transversal line, which at its points of intersection with other lines—such as those tracing histories of colonialism, decolonization and nation building, of concurrent institution building, or of modernist aesthetics—creates contrapuntal nodes, or complex sites of multiple entangled and resonating histories.¹ The second part of the feature is this offering of an “animated” archive that brings together materials from multiple institutional and personal archives in Asia and the UK, presented in a manner that invites readers to consider them in a non-linear fashion. Throughout this feature, we build upon Edward Said's use of the musical metaphor of contrapuntalism to address both the presence of empire in the metropolis and the construction of a transnational counterpoint with multiple voices and melodic lines in order to tune in to histories at the intersection of imperialism and decolonization.²

In this approach, the Slade is configured as a transversal line that links multiple histories from Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Indonesia, Singapore, Nigeria, Sudan, Uganda, Britain, and beyond. While we began with the focus on tracing connections between the Slade and artists and sites in Asia, the research evolved iteratively, and came to defy the parameters of the “London, Asia” project. Indeed, the documents showcased here have illuminated important alignments and transversals that extend beyond Asia, taking us to parts of Africa as well as parts of Britain beyond London. In this sense, these archival fragments also help us to position the Slade as one of many transversals and sites of relational comparison through which to analyse multiple colonial and postcolonial histories of art education.³

The constellations of records presented here also shine light on some of the many interconnected and difficult histories, visual languages, and pedagogical frameworks that emerged out of the Slade's particular transnational context at the intersection of imperial, decolonial, and

migration histories. Working through archival material with this framing, and reading them against and along their grain, has allowed us to understand and represent the Slade as an institution that contributed to, but did not fully determine, the formation of the artists who attended it. Many of the artists featured in this research were mid-career when they arrived at the Slade, and were often supported by scholarships or schemes designed to develop capacity for newly independent nations and construct Britain as a post-imperial power. The artists brought with them their own vocabularies, ideas, ambitions, and conundrums, contributing to the contrapuntal environment at the Slade. The records featured here convey artists as institutional subjects in which the Slade functions as an authoritative intermediary, as well as (auto)biographical figures, postcolonial interlocutors, actors, and visionaries.

The project has evolved from two long-term collaborative research projects: “Transnational Slade” and “London, Asia”. The collaboration activates an alchemy of archival studies and art history, opening up the field of research to new intersections, and enabling us to refigure the archives we draw on and co-constitute.⁴ Setting an aim to “animate the archive” foregrounds (an) archive(s) as the subject of activation and illumination. It suggests we are bringing to life what has passed. Yet archives, considered through archival studies, are not inert, nor solely concerned with the past; they carry agency and hold different affordances in the present. In this sense, through this research, we seek not to animate but rather to refigure the archive and assume that archives, in their plurality, are important subjects of study in their own right.⁵

Although our research has resulted in this initial publication with its own particular framing and moment of archival activation and authorship in a form akin to an exhibition, the collaborative ethos of the project has encouraged the sharing of archival knowledge in order to seed new research beyond the scope of this project. The journey has led us to an array of personal, family, institutional, and organizational archives (both formal and informal), as well as oral histories and research workshops. The open access, digital format of *British Art Studies* lends itself to embedding different types of records in a variety of formats, which provides opportunities to make visible the qualities and patterns of these records as they are distilled from different recordkeeping contexts and activities.

This is Part 1 of a two-part feature, which addresses the period from about 1945 to 1965; Part 2 will encompass the period from the 1960s to the 1990s, and incorporate material gleaned from upcoming workshops. The contrapuntal histories of art education presented here offer a global microhistory situated within the complex entanglements between imperialism and decolonization. They have also prompted reconsideration of ways to engage with, co-constitute, and curate a research archive in pursuit

of this endeavour. We take the Slade as a starting point for exploration, but render it as a single melodic line in a polyphonic counterpoint. As such, these transversally linked and co-constituted histories provide new methodologies for writing the histories of contrapuntal modernisms, while also understanding art in Britain itself as the product of empire.

I. Institutional Pathways and Documentary Trails

This section showcases a selection of records from the Slade archive: panoramic class photos providing compelling but incomplete representations of a given year group; student files containing a variety of records reflecting operations bureaucratic and beyond, such as correspondence between officials, funders, tutors' reports, reference letters, press clippings, and exhibition catalogues; and an autographed cricket bat, an idiosyncratic artefact self-consciously transformed into an art-historical document, which speaks to a complex moment of artistic sociality. Embracing archival studies, which posits archives as subjects of study in their own right, we invite consideration of the form, content, and context of such institutional records. When read along and against its grain, this art-school archive helps to illuminate the particular transcultural positions and conditions the artists and institutions featured were working in and *through*. Records in this section relate to artists such as Khalid Iqbal, Hussein Shariffe, Gazbia Sirry, Wendy Yeo, and Tseng Yu, and institutions as diverse as the State Corporation for Cinema in Khartoum, the National Film and Television School in Beaconsfield, the UK Home Office, the British Council, and the National College of Arts, Lahore. Through this arrangement, we foreground the intertextual nature of evidence and the complexities of the source material that underpin our propositions in the accompanying long-form essay.



[View this illustration online](#)

Figure 1.

Slade class photo, spring 1955, including Ibrahim El-Salahi, Abdulla Mohi-El-Din El Guneid, Menhat Helmy, Khalid Iqbal, Sam Ntiro, Tseng Yu, and Jamila Zafar. Collection of the Slade School of Fine Art, UCL. Digital image courtesy of Slade School of Fine Art, UCL (all rights reserved).



[View this illustration online](#)

Figure 2.

Slade class photo, spring 1957, including Kulwant Aurora, D.J. Banerjee, Abdulla Mohi-El-Din El Guneid, Ibrahim El-Salahi, Anwar Jalal Shemza, Phan van My, Wendy Yeo, and Jamila Zafar. Collection of the Slade School of Fine Art, UCL. Digital image courtesy of Slade School of Fine Art, UCL (all rights reserved)



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Figure 3.

Partial digital reconstruction, Slade class photo, spring 1960, including Amir Nour, Archana Lahiri, Shama Zaidi, Kim Lim (Chengkim Lim), Damyanti Chowla, Gnanasundari Sawminathan, A. Rahim, Anwar Jalal Shemza, and Maisie Tschang. Collection of the Slade School of Fine Art, UCL. Digital image courtesy of Slade School of Fine Art, UCL (all rights reserved).

ACIS

SLADE ENTRANCE 1954

CATEGORY
A B C

SURNAME ..EL .SALAH; ..
OTHER NAMES Ibrahim Mphamqad (Mr.)

Age next Oct.	G.C.E. O.A.	Sch. Cert	Mat-ric	H. Cert	Art Sch Trg	Art Schs. attended.	Sch. or college last attended (if no art sch.)
24.1		1950 Oxford			2 yrs.	School of Design Gordon Memorial Coll.	
<u>Min. Exams</u> Int. NDD.		Now taking		<u>MARKS</u> Prelim. Final		Entrance Schol.	Dipl. Course.
						No	Yes
General Remarks on candidate's work							
Sudan Government student.							
Called for interview Date: Time		Ack. Interview letter	Accepted 3 yrs. 2 yrs. 1 yr.			Rejected	Inf. of result
		Late applicant.	x				





Figure 4.

Slade student record, relating to Ibrahim El-Salahi. UCL Special Collections. Digital image courtesy of UCL Special Collections (all rights reserved).

CATEGORY				SLADE ENTRANCE 1956			
A	B	C	SURNAME ..SHEMZA.....				
Late applicant			OTHER NAMES ..ANWAR.JALAL...				
Age next Oct.	G.C.E. C.A.	Sch. Cert	Mat-ric	H. Cert	Art Sch Trg	Art Schs. attended	Sch. or college last attended (if no art sch.)
28.2		Matric. Punjab Univ.		1943	4 yrs.	Mayo School Lahore.	
Min. Exams Int. <u>IND</u>		Now taking		MARKS Prelim. Final		Entrance Schol. No	Dipl. Course No
General Remarks on candidate's work							
Called for interview Date:	Ack. Interview letter	Accepted 3 yrs. 2 yrs. 1 yr.			Rejected	Inf'd. of result	
Time							

FULL-TIME

Figure 5.

Slade student record, relating to Anwar Jalal Shemza. UCL Special Collections. Digital image courtesy of UCL Special Collections (all rights reserved).

CATEGORY							SLADE ENTRANCE 1957	
A	B	C	SURNAME LIM OTHER NAMES Chong Kim					
B								
Age next Oct.	G.O.E. O.A.	Sch. Cert	Mat-ric	H. Cert	Art Sch Trg	Art Schs. attended	Sch. or college last attended (if no art sch.)	
21.8					2 yrs	St. Martins		
<u>Min. Exams</u>		Now taking		<u>MARKS</u>		Entrance Schol.		Dipl. Course
<u>Int.</u> <u>100</u>				Prelim. <u>Final</u>				
1956								
<u>General Remarks on candidate's work</u> 2 yrs St. Martins. Enter school now but start 3 yr. Diploma course from October 1957.								
Called for interview Date: 11.00 Time 26.2.57		Ack. Interview letter		<u>Accepted</u> 4 yrs. 3 yrs. A 2 yrs. 1 yr.		<u>Rejected</u>		<u>Inf'd. of result</u>



Figure 6.
Slade student record, relating to Kim Lim. Special Collections.
Digital image courtesy of UCL Special Collections (all rights reserved).

SLADE SCHOOL OF FINE ART
TUTOR'S REPORT

Hussein Shariff Taking Diploma in 1961

SLADE SCHOOL OF FINE ART
TUTOR'S REPORT

Student's Name Shariff Taking Diploma in 1961

SUBJECT	REMARKS
DRAWING	Some beautiful drawings
PAINTING	Some to show me, paintings (done at home) Friday morning.
SCULPTURE	
SUBSIDIARY	
ANATOMY	
PERSPECTIVE	
HISTORY	
WORK SET	

GENERAL REPORT

Bad lecture record, bad attendance record, good drawings - an artist.
- most interesting chap.

Date of interview 5 March 58 Tutor's Signature CR

Figure 7.

Hussein Shariffe's tutor's report, 5 March 1958. Hussein Shariffe's student file. UCL Special Collections. Digital image courtesy of UCL Special Collections (all rights reserved).

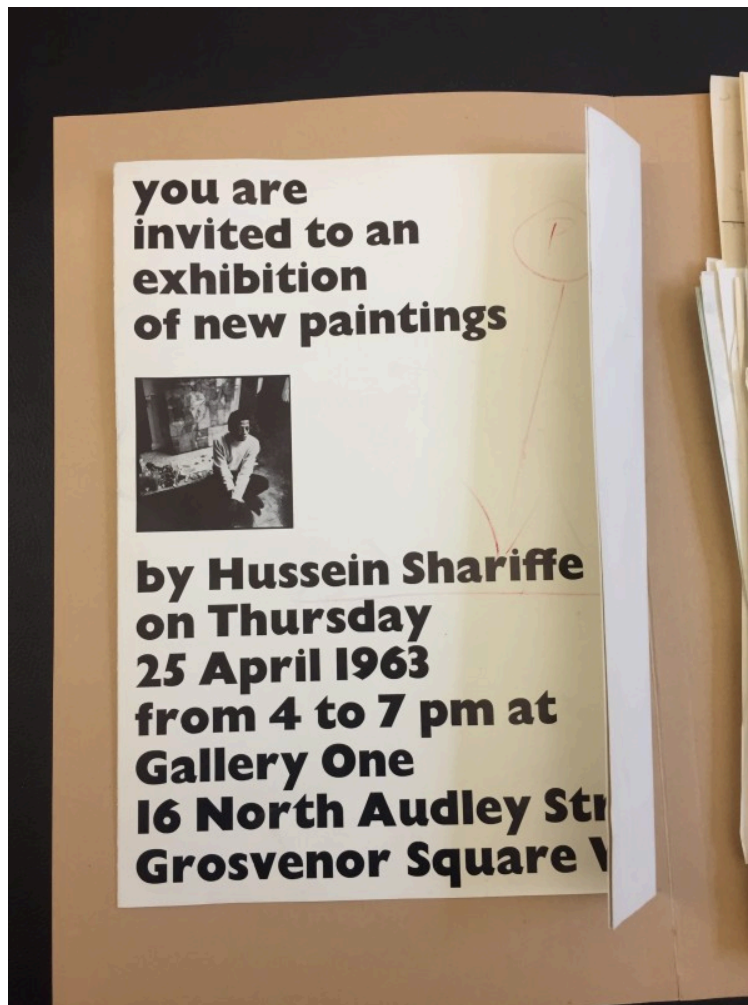


Figure 8.

Brochure from Hussein Shariffe's solo exhibition at Gallery One, opening 25 April 1963. Hussein Shariffe's student file. UCL Special Collections. Digital image courtesy of UCL Special Collections (all rights reserved).

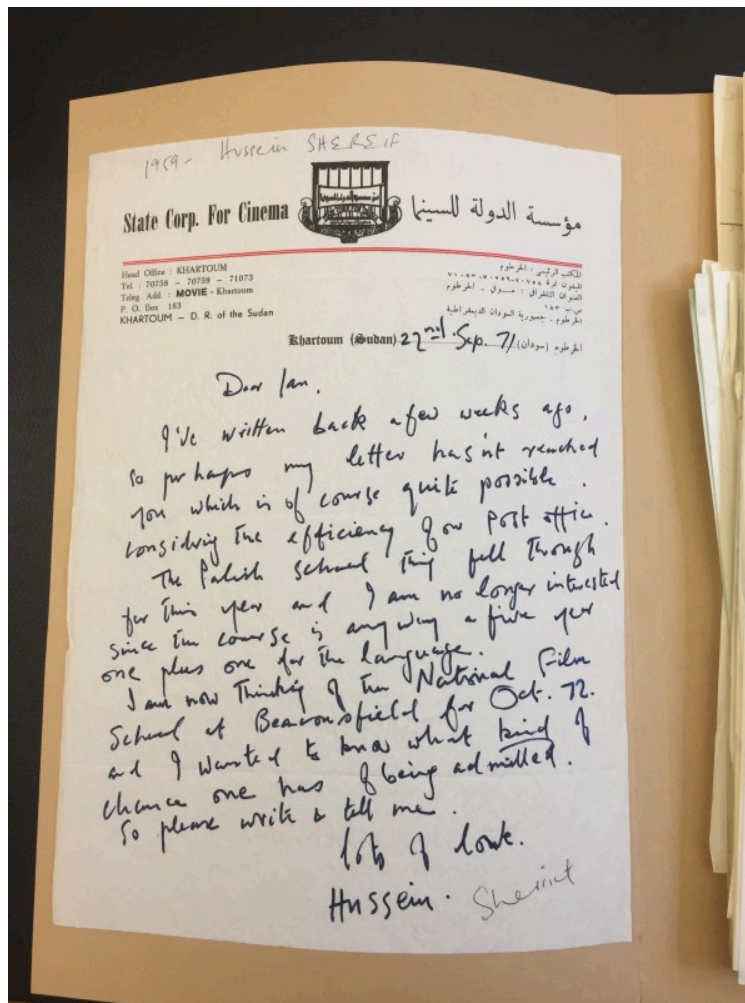


Figure 9.

Letter from Hussein Shariffe to Ian Tregarthen Jenkin on his options for undertaking studies in film, 22 September 1971. Hussein Shariffe's Slade student file. UCL Special Collections. Digital image courtesy of UCL Special Collections (all rights reserved).

Report on British Council Scholar.

Name Miss G.H. Sirry Year 1954-55

College or Institution where studying: Slade School of Fine Art,
University College London

Subject: Painting, Lithography

Scholar's ability to carry out his/her work and results achieved:

Miss Sirry has talent and a good deal of technical skill and assurance within the limits she appears to have imposed on her work. She has produced a good deal of work during her stay here; there has been a certain development in her work and she has exhibited at the London Group and other exhibitions and is holding a one-man show in March 1955.

General Remarks:

Miss Sirry is an artist who already enjoys a certain status as a painter in her own country. She has a formed style of her own and for the most part has worked independently. She has followed the school course in Lithography, but otherwise the Slade has been useful to her as a centre where she has met other artists and has made social contacts.

Do you consider that the Scholar should have additional time after July 1955 to complete her studies ?

There appears to be no need for a further period of study at the Slade.

The Council has a small fund for short extensions of scholarships, but the amount available is limited and is only sufficient to give extensions in those exceptional cases where a scholar's work cannot be satisfactorily finished in the period of the scholarship. For the same reason the Council cannot give an extension for a longer period than is absolutely necessary. If you consider that this scholar needs additional time please supply the following information to enable the Council to judge between competing claims on this fund

- (1) Reason why further time is needed
- (2) How much importance do you attach to the granting of an extension
- (3) How long do you recommend?

Miss Sirry is a student who could undoubtedly benefit by further opportunities for working without financial burdens. She has, however, reached a stage where full-time attendance at an art school

Figure 10.

Report by William Townsend on the British Council Scholar, Gazbia Sirry, 9 March 1955, page 1 of 2. Gazbia Sirry's Slade student file. UCL Special Collections. Digital image courtesy of UCL Special Collections (all rights reserved).

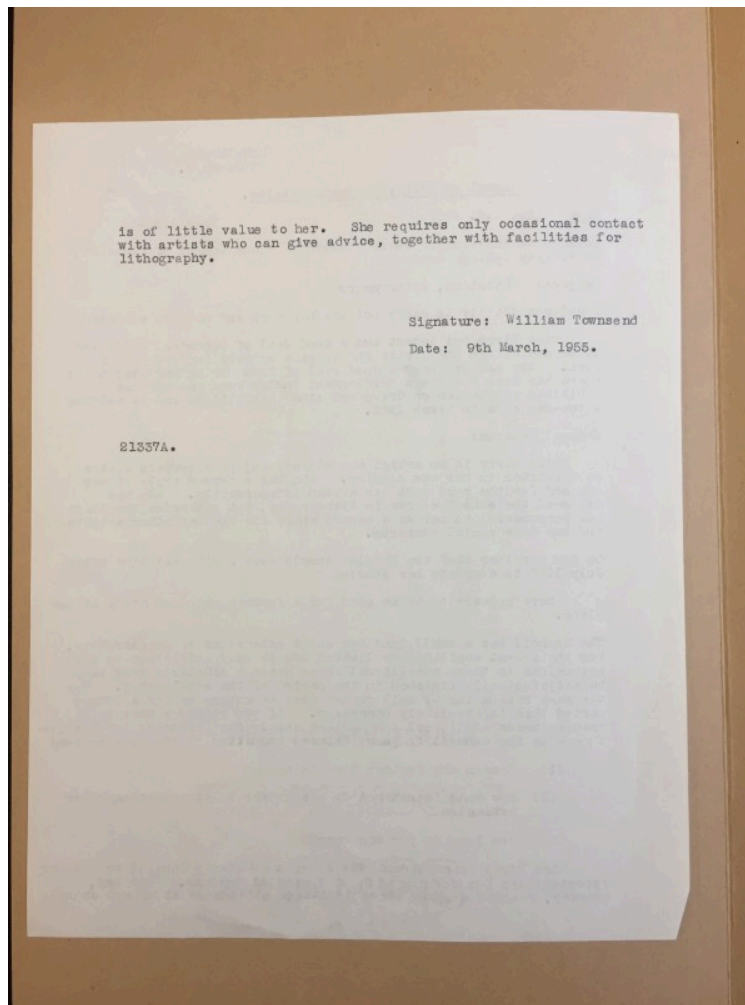


Figure 11.

Report by William Townsend on the British Council Scholar, Gazbia Sirry, 9 March 1955, page 2 of 2. Gazbia Sirry's Slade student file. UCL Special Collections. Digital image courtesy of UCL Special Collections (all rights reserved).

12th August, 1952.

Dear Sir,

Authorization of Visa (T/30657)

A Chinese student, Mr. Tseng Yu, who was born in Shanghai on the 28th February 1929 and who now lives at 71 Hill Road, Hong Kong, applied to us at our entrance competition in January this year for admission to this School, sending samples of his work as required by us for the competition.

He did not say whether or not he wished to study for the University of London Diploma in Fine Art (which is a three year course). We thought very well of his work and we contacted, on his recommendation, a Miss Luan Wan-Chiu of 69 Cornwall Gardens, London, S.W.7 who knows him personally. Miss Wan-Chiu spoke very well of him and of his work and assured us that he was a most serious student.

Although we had about 300 applicants at the entrance competition for only about 50 places we felt very ready to offer a place to Mr. Tseng Yu. I enclose for your information a copy of the letter which we sent to him on the 31st March 1952. You will see that we were not certain whether he would be able to start here in October 1952 or October 1953. I have not yet had an answer to

/over

Figure 12.

Letter from Ian Tregarthen Jenkin to the Aliens Department of the UK Home Office requesting visa authorisation for Tseng Yu, 12 August 1952, page 1 of 2. Tseng Yu's Slade student file. UCL Special Collections. Digital image courtesy of UCL Special Collections (all rights reserved).

0 10/8/52

this question from him: I imagine because he does not yet know whether he will be able to obtain his visa.

We would be extremely sorry here if at this stage Mr. Tseng Yu were unable to take up his place in the School. It is of very great advantage to us, and to all working at this School, to have a number of overseas students here to instil a new outlook and possibly to bring unusual styles of work to the School. As this School is well known throughout the world, we are constantly getting applications for admission from overseas and we believe that Mr. Tseng Yu would probably benefit more by being admitted as a student here than he would by studying at one of his local institutions.

I very much hope that you may be able to help him by authorizing his visa.

Yours truly,

I.E. Tregarthen Jenkin,
Secretary.

The Under Secretary of State,
Home Office,
Aliens Department,
271 High Holborn,
W.C.1.

Figure 13.

Letter from Ian Tregarthen Jenkin to the Aliens Department of the UK Home Office requesting visa authorisation for Tseng Yu, 12 August 1952, page 2 of 2. Tseng Yu's Slade student file. UCL Special Collections. Digital image courtesy of UCL Special Collections (all rights reserved).

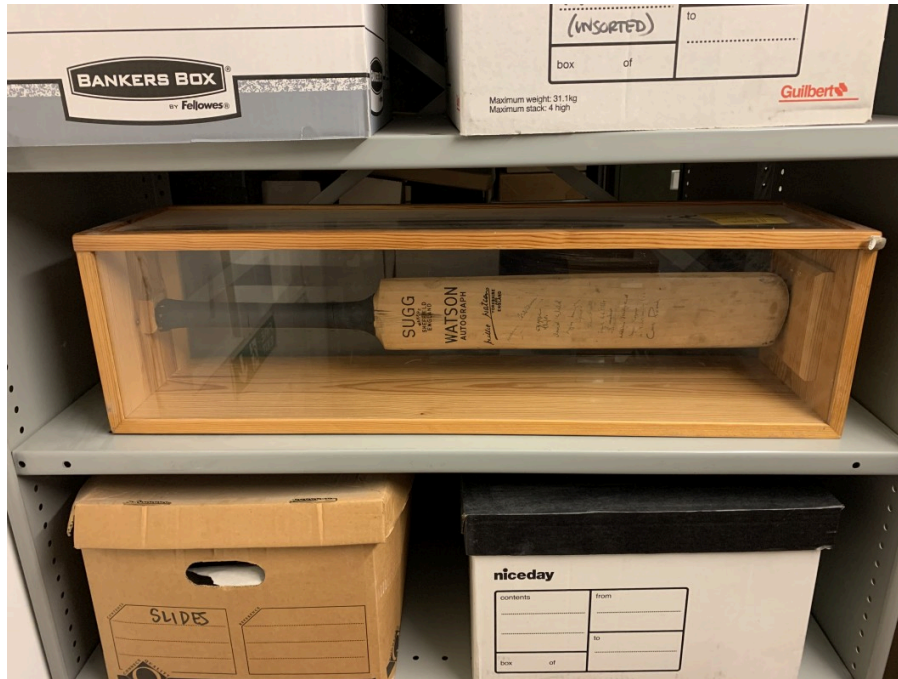


Figure 14.

Autographed cricket bat, signed by players of a friendly game between staff and students of the Slade and Camberwell College of Art, summer 1954. Collection of the Slade School of Fine Art, UCL Archives. Digital image courtesy of Liz Bruchet (all rights reserved).

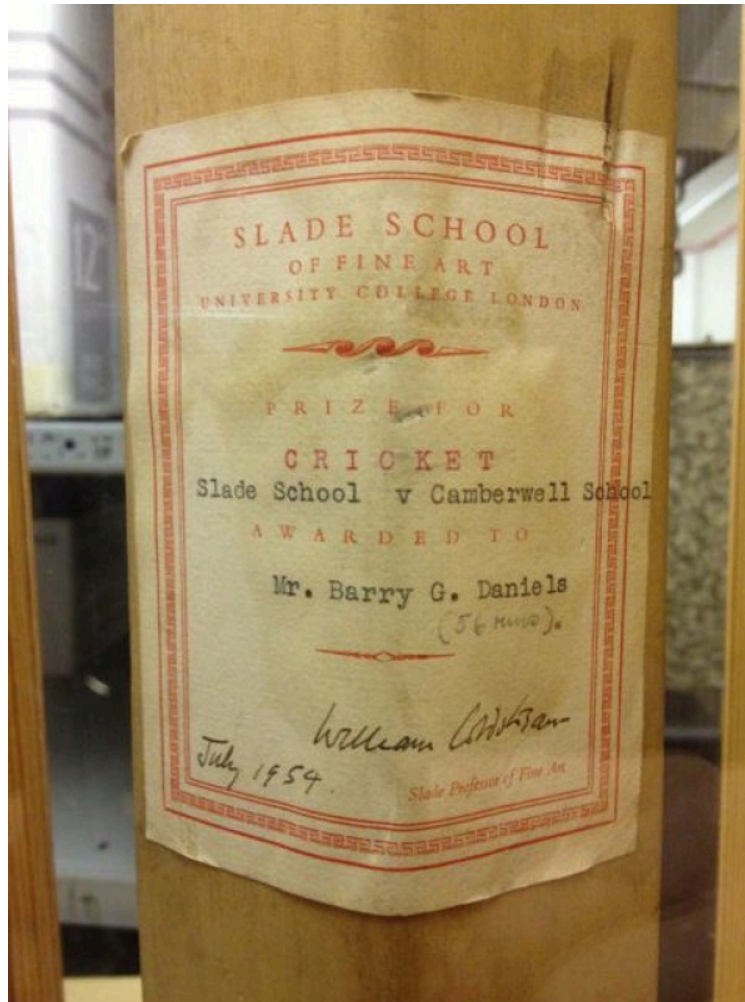


Figure 15.

Autographed cricket bat, signed by players of a friendly game between staff and students of the Slade and Camberwell College of Art, summer 1954. Collection of the Slade School of Fine Art, UCL Archives. Digital image courtesy of Liz Bruchet (all rights reserved).

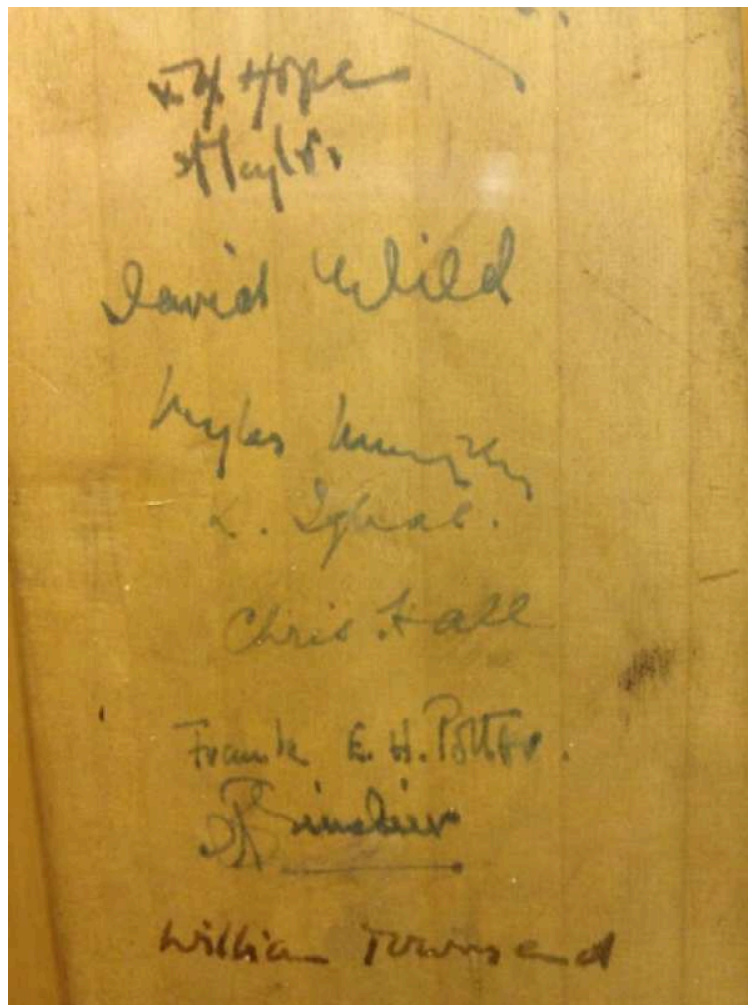


Figure 16.

Autographed cricket bat, signed by players of a friendly game between staff and students of the Slade and Camberwell College of Art, summer 1954. Collection of the Slade School of Fine Art, UCL Archives. Digital image courtesy of Liz Bruchet (all rights reserved).

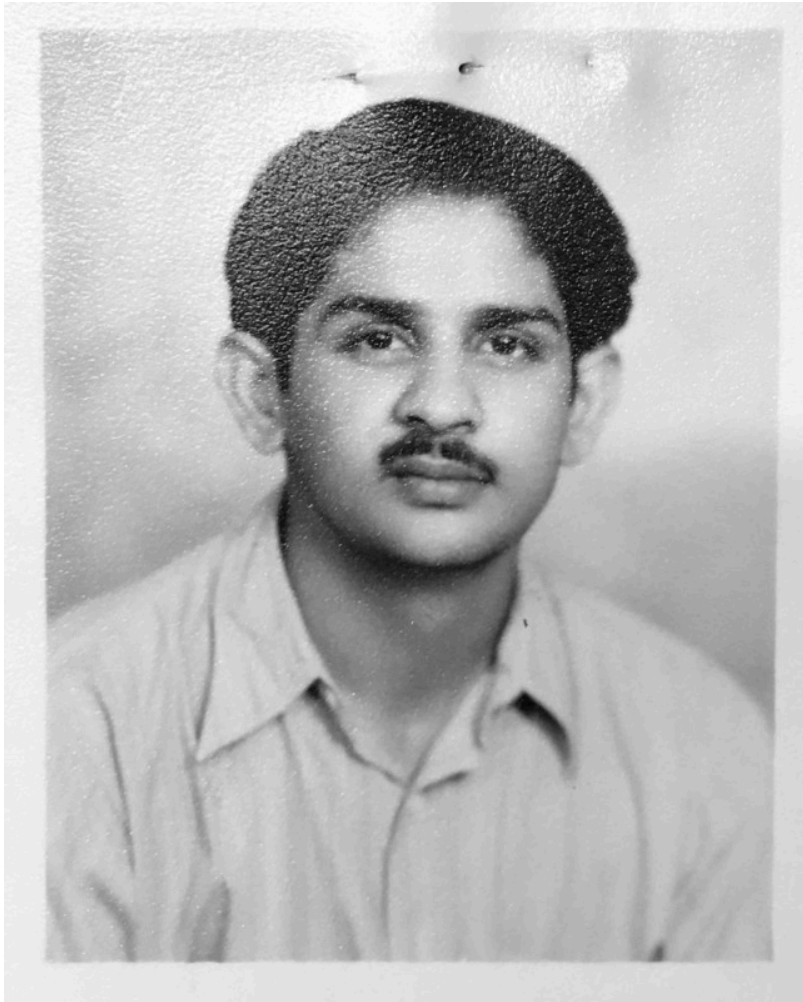


Figure 17.

Photograph of Khalid Iqbal, circa 1952. Khalid Iqbal's Slade student file. UCL Special Collections. Digital image courtesy of UCL Special Collections (all rights reserved).

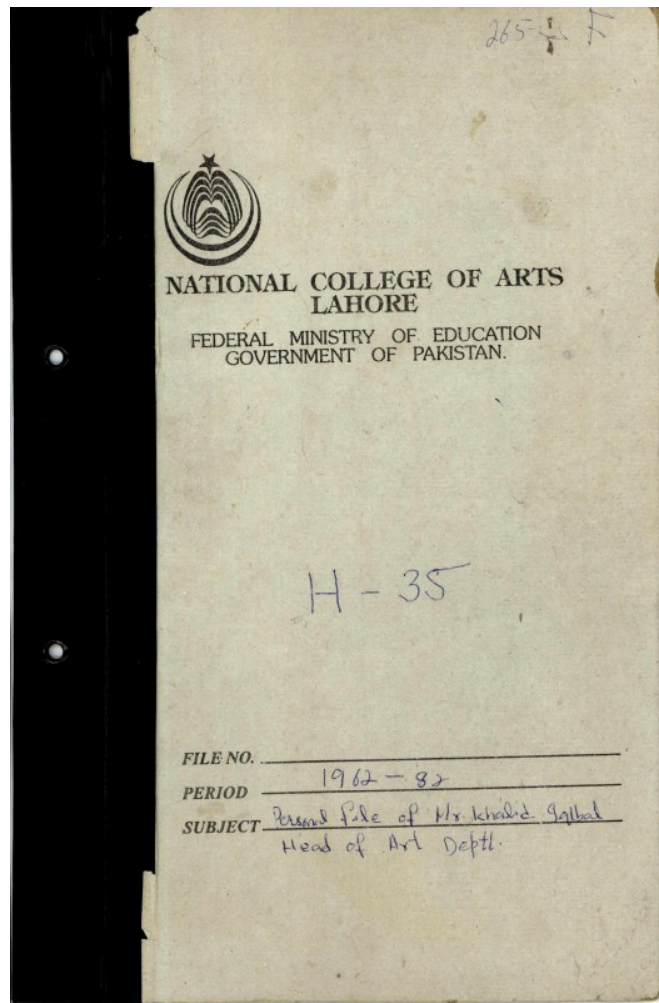


Figure 18.

Cover of Khalid Iqbal's personnel file at the National College of Arts, Lahore, 1962-1982. Collection of the National College of Arts, Lahore Archive. Digital image courtesy of National College of Arts, Lahore Archive (all rights reserved).

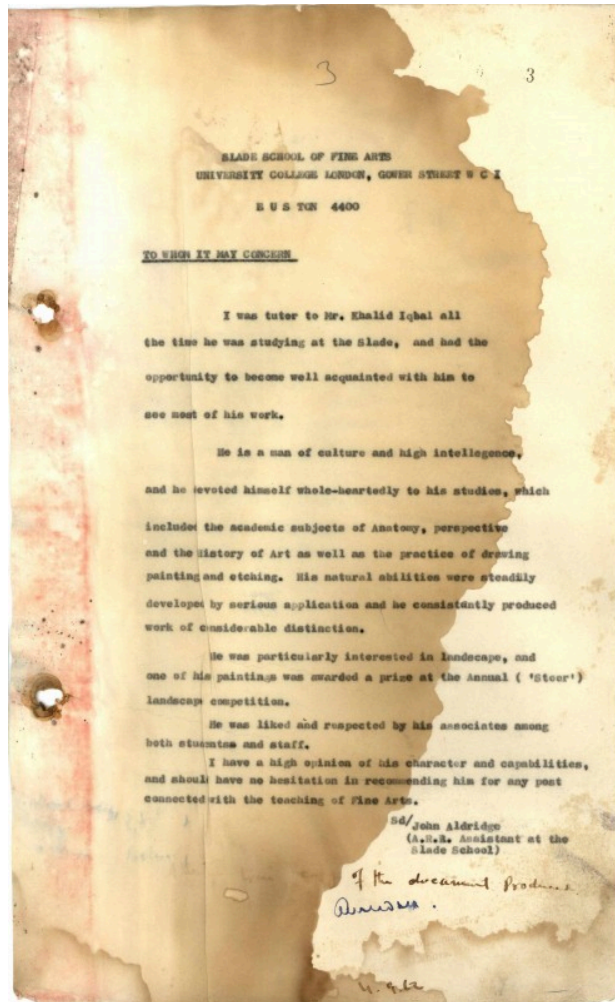


Figure 19.

Letter of recommendation for Khalid Iqbal from John Aldridge, 4 September 1962. Khalid Iqbal's personnel file, page 3. Collection of the National College of Arts, Lahore Archive. Digital image courtesy of National College of Arts, Lahore Archive (all rights reserved).

BIO DATA OF PROF. KHALID IQBAL.

57

EDUCATION QUALIFICATIONS.

<u>INSTITUTION.</u>	<u>EXAMINATION.</u>	<u>DIVISION.</u>
1. St Josephs Academy, Dehra Dun India.	Senior Chambridge, 1945.	II
2. F.G.College Lahore	B.A. 1949.	III
3. Original College , Lahore.	Diploma in French 1952.	I
4. Slade School of Fine Arts, University College,London.	Diploma in Fine Arts, 1952-55	

TEACHING EXPERIENCE.

<u>INSTITUTION.</u>	<u>POST</u>	<u>PERIOD OF SERVICE.</u>
1. Aitchison College, Lahore.	Art-Teacher.	1949-1952.
2. Department of Fine Art, Punjab University.	Senior Lec. in Fine Art.	1956-65.
Lectured on the History of European Art and on Art Appreciation to the Honours and post-Graduate Classes. Taught Drawing, Painting and Perspective to the B.A. Pass Honours and Post-Graduate Students.		
3. Pakistan Arts, Council, Lahore.	Art-Teacher. (Evening classes).	1960/
4. National College of Arts, Lahore.	Visiting Lecturer.	1965(Spring Term).
5. National College of Arts, Lahore.	Head of Art Deptt.	20.12.65 to 5.3.1974.
6. -do-	Acting Principal, National College of Arts, Lahore.	6.3.1974 to date/

Awarded a IInd Prize for Landscape painting in the Annual Steer,
Competition, Slade School of Fine Arts, London.

Participated in various Exhibitions in Karachi, Lahore
Deccan, Rawalpindi, Millan, and U.S.A.
Paintings have been acquired by the Pakistan Arts
Council, Lahore for the National Gallery Collection and
for private and public collections at home and abroad.
Have contributed a series of articles on Art and allied
subjects in the Civil and Military Gazette, and the Pakistan
Times.

Figure 20.

Khalid Iqbal's Curriculum Vitae, from Khalid Iqbal's personnel file, page 57. Collection of the National College of Arts, Lahore Archive. Digital image courtesy of National College of Arts, Lahore Archive (all rights reserved).

[View this illustration online](#)

Figure 21.

Letter from Anna Molka Ahmed to Ian Tregarthen Jenkin, about Khalid Iqbal, 19 May 1952, page 1 of 2. Khalid Iqbal's Slade student file. UCL Special Collections. Digital image courtesy of Digital facsimile courtesy of UCL Special Collections (all rights reserved).

[mul]

II. Imagining Postcolonial States

The documents featured in this section begin to elucidate the complex contrapuntal positionalities and objectives of artists who were simultaneously occupied in roles as bureaucrats, arts administrators, and key members of government, many of whom were funded by national governments to study at the Slade. Approaching the Slade as a contrapuntal site in a global context in which art education played an important role in postcolonial nation building and in the ongoing assertion of British influence, the records speak to case studies that can illuminate multivalent postcolonial modernisms. The records configured here touch on the stories of Zainul Abedin and the Government Institute of Fine Arts, Dhaka; Jamila Zaidi and the National College of Arts, Lahore; K.G. Subramanyan and art education in India; as well as relationships between the Slade and the Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology, and Makerere College, Kampala. Our movement through Bangladesh, Pakistan, India, Nigeria, and Uganda illustrates how diverse responses to colonial education can be set productively in dialogue with each other along transversals, as they are negotiated across multiple sites and through varying cultural and artistic imaginaries.

[View this illustration online](#)

Figure 22.

Article on Zainul Abedin and his visit to the Slade in 1951, *Commonwealth Today*, 10. Collection of the Slade School of Fine Art, UCL Archives. Digital image courtesy of Digital facsimile courtesy of Slade School of Fine Art, UCL / the estate of Zainul Abedin (all rights reserved).

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CMI Doc. No. 5692 p. 8

AFSCHRIJFT 6.

PRIVATE AND PERSONAL

Presiden
Republik Indonesia
No. Pres/6.

Djakakarta, March 19, 1947

To His Excellency
Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Vice-President of the
Interim Govnt. of India
New-Delhi.

My dear Panditji,

I approach you with a request of a strictly personal nature, i.e. to consider whether it is in some way possible to further the interests of Mr. Affandi, one of our most prominent modern painters, namely by finding means to get him to Europe, out of your country, forwarding him from here being an impossibility. It is Mr. Affandi's wish to continue and develop his art in the European spheres of trade. It might be possible for him to get on from India and it is therefore that I allowed him to join the staff of the delegation to India, which starts tomorrow from here. All further necessary particulars are to be learned from himself.

Please, receive my thanks for what you will do for him.
With best wishes

Sincerely yours,
(Handt.): Soekarno.

Figure 23.
Letter of recommendation for Affandi from
President Sukarno to Vice-President Nehru, 19
March 1947. Collection of the National Archives of
the Netherlands. Digital image courtesy of National
Archives of the Netherlands (all rights reserved).



Figure 24.

Article on Zainul Abedin and Affandi, *Diplomatist*, circa 1952-1953 (London: Diplomatist Associates Ltd). Collection of the Indonesian Visual Art Archive. Digital image courtesy of Indonesian Visual Art Archive (all rights reserved).

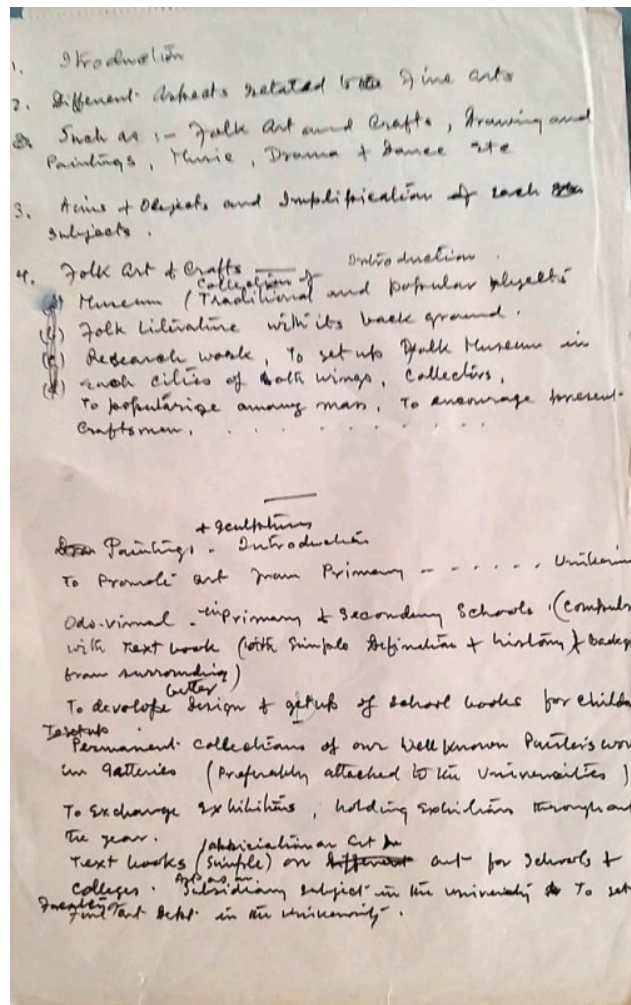


Figure 25.

Zainul Abedin's notes on cultural policy, circa 1969. Collection of the estate of Zainul Abedin. Digital image courtesy of Zainul Abedin (all rights reserved).

BOARD OF SECONDARY EDUCATION, LAHORE

From
Taj Muhammad Khayal, T.Ph,
Chairman, Board of Secondary Education,
Lahore.

To
Miss Jamila Zafar,
National College of Arts, Lahore.

Dear Sir,

You have been selected to prepare a text-book for Art for Secondary stage in conformity with the curriculum and syllabuses laid down in the Report of the Curriculum Committee for Secondary Education, which has been approved by Government. This appointment is subject to the following conditions:-

- (1) The thought content, the language, the method of presentation and size of the manuscript should be appropriate to realise the objectives of teaching the subject concerned and cover the syllabus within the time allocated to it in the Report of the Curriculum Committee for Secondary Education and should suit the power of comprehension of the students of the class for which it is meant.
- (2) The manuscripts should be complete in all respects including charts, diagrams, illustrations, pictures and similar other material which you may like to be inserted in the book.
- (3) Scientific terms, if any, should be translated into Urdu only if a word, which can be an apt translation, is already current in the language. If such a word is not available, a new word should not be coined, but the English scientific term should be used. Where a term is translated, the English term should be given in brackets alongside the Urdu term.
- (4) Where coinage or money is mentioned, the decision of Government to introduce decimal system of coinage from the beginning of 1961 should be kept in view.
- (5) English numerals should be used in all manuscripts. In mathematical and scientific formulae, English symbols and notations should be used.
- (6) Manuscripts should be in Urdu and should be clear and legible.
- (7) Manuscripts should be submitted in duplicate, personally or under registered cover, so as to reach Mr. Alauddin Akhtar, Assistant Secretary (Academic), Board of Secondary Education, 3-Golf Road, Lahore, on or before the end of February 1961.
- (8) You will please ensure that no copy-right materials is used in the manuscript. If any such material is used, permission from the relevant publisher and author should be obtained by you in this connection.
- (9) In submitting the manuscript, you will have to certify that it has been prepared by you, that no copy-right materials has been used that wherever it has been used the permission, required under the law governing copy-right, has been obtained. You will attach this permission in original while submitting the manuscript.

Figure 26.

Letter from Taj Muhammad Khayal to Jamila Zafar, requesting that she prepare a textbook for art and laying out terms, 1961, page 1 of 2. Collection of the National College of Arts, Lahore Archive. Digital image courtesy of National College of Arts, Lahore Archive (all rights reserved).

- (10) You will be paid Rs.2,000/-for the preparation of the manuscript,which will be reviewed by competent persons along with the manuscripts submitted voluntarily by other authors in response to a Press Notification inviting manuscripts for this book.In case the manuscript,prepared by you,is of high quality and compares favourably with the best manuscripts of other authors,you will receive additional payment upto Rs.1,000/-at the discretion of the Chairman. Your total remuneration can,thus,be Rs.3,000/-subject to the quality of your manuscript.
- (11) In return for the remuneration,mentioned above,the manuscript shall become the property of the Board of Secondary Education,Lahore,and its copy-right shall vest in the Board.The Board shall have the right to use the manuscript in any form it likes.
- (12) The Writers will be responsible for correcting the proofs for the press.
- (13) Such other conditions as the Chairman may consider necessary to prescribe.

2. The remuneration offered for this work may not be very attractive. It is,however,hoped that you will undertake this work out of love for your subject and in a spirit of national service,because educational progress depends to a considerable extent on the use of suitable textbooks in educational institutions.Viewed in this perspective,the preparation of textbooks assumes national importance.

3. Please intimate to Mr.Alauddin Akhtar,Assistant Secretary(Academic) Board of Secondary Education,3-Golf Road,Lahore,by 9th December,1960, at the latest, that you accept this offer on the conditions mentioned above.

4. On having your acceptance, a copy of the syllabus for the Secondary stage,including the General Introduction and the scheme of studies,will be forwarded to you.

Yours faithfully,

Sd/- Taj Muhammad Khayal.
Chairman,
Board of Secondary Education,
Lahore.

Figure 27.

Letter from Taj Muhammad Khayal to Jamila Zafar, requesting that she prepare a textbook for art and laying out terms, 1961, page 2 of 2. Collection of the National College of Arts, Lahore Archive. Digital image courtesy of National College of Arts, Lahore Archive (all rights reserved).

61 ⁶³⁵⁷ 6/11/61

With the Principal, National College of
Arts please refer to his U.O, No. 623
of 7.3.61, regarding permission to
prepare the text book.

The work regarding preparation
of text book for art for Secondary
stage has been entrusted to me
The undersigned undersigned by the
Board of Secondary Education in
conformity with the curriculum
Committee for Secondary Education
which has been approved by
the Government.

The undersigned has no
objection in undertaking this work
in the National interest. In this
connection a reference is also
invited to the letter no F.8.5/
60-1U(S)-54 of 9.12.60
where it is stated that the
persons commissioned for the job

Figure 28.

Letter from Jamila Zafar to Mark Ritter
Sponenburgh, seeking permission to prepare the
textbook "in the national interest", 1961, page 1 of
2. Jamila Zafar's personnel file. Collection of the
National College of Arts, Lahore Archive. Digital
image courtesy of National College of Arts, Lahore
Archive (all rights reserved).

62
need not obtain formal permission
before undertaking the job in question.
J. Zafar
11.3.61.

Figure 29.

Letter from Jamila Zafar to Mark Ritter
Sponenburgh, seeking permission to prepare the
textbook "in the national interest", 1961, page 2 of
2. Jamila Zafar's personnel file. Collection of the
National College of Arts, Lahore Archive. Digital
image courtesy of National College of Arts, Lahore
Archive (all rights reserved).

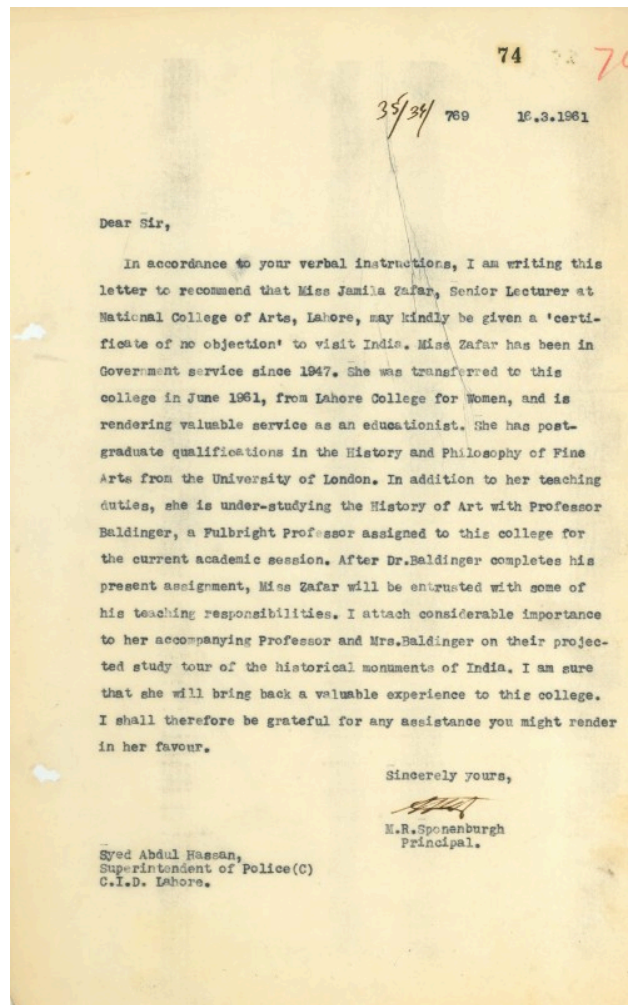


Figure 30.

Letter from Mark Ritter Sponenburgh to Syed Abdul Hassan, requesting permission for Jamila Zafar to travel to India on a study tour, 16 March 1961. Jamila Zafar's personnel file. Collection of the National College of Arts, Lahore Archive. Digital image courtesy of National College of Arts, Lahore Archive (all rights reserved).

[View this illustration online](#)

Figure 31.

K.G. Subramanyan, An Unfinished Agenda (Some thoughts on Art Education), 9 December 1997. Collection of Asia Art Archive. Digital image courtesy of Digital facsimile courtesy of Asia Art Archive (all rights reserved).

[View this illustration online](#)

Figure 32.

Report of the Commission on Higher Education in the Colonies, (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1945). Collection of The National Archives, Kew. Digital image courtesy of Digital facsimile courtesy of The National Archives, Kew (Open Government Licence v3.0).

[View this illustration online](#)

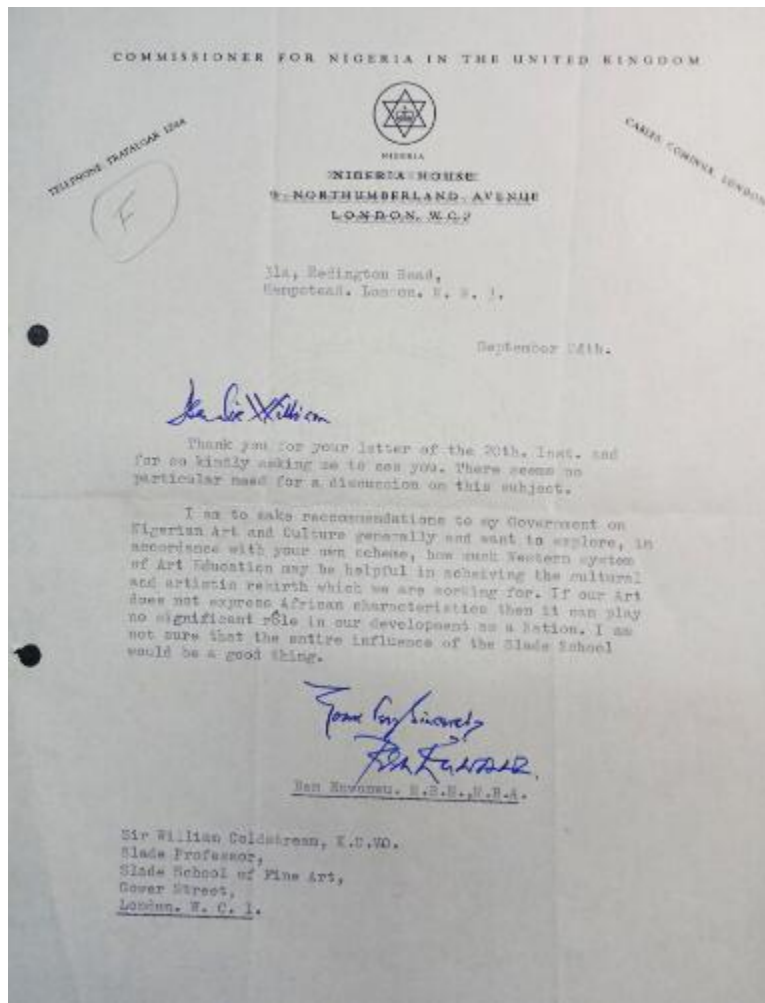
Figure 33.

Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies: Report, (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1946-1947). Collection of The National Archives, Kew. Digital image courtesy of Digital facsimile courtesy of The National Archives, Kew (Open Government Licence v3.0).

[View this illustration online](#)

Figure 34.

Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies: Second Report, (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1947-1949). Collection of The National Archives, Kew. Digital image courtesy of Digital facsimile courtesy of The National Archives, Kew (Open Government Licence v3.0).



[View this illustration online](#)

Figure 35.

Letter from Ben Enwonwu to William Coldstream, 24 September 1958. Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology file, William Coldstream papers UCLCA/4/1/2/4/17. UCL Special Collections. Digital image courtesy of UCL Special Collections (all rights reserved).



[View this illustration online](#)

Figure 36.

Life Class in Session at the Makerere Art School with Margaret Trowell, 1947. Collection of Makerere University. Digital image courtesy of Makerere University (all rights reserved).

[View this illustration online](#)

Figure 37.

Letter from Margaret Trowell to William Coldstream, on the development of the course at Makerere School of Art, with her planning notes for the fine art diploma, 16 April 1951, Makerere Art School college file. UCL Special Collections. Digital image courtesy of Digital facsimile courtesy of UCL Special Collections (all rights reserved).

[View this illustration online](#)

Figure 38.

Letter from Margaret Trowell to William Coldstream, regarding degrees and standards, 29 June 1955, Makerere Art School college file. Letter in reply from Coldstream to Trowell, 13 July 1955, Makerere Art School college file. UCL Special Collections. Digital image courtesy of Digital facsimile courtesy of UCL Special Collections (all rights reserved).

Bentham Hall
31-43 Castelnight Gardens,
W.C.1.
25th May 1955

Dear Prof Coldstream,

You will, I hope, forgive me if I be too much of a nuisance to you when I once again ask for your financial assistance so that I can go to see Gionisio's exhibition in Venice, June - Sept. Mr. Wilson tells me. I have applied to the Colonial Office, but in vain; I attach their reply.

This will be the last opportunity for me to go to Venice as I must go back to East Africa at the end of my education year next year. As for the money I made out of my recent exhibition I will spend it on art materials, paint, easels, etc, for my painting in East Africa for the next four years.

My plan is this:-

London - Venice 3rd class, return	£ 20	7s	10d
Rome - Naples return	£ 1	10s	
Cost of living (to be subsidized by my grant)			
2 weeks in Venice £1 @ day	£ 14		
1 week in Rome £1 @ day	£ 7		
3 days in Naples £1 @ day	£ 3		
3 days in Florence £1 @ day	£ 3		
4 days in Paris £1 @ day	£ 4		
Total	£ 52	17s	10d

This is my need for the summer, and it will sum up all the result of the valuable time I have had in the Slade.

Yours sincerely,
Sam J. Ntiro.

Figure 39.

Letter from Sam Ntiro to William Coldstream, regarding funding for a trip to Italy, 25 May 1955. Sam Ntiro's Slade student file. UCL Special Collections. Digital image courtesy of UCL Special Collections (all rights reserved).

27th May, 1955.

Lt.-Col. W.V. Crook,
Liaison Officer for
East African Students.
Colonial Office,
Sanctuary Buildings,
Ct. Smith Street, S.W.1.

Dear Colonel Crook,

Sam Ntiro, who as you know is a student of this School, tells me that he has asked for assistance from the Colonial Office to help him to go to Venice to see the Giorgione exhibition this summer. I understand that unless Ntiro has a certificate to say that this visit is an integral part of his training there is little possibility of his getting help.

Ntiro takes his final examinations for his Diploma at the end of this term and this travel could not therefore be claimed as an essential part of his Diploma course. On the other hand there is no doubt that in a wider context, this journey to Venice could certainly be regarded as of major importance to Ntiro's general artistic education during his stay in Europe.

I have no doubt that you are aware that Sam Ntiro is a student of outstanding quality and that he has made quite exceptionally intelligent use of all his opportunities in this country, and has worked very hard indeed. I should be very grateful should it be possible for his application for assistance to be reconsidered.

Yours sincerely,

Slade Professor

Figure 40.

Letter from William Coldstream to Colonel Crook at the Colonial Office on behalf of Sam Ntiro, 27 May 1955. Sam Ntiro's Slade student file. UCL Special Collections. Digital image courtesy of UCL Special Collections (all rights reserved).



Tel.: ABBey 1266
Extension 732

Your Reference

My Reference 11007/27899

COLONIAL OFFICE

SANCTUARY BUILDINGS

GREAT SMITH STREET

S.W.1

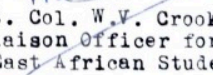
31st May 1955.

Dear Mr Coldstream,

Thank you for your letter of the 27th May regarding Sam Ntiro. I am afraid that nothing can be done about financial assistance for him to go to Venice, because - as you say - though this visit is important and desirable, it is not regarded as an integral part of his training.

I am very sorry about this.

Yours sincerely,


Lt. Col. W.V. Crook,
Liaison Officer for
East African Students.

W. Coldstream Esq.,
Slade School of Fine Art,
University of London,
Gower Street, W.C.1.

Figure 41.

Letter from Colonel Crook at the Colonial Office to William Coldstream, regarding Sam Ntiro's request for funding, 31 May 1955. Sam Ntiro's Slade student file. UCL Special Collections. Digital image courtesy of UCL Special Collections (all rights reserved).

THE INTER-UNIVERSITY COUNCIL
FOR HIGHER EDUCATION OVERSEAS

Telephone : MUSEUM 8916

Telegrams : Interuniv London

29, Woburn Square, London, W.C.1.

CONFIDENTIAL

30th January, 1956.

Dear Professor Goldstream,

As you will no doubt know Mr. S.J. Ntiro who was studying in your Department last year has been offered an appointment at Makerere College, the University College of East Africa, on his return later this year. We are very glad that he will be going back to the Art School there in which he had several years experience before coming to the United Kingdom. The College and we ourselves are most anxious to ensure with these appointments of local members of staff that standards are in no way being reduced and for this reason we should be very grateful indeed if you could spare the time to let us have your confidential assessment of Mr. Ntiro.

Yours sincerely,


(I.C.M. Maxwell)
Assistant Secretary

Professor W.M. Goldstream, C.B.E.

Figure 42.

Letter from I.C.M Maxwell of the Inter-University Council for Higher Education Overseas to William Coldstream, requesting a reference for Sam Ntiro, 30 January 1956. Sam Ntiro's Slade student file. UCL Special Collections. Digital image courtesy of UCL Special Collections (all rights reserved).

2nd February, 1956.

CONFIDENTIAL

I.C.M. Maxwell, Esq.,
Assistant Secretary,
The Inter-University Council
for Higher Education Overseas,
29, Woburn Square, W.C.1.

Dear Mr. Maxwell,

In reply to your letter of 30th January, I send you the following report on Mr. Ntiro.

Mr. Ntiro entered the Slade School in October 1952 and followed the three year course leading to the University of London Diploma in Fine, which he gained in 1955. Mr. Ntiro did extremely well in both his practical and his theoretical studies. His papers in the History of Art examinations and all his written work was capable and intelligent, and he took every opportunity of studying in the National Gallery, British Museum and other great collections here. He also visited Italy on two occasions and made the best possible use of these visits.

Mr. Ntiro has very considerable natural gifts as an artist and while he was with us he not only did a great deal of drawing and painting in the School, but he also maintained a steady output of interesting and imaginative works in his spare time and during vacations. He held, as you know, a very successful and creditable exhibition of his paintings at the Piccadilly Galleries. Mr. Ntiro was a most valuable member of our student body and took a leading part in the initiation and organisation of very many student activities. He was liked and respected by his fellow students and by the staff, and I myself have a very high regard for him.

Yours sincerely,

Slade Professor

Figure 43.

Letter from William Coldstream to I.C.M Maxwell of the Inter-University Council for Higher Education Overseas, providing a reference for Sam Ntiro, 2 February 1956. Sam Ntiro's Slade student file. UCL Special Collections. Digital image courtesy of UCL Special Collections (all rights reserved).

School of Fine Art
Makerere College.
P.O. Box 262.
Kampala.
Uganda.

11th Dec. 1956.

Dear Sir William Coldstream,

I must write and tell you how happy I am to hear you are coming to Makerere College on April 3rd next year to act as an external examiner & to recognise our Diploma in Fine Art. We are all, staff & students, looking forward to your visit as it is going to mean so much to the future of our Art School. As for myself I probably have a sentimental reason for my gladness on hearing of your coming, one might say, but then it is such a short time since I left Slade and nothing would give me more "kick" than to see you in person here! I don't intend to anticipate your impression by telling you anything about us or this "new place", but ~~with you~~ ^{with} judge for yourself.

I have been very happy since my return on August 24th. The College

Figure 44.

Letter from Sam Ntiro to William Coldstream, 11 December 1956, page 1 of 2. Sam Ntiro's Slade student file. UCL Special Collections. Digital image courtesy of UCL Special Collections (all rights reserved).

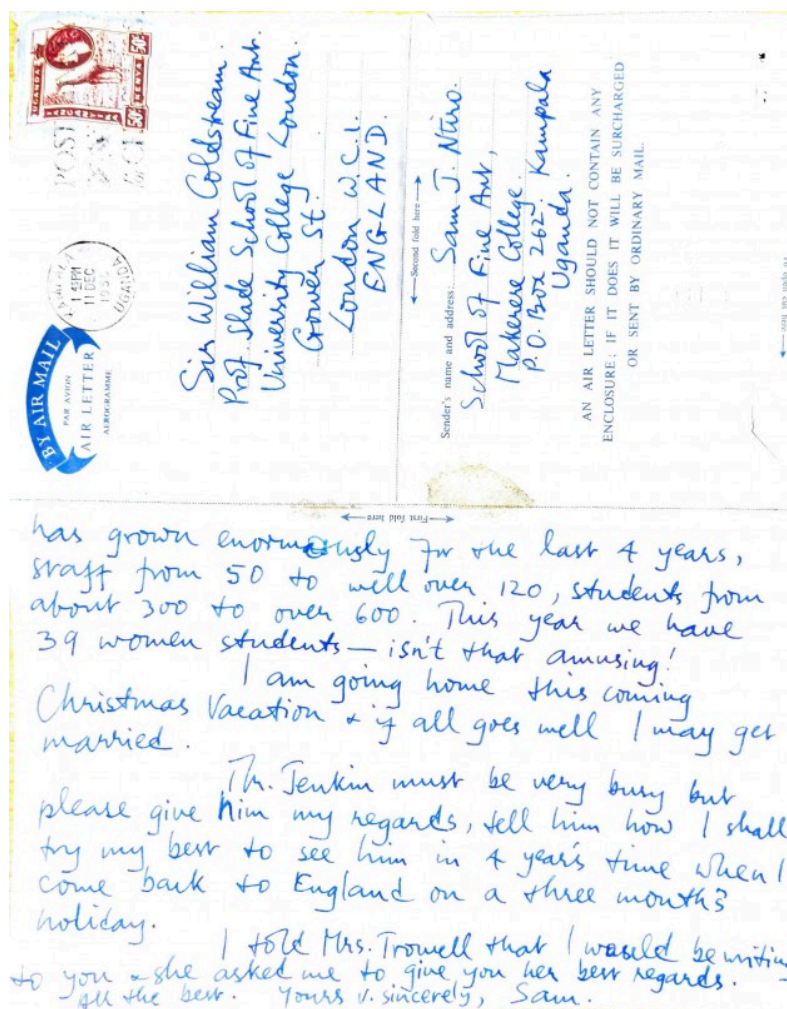


Figure 45.

Letter from Sam Ntiro to William Coldstream, 11 December 1956, page 2 of 2. Sam Ntiro's Slade student file. UCL Special Collections. Digital image courtesy of UCL Special Collections (all rights reserved).

SLADE SCHOOL OF FINE ART

14th December, 1956.

My dear Sam,

Very many thanks for your letter. I was so glad to hear your news and I must congratulate you very much on your engagement to be married, and would like to wish you every happiness.

As you know, I am greatly looking forward to seeing Makerere and particularly to see Mrs. Trowell and yourself again.

We had the Slade Dance the night before last, and it was a great success. You will be glad to hear, as a former Treasurer of the Slade Society, that we made a slight profit on it.

I hope you will have a very happy Christmas, and all best wishes for your work.

Yours ever,

P.S. Thank you so much for the most attractive Christmas card.

Sam. J. Ntiro, Esq.,
School of Fine Art,
Makerere College,
P.O. Box 262.

Figure 46.

Letter from William Coldstream to Sam Ntiro, 14 December 1956. Sam Ntiro's Slade student file. UCL Special Collections. Digital image courtesy of UCL Special Collections (all rights reserved).

Nakasero College.
P.O. Box 262.
Kampala.
Uganda.
22/8/1958.

My Dear Bill,

Here is paper cutting
about my engagement!

Sarah took a history
degree at Oxford & she was there
all the time I was at Slade.
Our student time here overlapped
by two years. You will, I am
sure, like her when you meet her
in 1960. We got married on
Dec. 12 here & we go home to
Kilimanjaro for Christmas. We
must return here before beginning
of term on Jan. 19. Please give
the news to Ian, Mr. Townsend, Mr. Moffatt
Prof. Gerhard etc. etc. at Slade. Yrs. Sam.

Figure 47.

Letter from Sam Ntiro to William Coldstream, sharing news of his engagement to Sarah Nyendwoha (Ntiro), 22 August 1958. Sam Ntiro's Slade student file. UCL Special Collections. Digital image courtesy of UCL Special Collections (all rights reserved).

MAKERERE



COLLEGE

THE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF EAST AFRICA

Telephone Number—KAMPALA 2471
Telegraphic Address—MACKOL, KAMPALA

YOUR REFERENCE—

OUR REFERENCE—

P. O. Box 262,
KAMPALA,
Uganda.

16th October 1958.

My Dear Ian,

I am awfully sorry not to have had time to write to you for some time now. We are at present a staff of two instead of four in the Art School. Mrs. Truwell is convalescing in Kenya, returning at the end of this month, packing her belongings, in November and flying back to England for good on Dec. 3rd 1958. Mr. Maloba, the sculptor, ran into a car accident just before the beginning of term. Although he came out of it with a few head injuries his Opel Caravan is a complete write-off. We hope he can resume teaching in a week's time.

You asked me about Capricorn Africa Society. It is regarded by Africans in East Africa as a means of pacifying Africans and keeping them from attaining self-government. Uganda has multi-political parties, more or less corresponding with the strife that exists between the superiority of Buganda on one hand and the deep resentment of that superiority by the rest of the tribes in

Figure 48.

Letter from Sam Ntiro to Ian Tregarthen Jenkin, 16 October 1958, page 1 of 2. Sam Ntiro's Slade student file. UCL Special Collections. Digital image courtesy of UCL Special Collections (all rights reserved).

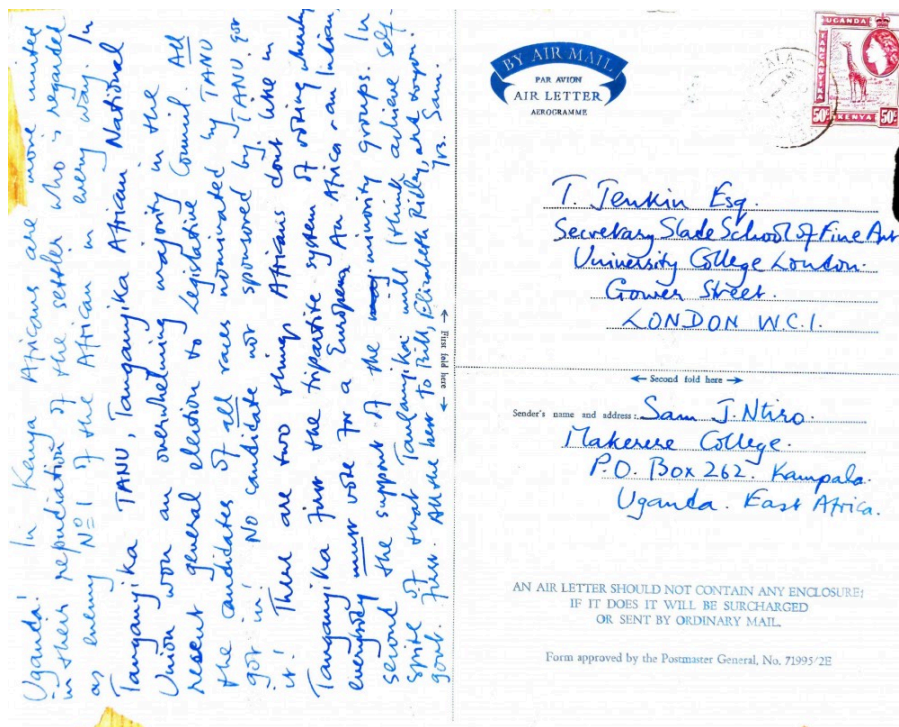


Figure 49.

Letter from Sam Ntiro to Ian Tregarthen Jenkin, 16 October 1958, page 2 of 2. Sam Ntiro's Slade student file. UCL Special Collections. Digital image courtesy of UCL Special Collections (all rights reserved).



Figure 50.

Article on Sam Ntiro's appointment to High Commissioner in London, 20 August 1958, unknown publication. Sam Ntiro's Slade student file. UCL Special Collections. Digital image courtesy of UCL Special Collections (all rights reserved).

S

4th April 1963

I was delighted to read the news of your appointment as High Commissioner. All of us at the Slade are so pleased about this and would like to send you and your wife our warmest congratulations and very best wishes.

His Excellency Mr. S. Ntiro,
The High Commissioner for Tanganyika,
Grand Buildings,
Trafalgar Square,
W.C.2.

Figure 52.

Letter from the Slade School of Fine Art to Sam Ntiro, congratulating him on his appointment as High Commissioner in London, 4 April 1963. Sam Ntiro's Slade student file. UCL Special Collections. Digital image courtesy of UCL Special Collections (all rights reserved).



Figure 51.

Article on Dar es Salaam workshop, The Standard, date unknown. Sam Ntiro's Slade student file. UCL Special Collections. Digital image courtesy of UCL Special Collections (all rights reserved).

Makerere College,
P.O. Box 262,
Kampala,
Uganda.

8th April 1965.

Dear Bill,

Makerere College has employed me to teach Art at a Teacher Training College which Makerere has just taken over. At the moment I teach them painting and clay modelling. The next craft I intend to teach them is Design.

Some of the prospective teachers have done no Art before at all, others just a little, and so I get some interesting results in their painting and modelling. The basic point of observation, with all of them, is that ~~they~~ ^{most of them} are keenly interested in Art and although ~~they~~ ^{most of them} have ~~all~~ passed their Higher School Certificate, yet not high enough to proceed to University for degree work.

Already I find the teaching greatly rewarding. I live very close to the two big Art Rooms, one for Painting, the other for Crafts and I walk there from home. Some of my students have already requested me to take them out for painting out-of-doors and I have promised to

Figure 53.

Letter from Sam Ntiro to William Coldstream ("Bill"), 8 April 1965, page 1 of 2. Sam Ntiro's Slade student file. UCL Special Collections. Digital image courtesy of UCL Special Collections (all rights reserved).

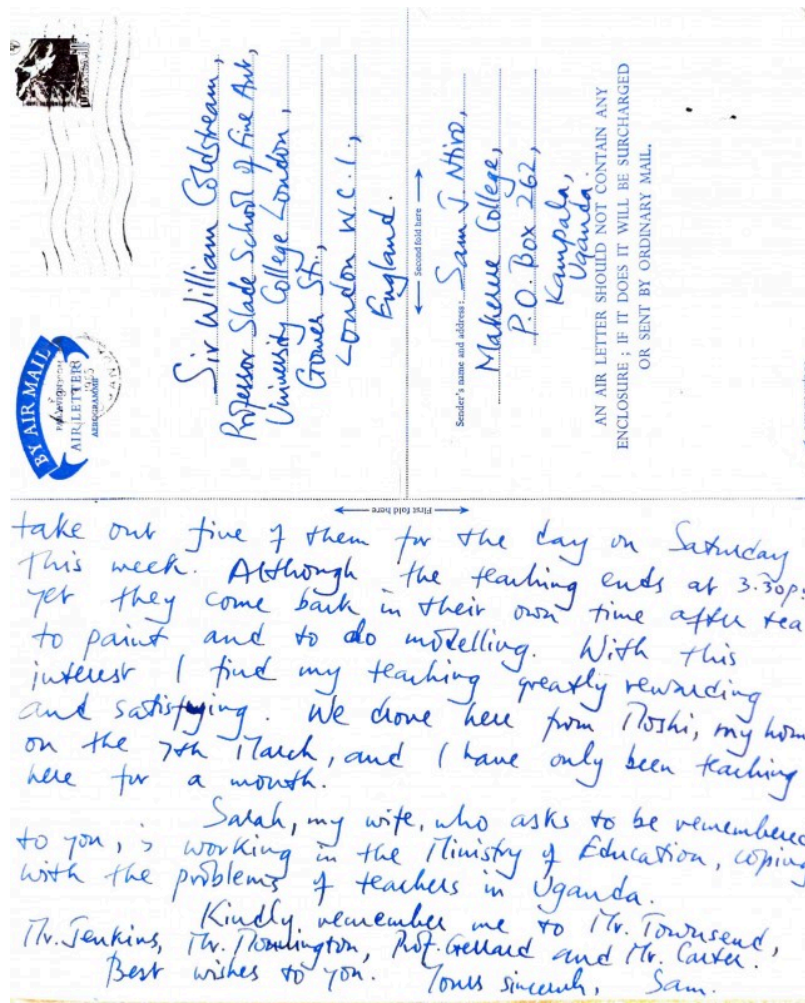


Figure 54.

Letter from Sam Ntiro to William Coldstream ("Bill"), 8 April 1965, page 2 of 2. Sam Ntiro's Slade student file. UCL Special Collections. Digital image courtesy of UCL Special Collections (all rights reserved).

Slade School of Fine Art
10th May 1965

I so much enjoyed getting your last letter, and I am verry sorry that I have been such a bad correspondent.

I am very much interested to hear of your new teaching post at Makerere and hope that it will leave you plenty of time for your own work.

I was so glad to see your Exhibition and hope you were pleased with the way it was received, which seemed to me to be very warm - and justifiably so. I wonder what you are painting at the moment, and whether you ever make that wonderful journey that you took me, to the Game Park.

The new Secretary of the University College, Tattersall, was on the staff of Makerere for some time and always talks about it with great affection. I think you know him well. We are very pleased to have him here.

As usual, the Slade Society finances are in great difficulties. The only time the Society ever seemed to be solvent was when you were managing!

I expect Sarah is very busy with her job which must be a very heavy one but enormously worthwhile. I wonder how your children are. I suppose the eldest must be getting quite big by now. Our younger daughter is just one year old and is now walking about and climbing up-stairs.

Please let me know beforehand if you can next time you are coming to England because it would be nice to have a little party.

Would you remember me to Lucas if he is still with you. I am so grateful for his hospitality when I was at Makerere.

All best wishes to you and Sarah, and for your painting.

Sam J. Ntiro, Esq.,
Makerere College,
P.O. Box 262,
MPALA, Uganda.

Figure 55.

Letter from William Coldstream to Sam Ntiro, 10 May 1965. Sam Ntiro's Slade student file. UCL Special Collections. Digital image courtesy of UCL Special Collections (all rights reserved).

III. Contrapuntal World-Making

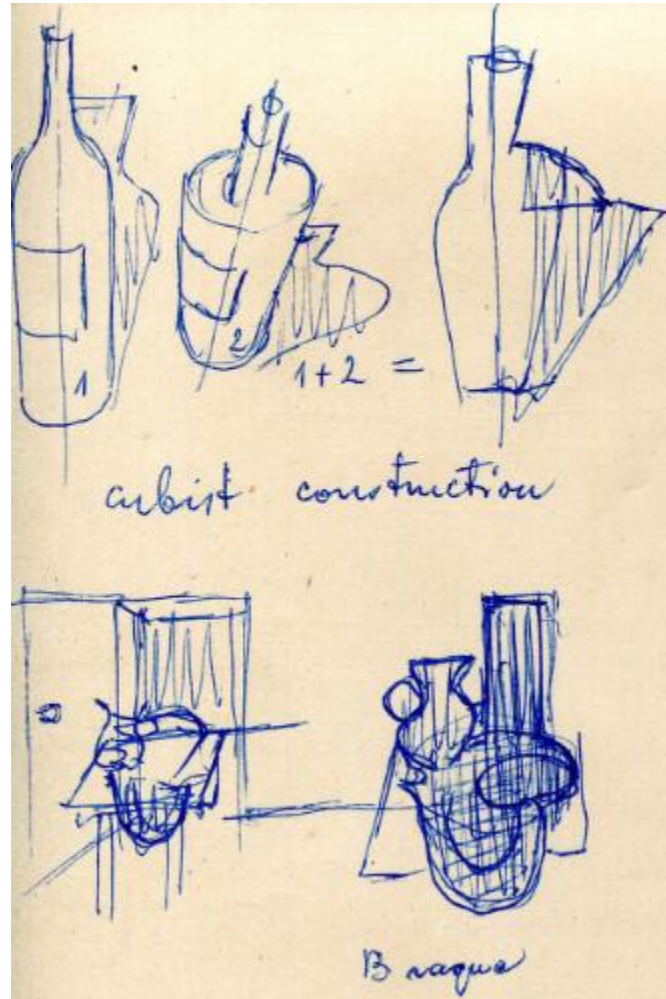
This section focuses on the work of art in the context of the contrapuntal worlds made and remade by overseas artists at the Slade, reflecting their negotiation of novel configurations of artistic methods, vocabularies, and schemas. The five artists featured—Zainul Abedin (1951–1952), Tseng Yu (1952–1956), Wendy Yeo (1953; 1955–1959), Anwar Jalal Shemza (1956–1960), and Kim Lim (1957–1960; 1969–1970)—each came to the Slade via different circuits of mobility and access, and each responded in turn to the opportunities and challenges of the Slade as a contact zone, producing distinct contrapuntal aesthetics. When examined together with the

Slade as a transversal line, the relationships between these works become more evident, bringing out their harmonic interdependencies despite their independent melodic lines.

[View this illustration online](#)

Figure 56.

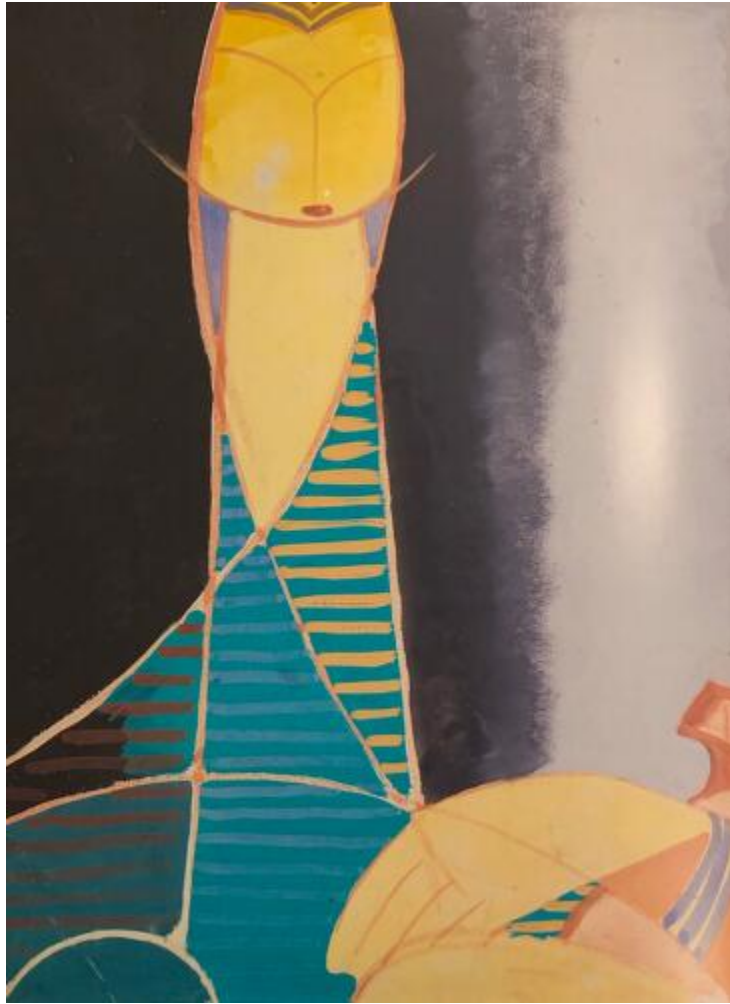
Pages from Zainul Abedin's London sketchbook, 1951. Collection of The Estate of Zainul Abedin. Digital image courtesy of Digital facsimile courtesy of The Estate of Zainul Abedin (all rights reserved).



[View this illustration online](#)

Figure 57.

Zainul Abedin's analysis of "cubist construction", 1951. Collection of The Estate of Zainul Abedin. Digital image courtesy of The Estate of Zainul Abedin (all rights reserved).



[View this illustration online](#)

Figure 58.

Zainul Abedin, Woman with a Pitcher, 1951, watercolour on paper, 54 x 41 cm. Collection of the Bangladesh National Museum. Digital image courtesy of The Estate of Zainul Abedin (all rights reserved).



[View this illustration online](#)

Figure 59.

Tseng Yu, Interior with a Man Painting, 1955, oil on canvas, 101.7 x 76.2 cm. Collection of the UCL Art Museum (LDUCS-5311). Digital image courtesy of Tseng Yu / UCL Art Museum (all rights reserved).

P.S. 最近北京出版的太平天国同義和圖資料小冊子，厚約兩三
一讀這兒是 Goldie Multilingual Bookshop 有賣賣
如這兒的地址在 67 Great Russell Street W.C.1.

David Hawkes 先生:-

收到你的信，高興極了。最近忙著搬家上課，又
有一些瑣雜碎難的事情扭住了，分不出時間到
牛津來看你，真慚愧極了。在中國的時候，常常聽
見老師和朋友談起牛津，說牛津的空氣裡也有
學術，想來是一個頗有意思，頗好玩的所在。有
機會準未睡你那張空牀，你不要討厭我這個
遠方的來客，纔好哪！

我不認識吳世昌先生，但拜讀過他在上海現
象社出版的「中國文化與現代化問題」，欽佩至
這本小冊子是我許多愛讀的書本中之一，由北到
南，就常帶在身邊。這次來英，也隨身帶了來。

今天我在一堆破舊書中我出了那篇關於馬樹和
的文章，我想作為一個牛津人的你，這篇文章一定
會使你很感興趣的。

美愛小姐可能在下月初左右來英 [redacted]
[redacted]

我想這次你對我談的話，你說英國人在國內同國外，確地
是屬於兩個世界的，這話來，英國總同如體味到
中國的微妙，也許我正在愛上這陰靈的古國與
如草原的居民罷。

[我也不會寫文雅的信，但我
討厭讀用英文雅緻的信，所以只使大家不要文雅罷。]

曾瑛上 1955 十月十四日

[View this illustration online](#)

Figure 60.

Letter from Tseng Yu to David Hawkes (in Chinese),
between 1959-1984. Collection of The Chinese
University of Hong Kong Library. Digital image
courtesy of The Chinese University of Hong Kong
Library (all rights reserved).



[View this illustration online](#)

Figure 61.

Wendy Yeo, Townscape with Figures, 1958, oil on canvas, 182.9 x 121.9 cm. Collection of the UCL Art Museum (LDUCS-5057). Digital image courtesy of Wendy Yeo / UCL Art Museum (all rights reserved).



[View this illustration online](#)

Figure 62.

Wendy Yeo, Mountain Streams, 1958-1959, oil on canvas, 106.6 x 61 cm. UCL Art Museum (LDUCS-5275). Digital image courtesy of Wendy Yeo / UCL Art Museum (all rights reserved).



[Watch Video](#)

Figure 63.

Excerpts from an oral history interview with Wendy Yeo, conducted by Liz Bruchet and Ming Tiampo, 27 November 2020 and 11 December 2020, film, 22 minutes, 29 seconds. Film editing by Edward Spreull. Digital files courtesy of Wendy Yeo (all rights reserved).

[View this illustration online](#)

Figure 64.

A.J. Shemza: Paintings Drawings 1957–1963, exhibition catalogue (Durham: Gulbenkian Museum of Oriental Art, Durham University, 1963). Collection of the Oriental Museum, Durham University. Digital image courtesy of Digital facsimile courtesy of the estate of Anwar Jalal Shemza (all rights reserved).



Figure 65.

Anwar Jalal Shemza, *The Wall*, circa 1958, oil on board, 60 × 44.5 cm. Collection of the Birmingham Museums Trust (1998P81). Digital image courtesy of the estate of Anwar Jalal Shemza / Photo 12 / Ann Ronan Picture Library / Alamy Stock Photo (all rights reserved).

IV. Contrapuntal Pedagogies

The records gathered here, including curricula, artists' notes, and administrative and artistic correspondence, enable us to consider how a number of overseas artists who passed through the Slade reworked, supplemented, and often disrupted the school's pedagogical models in contrapuntal fashions. Transversal comparisons of three groups of pedagogical artefacts from three different sites—Dhaka, Lahore, and the Sinophone world—provide a means of analysing critical appropriations of the Slade's curriculum in order to draw relational comparisons between different colonial and postcolonial histories of art education.

[View this illustration online](#)

Figure 66.

Kim Lim, Typed Manuscript, 2 pages. Collection the estate of Kim Lim, London. Digital image courtesy of Digital facsimile courtesy of the estate of Kim Lim, London (all rights reserved).

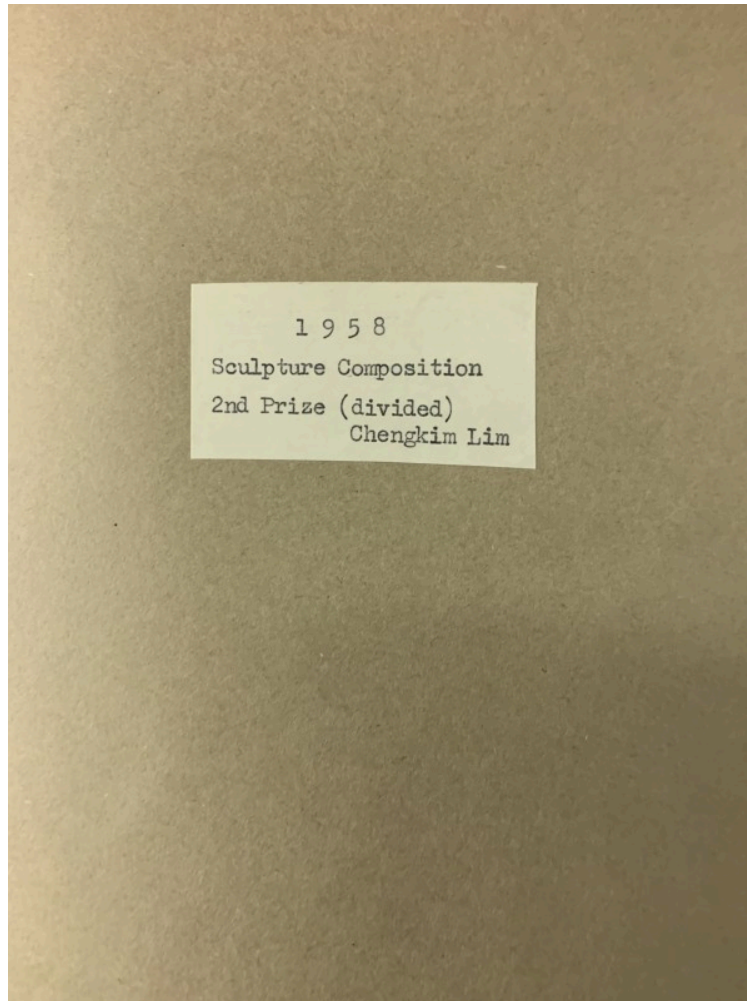


Figure 67.

Label from the Slade student prize album, showing that Kim Lim's work, Untitled, won the second prize for sculpture composition, 1958. Collection of the Slade School of Fine Art, UCL Archives. Digital image courtesy of Liz Bruchet (all rights reserved).



Figure 68.

Kim Lim, Untitled, 1958, winner of the second prize for sculpture composition. Slade student prize album. Collection of the Slade School of Fine Art, UCL Archives. Digital image courtesy of Liz Bruchet and the estate of Kim Lim, London (all rights reserved).



Figure 69.

Kim Lim, Ronin, 1963, sculpture. Collection the estate of Kim Lim, London. Digital image courtesy of the estate of Kim Lim, London / Photo: Sotheby's (all rights reserved).

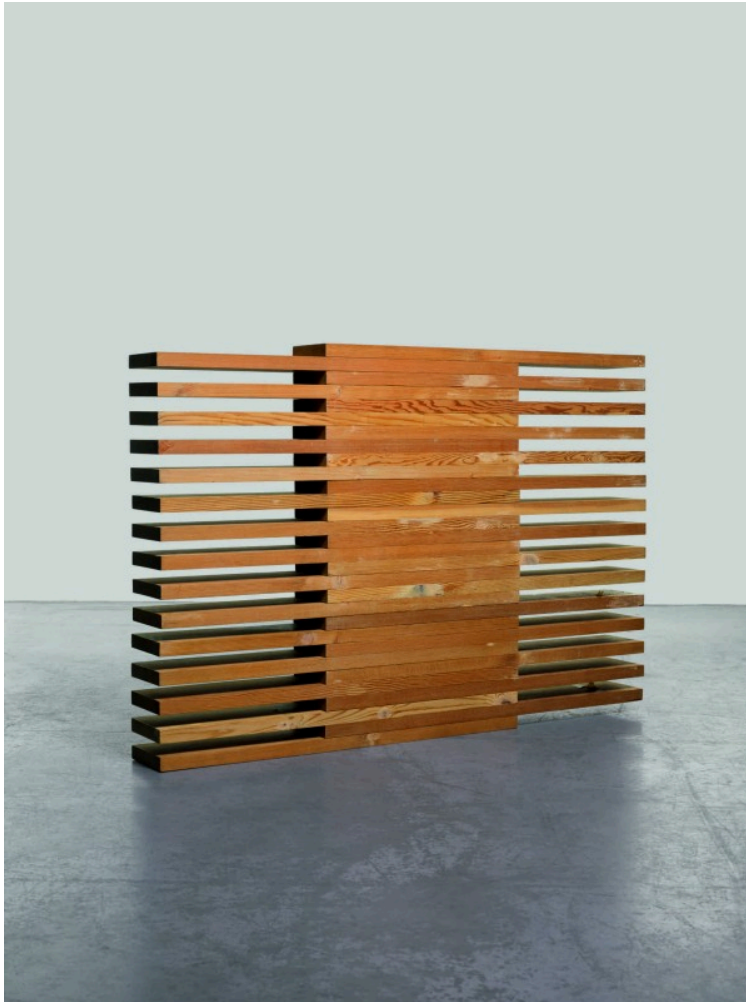


Figure 70.

Kim Lim, *Stack*, 1976, sculpture. Collection the estate of Kim Lim, London. Digital image courtesy of the estate of Kim Lim, London / Photo: Sotheby's (all rights reserved).



Figure 71.

Kim Lim, Study Photograph from Fatehpur Sikri, India, undated. Collection the estate of Kim Lim, London. Digital image courtesy of the estate of Kim Lim, London (all rights reserved).



Figure 72.

Kim Lim, Study Photograph from Karnak Temple Complex, Egypt, undated. Collection the estate of Kim Lim, London. Digital image courtesy of the estate of Kim Lim, London (all rights reserved).



Figure 73.

Kim Lim, Study Photograph from Kiyomizu-dera, Japan, 1962. Collection the estate of Kim Lim, London. Digital image courtesy of the estate of Kim Lim, London (all rights reserved).

[View this illustration online](#)

Figure 74.

University of London, University College Calendar: Session MCML-MCMLI, (London: Taylor & Francis, 1950): "The Slade School Session 1950-51", 119-133. Collection of UCL Special Collections. Digital image courtesy of Digital facsimile courtesy of UCL Special Collections (all rights reserved)

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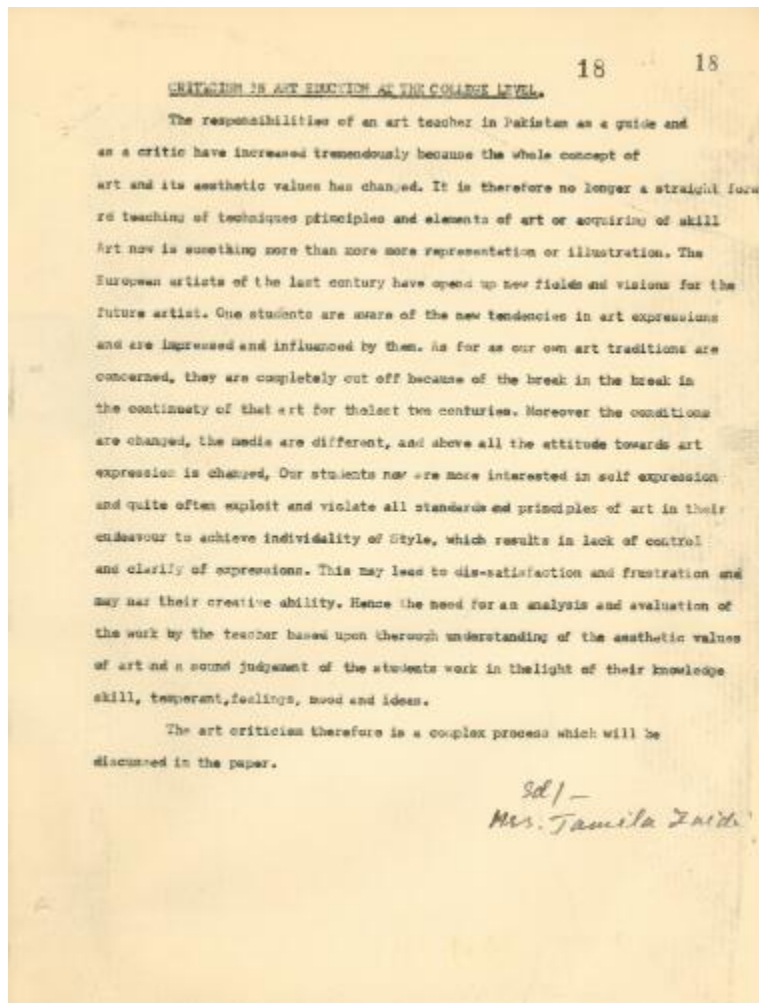
Figure 75.

Zainul Abedin's notes on printmaking, 1951. Collection of the estate of Zainul Abedin. Digital image courtesy of Digital facsimile courtesy of the estate of Zainul Abedin (all rights reserved).

[View this illustration online](#)

Figure 76.

Zainul Abedin's notes for the curriculum at The Government Institute of Arts, Dacca, c. 1956. Collection of the estate of Zainul Abedin. Digital image courtesy of Digital facsimile courtesy of the estate of Zainul Abedin (all rights reserved).



[View this illustration online](#)

Figure 78.

Jamila Zaidi, Abstract for "Criticism in Art Education at the College Level", a paper delivered by Zaidi at the 16th Annual All Pakistan Science Conference, 1963. Collection of the National College of Arts, Lahore Archive. Digital image courtesy of National College of Arts, Lahore Archive (all rights reserved).

Lectures for the fundamental course intro to visual
Arts- for the year 1960-61.

.....

Vis. Prof. & S.L.D.

33

First Term-Related Arts

			Prof. Sponenburgh.
September	18.	Introduction.	
	28.	The Principles & elements of design.	Prof. Warren.
	30.	The Principles & elements of design.	Prof. Warren.
October	7.	Drawing & graphic Arts.	Miss Zafar.
	14.	Painting.	Prof. Shakir Ali.
	21.	Sculpture.	Prof. Sponenburgh.
	28.	Mid. Term examination.	Mrs. Akhtar & Prof. Baldinger.
November	4.	Discussion on papers.	Akhtar & Prof. Bald.
	11.	Architecture.	Prof. Belgge.
	18.	Architecture in Pakistan.	Mr. John Terry.
	25.	Archaeology in Pakistan.	Mr. Waliullah Khan
December	2.	Open	
	9.	Review.	
	17.	Examination.	

2nd Term Applied & Industrial Design

January	6.	Discussion of examination papers.	Akhtar & Baldinger.
	13.	Interior design.	Mrs. Sponenburgh.
	20.	Applied design.	Mrs. Akhtar.
	27.	Ceramics.	Prof. Baldinger.
February	3.	Textiles.	Mrs. Akhtar.
	10.	Folk arts & crafts in Pakistan.	Akhtar & Zafar.
	17.	Mid. term examination.	Akhtar & Baldinger
	24.	Discussion on examination papers.	Akhtar & " "
March	8.	Furniture.	Prof. Warren.
	15.	Review.	Akhtar & Baldinger.
	17.	Examination	Akhtar & Baldinger.

3rd Term

March	31.	Discussion on examination papers.	Akhtar & Baldinger
April	7.	Publicity Design & product-Packaging.	Prof. Warren.
	14.	Calligraphy.	Prof. Shakir & Lati
	21.	Visual arts in Pakistan.	Prof. Shakir Ali.
May	5.	Film programme.	
	12.	Free for study.	
	29.	Review.	

.....

Figure 79.

National College of Arts, Lahore, Curriculum of lectures for the fundamental course on visual arts, 1960-1961.
Collection of the National College of Arts, Lahore Archive.
Digital image courtesy of National College of Arts, Lahore Archive (all rights reserved).

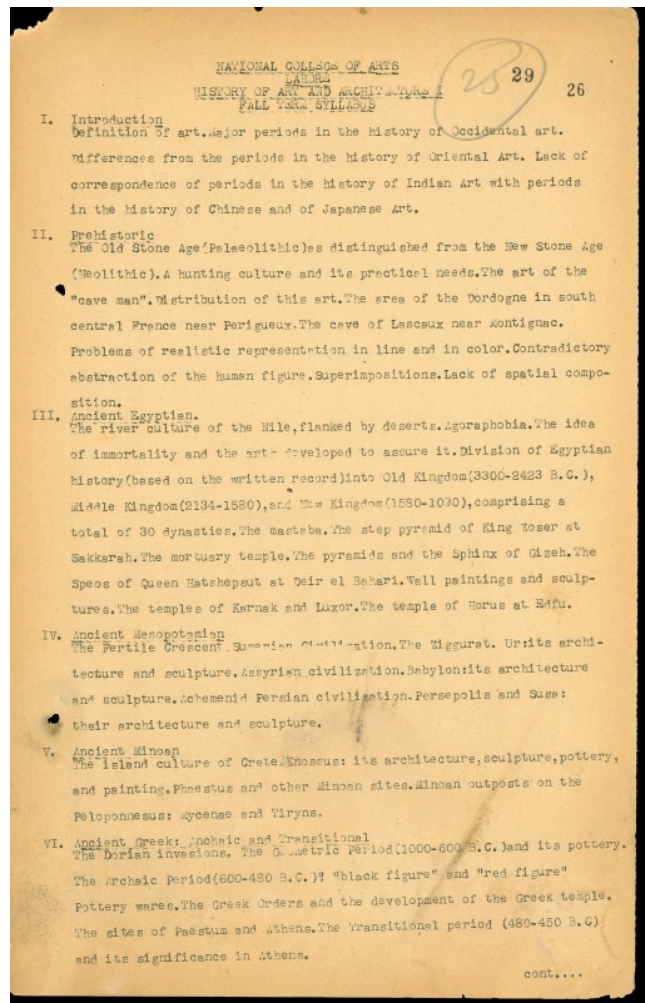


Figure 80.

National College of Arts, Lahore, History of Art and Architecture fall term syllabus, undated, page 1 of 2. Collection of the National College of Arts, Lahore Archive. Digital image courtesy of National College of Arts, Lahore Archive (all rights reserved).

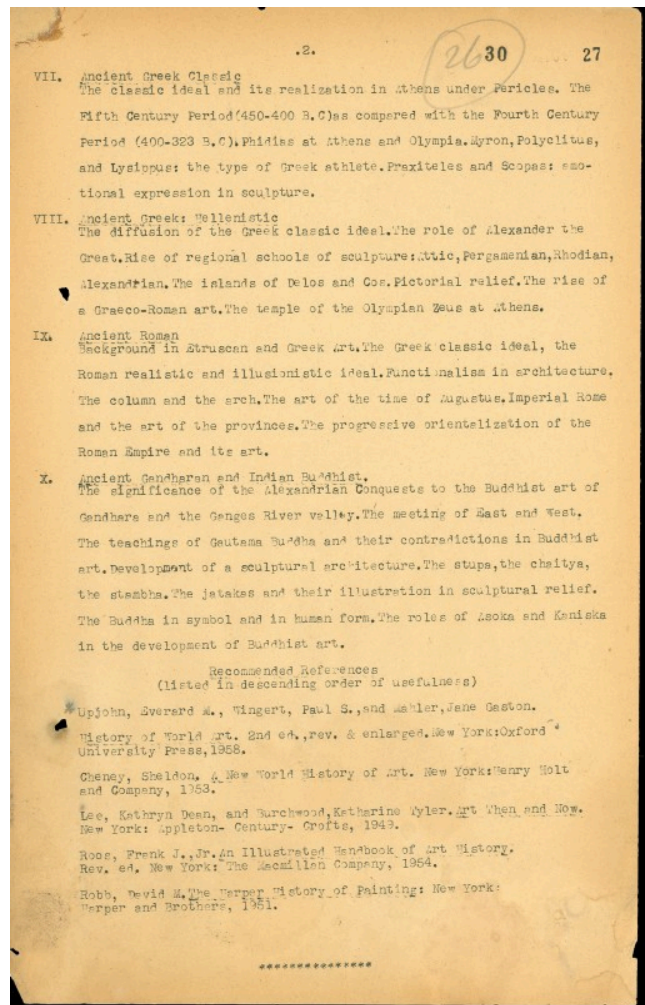


Figure 81.

National College of Arts, Lahore, History of Art and Architecture fall term syllabus, undated, page 2 of 2. Collection of the National College of Arts, Lahore Archive. Digital image courtesy of National College of Arts, Lahore Archive (all rights reserved).

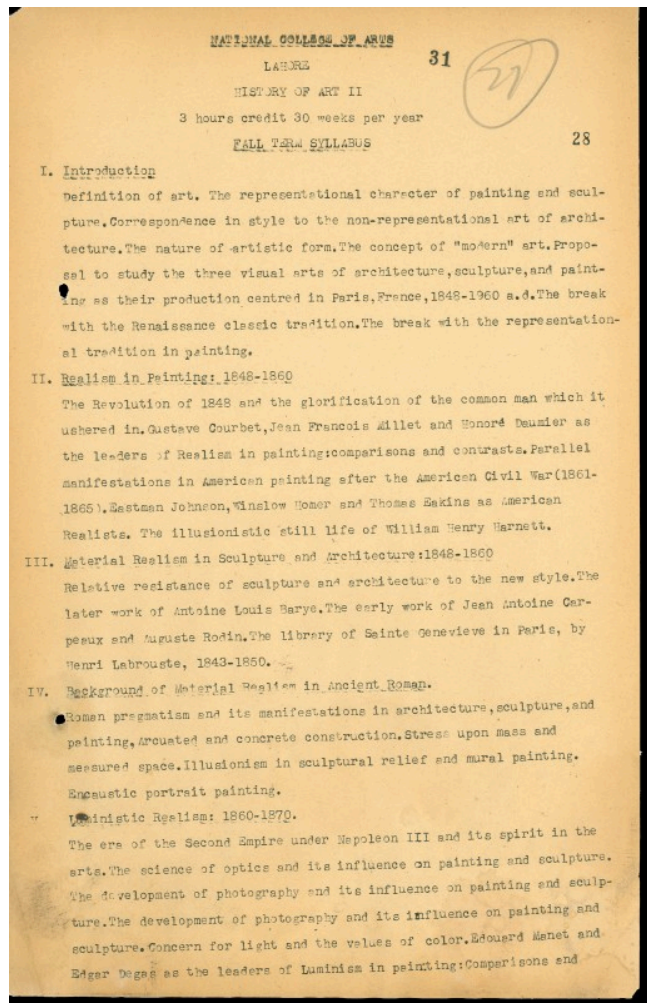


Figure 82.

National College of Arts, Lahore, History of Art II, fall term syllabus, undated, page 1 of 2. Collection of the National College of Arts, Lahore Archive. Digital image courtesy of National College of Arts, Lahore Archive (all rights reserved).

contrasts. The luministic sculptures of Rodin. The Opera House in Paris, 1861-1873, by Charles Garnier: its architecture; its sculptures, by Carpeaux and others.

VI. Background of Luministic Realism in Tokugawa Japan

29

The rise of the merchant class under the enforced peace and isolation of the Tokugawa Shogunate. The parallel rise of the ukiyo-e school in painting and woodblock print making. The organic ideal in the various forms of painting for use in the home. The organic ideal in the color print as the product of a collaborative art. Utamaro, Harunobu, Sharaku, Katsuki, and Hiroshige.

VII. Impressionism: 1870-1885

The defeat of France in the Franco-Prussia War, 1870-1871, and the rise of a new spirit in the arts. The science of optics and the art of photography and their influence on painting and sculpture. The doctrines of Impressionism. Claude Monet, Auguste Renoir, and Camille Pissarro as the leaders of the style. Impressionistic sculptures of Rodin. The church of Sacre Coeur in Paris, begun in 1871, rebuilt 1874-1882, by Abadie, Daumet and Rubine.

VIII. Background of Impressionism in Byzantium and Gothic Europe.

The Orientalism of the later Roman Empire. "Colorism" in sculpture. The nature and function of mosaic as a medium of mural painting. The structural system of the Gothic cathedral and the development of the stained glass window. The treatment of the surface to destroy it as boundary.

IX. Background of Impressionism in Islam.

The Mosaic Decalogue and the stress of Mohammed on the commandment against graven images. The art of a nomadic culture. Abstractions of line and color. Interpenetration and piercing in the treatment of surface and space.

Recommended References
(listed in descending order of usefulness)

- *Fevener, Nikolaus. *Pioneers of the Modern Movement from William Morris to Walter Gropius*. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1937.
- Venturi, Lionello (Francis Steegmiller, trans.) *Impressionists and Symbolists*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1950.
- *Candsey, John. *Eightstreams of Modern Art*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1950.
- *Baldinger, Wallace S. *The Visual Arts*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1960.

Figure 83.

National College of Arts, Lahore, History of Art II, fall term syllabus, undated, page 2 of 2. Collection National College of Arts, Lahore Archive. Digital image courtesy of National College of Arts, Lahore Archive (all rights reserved).

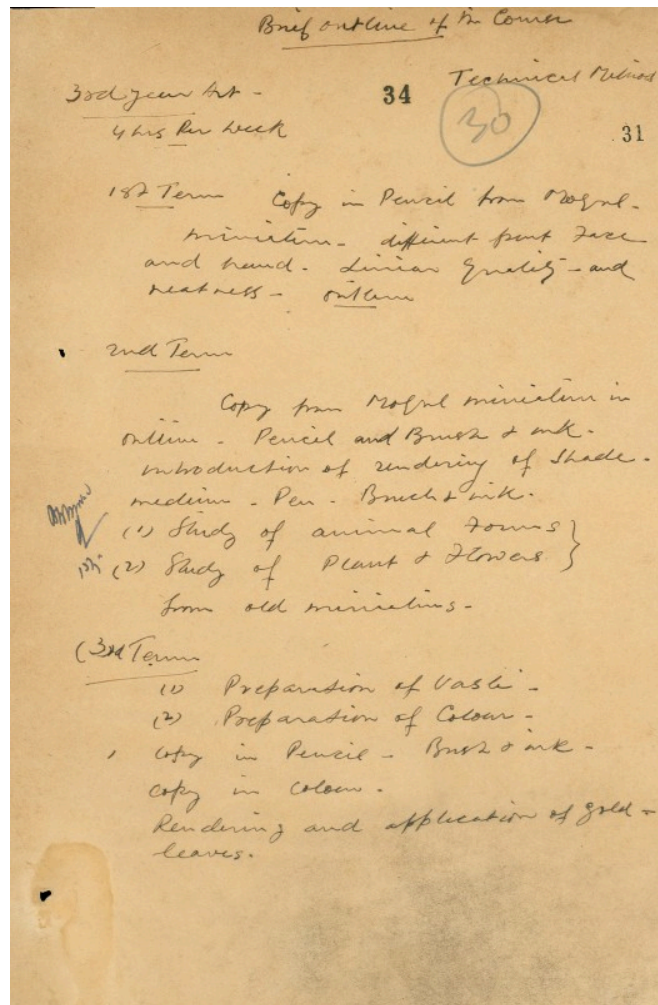


Figure 84.

National College of Arts, Lahore, Handwritten syllabus for third-year class on technical methods, undated. Collection National College of Arts, Lahore Archive. Digital image courtesy of National College of Arts, Lahore Archive (all rights reserved).



珊瑚之海露社於長生持手員研究
A research assistant holding a piece of living
Acropora coral found in the Tolo Harbour

aspects of marine biology. He has organized and participated in research expeditions to all continents except Antarctica. He has written more than forty scientific research papers and one college textbook.

(See also pictures in Chinese section)

PROSPECTS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF FINE ARTS

New Board of Studies

In order to strengthen the Fine Arts programme, starting this academic year, an independent Board of Studies in Fine Arts has been set up, separating it from the original Board of Studies in Philosophy and Fine Arts. The membership of the Board in Fine Arts comprises:

Administrative Chairman: Mr. Wang Chi
Members: Mr. Chen Shih-wen
Mr. Liu Kuo-sung
Mr. Tseng Yu
Mr. James C.Y. Watt

The Vice-Chancellor and the three College Presidents are *ex-officio* members of the Board.

New Staff

This year also witnessed the most important development in the Department of Fine Arts in the area of staffing. Prof. Chiang Yee of Columbia University will serve as Visiting Professor during the second semester and will teach courses in theories and practices of Chinese art. Mr. Tseng Yu has been appointed Head of the Department and Mr. Liu Kuo-sung has arrived to

assume duties as Visiting Lecturer. In addition to these appointments, Mr. James C.Y. Watt, Curator of the Art Gallery, also serves concurrently as Lecturer in the Department. For the next academic year, Prof. Chu-ting Li of the University of Kansas, who was Visiting Professor of Fine Arts of this University during the summer of 1971, will return to the University to integrate the courses and implement closer cooperation between the Department of Fine Arts and the Art Gallery.

Teaching Programme

With these new appointments, it is possible to modify the curriculum so that it has a greater emphasis on Chinese art history. It is hoped that with the development of the programme, students of Fine Arts will have an opportunity to choose areas of concentration, initially between art history and theory as one area and practice of art (drawing, painting, sculpture, design, etc.) as another. It is also hoped that eventually the following four areas of concentration can be developed: Chinese art history; Chinese painting, calligraphy and seal-carving; Western painting, sculpture and prints; and design and ceramics.

The much needed teaching space can now be provided by the Art Gallery, housed in the Institute of Chinese Studies and approximately 5,000 square feet in area. The Department of Fine Arts can fully make use of the facilities of the Art Gallery and make it a teaching gallery, when New Asia College moves to the campus at the end of 1972.

The Department of Fine Arts places special emphasis on extracurricular activities and has organized a number of functions, including drawing sketches from nature, visiting art exhibitions, exhibitions of students' works, and film shows on Western art in collaboration with various cultural institutes and diplomatic missions. By means of all these activities, the Department is aiming at cultivating among the students a deep appreciation for art as well as enriching their knowledge in aesthetics.

New Department Head – Mr. Tseng Yu

Mr. Tseng Yu was born in Shanghai and studied Journalism and English in China and Hong Kong before going to the Slade School of Fine Arts, London University, to study painting and prints in 1952. He stayed in London until 1956 when he moved to Paris and was enlisted in L'Ecole des Beaux Arts.

Figure 85.

The Chinese University of Hong Kong Bulletin, 8, no. 5 (December 1971), 4. Collection of The Chinese University of Hong Kong. Digital image courtesy of The Chinese University of Hong Kong (all rights reserved).

Mr. Tseng has held two one-man exhibitions, one in 1955 in London's Arthur Jeffress Gallery, one in 1959 in Paris's Gallery Benezit. He also joined in a group exhibition in Rome in 1965.

After completing his studies at L'Ecole des Beaux Arts in 1960 he moved to Rome where he worked for a news agency as a correspondent for ten years. While staying in Italy, he frequently visited Florence, Venice and other cultural centres and drank deep at the fountains of Italian Renaissance and Baroque art.

Mr. Liu Kuo-sung

Mr. Liu Kuo-sung, born in Shantung, China, graduated with a B.A. degree in Fine Arts from National Taiwan Normal University in 1956. He spent four months at Iowa University in 1966, taking up advanced studies in the Department of Art. The same year he was awarded the John D. Rockefeller Third Fund to have a two-year world tour, visiting universities, art schools and museums, galleries and private collections.

A teacher of art since 1956, Mr. Liu has been Professor of Art in the Department of Architecture of The Chung-yuan College, Taiwan, since 1970. He was Guest Artist at Stout State University, Wisconsin, in the spring semester of 1971.

Mr. Liu has held a number of group exhibitions and more than thirty one-man exhibitions in various cities, including Taipei, New York, Kansas, Dallas, Frankfurt and London. Many of his works have been collected by a number of major museums and art galleries in Taiwan, United States and Germany.

Honoured with many awards, Mr. Liu is also the recipient of the Jurors' Award of Distinction in Mainstreams 1968 and the Award for Painting in Mainstreams 1969 of the United States.

Future Prospects

With the scheduled removal of New Asia College to the new campus site where the students can make use of the Art Gallery and its archive and the strengthening of the teaching staff, the curriculum will have every reason to be restructured for all-round training and in-depth study of particular areas. The arrival of the two Visiting Professors will undoubtedly enhance the development of the Department of Fine Arts into one of the finest of its kind in this part of the world.

(pictures in Chinese section)

SYMPOSIUM ON CHANGES IN HONG KONG SINCE THE 1950'S

A symposium on "Changes in Hong Kong since the 1950's", sponsored by the Faculty of Commerce and Social Science of United College, was held on 12th November, 1971 at the College Hall. The Symposium was one of the programmes to celebrate the College's 15th Anniversary. An opening statement was given by Dr. S.C. Yang, Dean of the Faculty of Commerce and Social Science of the College. After the opening, a series of sessions were held and eminent leaders of the community were invited to speak on the following topics:

1. Changes in the Population since the 1950's
Speaker: Mr. K.W.J. Topley
Commissioner for Census and Statistics
Census and Statistics Department
2. The Progress of the Tourist Industry in Hong Kong since the 1950's
Speaker: Mr. Louis Tong
Research Manager
Hong Kong Tourist Association
3. Development of Social Welfare in Hong Kong: Its Past, Present and Projection
Speaker: Mr. Thomas C.Y. Lee
Deputy Director
Social Welfare Department
4. Factors Accounting for Hong Kong's Economic Development since the 1950's
Speaker: Mr. D.J.C. Jones
Deputy Economic Secretary
Colonial Secretariat
5. Changes in Banking in Hong Kong in the Last 15 Years
Speaker: The Hon. Q.W. Lee
Director and General Manager
Hang Seng Bank Ltd.
6. The Changing Structure of Government since the 1950's
Speaker: The Hon. D.C. Bray
District Commissioner
New Territories Administration

More than 150 people attended each of the sessions.

Figure 86.

The Chinese University of Hong Kong Bulletin, 8, no. 5 (December 1971), 5. Collection of The Chinese University of Hong Kong. Digital image courtesy of The Chinese University of Hong Kong (all rights reserved).

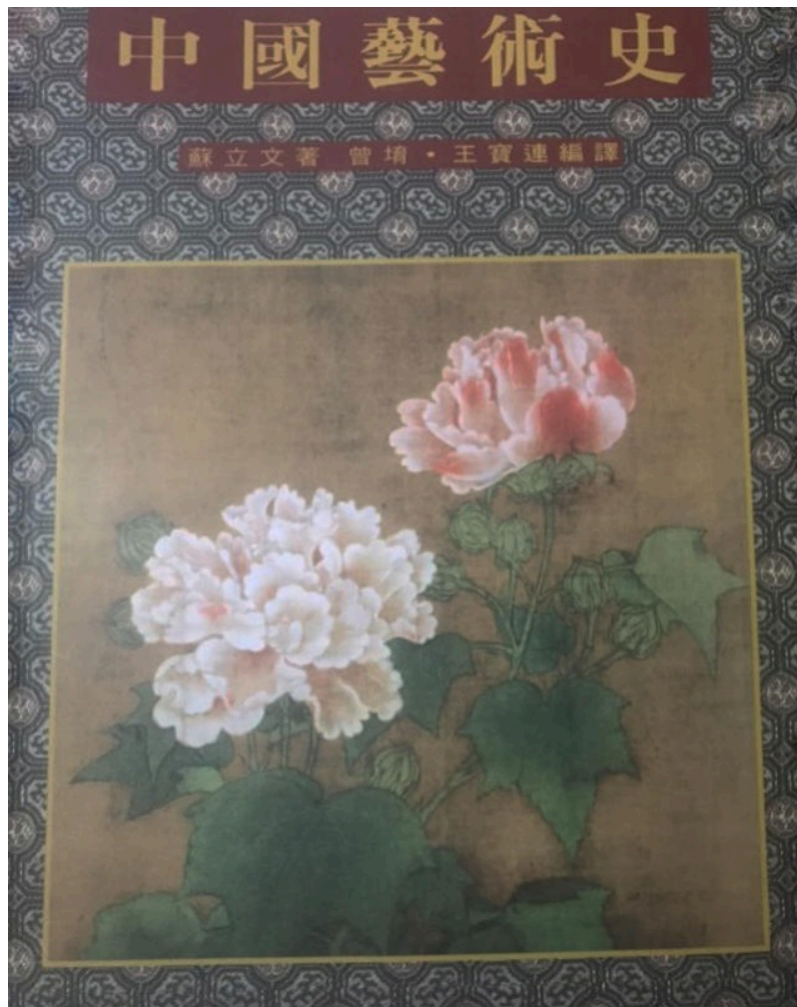


Figure 87.

Cover of the Chinese translation of Michael Sullivan, *The Arts of China*, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1977), translated by Tseng Yu and Wang Bo Lian, *Zhong Guo Yi Shu Shi* [*History of Chinese Art*] (Taipei: Nan Tian Publishing, 1985). Digital image courtesy of Nan Tian Publishing (all rights reserved)

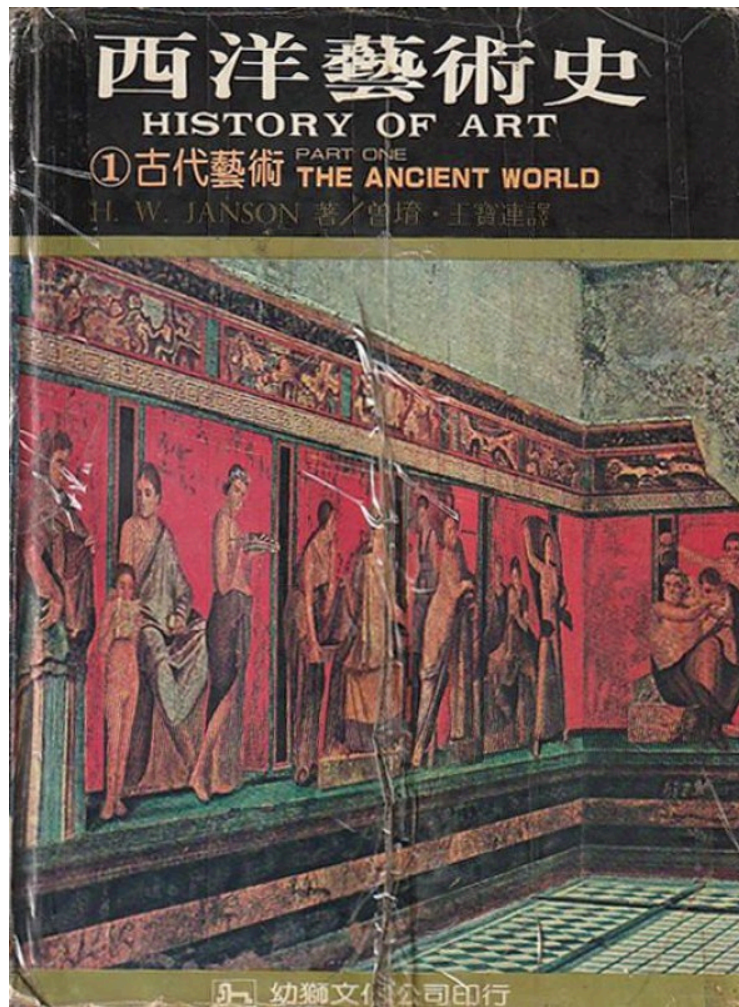


Figure 88.

Chinese Translation of H.W. Janson, *History of Art*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977), translated by Tseng Yu and Wang Bo Lian, *Xi Yang Yi Shu Shi [History of Art]* (Taipei: You Shi Publishing, 1991). Digital image courtesy of You Shi Publishing (all rights reserved).

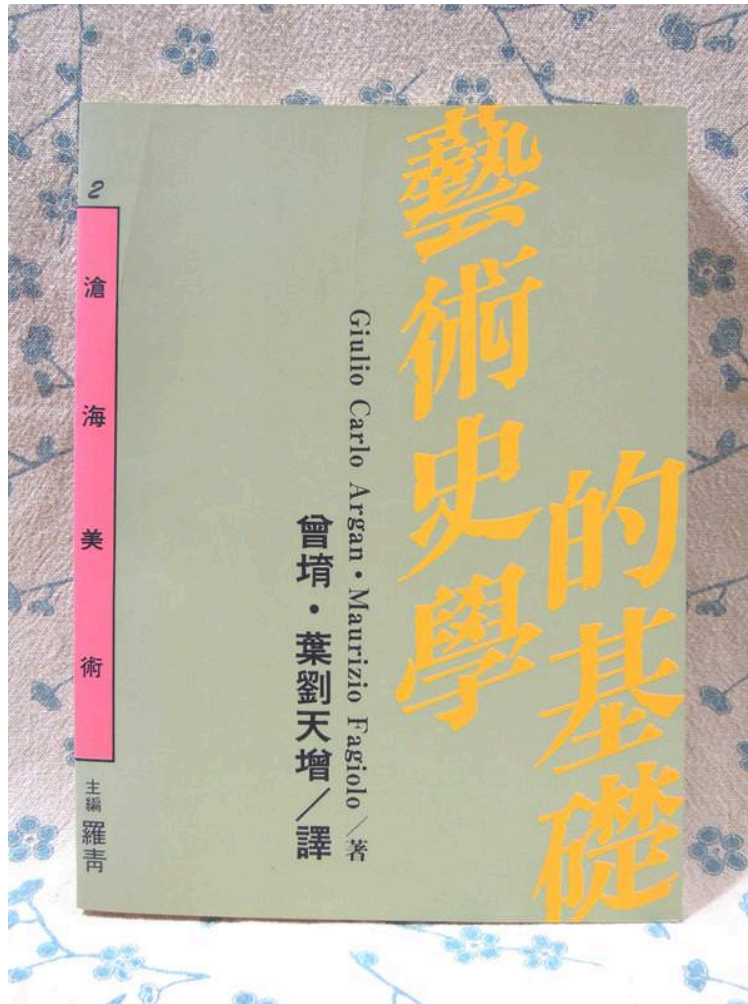


Figure 89.

Chinese Translation of Giulio Carlo Argan and Maurizio Fagiolo, *Guida a la storia dell'arte*, (Firenze: Sansoni Università, 1974), translated with a foreword by Tseng Yu and Tien-Tseng Yeh Liu, *Yi Shu Shi Xue De Ji Chu* [*Guide to Art History*] (Taipei: Dong Tai Tu Shu Publishing, 1992). Digital image courtesy of Dong Tai Tu Shu Publishing (all rights reserved).

V. Schema and Correction: Repositioning Art Histories

As the first art school situated within a university in Britain, the Slade was established with a mandate to provide fine arts training in the context of a liberal arts education, which distinguished it from other art schools until the more academic Diploma in Art and Design (DipAD) was introduced to studio courses nationwide in 1960. In this section, we juxtapose archival records with artists' accounts of art history at the Slade and its situation within the broader intellectual ecosystem of the University of London. This distinguishes the provision of art history within the art school fostered as at once a fertile ground for cross-disciplinary artistic experimentation, and a context deeply

rooted in Eurocentric and colonial epistemologies, inheritances, and positionings. For artists coming from the colonized or decolonizing worlds, this art-historical education, designed to enable contemporary artists to situate their work within the arc of history, made evident the Eurocentrism of the art world and catalysed a variety of critical responses.

The interventions made by artists such as Ben Enwonwu, Anwar Jalal Shemza, K.G. Subramanyan, and Tseng Yu as well as by art historian Partha Mitter can also be understood in dialogue with those scholars of art history who taught at the Slade in the 1950s, namely, Rudolph Wittkower (1949–1956) and Ernst Gombrich (1956–1961). These “corrections” to the “schema”, to use Gombrich’s formulation, point to a mutually informing, albeit at times fraught, terrain of contact between art historians and artists that continues to have resonances in our understanding of global art histories. ⁶

[View this illustration online](#)

Figure 90.

Rudolf Wittkower, “The Artist and the Liberal Arts”, an inaugural lecture delivered at University College London, 1950. Collection of UCL Special Collections. Digital image courtesy of Digital facsimile courtesy of UCL Special Collections (all rights reserved).

[View this illustration online](#)

Figure 91.

Slade Committee Meeting Minutes and Report, 4 March 1954. Collection of UCL Special Collections. Digital image courtesy of Digital facsimile courtesy of UCL Special Collections (all rights reserved).

[View this illustration online](#)

Figure 92.

Sam Carter, Perspective Notes, 1957. Collection of the Slade School of Fine Art, UCL Archives. Digital image courtesy of Digital facsimile courtesy of Slade School of Fine Art, UCL (all rights reserved).

[View this illustration online](#)

Figure 93.

Ernst Gombrich, Handouts for students attending the Slade course on ancient art, autumn 1956. Collection of the Slade School of Fine Art, UCL Archives. Digital image courtesy of Digital facsimile courtesy of Slade School of Fine Art, UCL / the estate of Ernst Gombrich (all rights reserved).

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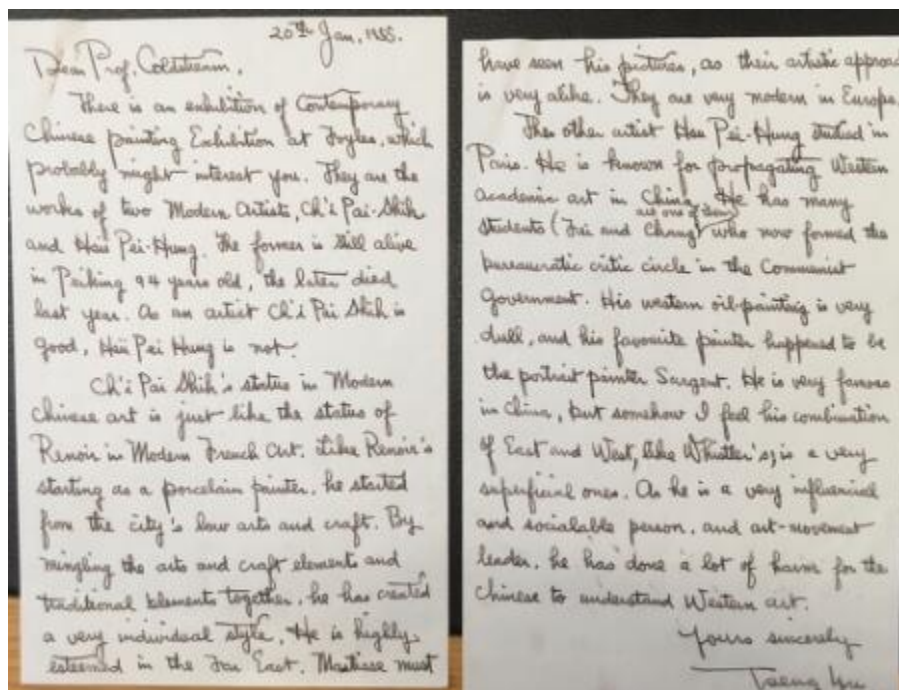
Figure 94.

Ernst Gombrich, Handouts for students attending the Slade's spring term History of Art lectures, March 1957. Collection of the Slade School of Fine Art, UCL Archives. Digital image courtesy of Digital facsimile courtesy of the Slade School of Fine Art, UCL / the estate of Ernst Gombrich (all rights reserved).

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Figure 95.

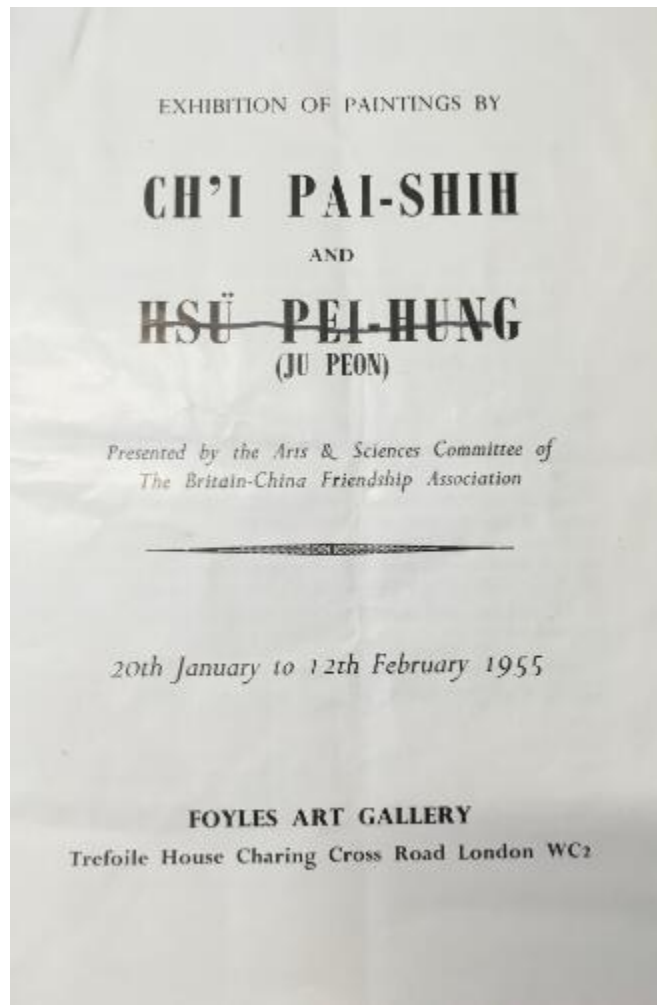
Ernst Gombrich,, Gombrich's personal notes for a lecture given at the Slade, 1956. Collection of the Slade School of Fine Art, UCL Archives. Digital image courtesy of Digital facsimile courtesy of the Slade School of Fine Art, UCL / the estate of Ernst Gombrich (all rights reserved).



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Figure 96.

Letter from Tseng Yu to William Coldstream, 20 January 1955. Tseng Yu's Slade student file. UCL Special Collections. Digital image courtesy of UCL Special Collections (all rights reserved).



[View this illustration online](#)

Figure 97.

Leaflet accompanying letter from Tseng Yu to Professor William Coldstream, 20 January 1955, *Exhibition of Paintings by Ch'i Pai-Shih (Qi Baishi) and Hsü Pei Hung (Xu Beihong)*, Foyles Art Gallery, 20 January-12 February 1955, leaflet cover. Tseng Yu's Slade student file. UCL Special Collections. Digital image courtesy of UCL Special Collections (all rights reserved).

[mul]

[View this illustration online](#)

Figure 98.

Extract from Siva Kumar Raman, K.G. Subramanyan: A Retrospective, National Gallery of Modern Art, New Delhi, January 2003 (New Delhi: National Gallery of Modern Art, 2003). Digital image courtesy of Digital facsimile courtesy of National Gallery of Modern Art, New Delhi.

[View this illustration online](#)

Figure 99.

Partha Mitter, "The Paradox of Ernst Gombrich", *Art and the Mind: Ernst H. Gombrich*, ed. Sybille Moser-Ernst (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2018). Digital image courtesy of Digital facsimile courtesy of Partha Mitter / V&R Unipress.



[Watch Video](#)

Figure 100.

Excerpts from an oral history interview with Partha Mitter, conducted by Ming Tiampo on 3 February 2021film, 18 minutes, 6 seconds. Film editing by Edward Spreull. Digital files courtesy of Partha Mitter (all rights reserved).

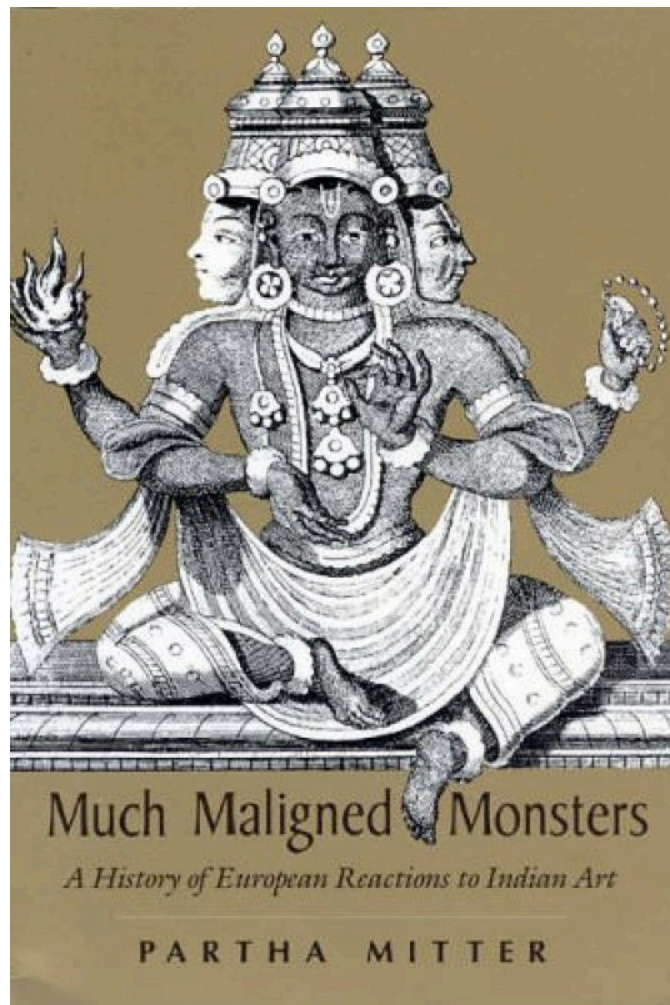


Figure 101.

Partha Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters: A History of European Reactions to Indian Art*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), cover design.

Footnotes

- 1 The concept of transversals was first used by Tiampo to theorize the relationships between histories that are both parallel and linked through a third term. Ming Tiampo, "Slade, London, Asia: Intersections of Decolonial Modernism", 10 November 2020, <https://www.paul-mellon-centre.ac.uk/whats-on/slade-london-asia>.
- 2 Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage, 1993), 51.
- 3 Shu-mei Shih, "Comparison as Relation", in *Comparison: Theories, Approaches, Uses*, ed. Rita Felski and Susan Stanford Friedman (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 79–98.
- 4 Carolyn Hamilton, Verne Harris, and Graeme Reid, Introduction to *Refiguring the Archive*, ed. Carolyn Hamilton et al. (Dordrecht: Springer, 2002), doi:10.1007/978-94-010-0570-8_1.
- 5 Anne J. Gilliland, Sue McKemmish, and Andrew J. Lau, eds., *Research in the Archival Multiverse* (Clayton, VIC: Monash University Publishing, 2016), <http://library.oapen.org/handle/20.500.12657/31429>.
- 6 Ernst Gombrich, *Art and Illusion* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1960).



“Everything I Learnt About Activism I Learnt in King’s Lynn”: Gustav Metzger’s Formative Years in King’s Lynn

Jonathan P. Watts

Abstract

This article builds on my research and experience as co-curator of *THIRTY QUEENS*, a hybrid exhibition-event, which took place at the contemporary artist-led space LOWER.GREEN, Norwich in 2019, exploring the artist Gustav Metzger’s time in King’s Lynn in the 1950s. King’s Lynn laid the foundations for Metzger’s later fusion of art and activism, and movement from painted or sculpted objects towards event-like works. But it was also in King’s Lynn that Metzger learned how to live, work, and practise as an artist outside of a cosmopolitan centre and was compelled by the imaginative purchase of the historical and the antiquarian. Throughout his time in the town, Metzger scraped a living dealing in furniture, antiques, and books, briefly taking on a shop where, as *Thirty Queens*, he would also organise selling exhibitions. This mixed-economy (not strictly non-commercial) model of artistic production and distribution is an unusual and useful case study to think about British art of the 1950s outside of the capital. With *Thirty Queens*, Metzger was trying to position himself not as peripheral but as an extension of a London-centric British art scene, while providing a platform for regional art and antiquity. Structured around sites of significance, this article presents the first comprehensive account of Metzger’s time in King’s Lynn, and maps his concerns onto those of contemporary artistic and curatorial practices in the region. It demonstrates that *Thirty Queens* provides a lens onto the recent history of British artist-led and alternative art spaces. Drawing together archival research, interviews and oral histories, exhibition histories, and field trips, this article makes use of Mathieu Copeland’s recently published volume of Metzger’s writing and finds particularising, anecdotal detail in Clive Phillpot’s conversations with Gustav Metzger recorded in 1997 for the National Sound Archive. Centring the artist’s voice, this article argues that it is necessary to extend the characterisation of Metzger’s work to include that of artist-dealer, artist-curator, and artist-activist. What emerges, also, is a picture of the artist at work, often in poverty and unwavering in his political convictions.

Authors

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Introduction: Metzger in the Lowlands

The celebrated artist-activist Gustav Metzger made his iconoclastic—and iconic—entry into post-war public life in Britain with his *Recreation of First Public Demonstration of Auto-Destructive Art* on London's South Bank in 1961. First demonstrated a year earlier at Temple Gallery, Sloane Street, film-maker Harold Liversidge's 1963 documentation of a recreation, titled *Auto-Destructive Art: The Activities of G Metzger*, shows Metzger, wearing a military jacket, helmet, and gas mask, painting, flinging and spraying acid onto nylon (Figs. 1 and 2). Set against the backdrop of the City of London, it announces Metzger's focus as an itinerant cosmopolitan artist: the centralised seat of imperial capitalist power. Yet, it was in King's Lynn, in the rural county of Norfolk, where he lived from 1953 to 1959, that Metzger first experimented with what would become the "auto-destructive" technique in his live-work-warehouse studio on St Nicholas Street at the heart of the medieval old town.



Figure 1.

Gustav Metzger, Gustav Metzger demonstrates his "Auto-Destructive Art" technique at the South Bank, London, 3 July 1961. Digital image courtesy of The Estate of Gustav Metzger. Photo: Keystone / Hulton Archive / Getty Images (all rights reserved).



Figure 2.

Gustav Metzger demonstrates his “Auto-Destructive Art” technique, still from Harold Liversidge's film *Auto-Destructive Art: The Activities of G. Metzger*, 1963.

Through his involvement with the local Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) branch, the Committee of 100, and self-organised protests against the redevelopment of medieval wards in the town, Metzger memorably claimed: “Everything I know about activism I learnt in King’s Lynn”.¹ Activism would become central to Metzger’s practice, but there were other lessons learnt in King’s Lynn that will be explored in this article: how to live, work, and practise as an artist outside of a metropolitan centre, as well as the imaginative pull and purchase of the historical and the antiquarian that he found so captivating in this rural Norfolk town.

Metzger relocated to King’s Lynn from London in the summer of 1953 knowing nobody. When he finally left six years later, he claims to have only known a few more people. He first encountered the town when cycling from Norwich to the Midlands. Where the Brecklands opens into the Fens, he passed by a “splendid” medieval town that reminded him of Antwerp—lowlands, by a river, calm—and decided to stay.² Metzger had already begun withdrawing from the London orbit of his charismatic former teacher David Bomberg and was increasingly moving away from painting. Embittered by his marginalisation in contemporary histories of the English avant-garde, Bomberg surrounded himself with a group of mostly former

students who exhibited together as the Borough Bottega. Increasingly, Metzger—who had been the star pupil—felt the Bottega served only Bomberg’s interests and resolved to quit, hoping, however, to remain friends. This wasn’t to be so. Following an exchange of bluntly worded letters, Bomberg severed ties (by withdrawing, Metzger effectively opted out of becoming what was later called the School of London, which included his peers Frank Auerbach and Leon Kossoff).³ Bruised, Metzger spoke of King’s Lynn as a retreat—an opportunity to reconsolidate resources and ideas: “It was a very important time for me,” he later recalled. “I was building up my energy. Separated from London. It did me good.”⁴

After a year, Metzger obtained a lease on St Nicholas House, “a magnificent building”, he told the curator Lynda Morris, “next to the Tuesday Market. It had a 16th-century wooden door and gabled roof. It was in good condition and dry”.⁵ Flanked by handsome commercial buildings, and in Nikolaus Pevsner’s estimation, “[o]ne of the most splendid open spaces in provincial England”, the Tuesday Market Place was where Metzger scraped a living dealing in furniture, antiques, and books.⁶ Although for the first few years in King’s Lynn he ceased to produce art altogether—an anticipation perhaps of the “straitened circumstances” in 1969 that prevented him from undertaking any speaking, singing, or dancing engagements for the remainder of the year, his later call for artists to withdraw their labour in 1974 and the subsequent “Art Strike” of 1977—he began to paint seriously again from 1956 onwards, creating squally, hard-edged works on a mild steel ground before the first auto-destructive experiments.⁷

The year 1956 was a significant one for Metzger. Not only did he begin to paint again but, merely a minute-long walk away from St Nicholas, south of the Tuesday Market Place, he also took on a shop in a broad sweep of Georgian terraces at Queen Street. Here, as well as selling art, antiques, and books, he began hosting, however briefly, selling contemporary art exhibitions. Located at 30 Queen Street, the shop, a mixed-use space, long since redeveloped into flats, became Thirty Queens gallery when it hosted a series of three formal and informal exhibitions, and became a satellite venue for an offsite exhibition organised by Metzger in the fourteenth-century crypt at Clifton House, several doors down at 17 Queen Street.

The first of these formal exhibitions, a group show of recent sculptural work by Eduardo Paolozzi, William Turnbull, and Anthony Hatwell, opened on 19 July 1956, coinciding with the King’s Lynn Festival. *Treasures from East Anglian Churches*, which opened on 27 July 1957, formed part of that year’s festival programme and featured thirty-six church monuments and artefacts collected from around the region that had been damaged, removed, or displaced in the period between the Reformation and the end of the

Commonwealth. Between these two exhibitions, in December 1956, Metzger showed paintings of the obscure local artist and practising witch Monica English. When the *This is Tomorrow* exhibition opened at the Whitechapel Gallery on 9 August 1956, Metzger also collected the event's advertising posters—designed by artists such as Richard Hamilton, Victor Pasmore, and Sarah Jackson in one of twelve participating groups—to display at Thirty Queens for its duration.

Metzger had little artistic context in King's Lynn but his efforts drew in major London-based artists with gallery representation, engaging with the white heat of the post-war avant-garde, while also giving opportunities to regional artists. He also evidently engaged with early modern regional histories—I refer to it as Metzger's antiquarianism—that was no doubt influenced by living in a county densely populated by historic ecclesiastical and commercial architecture. Nowhere is this more evident than in King's Lynn. With Thirty Queens, Metzger was trying to position himself not as peripheral—"out in the sticks" as they say in Norfolk—but as an extension of a London-centric British art scene.

My sustained engagement with this history of the gallery began in 2018 when the curator Nell Croose Myhill and I began planning to restage aspects of the *Treasures from East Anglian Churches* exhibition at LOWER.GREEN, an artist-led space that I ran in Norwich, Norfolk in a former charity shop and a one-time artist studio, from July 2018 to February 2019. Located in a brutalist shopping centre earmarked for contested demolition and redevelopment, the programme of eight exhibitions, as well as talks, events, and a residency, was necessarily of a fixed duration. The *Treasures from East Anglian Churches* exhibition, which we titled *THIRTY QUEENS* in our programme when the exhibition expanded to incorporate talks and events dealing with Metzger's wider activities in King's Lynn, would, fittingly, be the gallery's final exhibition ([Figs. 3](#) and [4](#)).



Figure 3.
THIRTY QUEENS, LOWER.GREEN, February 2019, exterior view. Digital image courtesy of Glen Jamieson (all rights reserved).

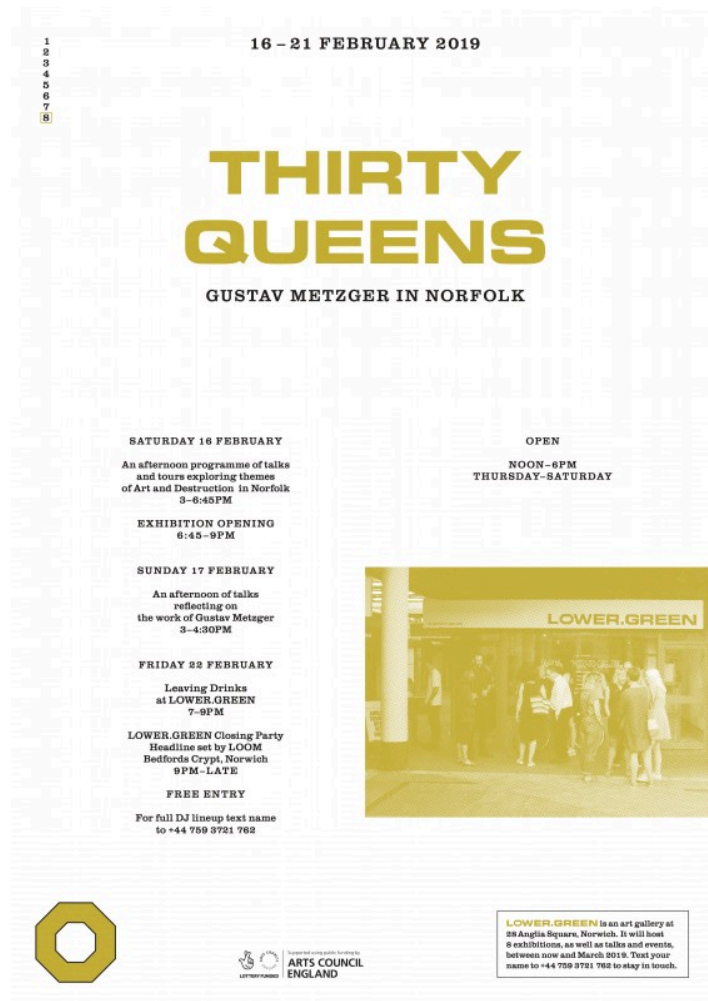


Figure 4.

THIRTY QUEENS, LOWER.GREEN, February 2019, exhibition poster. Digital image courtesy of LOWER.GREEN (all rights reserved).

LOWER.GREEN's programme provided exhibition opportunities for Norwich-based and international artists, typically developing and amplifying thematics presented by histories of the region as they interfaced with current concerns of contemporary art. Networked, experimental and engaged with local histories, Metzger's *Thirty Queens* was an inspiration. While Metzger's own art practice was cross-disciplinary—collapsing activist into dealer, dealer into curator—the site of production, framing, and display of art were fluid and interchangeable too. This mixed-economy model (not strictly non-commercial) of artistic production and distribution is an unusual and useful model to rethink British art of the 1950s, decentring attention from London to consider venues, spaces, and practices of experimental art operating outside of the capital. Metzger's work in King's Lynn spoke to our situation in complex and suggestive ways.

Thirty Queens also provides a lens on to the recent history—a particular interest of ours—of British artist-led and alternative art spaces, not only in terms of curatorial methods but also in terms of alternative economies for art production and display located in Norwich, but still linked to, London, the marketplace, and artist-dealer models. Clearly, this was important to Metzger and, throughout the 1960s and 1970s, he maintained a fiercely antagonistic relation to commercial art galleries. Shortly after his return to London in summer 1959, he began frequenting the artist Brian Robins' basement cafe at 14 Monmouth Street, popular with artists and writers, where he exhibited paintings produced in King's Lynn. Later, he began collaborating with artists David Medalla and Marcello Salvadori, curator Paul Keeler, and critic Guy Brett to establish the Centre for Advanced Creative Study, based in Medalla and Keeler's South Kensington apartment. Its magazine, *Signals Newsbulletin*, lent its name to the experimental gallery space, Signals, opened by the group in 1964 at Wigmore Street.

When Metzger returned to Norfolk for a sustained period of time in 2005 to select the annual EASTinternational exhibition on Lynda Morris' invitation at the Norwich Gallery, his presence in King's Lynn had become somewhat of a myth, circulating among the region's contemporary art community—compelling and strange. What did this figure, central to 1960s London counterculture, *do* in the sleepy medieval fishing town? In this regard, other contemporary artists and cultural figures were pulled to this part of Eastern England, including the Parisian sound poet Henri Chopin—a sometime collaborator with Metzger—who spent his latter years in the Norfolk market town of Dereham and the Dutch curator Rudi Fuchs—former director of the Van Abbemuseum in Eindhoven and artistic director of *documenta 7*, among other things—who spent his vacations a mere ten miles north in Fakenham.

Lynda Morris' inspirational attitude of looking east, east away from London, over the English channel, into the Continent, from an east of England position, what she has called “international provincialism”, meant that Fuchs had also been invited to select EASTinternational.⁸ Metzger, recalling his time in King's Lynn, told Morris that he'd relocated there:

To get away from London but not too far. Far enough to be in another world but I could take the train and be in central London in a couple of hours to visit galleries and friends, and after a couple of days to go back to King's Lynn.⁹

The train passed through Cambridge where he had started his art studies in 1945; these tracks connected his past life with his present one.¹⁰

Metzger cultivated a position for himself at the edge. He didn't feel like socialising. "I had difficulty finding work. I was an outsider," he said, "I picked peas in the field and I swept up. People would get to know me vaguely, being on the Tuesday Market, once I started dealing. I had a stall with my bits and pieces." Speaking in 2005 for the *EASTinternational Catalogue*, Metzger continued: "The paintings from that time are in storage and the drawings. One day they will be exhibited." ¹¹

In fact, they had already been exhibited. In June 1960, upon Metzger's return to London, they were shown at Temple Gallery (alongside the first lecture/demonstration of auto-destructive art) but subsequently stored away in 1965 above a garage at the home of a relative in North London, where they were kept until 2010. Among those drawings exhibited in the documenta-Halle at *dOCUMENTA (13)* in 2012 as part of *Too Extreme: A Selection of Drawings by Gustav Metzger Made from 1945 to 1959/60* were paintings on steel completed just before the first auto-destructive experiments. ¹² Together with Metzger's *Re-Creation of the First Public Demonstration of Auto-Destructive Art* (1960), these were exhibited again at Haus der Kunst, Munich, in 2015. That same year, *Gustav Metzger: Towards Auto-Destructive Art 1950-1962* opened at Tate Britain, which featured *Re-Creation of the First Public Demonstration of Auto-Destructive Art* alongside steel paintings, documents of earlier cardboard reliefs, manifestos, and work produced in King's Lynn. In 2011, the curator and writer Mathieu Copeland restaged Metzger's gesture of re-presenting *This is Tomorrow* posters by re-presenting facsimiles of the original poster series in the window of David Roberts Art Foundation, London and later on the street side at Circuit Lausanne in 2013. In June 2019, curator Elizabeth Fisher opened *Destroy, and You Create: Gustav Metzger in King's Lynn* at the Fermoy Gallery and Red Barn as part of the King's Lynn Festival. Much of the work shown there was treated and made exhibition-ready at Tate prior to its 2015 exhibition.

Our display at LOWER.GREEN in February 2019 was intentionally slight, featuring one object—a thirteenth-century stone corbel selected by Metzger for *Treasures from East Anglian Churches*—and documents—including the original exhibition catalogue, an early edition of his first auto-destructive manifesto reproduced in *dé-collage* no. 6, July 1967, a special "Auto Destructive" art issue, and John Cox's 1959 sequence of photographs of Metzger in his studio at St Nicholas House, reproduced in the *Art and Artists* "Auto-Destructive" issue, edited in 1966 by the art critic Mario Amaya (Fig. 5).



Figure 5.

THIRTY QUEENS, LOWER.GREEN, February 2019, installation view. Digital image courtesy of Glen Jamieson (all rights reserved).

Metzger preferred actions and performances to objects (an approach that informed his selection of works for *EASTinternational* in 2005, famously billed as “the art exhibition without the art”). Our condensed display, though not secondary, was an accompaniment to two days of events in the gallery. This included an afternoon of talks and tours exploring themes of art and destruction in Norfolk, including a presentation of research that traced the objects from *Treasures from East Anglian Churches*, a walking tour led by Professor Sandy Heslop of iconoclasm in three Norwich churches, and a presentation by Dr Sarah Lowndes on artist-led spaces, meanwhile use, and regeneration. The following afternoon, Mathieu Copeland, then editing *Gustav Metzger: Writings*, shared his experience of working with Metzger’s prose and Lynda Morris gave an illustrated talk about her time working with Metzger as part of *EASTinternational*. Afterwards, Copeland and Morris joined in conversation. Copeland’s book, published by JPR Ringier in October 2019, is a major achievement in Metzger scholarship.¹³ Documents relating to Metzger’s activity in King’s Lynn, in particular the catalogue for *Treasures from East Anglian Churches*, were shared with us by Copeland in the research process of our exhibition. Now reproduced, I draw on various articles in Copeland’s edited volume throughout this article.

Studio, Quarters, Storehouse, Gallery: St Nicholas House and 30 Queen Street

A number of buildings and sites around the medieval centre of King's Lynn—most of which remain today—had significance for Metzger: St Nicholas House, Tuesday Market Place, 30 Queen Street, and 26 Pilot Street in the North End (Figs. 6, 7, 8, and 9). These became more or less significant at different times throughout his six-year stay in the town. St Nicholas House, however, was a constant. In spring 1954, shortly after his arrival the previous summer, he took on a six-year lease of the property, which expired a year after he'd returned to London. Across the road, Metzger ran a stall on the Tuesday Market Place on and off from around 1954, except for a brief hiatus in 1956—for around six months perhaps—when he opened shop at 30 Queen Street (occasionally he would also trade at Market Hill in Cambridge on Saturdays).



Figure 6.

St Nicholas House, King's Lynn, March 2021. Digital image courtesy of Glen Jamieson (all rights reserved).



Figure 7.
Tuesday Market Place, King's Lynn, March 2021. Digital image courtesy of Glen Jamieson (all rights reserved).



Figure 8.
30 Queen Street, King's Lynn, March 2021. Digital image courtesy of Glen Jamieson (all rights reserved).



Figure 9.

26 Pilot Street, King's Lynn, March 2021. Digital image courtesy of Glen Jamieson (all rights reserved).

Later, in the midst of protests against the destructive redevelopment of the North End, Metzger purchased a house, which, like St Nicholas, he kept for a short period after he returned to London. Briefly between London and King's Lynn, ultimately he let both properties go when he committed to remaining in the capital. A press photograph for the *Lynn News and Advertiser* places Metzger on Pilot Street discussing redevelopment plans with the president of the Chamber of Commerce and John Cox's photographic series of 1959 shows Metzger, who by this time had returned to London, conducting experiments with acid on nylon inside his studio at St Nicholas House ([Figs. 10](#) and [11](#)).



Figure 10.

Gustav Metzger, Gustav Metzger meets the president of the Chamber of Trade outside 26 Pilot Street, 1958, from *Lynn News and Advertiser*, 1958. Digital image courtesy of Lynn News (all rights reserved).

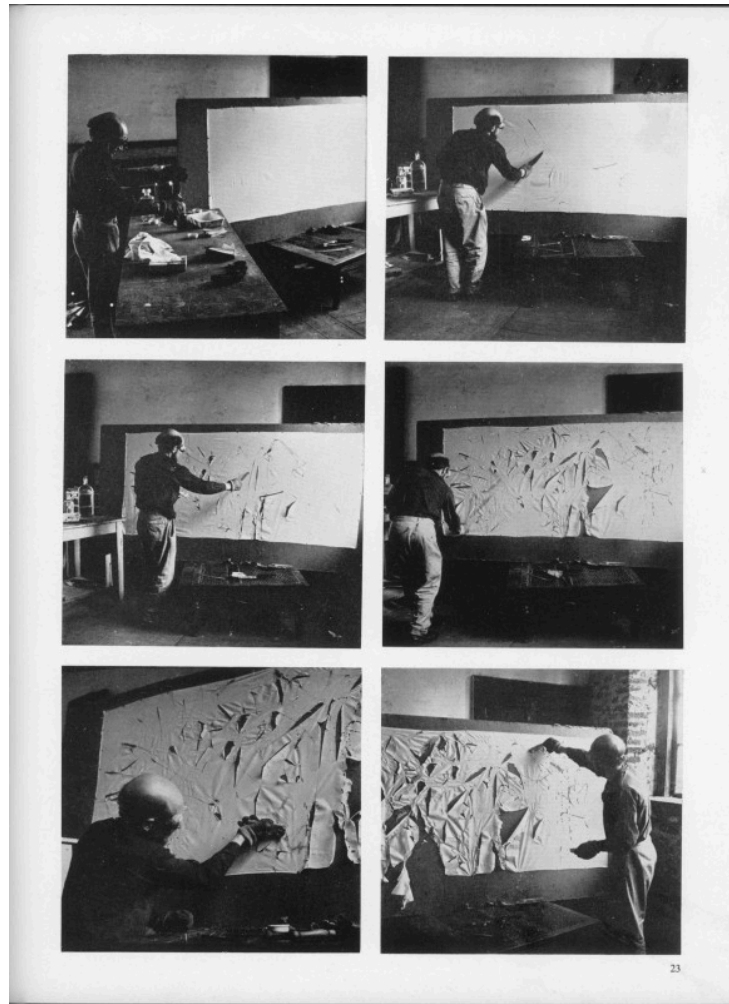


Figure 11.

Gustav Metzger, Gustav Metzger in his studio at St Nicholas House, from "Auto-Destructive", Mario Amaya, ed., *Art and Artists* 1, no. 5, London, August 1966 (London: Hansom Books, 1966). Digital image courtesy of The estate of Gustav Metzger / Photograph: John Cox, 1959 / Hansom Books (all rights reserved).

In the years prior to King's Lynn, Metzger had lived with the support of a Haendler Trust grant in 1946, which he had gained with the help of David Bomberg (extended later on the recommendation of Frank Dobson). When in Antwerp, he received a grant from the Jewish community to study, which enabled him to travel extensively on his stateless passport, and on his return he received another Haendler Trust grant (engineered through Bomberg, with the help of Jacob Epstein). When this last grant ceased in 1951, he began the first of many casual labouring jobs on building sites and on the land alongside painting. It was on the land, picking peas, that Metzger first found work on arrival in King's Lynn. Much like today, in the summer, such work—hard and poorly paid—was readily available. When winter came, opportunities to work were few and far between. "It was difficult," Metzger

recalls. "I had no money. I found it hard to find work. Any work." In the early part of 1954, he found a full-time day job in the labour exchange as a maintenance man in a town centre fashion shop:

The first thing I had to do was clean the entrance. Glass ... I had to remove the dog droppings first thing. Then I would have to go inside, switch on the lights. It wasn't difficult. Do some cleaning ... Maybe I had the afternoons off. ¹⁴

At some point in spring 1954, Metzger noticed a large, old property standing vacant on St Nicholas Street. In the sixteenth century, many houses along this street, known then as Woolmarket, contained shops used by the overflow of the Tuesday Market. Dwellings were mixed with both storage and shop space. Back then, the river coursed more closely to the west of the marketplace, around the docks. A "turnkey" at the mouth of the River Ouse, goods passed in, through, and out of King's Lynn into the Midlands and across the English Channel to Norway and Spain, a legacy of which are the abundance of warehouses in the town dating right back to the late medieval period. "Indeed," Vanessa Parker writes in *The Making of King's Lynn*, "it must be unique for a town to have preserved so much visual evidence of its past commercial activity." ¹⁵ Constructed at this time, and reworked in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the property Metzger had seen, known as St Nicholas House, would have belonged to a wealthy merchant or a prosperous retailer. ¹⁶

Metzger convinced the estate agents to put him in touch with the current owner, an elderly solicitor based in Golden Square, London. After a year of negotiations, he was granted the lease and had even been allowed to move in before completion, paying rent of £1 per week. ¹⁷ "The owner was clever," Metzger recalls, "and thought it is better someone is in there if things go wrong." The landlord, he continues, "was concerned with maintaining the heritage of the building. The antiquity. He thought an artist was an ideal tenant." ¹⁸ This is a striking example of a mixed-use live-work-storage space that mutually benefited both the landlord and the artist, in this instance framed as aesthetic connoisseur, which Metzger was happy to leverage (Fig. 12).

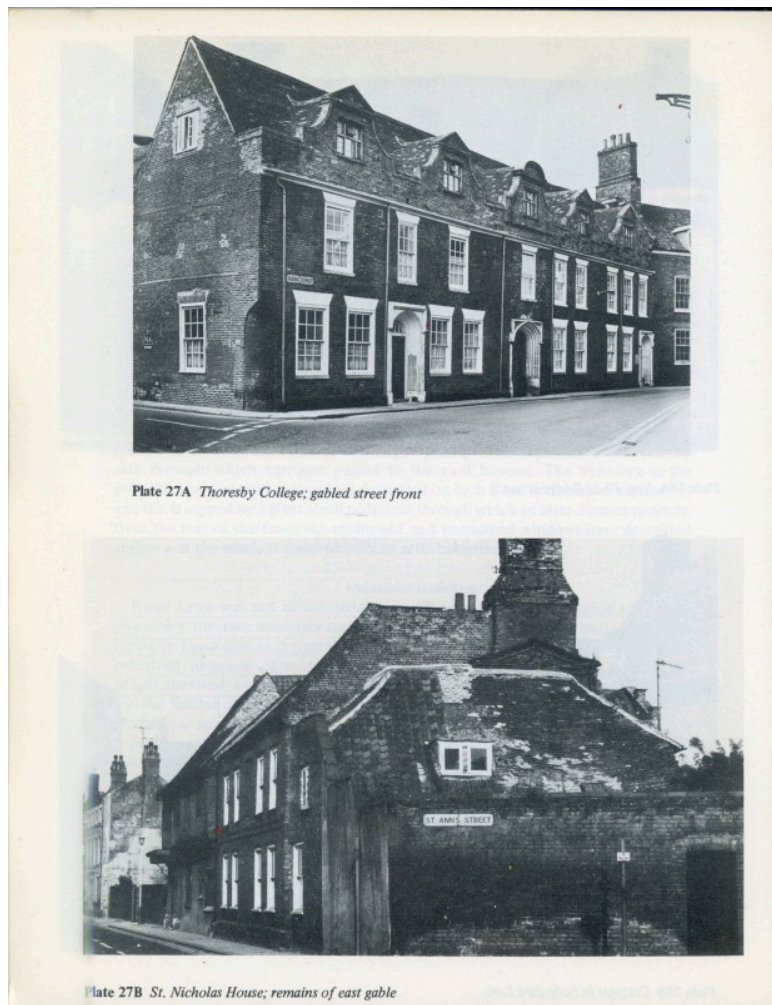


Figure 12.

View of St Nicholas House ca. 1970, shortly before redevelopment, from Vanessa Parker, *The Making of Kings Lynn: Secular Buildings from the 11th to the 17th Centuries* (London: Phillimore, 1971). Digital image courtesy of Vanessa Parker / Phillimore (all rights reserved).

Today, 11 St Nicholas Street, as it is known, has been converted into flats. Following extensive restorations in 1972, it was amalgamated with the neighbouring building as the Tudor Rose Hotel, at around the time 9 St Nicholas Street was demolished. Pevsner pays particular attention to the “excellent traceried door. It has five vertical panels with early Perp tracery patterns”. The internal hall, he notes, has an early sixteenth-century stack with double-roll moulded stone jambs to the fireplace.¹⁹ Metzger recognised its potential:

One of the rooms I decided would be ideal for a studio. There was one window. The rest were walls. It looked on to the vicarage of the garden in front. Across I could see St Nicholas. A beautiful small medieval church. It didn't frighten me. It was very modest ... Next door I arranged my sleeping room, which was smaller. Beyond that was an enormous room with a timber roof going back hundreds of years where I stored my things.²⁰

Across the road, adjoining at the north, was the Tuesday Market Place, where, soon after moving in he decided to become—like the owners identified by Vanessa Parker in *The Making of King's Lynn* generations before—a dealer. Unlike his sixteenth- and seventeenth-century predecessors, however, Metzger would begin dealing in junk, not rich materials. “I specialised in nothing,” Metzger recalls. “I would go to the auction and buy a box for five shillings and wheel it into my store through the door on a wheelbarrow.”²¹ Metzger would open the box, clean up the items as required, then cart them back out across the road in a wheelbarrow to his stall where everything and anything was for sale.

Week by week he became more knowledgeable of the value of things. “I wasn't particularly good at it,” he admits, “I would sell books, pictures. Sometimes I would bid on things. I would work on the principle of doubling ... I was after 100 per cent profit.”²² To his surprise, people who saw him buy the boxes for 5 shillings at auction came to his stall to buy stuff, even though they knew it was marked up. Metzger lived a lean existence. He was a poor artist-dealer living in the remains of a rich merchant's house, who nonetheless—like some Baudelairian ragpicker—learnt the machinations of capitalist economy:

I didn't need much money. I didn't have much money. In all those years I barely managed to exist. You travel further to buy. You invest money. I had no money. I was gaining practical experience of capitalism in a way. Low scale. Lower than the proletariat in terms of the income. If I had knowledge I would have done well but I had none.²³

Finally, in spring 1956, it became untenable. St Nicholas House, which had been taken on, after all, as a studio space, was not being used for art production, and all his spare time and money went into hustling to stay afloat. Metzger was merely surviving.

Then his luck changed. A regular customer at the Tuesday Market—"female, sensitive, middle-class"—who was aware of Metzger's finances, offered to introduce him to a dealer in surplus goods who'd recently purchased the estate of another bankrupted dealer.²⁴ Together they travelled to a vast storehouse in the countryside where they struck a deal: Metzger would purchase it all for less than £100 and pay back the debt on a monthly basis at an agreeable rate. The following weekend two lorries arrived with the stock at St Nicholas House where it was carted upstairs into storage before resale. "That saved me," he recalls, "I could see now I could think of being an artist. I didn't have to go out buying every week."²⁵ The stock lasted Metzger for his remaining time in King's Lynn—in fact, he even left stuff behind when he departed. This deal changed Metzger's fortunes, effectively enabling him to be an artist again. With time and relative stability, he began painting in earnest, first abstracted images of an old table on reused canvases and old boards, drawings on paper, later exhibited at Temple Gallery, and then increasingly hard-edged abstractions applied with a palette knife onto small pre-cut mild steel sheets.

When buyers began going directly to St Nicholas House, Metzger decided to take on a shop. A vacant property in Queen Street—described by Pevsner as "one of the most satisfying Georgian promenades in England"²⁶—was available, but required renovation. Taking an initial six-month lease at a reduced rate, his intention was to formally establish an antique shop on a more permanent basis. At this point, he imagined a longer-term future for himself in the town. With the help of his girlfriend, he invested time, energy, and money into a property that ultimately proved beyond his means. "The shop never worked!" Metzger exclaims. "It was never opened. It was a failure. An attempt. I gave up the lease after six months. I said I didn't want to renew it. I spent too much time decorating it and I gave it up."²⁷ In the interim, however, the premises were used to stage a number of exhibitions and displays: posters from *This is Tomorrow*, an exhibition of paintings by Monica English, and an exhibition of new sculpture by William Turnbull, Eduardo Paolozzi, and the relatively unknown artist Anthony Hatwell. A selling exhibition—nothing sold.

Metzger, artist-dealer turned curator, never exhibited his own work at Thirty Queens, nor indeed elsewhere in town. He never received people for studio visits, unless they happened upon it while visiting his stockroom. "I wasn't interested in exhibiting," he remembers, "I wasn't conscious of painting to exhibit."²⁸ Ironically, it is the upstairs studio of St Nicholas that is the setting for the best-known, early photograph of Metzger in King's Lynn by John Cox: cast in chiaroscuro by its single leaded window, he gazes into the middle-distance, surrounded by junked books and torn product packaging. Metzger

had left King's Lynn the year previous, before his lease for St Nicholas expired; meanwhile, his invention of what he called "self-destructive art" had developed into "auto-destructive art".

Cox, who had photographed Metzger several times with works in London, had travelled from the capital for an afternoon on Metzger's invitation. Knowing he would arrive on the Wednesday at 11 a.m., Metzger went a week earlier to experiment with materials, eventually arriving at nylon and acid applied with whatever brushes were to hand—including a toilet brush.²⁹ Metzger was aware of the mediating power of the image. The resulting series of photographs—produced in one take—were only reproduced belatedly six years later, in the special auto-destructive art edition of *Art & Artists* magazine. Considered too dramatic, too romantic, even sinister, Metzger suppressed the image of himself in his studio surrounded literally by the rejectamenta of his life in King's Lynn (Fig. 13). The value of Cox's photographs was that they acted as certification of Metzger's claim to his innovative technique, not an artistic lifestyle—if indeed these could be separated. By returning to King's Lynn from London, he consciously embedded an association between his new methods and his earlier life and practice.



Figure 13.

Gustav Metzger in his Studio at St Nicholas House, photograph. Digital image courtesy of John Cox, 1959 (all rights reserved).

Sculpture Exhibition at Thirty Queens

The exhibition, *Sculpture at Thirty Queens*, featuring recent works of Eduardo Paolozzi, William Turnbull, and Anthony Hatwell, was arranged to mark the opening of Gustav Metzger's art, antique, and bookshop at 30 Queen Street on 19 July 1956. The exhibition opening coincided with the launch of the annual King's Lynn Festival, although, unlike *Treasure from East Anglian Churches* the following year, it was not part of the official programme. Open daily from 10 a.m. to 8 p.m. until 30 July, admission was free. Thirty Queens was, as a commercial venture, a total failure; nonetheless, of the three displays he hosted there throughout 1956, he considered *Sculpture at Thirty Queens* the "principal exhibition". ³⁰

The display was distinctive for its professionalism. In addition to a press release and an accompanying price list of works, Metzger designed cards and an exhibition poster, printed in King's Lynn (Fig. 14). Strikingly modern in its

visual language—two-colour, uppercase sans serif, and gridded lines—the poster design recalls Richard and Terry Hamilton’s work for the Institute of Contemporary Arts (ICA) or Toni del Renzio’s magazine work of the mid-1940s, in particular issue 8 of *Polemic* journal (Fig. 15).³¹ Conscious of the importance of press coverage and critical discourse, when the exhibition opened, Metzger took the unusual step of reviewing it himself: “These Artists are Possessed: They Gamble with Life”, Metzger’s first published writing, appeared in the *Lynn News and Advertiser* on 27 July 1956.



Figure 14.

SCULPTURE AT THIRTY QUEENS, Hatwell, Paolozzi, Turnbull, exhibition poster, 19 July 1956. Digital image courtesy of The Estate of Gustav Metzger (all rights reserved).

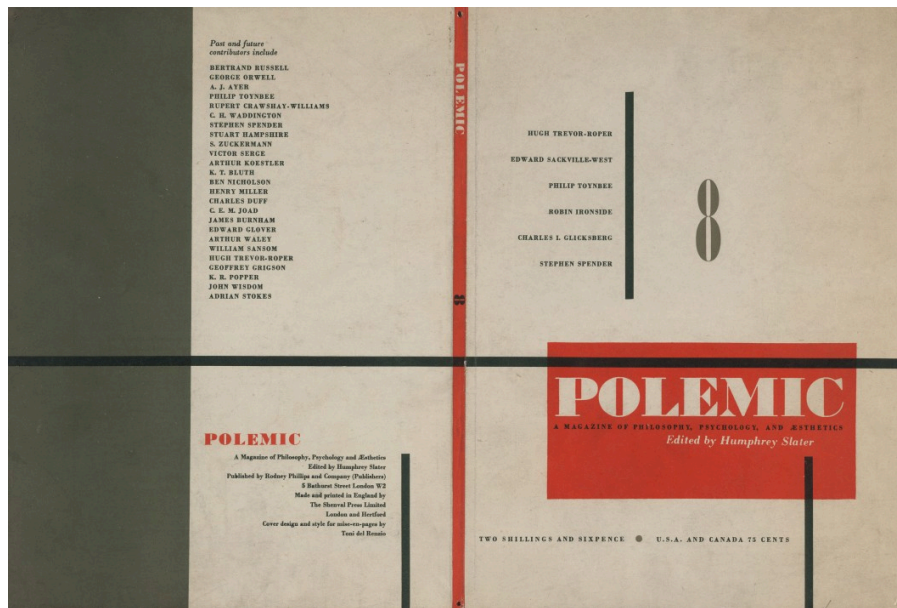


Figure 15.

Toni del Renzio, *Polemic 8: A Magazine of Philosophy, Psychology, and Aesthetics* (London: Rodney Phillips and Company, 1950), cover layout, 1950, letterpress, 24.8 × 37 cm. Collection of The Museum of Modern Art, New York (646.1999). Digital image courtesy of The Museum of Modern Art, New York / Scala, Florence (all rights reserved).

Metzger drew on all of his resources to make the exhibition happen. In late summer 1944, he had a chance meeting with Paolozzi at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (earlier that summer Metzger had made the decision to become a sculptor instead of a professional revolutionary). Still a student at the Slade, Paolozzi invited Metzger to visit the art school where he met his peers Nigel Henderson and William Turnbull. Hatwell studied at the Slade several years after Paolozzi and Turnbull; but met Metzger in David Bomberg's Borough Polytechnic classes of 1945–1946 and became a fellow member of the Borough Bottega.

Paolozzi was Metzger's deeper interest in the exhibition. By 1956, Paolozzi had already participated in the 1952 Venice Biennale *New Aspects of British Sculpture* exhibition curated by Herbert Read alongside Kenneth Armitage, Lynn Chadwick, and William Turnbull, among others. For Read, these artists' tortured figures gave expression to the Cold War climate's "geometry of fear". The following year, in late 1953, while lodging with then director of the ICA Dorothy Morland, Paolozzi learnt to cast small bronze works in a home-made foundry using the lost wax method.³² During summer 1956, after a period of pursuing textile art and printing, Paolozzi produced ten small sculptures that were exhibited at the Hanover Gallery, some of which were cast at the famous Susse Frères foundry in Paris.³³

All of Paolozzi's works exhibited at Thirty Queens were produced in 1956. Although there is no known itemised list, of those named in the press release *Small Figure* was also exhibited at the Hanover Gallery (Fig. 16). As the Hanover exhibition occurred at the same time as *This is Tomorrow*—9 August until 9 September—then it would seem Paolozzi's figures had their first display in King's Lynn. It was the tension of the Paolozzis that appealed to Metzger: "In '56 he was homing in on destruction, violence. It was new work of the lost wax process. Full of violence. Terror. What appealed was the distortion and destruction."³⁴ The only two other works named in the press release are *Head Looking Up*, "an image of a man battling with indomitable will against a mechanical hostile environment", and *Black Figure*, "made up of steel girders against which life struggles – barely triumphant" (Fig. 17).³⁵ A sense of the disturbing presence of the gathered "Figures" is conveyed in the spread of Frank Whitford's later 1971 Tate catalogue on Paolozzi (Fig. 18).³⁶



Figure 16.

Eduardo Paolozzi, Small Figure, circa 1956, bronze with a green patina, 26.5 cm high. Private Collection. Digital image courtesy of The Paolozzi Foundation, Licensed by DACS 2021 (all rights reserved).



Figure 17.

Eduardo Paolozzi, Head Looking Up, 1955-1956, bronze with a green/brown patina, 30.5 cm wide. Private Collection. Digital image courtesy of The Paolozzi Foundation, Licensed by DACS 2021 (all rights reserved).

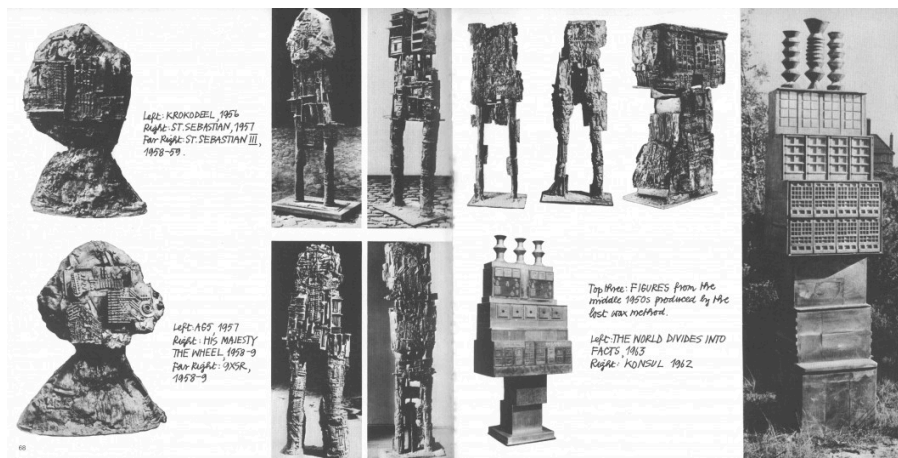


Figure 18.

Frank Whitford, Eduardo Paolozzi, exhibition catalogue, Tate, 22 September-31 October 1971 (London: Tate Gallery Publications, 1971), 68-69. Digital image courtesy of The Paolozzi Foundation, Licensed by DACS 2021 / Tate Publications (all rights reserved).

Within their respective groups, both Paolozzi and Turnbull participated in *This is Tomorrow*. Like Paolozzi, in 1956 Turnbull also exhibited at the Hanover Gallery, but in the years preceding had shown relatively little. The following year, his solo show of new sculptures and paintings would open at the ICA—perhaps the reason he exhibited earlier work at Thirty Queens.³⁷ Of the works listed in the press release, two bronzes, *Head* (1951) and *Growth* (1949), and *Skull* (1954), one of four works in plaster, Metzger attributes to “the most refined imagination of the young sculptors; he is a poet using earth instead of words and sound”.³⁸ It is likely Metzger got some of this information wrong (there is misattribution in his listings for *Treasures from East Anglian Churches*, too). Based on titles, dates, and descriptions, *Head* is more likely the correctly titled *Small Head* (Fig. 19); *Skull* is probably 1953, not 1954; and the work *Growth*, described as “the kind of geometry presented in a field of growing corn”, is likely to be *Torque Upwards*.



Figure 19.

William Turnbull, *Small Head*, 1951, bronze, 3.5 cm. Private Collection. Digital image courtesy of The Estate of William Turnbull. All rights reserved, DACS 2021 (all rights reserved).

Compared to the younger Anthony Hatwell, both Paolozzi and Turnbull—Paolozzi in particular—were contemporary art stars. Metzger's bombastic, impresario-like review published in the *Lynn News and Advertiser* makes plain his enthusiasms. Of the five lines given to Hatwell, it is his draughtsmanship "developed under the guidance of the genius Bomberg", rather than his cast concrete sculpture on display, that is deemed "superior" to any sculptor under the age of fifty working in Britain (Fig. 20). The sculptures, *Reclining Figure* among them, are "astonishing for one so young". As Metzger recalls, the other two questioned who this young sculptor was but were able to be convinced. Discussing the exhibition in 1997, Metzger explained that one impulse for exhibiting Hatwell was a way of "doing good" to Bomberg's class after he'd withdrawn in 1953: "I wanted to give him a hand". ³⁹



Figure 20.

Anthony Hatwell: Sculpture & Drawing, Talbot Rice Gallery, 16 March–4 May 2013, installation. Digital image courtesy of The Estate of Anthony Hatwell / Talbot Rice Gallery (all rights reserved).

Unlike Paolozzi and Turnbull, whose exhibition histories never feature *Sculpture at Thirty Queens*, the experience had a big impact for Hatwell, even though subsequently he showed very little and never shook off a monkish aspect inherited from Bomberg. As the art historian Bill Hare has suggested, writing on the occasion of Hatwell's first solo exhibition at age 82, through an intense process of visual and tactile exploration, he sought to translate Bomberg's ideals for modern painting into his own sculptural practice, particularly through the mediation of drawing: "Bomberg did not have much consciousness of how sculpture might be made, and did not teach sculpture. I attended his drawing and painting class and tried to interpret a drawing approach into sculpture, which I found very difficult."⁴⁰ Bomberg never visited *Sculpture Exhibition at Thirty Queens*. Is it possible Metzger was trying to demonstrate another way of practising for Hatwell?

Metzger's *Lynn News and Advertiser* piece makes the case for skilled, knowing, and intentional abstraction. "There is no doubt," he writes, "that should any of these artists decide to make a 'naturalistic head' it would make any work by an RA [Royal Academician] look as if made of pastry." Beginning with Auguste Rodin, he outlines a lineage for these modern sculptors that takes in Aristide Maillol, Jacob Epstein, Pablo Picasso, Henry Moore, and Alberto Giacometti—all of whom had broken with naturalism to distort the human form. In the work of Rodin, "Heads, lips and legs are left out or so badly mutilated as to become unrecognisable". Rodin, he writes, "breaks open the closed form, emphasises the touch of the sculptor on the clay".

“Unless one knows the work of the above-mentioned artists,” Metzger concludes, “it is almost impossible to assess the work of the three sculptors on view at 30 Queen Street, King’s Lynn.” ⁴¹

Here, Metzger, however programmatically, is also publicly working through his own understanding of human form in sculpture, a much broader conversation within contemporary art in Britain and on the Continent, particularly among a younger generation of artists and critics around art informel and the humanism of Michel Tapié and Jean Dubuffet. Metzger makes Paolozzi’s and Turnbull’s sculptures into contemporary devotional figures striving against a hostile technocratic environment. Melodramatic, existential, nearing nonsensical, Metzger ends the article: “These artists are possessed. Driven to surrender their volition, they gamble with life and with art—guided only by the knowledge that it is the extreme direction that leads out of chaos.” ⁴²

People came to the exhibition. Nothing sold. “They could have bought a Paolozzi for £60,” Metzger quipped years later: “If I had the money I would have bought one. Put it into auction.” ⁴³ Metzger lost money organising the exhibition—money that otherwise would have gone into the shop. If the exhibition was about positioning himself within a milieu, he never broke into the ranks of the Independent Group, despite carrying out studio visits. ⁴⁴ He had, of course, organised exhibitions with the Bottega, but nothing as ambitious and as focused as this. If it shattered his ambitions to become an art dealer, he would become increasingly hostile, not to galleries per se, but to the commercial gallery system—aligning himself with artist-led, non-institutional spaces.

***This is Tomorrow* at 30 Queen Street, King’s Lynn**

On exactly the same date that *This is Tomorrow* opened at the Whitechapel Gallery, 9 August 1956, Gustav Metzger pasted up the posters advertising it, designed by the participants, in the window of 30 Queen Street, King’s Lynn. They remained in place for a month, until 9 September, when *This is Tomorrow* closed to the public. ⁴⁵ Among the thirty-six exhibitors, artists, architects, musicians, and designers, divided into twelve collaborative working groups, were William Turnbull and Eduardo Paolozzi, who had exhibited at Thirty Queens the previous month. Half of the exhibitors were associated with the Independent Group, of which Turnbull and Paolozzi were active, alongside Mary and Peter Reyner Banham, Magda and Frank Cordell, Lawrence Alloway, Toni del Renzio, Richard and Terry Hamilton, the Smithsons and Nigel Henderson (Figs. 21, 22, 23, and 24). ⁴⁶



Figure 21.

Theo Crosby, *This is Tomorrow*, poster, 1956, lithograph printed in red and black, 76.3 × 50.8 cm. Collection of Victoria and Albert Museum, London (E.183-1994). Digital image courtesy of The Estate of Theo Crosby / Victoria and Albert Museum, London (all rights reserved).



Figure 22.

Nigel Henderson, Independent Group, *This is Tomorrow*, poster, 1956, screenprint on paper partially stained yellow, 76.2 × 59.9 cm. Collection of Victoria and Albert Museum, London (E.179-1994). Digital image courtesy of The estate of Nigel Henderson / Victoria and Albert Museum, London (all rights reserved).



Figure 23.

Richard Hamilton, *This is Tomorrow*, poster, 1956, screenprint, 76.1 × 51.2 cm. Collection of Victoria and Albert Museum, London (E.176-1994). Digital image courtesy of R. Hamilton. All Rights Reserved, DACS 2021 / Victoria and Albert Museum, London (all rights reserved).

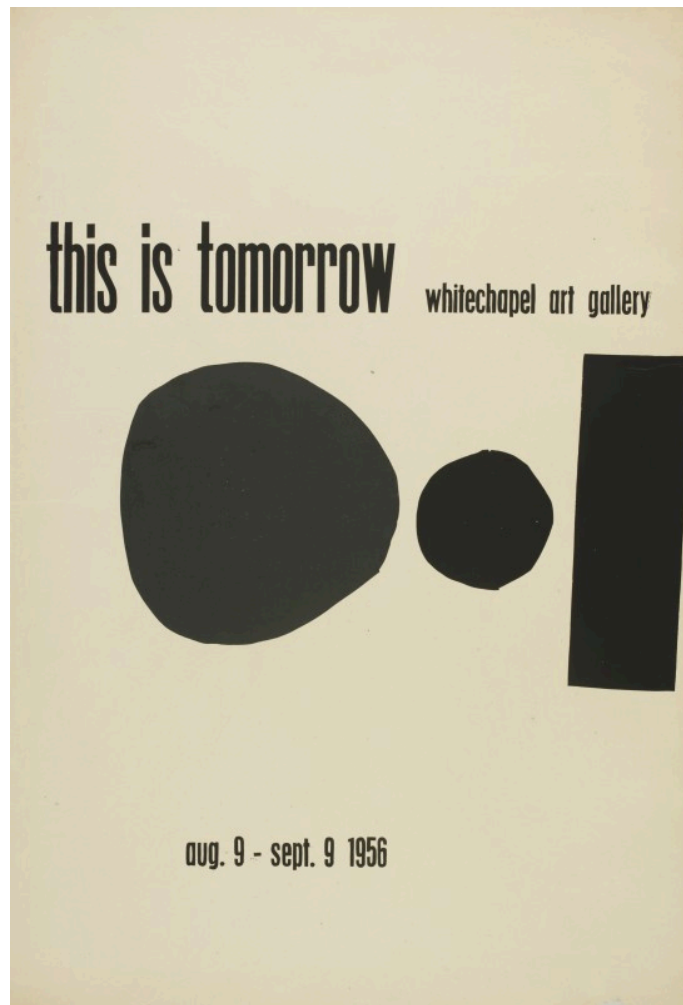


Figure 24.

Victor Pasmore, *This is Tomorrow*, poster, 1956, screenprint, 76 × 51 cm. Collection of Victoria and Albert Museum, London (E.184-1994). Digital image courtesy of The Estate of Victor Pasmore. All Rights Reserved, DACS 2021 / Victoria and Albert Museum, London (all rights reserved).

Each of the twelve groups, in addition to their exhibits, produced a poster. For the catalogue—designed by Edward Wright—groups also submitted a layout of their floor plan with an accompanying statement and a photograph of themselves. Details of posters were reproduced in some of the catalogue entries. Posters were pasted up on the exterior entrance walls of the gallery. The curator of the exhibition, Theo Crosby, a trained architect, also exhibited in a group. This was one of many collapses—designer-curator-artist—guiding the project, which, for Crosby, was an opportunity to address the limits imposed on the participants’ fields through specialist practices and to overcome the “purity of media, golden proportions, and unambiguous iconologies” that had separated them out. ⁴⁷

This is Tomorrow proved to be one of the most popular exhibitions at the Whitechapel that year, attracting 19,341 visitors.⁴⁸ Metzger himself made repeat visits, taking the train from King's Lynn into London. If 1956 was the year Metzger committed to being an artist, then he needed to be informed. His acquaintance with Turnbull and Paolozzi—whose work he admired in particular—would certainly have been a draw. “That was a time,” he remembered, “when I was very much in interaction with London and very interested in contemporary art through magazines.”⁴⁹ Metzger paid close attention to what the critics wrote and would have been aware of the cutting-edge technological discourse that informed *This is Tomorrow*.

It is not clear how Metzger obtained his poster set. Metzger told the curator Mathieu Copeland that he removed them from hoardings around the city. Discussing the display in 1997, Metzger doesn't state where he sourced them, but he certainly had a full set. Copeland's poetic image of Metzger tearing posters from hoardings—ragged, layered, and accreted with the grime of the city—and returning them by train to his King's Lynn shop for bootleg display is consistent with his later ideas, articulated in the manifestos, of the artistic value of paper cuttings and scraps of fabric deposited on the streets of Soho. These “as found” ephemeral media, Metzger writes, “are as worthy of preservation as any material that has come down from the past”. In an article of 1962, published in *ARK: Journal of the Royal College of Art*, titled “Machine, Auto-Creative, and Auto-Destructive Art”, he lists techniques that may be employed in the production of machine art:

2. So-called waste or rubbish is collected, usually from the street, and exhibited in the same condition as it is found. The artist may use adhesives or other means to hold the work together.
3. Posters are removed from hoardings and exhibited.⁵⁰

We know these techniques were employed in the early 1960s, by which time Metzger was seeking to push them further, but perhaps, and we can only speculate, this is a post-rationalisation of the act of displaying the posters in King's Lynn.

Metzger's recollection of the decision is far more prosaic. Already he had the lease for 30 Queen Street and it was empty. It was in the process of being decorated. He had wallpaper adhesive paste to hand. “I thought, well, I have these posters, so I put them in the window and inside. It was never an exhibition in the sense that people would come to look at the posters.”⁵¹ There was little reaction, he recalls, but people saw it—it must have stimulated discussion.

If this was not an exhibition then perhaps it might be more accurately described as a display. The posters had significance for Metzger: their disintegration as indifferent matter in the warp and weft of the city's visual environment was arrested by their display. Posters are mass-produced objects designed to circulate. Decontextualised, away from the city, these cutting-edge symbols of futurity—so many incursions—were afforded attention in the medieval old town. Metzger's gesture was certainly not a restaging of *This is Tomorrow*. It was the essential fanatical pop act: these posters were a way for Metzger to occupy space while identifying ideologically, and aligning himself. They promote a tomorrow to come. When Mathieu Copeland restaged Metzger's gesture—first in the window at David Roberts Art Foundation in 2011 and then on the street side at Circuit Lausanne in 2013—he elevated a display into an exhibition (Figs. 25 and 26).



Figure 25.

This is Tomorrow, posters in the window of the David Roberts Art Foundation, 2011; Restaging by Mathieu Copeland of Gustav Metzger's *This is Tomorrow* posters in the window of Thirty Queens, King's Lynn, 1956. Digital image courtesy of Mathieu Copeland (all rights reserved).

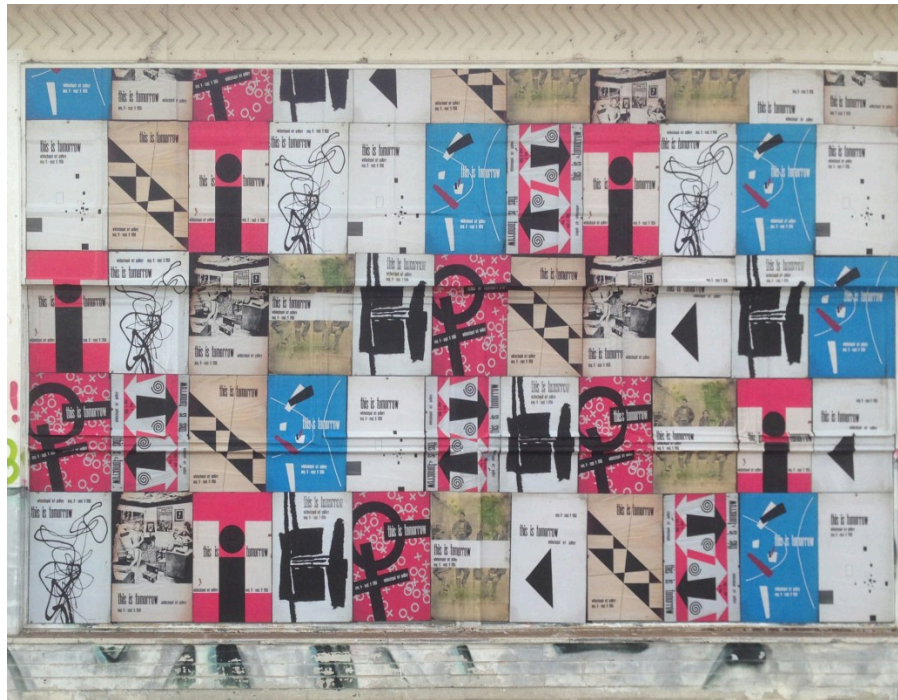


Figure 26.

This is Tomorrow, posters at Circuit Lausanne, 2013; Restaging by Mathieu Copeland of Gustav Metzger's *This is Tomorrow* posters in the window of Thirty Queens, King's Lynn, 1956. Digital image courtesy of Mathieu Copeland (all rights reserved).

Copeland's restaging reminds us that Metzger's first public demonstration of auto-destructive art was in itself a *re-creation*. In his "Second Manifesto" of March 1960, he states that "Auto-destructive art *re-enacts* the obsession with destruction, / the pummelling to which individuals and masses are subjected".⁵² A separation between event and representation is implicit in Metzger's thinking. As the posters and catalogue were the focal point for the Whitechapel's archival exhibition revisiting *This is Tomorrow* in 2011, so they are objects that narrate further exhibition histories building upon exhibition histories. Through these posters and Metzger's gesture, multiple displays are collected.

Monica English

Unlike other exhibitions organised by Gustav Metzger in King's Lynn—of artists with some profile, influence, or which map onto nascent themes in his practice—*Exhibition of Paintings by Monica English* at Thirty Queens in December 1956 is somewhat confounding (Fig. 27). There is little trace of English in archives or in collections of post-war contemporary art, no publications in specialist art bookshops, aside from a small lot of undated works sold by the Norfolk auction house Keys in 2011. Mystical, neo-primitive fantasy scenes of cavorting horses are rendered in chalk-tinted charcoal; a

glowering Palmer-esque moon lights an ancient grove (Figs. 28, 29, 30, 31, and 32). Similar to other exhibitions at Thirty Queens, there is no known photographic documentation of English's installation, nor catalogue of works, which makes it unclear whether the lot at Keys is characteristic. English's inclusion in the programme raises more questions than answers, disrupting a neat art-historical narrative. What drew Metzger to English's work?



Figure 27.

Monica English with Dogs and Painting, date not known. Digital image courtesy of Philip Heselton (all rights reserved).



Figure 28.

Monica English, Conflict Ahead for Paradise, date not known.
Digital image courtesy of Philip Heselton (all rights reserved).



Figure 29.

Monica English, Saint George and the Dragon, date not known. Digital image courtesy of Philip Heselton (all rights reserved).



Figure 30.

Monica English, Gallopimg Horses, date not known, mixed media, 24.5 × 19.5 cm. Digital image courtesy of Philip Heselton (all rights reserved).

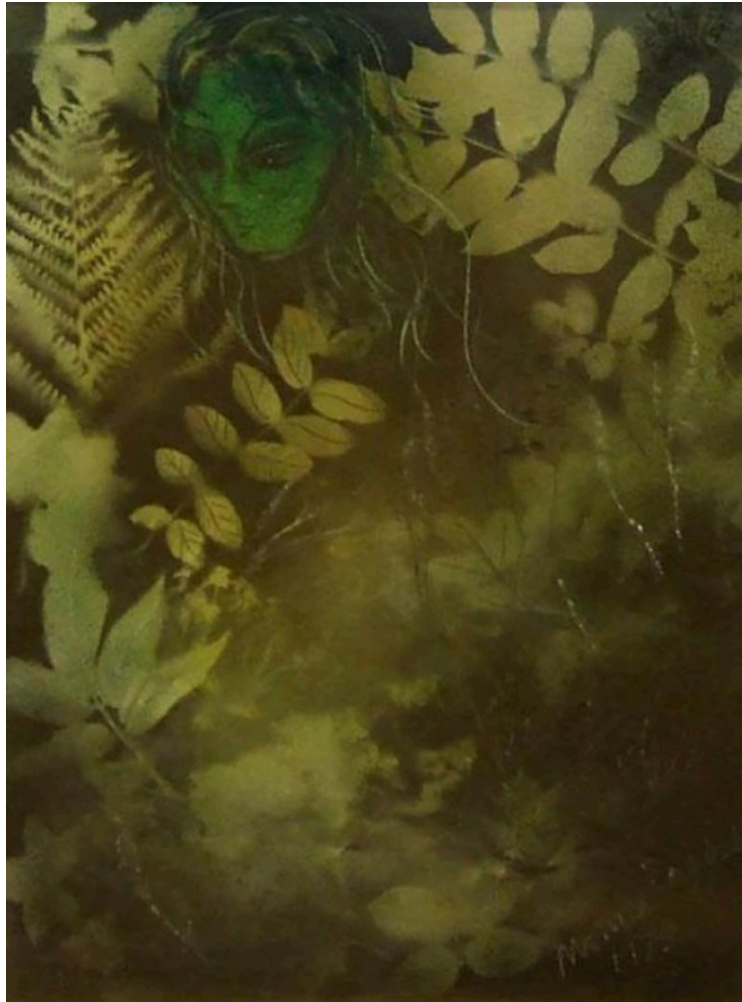


Figure 31.

Monica English, *The Dryad No. 1*, 1972. Digital image courtesy of Philip Heselton (all rights reserved).



Figure 32.

Monica English, *Wild Horses in Woodland by Moonlight*, date not known, mixed media, 20 × 30 cm. Digital image courtesy of Philip Heselton (all rights reserved).

Intriguingly, where English does show up is in the literature of modern pagan witchcraft, including sleuth-style websites and more academic sources. The fullest account is given by Michael Howard, a respected practitioner of ritual magic and author on esoteric topics. From 1976 until his death in 2015, Howard was editor of *The Cauldron*, an international magazine on witchcraft, Wicca, ancient and modern paganism, magic, and folklore.⁵³ Howard's 2004 article on English, titled "A Very English Witch", begins by noting that one of her pencil and charcoal drawings, of the Greek god Pan, was reproduced as a plate in Cottie A. Burland's 1966 study of "magical practice today", *The Magical Arts* (Fig. 33).⁵⁴ Burland is an intriguing character: employed as curator in the Department of Ethnography at the British Museum, he published widely on the pre-Hispanic culture of Latin America and so-called "primitive art". As well as being a member of the Royal Anthropological Institute, he was a member of the British Society of Aesthetics and was a regular contributor to *Art Review*.

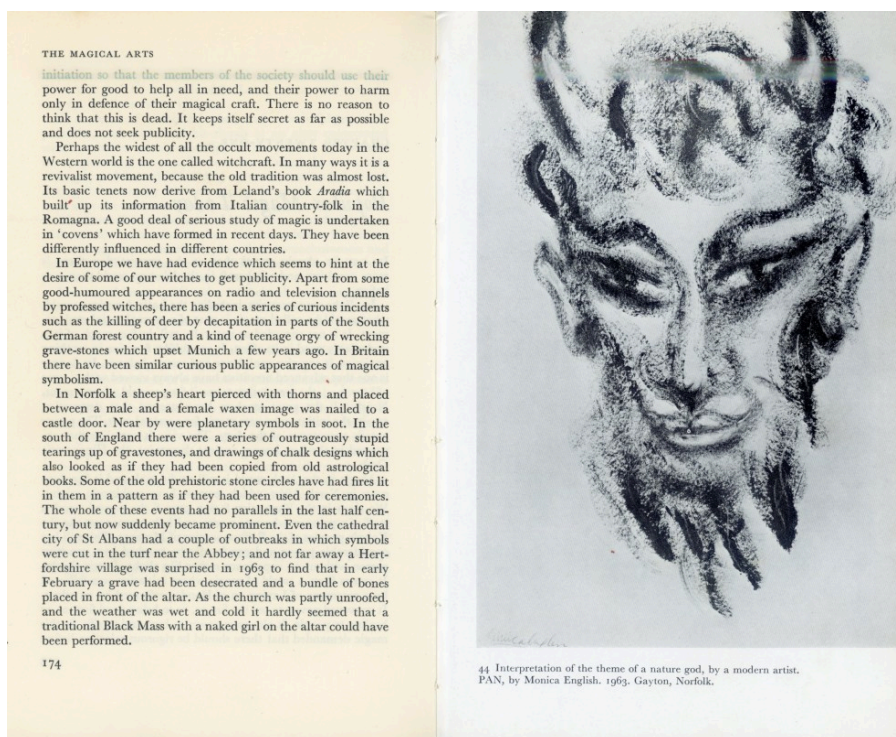


Figure 33.

Monica English, PAN, 1963, from Cottie Arthur Burland, *The Magical Arts: A Short History* (London: Arthur Barker, 1966). Digital image courtesy of Arthur Barker (all rights reserved).

Howard writes that in the late 1970s he'd seen Burland give a talk in which he referred again to the work of English. Burland, when Howard spoke to him after the talk, confirmed that he'd known English personally and that she'd been a member of Gerald Gardner's coven at Bricket Wood, Hertfordshire, in the early 1960s.⁵⁵ Other members of this infamous coven included Doreen Valiente, Lois Bourne, Patricia Crowther, and Eleanor Bone, who became semi-public figures associated with Gardner's popularising of Wiccan witchcraft. Gardner, whose family traded hardwood sourced throughout the British Empire, claimed to have been initiated into an ancient witch cult in the New Forest, in 1939. Their sacred text "Ye Bok of Ye Art Magical" became the basis for his *Wiccan Book of Shadows*.⁵⁶ English, Burland explained, also belonged to an old coven in Norfolk that met in each other's houses to dance and raise power before consuming cakes and wine to "ground" themselves.

Published in 1998, the autobiography of Lois Bourne of the Bricket Wood coven, *Dancing with Witches*, refers to Monica English as "Margo", "the aristocratic witch". English, allegedly "exuded a strong sexual attraction" and when she danced skyclad (i.e. naked) with the coven her wild vocal calls summoned the owls from miles around.⁵⁷ Strange shapes and shadows would appear in the circle in response to her calls. Bourne claims that English

admitted she had joined Bricket Wood because of her concern that Gardner's publicity would expose the old craft she engaged with in Norfolk. Bourne had visited English at her old manor house in Gayton, Norfolk—at the back of the house, she describes stables and kennels for a pack of hounds—and would eventually join her coven. The historian Ronald Hutton's account of events at the end of the 1950s in *The Triumph of the Moon* appears to affirm Bourne's story:

At the end of the decade [the Bricket Wood coven] was joined by a wealthy woman who claimed to be a member of a hereditary coven in East Anglia ... All that she told it of her own group's practices was that they were very different, often consisting of sitting in a circle, clad in robes, holding hands and concentrating upon what was to be done. ⁵⁸

Howard's article goes on to note that in a 1960s catalogue of East Anglian artists—Donald Newby's *Guide to Norfolk Art*—English is characterised as:

a painter of two worlds. One of these was a world of myth and legend peopled with the gods, warriors and ghosts of the past, and springs from her study of anthropology, folklore and primitive religions. The other world is the rural reality of landscape and animals, particularly horses, whose beauty and pride of movement fascinates her. ⁵⁹

English, according to this catalogue, was self-trained and had mounted seventeen exhibitions, including three at London art galleries. Further exhibitions were planned for galleries in Norwich. She had also appeared on television discussing her artwork and it had been reviewed in provincial and national newspapers and magazines. The catalogue states that she had her own gallery at home, which was open to the public. There is no mention of her participation in witchcraft. ⁶⁰ Ironically, it is her artwork that today is occluded.

Monica English may have been a charismatic artistic figure in the vicinity of King's Lynn. If she had ambitions to exhibit beyond the region, Metzger's previous *Sculpture Exhibition at Thirty Queens*, including his intense, learned review published in the *Lynn News and Advertiser*, would have made him an interesting contact. However, based on Metzger's own training and interest in painting, it is difficult to understand the appeal of English's paintings. Of course, we have no way of knowing whether Metzger was aware of English's East Anglian coven. If he had known, it is possible it would have appealed to

his own interest in antiquarianism, power, and the esoteric: witchcraft as a model of a counterculture proposes alternative systems of knowledge, often rooted in the desire to positively manifest futures. Or perhaps—we can only speculate—he was returning a favour to English, “the sensitive middle-class woman” who changed his fortunes in 1956?

Treasures from East Anglian Churches

The exhibition *Treasures from East Anglian Churches* opened on 27 July 1957 at the crypt of Clifton House, 17 Queen Street. Part of the sixth annual King’s Lynn Festival programme, it remained open until 10 August (Fig. 34). For this exhibition, Metzger assembled an antiquarian catalogue of thirty-six objects loaned by regional churches, institutes, museums, and private companies that had been damaged, removed, or displaced in the period between the Reformation and the end of the Commonwealth.



Figure 34.

Clifton House, King's Lynn, March 2021. Digital image courtesy of Glen Jamieson (all rights reserved).

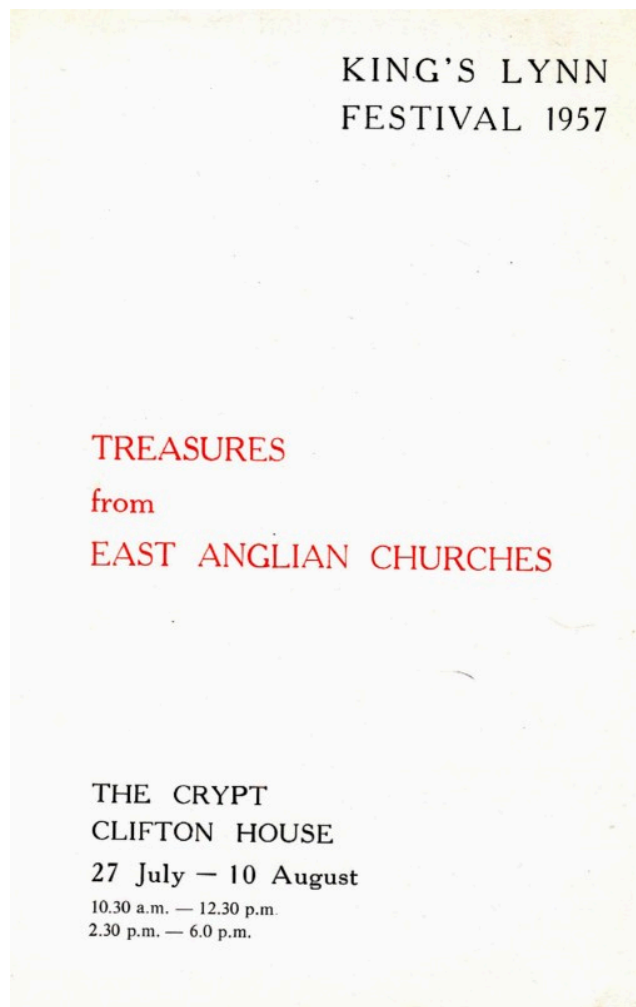


Figure 35.

Treasures from East Anglian Churches, pamphlet cover, King's Lynn Festival, 1957. Digital image courtesy of Mathieu Copeland (all rights reserved).

Although there is no known photographic documentation of this exhibition, we do know something of the objects' and Metzger's sources because the accompanying four-page gatefold catalogue survives (there is no formal King's Lynn Festival archive; sourced by Mathieu Copeland, the original is reproduced in *Gustav Metzger: Writings 1953–2016*) (Fig. 35).⁶¹ Dating mostly from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, with several objects of the late medieval era, there is a clear pretence to historiographical representativeness, including a range of media—from architectural fragment to statue to glass—that address divergent attitudes of idol breakers, preservationists, and later reformers alike.

"Much Church Art was destroyed," Metzger's elliptic introduction begins, "in the period between the Reformation and the end of the Commonwealth." Citing Norwich's Lord Bishop Hall in Christopher Woodforde's *The Norwich*

School of Glass-Painting in the Fifteenth Century (1950), the reader learns of his “painfully vivid” account of events at Norwich in May 1644: “‘Lord! what work was here! what clattering of glasses! what beating down of walls! what tearing up of monuments!’” Metzger associates Bishop Hall’s account with object number 21 in the catalogue, “broken from its figure by iconoclasts”: “Head, probably representing Christ. Stone; 14 3/4” high. Carving found in a garden at Spalding”. ⁶²

Jumping to the nineteenth century, Metzger notes how attitudes towards the plain Protestant interiors and glass of the previous two hundred years had shifted sufficiently so that “Religious works of art were bought, often from the continent, and placed in churches to enrich their appearance. An interesting example of this development can be seen in Wisbech St. Mary Church.” ⁶³ Objects number 3 and 4 in the catalogue illustrate this repopulation: “St Nicholas. About 1500; Wood; traces of original colour. 40” high” and “Kneeling Bishop. About 1500; Wood, painted. 32 1/2” high”. “This figure and No. 3,” the entry continues, “were bought at Christie’s and placed in the Church during this century.”

Objects linked to the Reformation and the dissolution of the monasteries were sourced by Metzger from the great abbeys of the eastern region. A 25 1/2 inch long stone “Cover of Heart Burial”, a loan of Wisbech Museum and Literary Institute, was the work of a mason from Crowland Abbey, legendary residence of Hereward the Wake, leader of the local resistance to the Norman Conquest, later fortified and garrisoned by Royalists but besieged and destroyed by Protestant forces. Objects number 20 and 22 came from the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds, once among the richest Benedictine monasteries in England: “Stained Glass Window ... constructed of fragments ... includes representations of Edmund as the Boy King and Martyr; one of the Magi (wearing turban...); St. Thomas à Becket (...with aureole and pierced by a sword) and other ecclesiastical and militant figures”. Accompanying it was “The Angel of St Matthew. Stone. 29 1/2” high. Possible one of the four symbols of the Evangelists which formed part of a doorway at the Abbey of St. Edmund about 1130-40.”

The use of the crypt at 17 Queen Street for display must have been an appealing opportunity. An architectural palimpsest, the earliest history of Clifton House is still not entirely agreed upon, but it is, as Pevsner put it, “the most remarkable catalogue of various building periods from the Middle Ages onwards”. ⁶⁴ The external view from the street is the result of rationalisation in 1708; inside, in the nineteenth century, Elizabethan panelling from two rooms was shipped to North America following minor modernisation; in the seventeenth century, major modernisation, thought to be inspired by the mercantile palazzi of Italy, was carried out by Lynn architect Henry Bell; earlier still, in the sixteenth century, drastic reconfigurations occurred,

including the addition of a warehouse and a five-storey watchtower. The crypt, however, is the oldest part of the building. Constructed from large, yellowish-pink brick thought to be imported from Holland, it would have opened directly to receive and distribute goods onto the River Ouse before silting redirected its course further west. ⁶⁵

Throughout its history, Clifton House has been a private residence, aside from a thirty-year period, beginning in 1951, when it was owned by King's Lynn Town Council and served as the offices of the borough architect, surveyor, and engineer. An opportunity, no doubt, to communicate more widely the crypt's historic interest, it was the council that granted Metzger access. Accompanying Metzger's notes in the exhibition catalogue is the speculative text of the borough engineer H.G. Ridler M.I.MUN.E. (Institution of Municipal Engineers), acting as a coda of sorts, who supposes the undercroft's central piers and brick vaulting in the perpendicular or late Gothic style date it to the fourteenth century. If latterly it had been used as a wine cellar by residents, Ridler admits "the origin and purpose of the building appear not to have been established". Its purposes could have been religious or secular. Shortly after Metzger's exhibition, in 1960, installation of council services in the crypt revealed even earlier features. It's now understood that the mouldings on the central piers carrying the vault date to around 1350. There is evidence, in the south wall, of an earlier thirteenth-century doorway. It seems almost certain that Clifton House was once two medieval tenements thrown together at some later date, probably the late sixteenth century. ⁶⁶

Metzger's exhibition was activated by this extraordinarily compacted historic site. It was, after all, predominantly medieval forms of worship that the iconoclasts faced up to in their revolutionary purging of affective and imaginative splendour. ⁶⁷ The intense zeal of clattering, beating, and tearing registered by the collection of *Treasures from East Anglian Churches* must have been in powerful tension with Clifton House's sedimentary accretion of the past. To describe these objects from East Anglian churches as "treasure"—a wealth of riches stored or accumulated—implies a positive value. Yet, Metzger ultimately resists forming a position on one side or the other of a simplified historic divide between Catholicism and Protestantism. While the unfortunate circumstances of Bishop Hall—a victim of Parliament, confined to the Tower of London, accused of Popish sympathies by Puritan parties, evicted from his palace—elicits sympathy, Metzger's historiographical approach broadens out the context. ⁶⁸

The great scholar of English iconoclasm Margaret Aston writes that broken idols are always admonitory, but were those in *Treasures from East Anglian Churches* lamentable losses of pre-defiled, banished objects, or rather lasting witnesses to revolutionary image reform? And while Metzger does refer to the collected objects as "church Art", the ambiguity of the show's framing

arguably raises questions around the status of art and non-art, and the commonly held assumption that iconoclastic barbarity “severely retarded the development of visual arts in England”.⁶⁹ Of course, what distinguishes *Treasures from East Anglian Churches* from, for example, the gallery of broken sculpture in the west end of St Cuthbert’s, Wells, is that it is an artist-curated exhibition. Today, we understand it in relation to Metzger’s own artistic and political concerns.

Its ambiguity also made *Treasures from East Anglian Churches* a subversive exhibition cloaked in antiquarianism in a town that had strong historical royalist sympathies. Lynn had changed its name from Bishop’s Lynn to King’s Lynn in 1537 as a demonstration of allegiance to Henry VIII and the crown. In 1957, the Festival took place—as it did for many years—under the patronage of Queen Elizabeth, the Queen Mother. Every year for many years, Agnew & Sons, Old Master dealers to the aristocracy, mounted a picture exhibition at the Fermoy Gallery, namesake of Baroness Fermoy. Only three years earlier, in 1954, the King’s Lynn Charter Pageant 1204–1954—of which the borough engineer Ridler himself was on the executive committee—had commemorated the town’s resistance to Cromwell and the Roundheads (Fig. 36).⁷⁰ Royalist feeling loomed large.



Figure 36.

King's Lynn Charter Pageant, film still, 1954. Collection of East Anglian Film Archive at the University of East Anglia. Digital image courtesy of East Anglian Film Archive at the University of East Anglia (all rights reserved).

The purging of imagery from worship that took place during the Reformation was, as David Brett has written, “both an index and an ancillary cause of a dramatic shift in the location of authority”. ⁷¹ Reformation iconoclasm was an ordinance towards the expansion of secular power out of the hands of bishops appointed by the Pope. Secularisation of the imagination preceded the secularisation of society. A revolution of the senses. The destruction of images—as Bishop Hall’s account tells us—was an essential, public, and immediately understood element in wider societal and political reconstruction. Many witnessed—seeing and hearing—large numbers of people participating in demonstrative spectacles of image-breaking. ⁷²

As Metzger’s first public engagement with destruction as a theme, which coincided with his gathering campaign for the preservation of the North End of King’s Lynn, discussed later, it is fascinating how it informs his later work. In the first manifesto, “Manifesto SDA Self Destructive Art” of November 1959—before the prefix “Auto-” was applied—Metzger urges that “Sda” “is primarily a form of public art for technological societys [*sic*]”. ⁷³ In the second manifesto of March 1960, he states that “auto-destructive art re-enacts the obsession with destruction, / the pummelling to which individuals and masses are subjected”. ⁷⁴ He continues by asserting that it “mirrors the compulsive perfectionism of arms / manufacture—polishing to destruction point”. Auto-destructive art, then, assimilating and mirroring the techniques and materials of advanced technologies, orchestrates an attack on the idols of Metzger’s time. Willing to reproduce their negative affect to change attitudes, it would affect a revolution of the senses comparable to that of the seventeenth century.

Auto-destructive art is expressly not concerned with ruins of a romantic kind associated with the picturesque. In his 1962 article for *ARK*, Metzger asserts that “Auto-destructive art is a radical irrevocable change of image”. It is a sort of cathartic conductor:

Technically elaborate and costly public works of auto-destructive art can have a deeply insidious and cumulative effect on many people—opening feelings, building up tensions, releasing ideas, arousing controversy. This can lead to a more realistic attitude to the productions of (auto-destructive) war materials and to other biologically damaging social activities. By providing a socially sanctioned outlet for destructive ideas and impulses, auto-destructive art can become a valuable instrument of mass psychotherapy in societies where the suppression of aggressive drives is a major factor in the collapse of social balance. ⁷⁵

In September 1966, the programme of the Destruction in Art Symposium (DIAS) would centre destruction in the course of political and religious protest and agitation as well as art or icon attack as demonstrative terrorism. To deny auto-destructive art's picturesque ruin value is to insist on its power to transform society, rather than to merely be a resting place for the eye.

Our intention to exactly restage *Treasures from East Anglian Churches* at LOWER.GREEN, Norwich to think through preservation and destruction in a space earmarked for demolition and a contested redevelopment was cooled when we began tracing the objects. Formal museums, including Moyse's Hall of Bury St Edmunds, Spalding Gentlemen's Society, and Wisbech and Fenland Museum, accounted for six objects—wood sculpture, stone carving, and glass—which could not be traced, based on descriptions or would not be traced due to lack of resources. While the fourteenth-century Effigy of a Knight, of wood, painted in stone colour, lent by Banham Church, Norfolk, remains in place; two years before our enquiries it had been locked into its bed with reinforced iron clips (Figs. 37 and 38). If this had not been case, Canon Steven Wright told us, "Sir Bardolf", as it is affectionately known in the parish, would have been loaned. Canon Wright had no knowledge of its 1957 trip to King's Lynn.



Figure 37.

Effigy of a Knight, St Mary the Virgin, Banham, Norfolk, March 2021.
Digital image courtesy of Glen Jamieson (all rights reserved).



Figure 38.

Effigy of a Knight (detail), St Mary the Virgin, Banham, Norfolk, March 2021. Digital image courtesy of Glen Jamieson (all rights reserved).

Glass was loaned to Metzger by individual churches, Stratton Strawless, Norfolk and Banningham Church, Norfolk (incorrectly listed as Bannington in the original catalogue), and Norwich lead glaziers G. King & Son from a variety of locations ([Figs. 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, and 45](#)). The family firm of G. King & Son has not existed for some years now, but the son of its co-founder, Michael King, a medieval glass specialist, explained that Metzger's selection almost certainly would have consisted mostly of glass under restoration in the workshop at that time and would have been returned to the buildings they came from on completion of the work (which sometimes took a number of years). While Michael was unable to identify with certainty all of the pieces based on Metzger's description, he suspected that some were part of the collection his uncle was assembling in order to make the Erpingham window in Norwich Cathedral, completed in the early 1960s ([Fig. 46](#)). While glass was offered by Reverend Christopher Engelsen of Stratton

Strawless, the practicalities of employing a glazier to remove the fragments was beyond our means.⁷⁶ Likewise, the practicalities of borrowing the nine grotesque corbels Metzger had been loaned from Norwich Cathedral proved impossible (Figs. 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, and 52). However, viewing the objects, the librarian and curator at the cathedral noted that they were not subject to damage at the time of the Reformation as Metzger had supposed.



Figure 39.

Head of St Luke, Stratton Strawless Church, March 2021. Digital image courtesy of Mike Dixon (all rights reserved).



Figure 40.

Head of an Angel, Stratton Strawless Church, March 2021. Digital image courtesy of Mike Dixon (all rights reserved).



Figure 41.

Head of the Virgin, Stratton Strawless Church, March 2021. Digital image courtesy of Mike Dixon (all rights reserved).



Figure 42.
Legs from a Crucifixion, Banningham Church,
March 2021. Digital image courtesy of Mike
Dixon (all rights reserved).



Figure 43.
Portion of Angels, Seraphim, Banningham Church,
March 2021. Digital image courtesy of Mike Dixon
(all rights reserved).



Figure 44.
Portion of Angels, Cherubim,
Banningham Church. Digital image
courtesy of Mike Dixon (all rights
reserved).



Figure 45.
Clerestory, Banningham Church. Digital image courtesy of Mike Dixon
(all rights reserved).



Figure 46.
Erpingham Window, Norwich Cathedral, March 2021.
Digital image courtesy of Glen Jamieson (all rights reserved).



Figure 47.

Grotesque corbel, Norwich Cathedral, March 2021.
Digital image courtesy of Glen Jamieson (all rights reserved).



Figure 48.

Grotesque corbel, Norwich Cathedral, March 2021.
Digital image courtesy of Glen Jamieson (all rights reserved).



Figure 49.

Grotesque corbel, Norwich Cathedral, March 2021.
Digital image courtesy of Glen Jamieson (all rights reserved).



Figure 50.

Grotesque corbel, Norwich Cathedral, March 2021. Digital image courtesy of Glen Jamieson (all rights reserved).



Figure 51.

Grotesque corbel, Norwich Cathedral, March 2021.
Digital image courtesy of Glen Jamieson (all rights reserved).



Figure 52.

Grotesque corbel, Norwich Cathedral, March 2021.
Digital image courtesy of Glen Jamieson (all rights reserved).

The remaining object loaned to us for our exhibition came from Fen Ditton Church, Cambridge and is listed in the *Treasures from East Anglian Churches* catalogue as: “Crowned Head. 13th Century: Stone; 7 1/4” high. Carving probably of the fabric of the Church—note direction of the moulding above crown”. The Reverend Dr Alun Ford of Fen Ditton, like Canon Wright, had no knowledge of its 1957 loan to Metzger. For years, it had been placed on a table in the aisle after an elderly member of the congregation found it among other fragments at the base of the bell tower (Fig. 53). In January 1643, it is recorded that William Dowsing, famously appointed by the Earl of Manchester as commissioner for the destruction of monuments of idolatry and superstition (Essex, Cambridgeshire, Norfolk, Suffolk and Hertfordshire, Huntingdonshire and Lincolnshire), had visited the church. In his

extraordinary inventory of destruction, he records how in Fen Ditton: “We beat down two crucifixes, and the 12 Apostles, and many other superstitious pictures”. ⁷⁷ Was the Crowned Head among these?



Figure 53.

Crowned head, thirteenth century, stone; 18.4 cm high, carving of the fabric of the Church, St Mary the Virgin, Fen Ditton, March 2021. Digital image courtesy of Glen Jamieson (all rights reserved).

In the late 1950s, all of the objects loaned to *Treasures from East Anglian Churches* were mostly “loose parts”, untethered from their architecture and site, assembled for exhibition and then returned again to be fixed into place. Tracing the lives of the objects led us to the single remaining “loose part” at Fen Ditton. The loan of Crowned Head to LOWER.GREEN was done so under emergency measures by the Ely diocese in the understanding that it would be safer on display in our exhibition than to remain on the table in the church. Metzger’s exhibit brought together a series of objects in flux since returned to their (mostly) original surroundings; the loan of the corbel to the

LOWER.GREEN show demonstrated the last object to be fixed in its site, also enabling the partially restaged exhibition to take place (see Fig. 5). Its loan to the gallery—and the discovery of its earlier inclusion in Metzger’s *Treasures from East Anglian Churches*—would form the basis for a funding application to the preservation trust for the appropriate fixings to ensure it could be viewed in the church by visitors to come. Such artefacts become heritage objects when given curatorial recognition: an unintended consequence of Metzger’s prioritisation of raw materials “as found”, which became historically significant as material and visual culture when displayed.

Gustav Metzger: Artist, Dealer, Curator, Activist

It is impossible, as Andrew Wilson has noted, to isolate Metzger’s practice as an artist from his engagement in different kinds of political activism.⁷⁸ It is the lecture/demonstration form that Metzger’s first, and subsequent, presentation of auto-destructive art took, and it is the written manifesto that communicates his aims through successive re-draftings. Both seek to inform and persuade, with the “manifesto moment” as Mary Ann Caws calls it, positioned between “what has been done and what will be done, between the accomplished and the potential, in a radical and energizing division”.⁷⁹ Concerned with “nowness” and “newness”, the manifesto is a deliberate manipulation of the public view, a document of ideology, crafted to rouse, convince, and convert. These are ideal forms for Metzger because, as Wilson writes:

Auto-destructive art was conceived [...] as an intrinsically public art form, and its polemical purpose aimed at triggering specific responses in the viewer concerning particular issues to do with, for instance, nuclear weapons and nuclear power, pollution and the capitalist system.⁸⁰

Metzger’s activism in King’s Lynn formed in response to two destructive threats: on the one hand, the King’s Lynn mayor, chamber of trade and borough council’s post-war redevelopment plans and, on the other hand, nuclear technologies of mass destruction. If the latter had emerged in 1956 as a global threat in the Cold War stand-off between East and West, Khrushchev and Eisenhower, the former Metzger recognised it as a stand-off between preservation of characteristic forms of local cultural life and unilateral commercial interests affecting historic towns across the nation. I explore Metzger’s role in a well-documented activist anti-nuclear movement in the region and then his more localised actions in King’s Lynn. These things coincide but, because of the paucity of biographical information, it is impossible to know how they were experienced simultaneously.

As an eastern frontier of the Continent throughout the Second World War, as many as fifty-three airfields operated out of Norfolk shared by both the Royal Air Force and the “friendly invaders” of the United States Air Force (USAF). In the years following Armistice Day, many were repurposed or returned to farmland, but at RAF North Pickenham, three miles east of Swaffham, fifteen miles south of King’s Lynn, construction work began in 1958 to house PGM-17 Thor, the first rapid-launch operational ballistic missile of the USAF with thermonuclear heads (Strategic Air Command, responsible for the US Cold War strategic nuclear strike forces operated out of RAF Mildenhall on the Norfolk/Suffolk border, twenty-five miles further south).

Metzger was initially in a regional King’s Lynn branch of Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) but, by 1958, his support shifted to the Direct Action Committee (DAC) in their series of non-violent demonstrations at Swaffham and North Pickenham on 6 and 20 December. It was through a Dr Wells in Hunstanton, who organised the original CND group, that Metzger became acquainted with DAC. Together, they informed their CND branch of their intention to occupy nearby bases and appealed for support in local agitation and in the march.⁸¹ In Eric Bamford’s extraordinary film *Rocket Site Story*, produced for the Nuclear Disarmament Newsreel Committee, Metzger can clearly be seen among the demonstrators listening to the field secretary Pat Arrowsmith and chair Michael Randle, who exhorts that “genocide is incompatible with democracy” (Fig. 54).⁸²



Figure 54.

Rocket Site Story, film still, 1958. Collection of East Anglian Film Archive at the University of East Anglia. Digital image courtesy of East Anglian Film Archive at the University of East Anglia (all rights reserved).

Bamford's film of the first demonstration—documentation of the second lacks audio because the child's pram used to transport the sound recording equipment for the first was not available—shows the protestors marching along frosty, oak-lined country lanes before entering the site to lobby workers and disrupt construction. They return the following morning and are met with mixed responses, including violence from some of the workers. Metzger remembers his horror at the way protestors were treated:

We waited and it got dark. Dust fell. They came out smeared in concrete. They had been ducked in concrete by the workmen ... There was a painter, John Hoyland, who was a teacher at Chelsea and his eye had been damaged. Women were in a desperate state ... It was a reliving of Nazi Germany. When you see people treated like that. They could have been ejected but they were manhandled in a disgraceful manner. Violated. ⁸³

At the next march on 20 December arrests were made. Attendees were fewer this second time because, according to Christopher Driver in his account in *The Disarmers*, the police had threatened coach companies with prosecution if they bussed in marchers. A total of forty-five arrests were made; most were

refused bail. Thirty-seven protestors spent Christmas in Norwich prison. ⁸⁴ Widely covered by the media, photographs of limp demonstrators carried away by police made the front cover of national newspapers (Fig. 55).

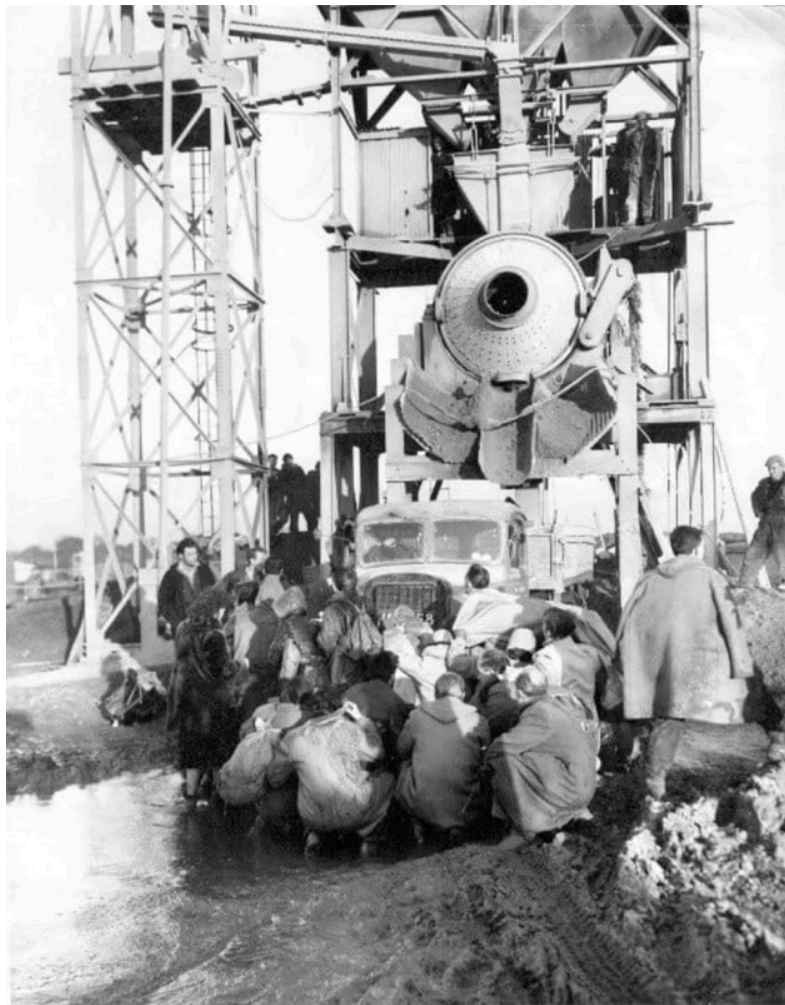


Figure 55.

Members of the DAC protest at the Thor missile base in North Pickenham, 1958. Digital image courtesy of Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (all rights reserved).

Around this time, Metzger publicly proselytised about the nuclear threat and travelled to attend nationwide marches and meetings. One account of this comes from Pat Arrowsmith herself, whose report on the first lecture/ demonstration of auto-destructive art at Temple Gallery for *Peace News*, 22 July 1960, suggests his proximity to the DAC leadership (Fig. 56). Arrowsmith notes Metzger's activism as a necessary context for understanding his intentions:

I myself walked into London beside him at the end of last year's Aldermaston March. He took part in the Stevenage campaign against missile manufacture a year ago; and back in the early days of the campaign stood up on a soap box to address the stall-holders of Watton Market. ⁸⁵

By the time Arrowsmith's article was published, Metzger had left King's Lynn, relocating to London, where he had attended meetings with dissatisfied DAC and CND allies in the basement of the New Left hangout, Partisan in Soho. Here, Metzger met the American Youth CND Executive Ralph Schoenman. Desperate to start a new anti-nuclear movement of civil disobedience, Schoenman called on Bertrand Russell as the public face of the campaign. Convinced that CND and DAC were no longer effective, Russell agreed to support what would be the Committee of 100 ([Fig. 57](#)). Both Schoenman and Metzger, at the time, were reading in the Italian Renaissance period, and, according to Driver's account, "they decided afterwards that the title 'Committee of 100' had been a subconscious reminiscence of the Guelphs and their 'Council of 100'." ⁸⁶ Its first march on 18 February 1961 gathered 20,000 protestors at Trafalgar Square, followed by a further 5,000 who marched on the Ministry of Defence at Whitehall to a sit-in. No arrests were made.



Figure 56.
Pat Arrowsmith, "Auto-Destructive Art", Peace News, 22 July 1960, 11 (London: Peace Pledge Union, 1960).
University of Bradford Special Collections. Digital image courtesy of University of Bradford Special Collections (all rights reserved).

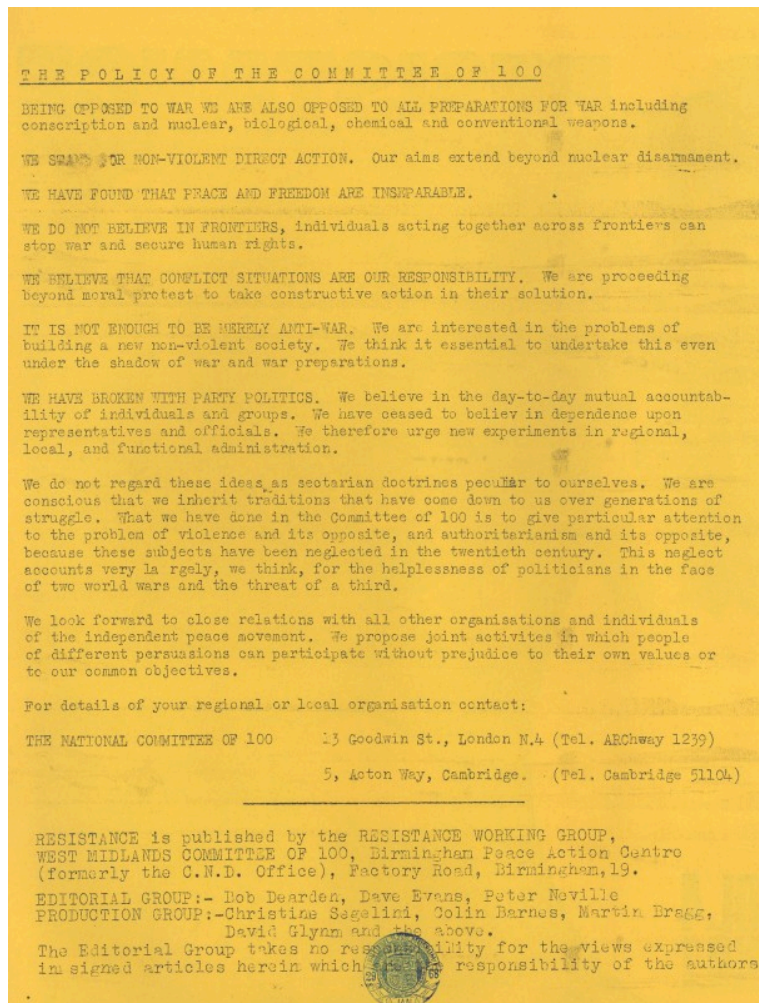


Figure 57.

The Policy of Committee of 100, (Birmingham: Resistance Working Group, West Midlands Committee of 100, 1964). University of Bradford Special Collections. Digital image courtesy of University of Bradford Special Collections (all rights reserved).

On 6 August, Hiroshima Day, the committee arranged to lay a wreath on the Cenotaph at Whitehall and in the afternoon meet at Speaker's Corner, Marble Arch.⁸⁷ After being told not to use a loudhailer, a contravention of park rules, speakers persisted. The following month members of the committee received a court summons to Bow Street Magistrates Court for 12 September 1961. Russell's sentence of a month for inciting civil disobedience was commuted to a week due to ill health. "I felt," Russell recalls in his autobiography, undoubtedly speaking of Metzger, "some of the sentences to be quite unduly harsh, but I was outraged only by the words of the magistrate to one of us who happened to be a Jewish refugee from Germany" (Fig. 58).⁸⁸

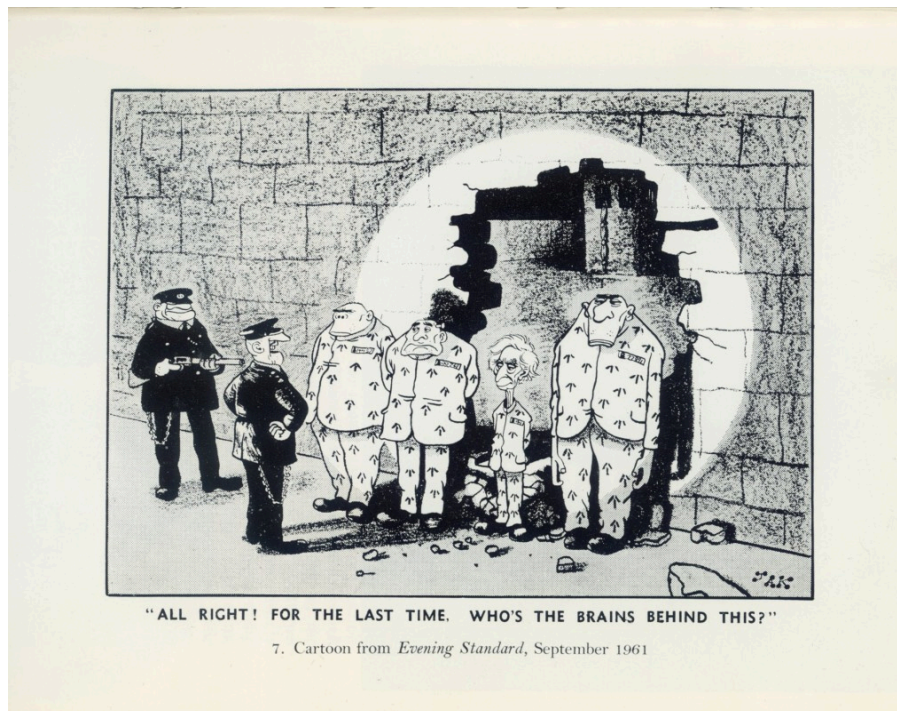


Figure 58.

Bertrand Russell, *Evening Standard*, cartoon, September 1961, reproduced in Bertrand Russell, *The Autobiography of Bertrand Russell*, Vol. 3, 1944–1967 (London: Simon & Schuster, 1969). Digital image courtesy of *Evening Standard*, Simon & Schuster (all rights reserved).

It is a powerful testament to the persistence of activism in Metzger's practice that his 2016 retrospective at MUSAC, León, should be titled *Act or Perish* after *Act or Perish: A Call to Non-Violent Action* co-authored by Earl Russell and Rev. Michael Scott for the Committee of 100 (Fig. 59). Like the best polemics, the latter's manifesto-like rhetoric was unwavering and direct:

Every day, and at every moment of every day, a trivial accident, a failure to distinguish a meteor from a bomber, a fit of temporary insanity in one single man, may cause a nuclear world war, which, in all likelihood, will put an end to man and to all higher forms of animal life. [...] To us, the vast scheme of mass murder which is being hatched—nominally for our protection, but in fact for universal extermination—is a horror and an abomination. [...] Our immediate purpose, in so far as it is political, is only to persuade Britain to abandon reliance upon the illusory protection of nuclear weapons [...] We appeal, as human beings to human beings: remember your humanity, and forget the rest. If you can do so, the way lies open to a new Paradise; if you cannot, nothing lies before you but universal death. ⁸⁹

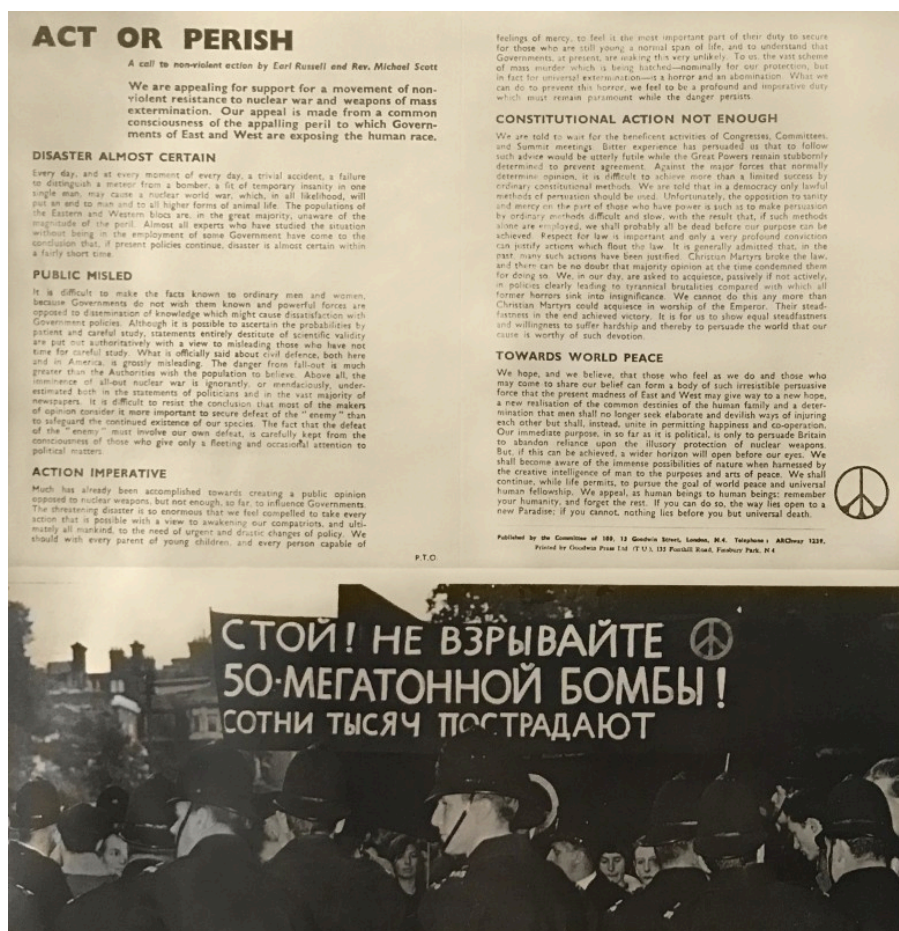


Figure 59.

Earl Russell and Rev. Michael Scott, *Act or Perish: A Call to Non-Violent Action*, poster (London: Committee of 100, 1960), 1960. University of Bradford Special Collections. Digital image courtesy of University of Bradford Special Collections (all rights reserved).

In the penultimate chapter of Christopher Driver's *The Disarmers*, "Art in a Cold Climate", he begins, echoing Herbert Read, by arguing that "nothing signifies the horizontal spread and vertical penetration" of bomb-consciousness in British society than the response to it of creative artists. And yet, paradoxically, he writes, "the significance of this response lies as much in eloquent silences and omissions as in direct utterances".⁹⁰ While the leading writers and artists aligned with Schoenman and the Committee of 100 were highly effective pamphleteers, in their professional work, they tended to approach the problems of nuclear weapons and their use only tangentially: "One senses a feeling not only of political helplessness before the fact of nuclear weapons but of imaginative helplessness also."⁹¹ The nuclear sublime—not unlike the Holocaust in Germany—is so obscene, so incomprehensibly destructive that, perhaps, the creative imagination cannot assimilate it.

While Driver, writing retrospectively, goes on to acknowledge a shift in attitudes to representing the bomb a decade later, it is instructive to return to Arrowsmith's *Peace News* article on Metzger's first lecture/demonstration of auto-destructive art. Auto-destructive art would, in a symbolic way, she writes, "demonstrate the current state of society: a society whose basic ingredients are such that it seems all too likely to end up by destroying itself".⁹² And yet, as she watches the nylon disintegrate, she cannot deny the beauty of the dynamic proliferation of images. Sensing a paradox between destruction and creation, Arrowsmith suggests that "Metzger is not logical: a self-destructing society should not look beautiful at this stage." "But," she continues, "nor is he a nihilist—and this is important. The value of his constructive ideas and positive approach outweigh the failure of logic. Society is all too full today of apathetic and despairing people whose only values are negative."⁹³

Arrowsmith's sensitive and intelligent analysis is willing to move beyond critical orthodoxy to admit a complexity at the very core of Metzger's practice. Indeed, in his third manifesto of 1961, "Auto-Creative Art", which he defines as "an art of change, growth, movement", enters his artistic idiom.⁹⁴ The tension between destruction and creation is by now a central aspect of Metzger's practice.

Metzger's intense activism around the bomb coincided with his North End Protest (1957) out of which formed the North End Society (1958) to protest the King's Lynn mayor, chamber of trade and borough council's post-war redevelopment scheme affecting historic fishing quarters. The lessons of persuasive rhetoric crafted to rouse, convince, and convert, strategies of distribution and publicity, and recruitment are instrumental in Metzger's letter to the editor of *Lynn News and Advertiser* of 20 December 1957, responding to a speech delivered by the mayor at the town's chamber of commerce addressing his prior criticisms.

In 1957, Metzger was living in St Nicholas House next to St Nicholas, a chapel of ease founded in 1146 to serve new fishermen's quarters forming around North Street and Pilot Street—the North End (Fig. 60). Following earlier slum clearances in the 1930s, it had come to Metzger's attention that the few remaining cottages would be lost to a road on a proposed redevelopment plan. "I was going home and I saw a poster saying that there was a hearing on the 15 August into the future of the North End," Metzger recalls.⁹⁵ He continues:

I saw this and I thought I had better look into this ... What is going to happen? I went to the town hall and looked at the programme and it horrified me ... I said this is totally unacceptable. If no one else is going to do anything I thought I have to do something immediately. ⁹⁶

Characterising the road as an “autobahn”, it would, he writes in the *Lynn News and Advertiser* letter, encircle St Nicholas: “Probably the greatest work of architecture in Lynn”, which would be “stripped of its deepest spiritual aesthetic meaning”. ⁹⁷



Figure 60.

St Nicholas Chapel, view from St Nicholas House, King's Lynn, March 2021. Digital image courtesy of Glen Jamieson (all rights reserved).

The *Lynn News and Advertiser* said they would photograph Metzger and the following issue of the newspaper featured him on the front page with the headline: “Gustav Metzger Protest Against Redevelopment of North End” (see Fig. 10). “I was flabbergasted,” Metzger recalls:

That was the start. It never stopped. It went on and on and on. People would then talk to me on the Tuesday Market stall. This became a little subversive focus. Within a few months I initiated a North End society. One man, a patriarch, whose house we would meet—in his seventies, white face or beard—a fisherman, old but powerful, he was agitating behind the scenes. We had a university-trained woman who became secretary. We had a programme, a constitution. ⁹⁸

As Metzger understood it, the rich people sitting in the town hall wanted to get rid of a lower, primitive way of life. This was not, as he put it, just about the economy or maintaining generational wealth, but an attack on another level of life. Interestingly, Metzger begins his letter stating that it is “the first official response to the national protest against subtopia next to St Nicholas’ Chapel which I am organizing”. ⁹⁹

In July 1955, “Subtopia” was a neologism coined by the architectural critic Ian Nairn in the *Architectural Review*’s “Outrage” issue. Having travelled the breadth of England by car, Nairn encountered such undifferentiated town planning that “the end of Southampton looks like the beginning of Carlisle and the parts in between look like the end of Carlisle or the beginning of Southampton”. “Subtopia” named this characterless landscape, where singularity of place had been scrubbed out and, with it, characteristic English consciousness—a “mass psychosis rooted in the fantastic acceptance of mediocrity”. ¹⁰⁰

The success of the “Outrage” issue led the *Architectural Review* to establish a “Counter-Attack Bureau” that functioned as a “service to monitor and guide the good visual character of England” for architects, planners, and citizens. A monthly “Counter-Attack” column in the journal monitored specific cases submitted by readers. In the spirit of attack, Metzger signs off his *Lynn News and Advertiser* letter to the editor by stating that:

it has been a long time since Lynn Borough Council has been faced with national opposition, but it happens to be in the national interest to maintain the old town of Lynn as an oasis, a kind of architectural lung, in an increasingly industrialized, spoilt England. ¹⁰¹

Indeed, in the North End Society's document of stated aims, published the following year in February 1958, support was confirmed by the *Architectural Review's* "Counter-Attack: Against Subtopia Unit [*sic*]", established by popular demand to combat its spread, the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, and the Norfolk branch of the Campaign for the Protection of Rural England. The story went to the regional *Eastern Daily Press*, which probably syndicated it to the national press. Taking aim at the council's appointment of Dr Thomas Sharp, a famous town planner who been consulted on numerous post-war redevelopments, including in Durham (1945), Exeter (1946), Chester (1945), Merseyside (1945), Middlesbrough (1946), and Worcester (1946), the society's stated objectives were to protect North Street and Pilot Street from wholesale demolition by Lynn council and to work for the repair and improvement of property in these streets (Figs. 61, 62, and 63). ¹⁰² Should demolition be required to take place, the statement reads, rebuilding should be from a scheme prepared by an eminent architect, bearing in mind the historic character of the area, giving preference to houses for remaining fishermen and their families. ¹⁰³

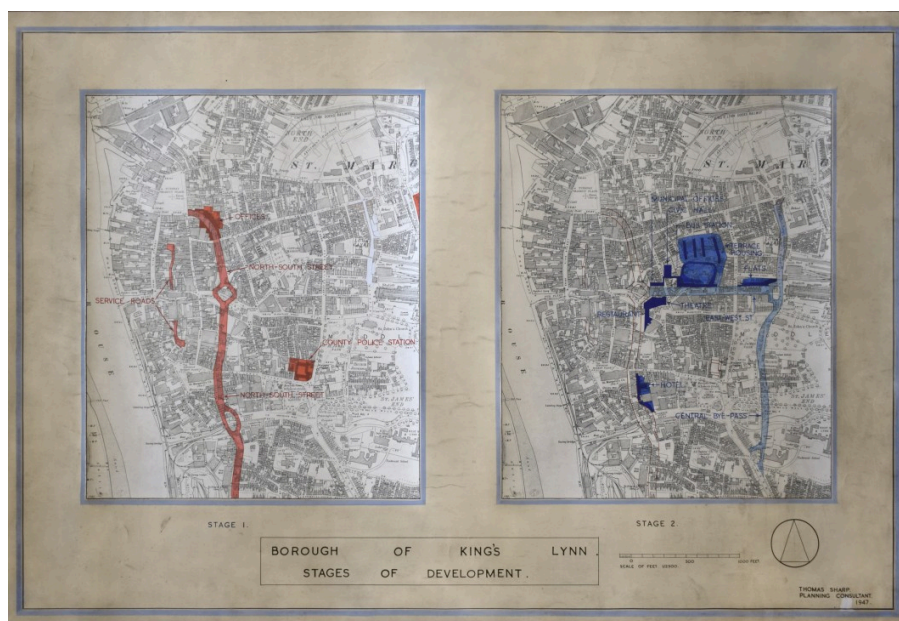


Figure 61.

Dr Sharp, Borough of King's Lynn Stages of Development, King's Lynn, Stages 1 and 2 , 1947. Collection of Norfolk Record Office. Digital image courtesy of Norfolk Record Office (all rights reserved).

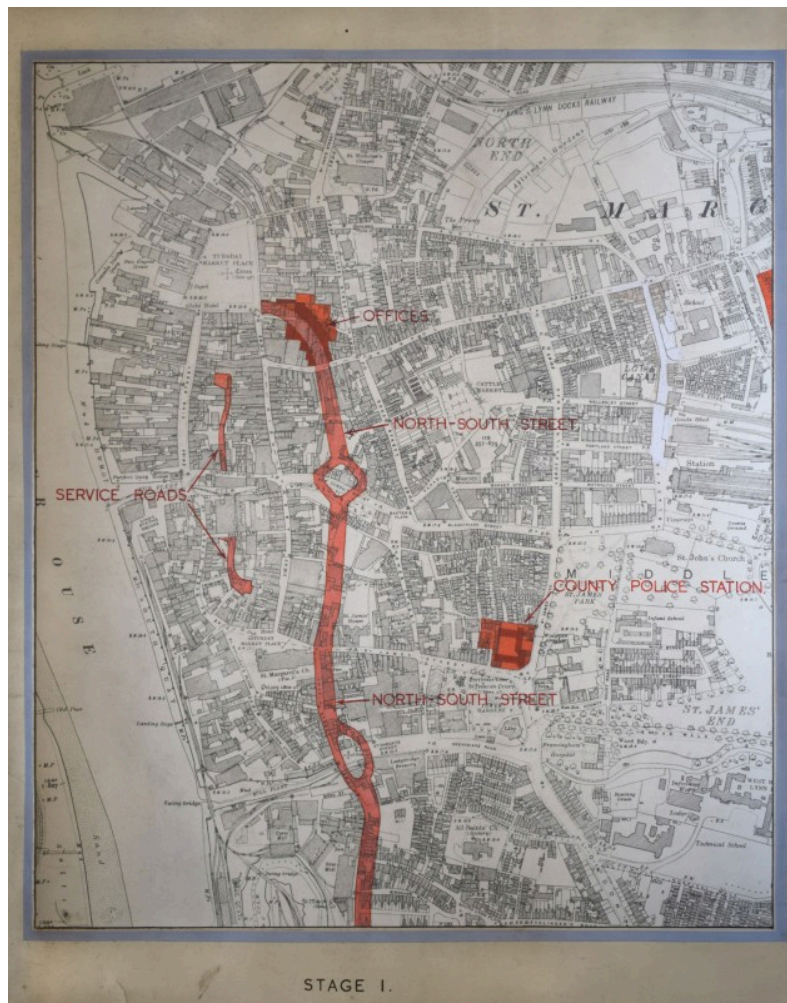


Figure 62.
Dr Sharp, Borough of King's Lynn Stages of Development, King's
Lynn, Stage 1, 1947. Collection of Norfolk Record Office. Digital
image courtesy of Norfolk Record Office (all rights reserved).



Figure 63.

Dr Sharp, Borough of King's Lynn Stages of Development, King's Lynn, Stage 2, 1947. Collection of Norfolk Record Office. Digital image courtesy of Norfolk Record Office (all rights reserved).

Metzger, speaking in the late 1990s, recalled that he had gone as far as purchasing a house in North End—something simple, one up one down—for £10 from a dealer friend that he would squat in until the bitter end. Could this have been 26 Pilot Street (see Fig. 9)? Although the plans drawn up by Sharp were not instigated in town, others were, and Metzger felt they had lost. They saved some houses and modified the road. Ultimately, this was a factor that motivated his departure: “I felt, look if King’s Lynn is a town that even thinks of that, even if there is a struggle and we lose, then why stay?”¹⁰⁴ The actions of the North End Society motivated the creation of King’s Lynn Preservation Trust. In 1978, the trust restored 26 Pilot Street, alongside five other properties. It is possible that without Metzger’s and the North End Society’s intervention an autobahn would now span the medieval town.

Conclusion

Asked by Hans Ulrich Obrist in 2008 where his oeuvre would begin, Metzger periodised the early work according to that made under Bomberg, followed by “the King’s Lynn years”.¹⁰⁵ Undoubtedly, it was a significant period in the artist’s development: to have conserved works on paper from this time—and control their release in exhibitions later in his life—appears to be somewhat of a paradox given his later work’s preoccupation with the trauma of destruction. While Metzger’s life and later auto-destructive art, strikes, and ecological activism have received scholarly attention in retrospectives and monographs, little has been written of this remarkable time in King’s Lynn. Metzger’s “return” to this troubling early period coincided with Lynda Morris’ invitation in 2005.

Aside from EASTinternational, the extent of Metzger’s curatorial work is often understood as being limited to the important Destruction in Art Symposium of 1966. However, as this article has argued, Metzger actively programmed Thirty Queens alongside the re-emergence of his own art practice. In fact, it was in the catalogue of *Treasures from East Anglian Churches*, in his writing and curatorial practice—rather than his later paintings on steel—that Metzger first engages with the topic of destruction. Re-examining Metzger’s time in King’s Lynn, I have sought to extend the characterisation of his work to include that of artist-dealer, artist-curator, and artist-activist and to see this town as central to his conceptions of art, politics, and life.

Footnotes

- 1 Metzger cited by Mathieu Copeland in a personal conversation with me and Nell Croose Myhill in June 2018. This quote is frequently reproduced in print without citation and has taken on a mythical quality.
- 2 Gustav Metzger, *Gustav Metzger Interviewed by Clive Phillpot (Part 1)*, National Sound Archive (NSA), London, UK, Tape 10 (F5532, ARZZ), 1997.
- 3 See folders of letters to David Bomberg from miscellaneous correspondents, 1919–1957. Correspondence, writings, papers, photographs, printed material, and press cuttings of the English painter David Garshen Bomberg (1890–1957) and his second wife Lilian Bomberg, née Holt (1898–1983). Tate Archive. GB 70 TGA 878/2/3 and GB 70 TGA 878/3/11. The School of London is a contested group identity—typically with Michael Andrews, Frank Auerbach, Francis Bacon, Lucian Freud, and Leon Kossoff at its core. See Michael Peppiatt’s *The School of London: Six Figurative Painters* published in 1999 by The British Council Visual Arts Publications to accompany a touring exhibition of the same title. For a contemporary rereading, see Elena Crippa and Catherine Lampert, *London Calling: Bacon, Freud, Kossoff, Andrews, Auerbach, and Kitaj* (Los Angeles, CA: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2016).
- 4 Lynda Morris, ed., *EASTinternational Catalogue: Selector Gustav Metzger, 2 July–20 August 2005* (Norwich: Norwich Gallery, 2005), 11.
- 5 Morris, *EASTinternational Catalogue*, 11.
- 6 Nikolaus Pevsner and Bill Wilson, *Norfolk 2: North-West and South* (London: Penguin Books, 1999), 495.
- 7 Hans Ulrich Obrist, *Gustav Metzger: The Conversation Series* (Cologne: Verlag Der Buchhandlung Walther König, 2008), 118. Lynda Morris has noted how in the mid-1970s Metzger was interested “in withdrawal as a means of renewal”. See Morris, *EASTinternational Catalogue*, 7.
- 8 Lynda Morris, “The International Provincial”, Artquest Keynote Speech, Cecil Sharp House, Camden, 2013. For a sound recording of the lecture: <https://soundcloud.com/artquest/sets/for-the-love-of-it>.
- 9 Morris, *EASTinternational Catalogue*, 11.
- 10 “1951–1961: From Painting to Spraying with Acid. Sketch of a Development”, leaflet, London, 1961, reproduced in Mathieu Copeland, ed., *Gustav Metzger: Writings (1953–2016)* (Zurich: JPR Ringier, 2019), 61.

- 11 Morris, *EASTInternational Catalogue*, 11.
- 12 *dOCUMENTA (13)*, *The Book of Books*, exhibition catalogue 1/3, Kassel, 9 June–16 September 2012 (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2012), 287–289.
- 13 Mathieu Copeland, ed., *Gustav Metzger: Writings (1953–2016)* (Zurich: JPR Ringier, 2019).
- 14 Gustav Metzger, *Gustav Metzger Interviewed by Clive Phillpot (Part 1)*, National Sound Archive (NSA), London, UK, Tape 9 (F531, AQZZ), 1997.
- 15 Vanessa Parker, *The Making of Kings Lynn: Secular Buildings from the 11th to the 17th Centuries* (London: Phillimore, 1971), 112.
- 16 Parker, *The Making of King's Lynn*, 63.
- 17 Taking inflation into account, this is equivalent to around £21 today.
- 18 Metzger, *Gustav Metzger Interviewed by Clive Phillpot (Part 1)*, Tape 9.
- 19 Pevsner and Wilson, *Norfolk 2*, 497–498.
- 20 Metzger, *Gustav Metzger Interviewed by Clive Phillpot (Part 1)*, Tape 9.
- 21 Metzger, *Gustav Metzger Interviewed by Clive Phillpot (Part 1)*, Tape 9.
- 22 Metzger, *Gustav Metzger Interviewed by Clive Phillpot (Part 1)*, Tape 9.
- 23 Metzger, *Gustav Metzger Interviewed by Clive Phillpot (Part 1)*, Tape 9.
- 24 Metzger, *Gustav Metzger Interviewed by Clive Phillpot (Part 1)*, Tape 9.
- 25 Metzger, *Gustav Metzger Interviewed by Clive Phillpot (Part 1)*, Tape 9.
- 26 Pevsner and Wilson, *Norfolk 2*, 459.
- 27 Metzger, *Gustav Metzger Interviewed by Clive Phillpot (Part 1)*, Tape 10.
- 28 Metzger, *Gustav Metzger Interviewed by Clive Phillpot (Part 1)*, Tape 9.
- 29 Gustav Metzger, *Gustav Metzger Interviewed by Clive Phillpot (Part 1)*, National Sound Archive (NSA), London, UK, Tape 12 (F5534, AUZZ), 1997.
- 30 Metzger, *Gustav Metzger Interviewed by Clive Phillpot (Part 1)*, Tape 10.
- 31 Toni del Renzio, *Polemic 8: A Magazine of Philosophy, Psychology, and Aesthetics*, edited by Humphrey Slater (London: Rodney Phillips and Company, 1950).
- 32 By 1955 he taught textiles at the Central School of Art (Turnbull taught on the experimental design course) and had followed the Hendersons to Landemere Quarry near Thorpe-le-Soken in rural Essex to co-direct Hammer Prints Ltd.
- 33 According to Michelle Cotton, from the inception of Hammer Prints in August 1954 to December 1958, Paolozzi had over twenty-five exhibitions while also teaching one or two days per week, see Michelle Cotton, *Nigel Henderson and Eduardo Paolozzi: Hammer Prints Ltd. 1954–75*, exhibition catalogue (Colchester: Firstsite, 2013), 28.
- 34 Metzger, *Gustav Metzger Interviewed by Clive Phillpot (Part 1)*, Tape 10.
- 35 Gustav Metzger, “These Artists are Possessed: They Gamble with Life”, *Lynn News and Advertiser*, 27 July 1956, reproduced in Mathieu Copeland, ed., *Gustav Metzger: Writings (1953–2016)* (Zurich: JPR Ringier, 2019), 37.
- 36 Frank Whitford, *Eduardo Paolozzi*, exhibition catalogue: Tate, 22 September–31 October 1971 (London: Tate Gallery, 1971), 68–69.
- 37 See Anne Massey and Gregor Muir, *Institute of Contemporary Arts, London 1946–1968* (Arnhem: Roma Publications, 2014), 128.
- 38 Metzger, “These Artists are Possessed”, in Copeland, *Gustav Metzger*, 37.
- 39 Metzger, *Gustav Metzger Interviewed by Clive Phillpot (Part 1)*, Tape 10.
- 40 Anthony Hatwell, Bill Hare, and Talbot Rice Gallery, *Anthony Hatwell: Sculpture & Drawing* (Edinburgh: Talbot Rice Gallery, 2013), 5.
- 41 Metzger, “These Artists are Possessed”, in Copeland, *Gustav Metzger*, 36.
- 42 Metzger, “These Artists are Possessed”, in Copeland, *Gustav Metzger*, 38.
- 43 Metzger, *Gustav Metzger Interviewed by Clive Phillpot (Part 1)*, Tape 10.
- 44 It was Crosby, curator of *This is Tomorrow*, who invited Metzger to present at the International Union of Architects, so perhaps it did something for him.
- 45 See Clive Phillpot’s “Gustav Metzger Chronology and Bibliography”, in Gustav Metzger and Andrew Wilson, *Gustav Metzger: Damaged Nature, Auto-Destructive Art* (London: Coracle @ workfortheeyetodo, 1996).
- 46 Metzger admired the Smithsons’ school at Hunstanton, ten miles from King’s Lynn, completed in 1954, an exemplary for Banham of new brutalism in architecture. Three years later, in 1957, the Smithsons would write that “Brutalism tries to face up to a mass-produced society, and drag a rough poetry out of the confused and powerful forces which are at work.” See Alison and Peter Smithson, “The New Brutalism”, *Architectural Design* 27 (April 1957), 113.

- 47 Here I'm citing Fraser Muggeridge Studio's 2014 facsimile of the *This is Tomorrow* catalogue reproduced for the 2010 Whitechapel Gallery archival exhibition.
- 48 Anne Massey, *The Independent Group: Modernism and Mass Culture in Britain, 1945-59* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008), 97.
- 49 Metzger, *Gustav Metzger Interviewed by Clive Phillpot (Part 1)*, Tape 9.
- 50 Gustav Metzger, "Machine, Auto-Creative and Auto-Destructive Art", *ARK: Journal of the Royal College of Art*, London, no. 32 (Summer 1962), reproduced in Mathieu Copeland, ed., *Gustav Metzger: Writings (1953-2016)* (Zurich: JPR Ringier, 2019), 82.
- 51 Metzger, *Gustav Metzger Interviewed by Clive Phillpot (Part 1)*, Tape 10.
- 52 Gustav Metzger, "Manifesto Auto-Destructive Art (Second Manifesto)", March 1960, reproduced in Mathieu Copeland, ed., *Gustav Metzger: Writings (1953-2016)* (Zurich: JPR Ringier, 2019), 66.
- 53 Ronald Hutton, *The Triumph of the Moon: A History of Modern Pagan Witchcraft* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 371.
- 54 Michael Howard, "A Very English Witch", *The Cauldron* 111 (2004). See Cottie Arthur Burland, *The Magical Arts: A Short History* (London: Barker, 1966).
- 55 This was confirmed in personal email correspondence, dated October 2020, with Gardner's biographer Philip Heselton whose unpublished article "Monica English—A Remarkable Norfolk Artist and Witch" builds on the work of Lois Bourne, Fred Lamond, and Michael Howard.
- 56 For a broader context, see Owen Davies, *The Oxford Illustrated History of Witchcraft and Magic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).
- 57 Lois Bourne, *Dancing with Witches* (London: Robert Hale, 1998). Once this source is accessible after the current COVID-19 restrictions pass, this footnote will be updated with the page number.
- 58 Hutton, *The Triumph of the Moon*, 289.
- 59 Newby is quoted in Howard, "A Very English Witch". Once this source is accessible after the current COVID-19 restrictions pass, this footnote will be updated with the page number.
- 60 Howard, "A Very English Witch". Once this source is accessible after the current COVID-19 restrictions pass, this footnote will be updated with the page number.
- 61 *Treasures from East Anglian Churches* exhibition catalogue with an introduction by Gustav Metzger and afterword by H. G. Ridler, King's Lynn Festival, 1957.
- 62 Christopher Woodforde, *The Norwich School of Glass-Painting in the Fifteenth Century* (London: Oxford University Press, 1950). Metzger also cites Woodforde's later *English Stained and Painted Glass* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), as well H.M. Cautley's compendious works *Suffolk Churches and their Treasures* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1937) and *Norfolk Churches* (Ipswich: Norman Adlard, 1949).
- 63 Gustav Metzger, "Introduction", *Treasures from East Anglian Churches*, exhibition catalogue with afterword by H.G. Ridler (King's Lynn: King's Lynn Festival, 1957).
- 64 Pevsner and Wilson, *Norfolk* 2, 486.
- 65 Parker, *The Making of Kings Lynn*, 67.
- 66 Parker, *The Making of Kings Lynn*, 89.
- 67 Margaret Aston, *Broken Idols of the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 6.
- 68 For an account of Hall's circumstances see Robert Wyndham Ketton-Cremer, *Norfolk in the Civil War: A Portrait of a Society in Conflict* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1970). Hall also recorded his impeachment of high crimes for defending the Church of England in *Bishop Hall's Hard Measure*; see Joseph Hall, *Bishop Hall's Hard Measure, Written by Himself upon his Impeachment of High Crimes and Misdemeanours for Defending the Church of England. Being a Case Something Parallel to Dr. S—I* (London: 1710).
- 69 Keith Thomas, "Art and Iconoclasm in Early Modern England", in *Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England*, edited by Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2006), 16.
- 70 See "King's Lynn Charter Pageant 1204-1954 | Historical Pageants", 2016, [Historicalpageants.ac.uk](https://www.historicalpageants.ac.uk/). <https://www.historicalpageants.ac.uk/pageants/1384/>; Documentation of the Pageant can be viewed here: "East Anglian Film Archive: King's Lynn Charter Pageant, 1954", n.d. www.eafa.org.uk. <http://www.eafa.org.uk/catalogue/841>.
- 71 David Brett, *The Plain Style* (Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 2004), 11.
- 72 Brett, *The Plain Style*, 20.
- 73 Gustav Metzger, "Manifesto SDA SELF DESTRUCTIVE ART [Draft]", November 1959, reproduced in Mathieu Copeland, ed., *Gustav Metzger: Writings (1953-2016)* (Zurich: JPR Ringier, 2019), 57.
- 74 Metzger, "Manifesto Auto-Destructive Art (Second Manifesto)", in Copeland, *Gustav Metzger*, 66.
- 75 Metzger, "Machine, Auto-Creative and Auto-Destructive Art", in Copeland, *Gustav Metzger*, 85.

- 76 Eamon Duffy evokes this church's fifteenth-century splendour: "In 1488 the Norfolk country church of Stratton Strawless had lamps burning not only before the Rood with Mary and John, and an image of the Trinity, but before a separate statue of the Virgin, and images of Sts Margaret, Anne, Nicholas, John the Baptist, Thomas Becket, Christopher, Erasmus, James the Great, Katherine, Petronella, Sythe, and Michael the Archangel." See Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c.1400–c.1580* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), 155.
- 77 William Dowsing, *The Journal of William Dowsing: Iconoclasm in East Anglia during the English Civil War*, edited by Trevor Cooper (Woodbridge: The Ecclesiological Society with Boydell, 2001).
- 78 Andrew Wilson, "Gustav Metzger's Auto-Destructive/Auto-Creative Art: An Art of Manifesto, 1959–69", *Third Text* 22, no. 2 (March 2008), 177.
- 79 Mary Ann Caws, ed., *Manifesto: A Century of Isms* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2001), xxi.
- 80 Wilson, "Gustav Metzger's Auto-Destructive/Auto-Creative Art", 178.
- 81 Metzger, *Gustav Metzger Interviewed by Clive Phillpot (Part 1)*, Tape 10.
- 82 East Anglian Film Archive, "Rocket Site Story, 1958 Swaffham, Norfolk", December 1958, catalogue no. 665, <http://www.eafa.org.uk/catalogue/665>.
- 83 Metzger, *Gustav Metzger Interviewed by Clive Phillpot (Part 1)*, Tape 10.
- 84 Christopher Driver, *The Disarmers: A Study in Protest* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1964), 107.
- 85 Pat Arrowsmith, "Auto-Destructive Art", *Peace News*, 22 July 1960, 11.
- 86 A medieval Italian papal faction in conflict with the Holy Roman Empire, the Guelphs had died as Christian martyrs for refusing to worship the Emperor: their steadfastness and willingness to suffer achieved a final victory. Driver, *The Disarmers*, 112.
- 87 This laying of the wreath was a contested gesture: British lives were lost in the Pacific and Burma campaigns against Japan.
- 88 Russell, *The Autobiography of Bertrand Russell*, 116.
- 89 From a flyer published by the Committee of 100, Goodwin Press, London.
- 90 Driver, *The Disarmers*, 218.
- 91 Russell, *The Autobiography of Bertrand Russell*, 219.
- 92 Arrowsmith, "Auto-Destructive Art", 11.
- 93 Arrowsmith, "Auto-Destructive Art", 11.
- 94 Gustav Metzger, "Auto-Destructive Art, Machine Art, Auto-Creative Art (Third Manifesto)", 1961, reproduced in Mathieu Copeland, ed., *Gustav Metzger: Writings (1953–2016)* (Zurich: JPR Ringier, 2019), 76.
- 95 Metzger, *Gustav Metzger Interviewed by Clive Phillpot (Part 1)*, Tape 10.
- 96 Metzger, *Gustav Metzger Interviewed by Clive Phillpot (Part 1)*, Tape 10.
- 97 Gustav Metzger, "Letter to the Editor", *Lynn News and Advertiser*, King's Lynn, 20 December 1957, reproduced in Mathieu Copeland, ed., *Gustav Metzger: Writings (1953–2016)* (Zurich: JPR Ringier, 2019), 50.
- 98 Metzger, *Gustav Metzger Interviewed by Clive Phillpot (Part 1)*, Tape 10.
- 99 Metzger, "Letter to the Editor", in Copeland, *Gustav Metzger*, 48.
- 100 Ian Nairn, "Outrage: The Birth of Subtopia Will Be the Death of Us", *The Architectural Review*, 1 June 1955, <https://www.architectural-review.com/archive/ian-nairns-subtopia-from-june-1955>.
- 101 Metzger, "Letter to the Editor", in Copeland, *Gustav Metzger*, 48.
- 102 On Sharp and the work of his contemporaries, see Gordon Emanuel Cherry, *Town Planning in Britain Since 1900: The Rise and Fall of the Planning Ideal* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996).
- 103 Gustav Metzger, "Statement of Aims of the North End Society", February 1958, reproduced in Mathieu Copeland, ed., *Gustav Metzger: Writings (1953–2016)* (Zurich: JPR Ringier, 2019), 52.
- 104 Metzger, *Gustav Metzger Interviewed by Clive Phillpot (Part 1)*, Tape 10.
- 105 Obrist, *Gustav Metzger*, 118.

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Lady of Silences: The Enigmatic Photo-Text Work of Zarina Bhimji

Allison K. Young

Abstract

Zarina Bhimji's work debuted in London in the 1980s, during a period that witnessed important revisionist critiques from the feminist and Black British art movements. Her early photo-text installations, primarily created while she was a student at Goldsmiths' College, address issues surrounding diaspora, the body, and the inhumanity of Britain's immigration process. While these understudied works are most often framed in relation to postmodernist identity politics, Bhimji's work avoids overtly political signifiers, instead privileging symbolically charged indices and abstract visual tableaux. As the artist states, "The language I use is related to vulnerability and this is not a culturally specific emotion". Working toward a more holistic understanding of Bhimji's art and its context, this article places it in dialogue with that of Mary Kelly, who taught at Goldsmiths throughout the 1980s and whose own production in London bridged the artistic and discursive boundaries that divided the art of the time. In so doing, it positions Bhimji in relation to both surrealist and second-wave feminist artists through her interest in affect, memory, and the symbolic representation of enigmatic childhood and domestic objects as expressions of subjectivity and the unconscious. As such, it demonstrates that postcolonial artists such as Bhimji are central, not peripheral, to the development of British contemporary art history.

Authors

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And finally, there is the difficulty caused by the author's having left out something which the reader is used to finding; so that the reader, bewildered, gropes about for what is absent, and puzzles his head for a kind of "meaning" which is not there, and is not meant to be there.

—The Use of Poetry, T.S. Eliot

In 1993, the art critic Jyll Bradley wrote a profile in *Women's Art Magazine* on the Ugandan-Asian artist Zarina Bhimji, in which she reviewed the artist's solo exhibition at the Ikon Gallery in Birmingham and assessed Bhimji's nascent practice.¹ Bradley recalls her first encounter with the artist's work about seven years prior, when she saw her degree show at Goldsmiths' College, London. Bhimji had prepared a series of color-stained photographs paired with short textual phrases, each encased in black frames. Reading "SILENCE IS STARVATION" or "SILENCE ABOUT TO BREAK", these feature quotations from third-wave feminist texts by such writers as Cherríe Moraga, Audre Lorde, bell hooks, and Hazel Carby.² Bhimji's images, however, are wholly incommensurate with the declarative tone of her textual panels: they depict enigmatic tableaux of mundane domestic objects, photographed at floor-level or from unusual viewpoints and focusing on the interplay of light and texture, or the manipulation of scale. Titled *In Response to the F-Stops Exhibition (For the White Feminist)*, the series, according to Bradley, "seemed to address the unacknowledged absence of black women in white feminist discourses which encouraged women to re-see, re-read and re-invent lives and histories. Bhimji was using the 'new' language of sight to discuss that which was silenced". Yet, the installation, she continues, "addressed this in subtle ways—the upsetting of a bowl, a foot penetrating the frame of a tray. Silences were small and significant, large and echoing" (Figs. 1 and 2).³

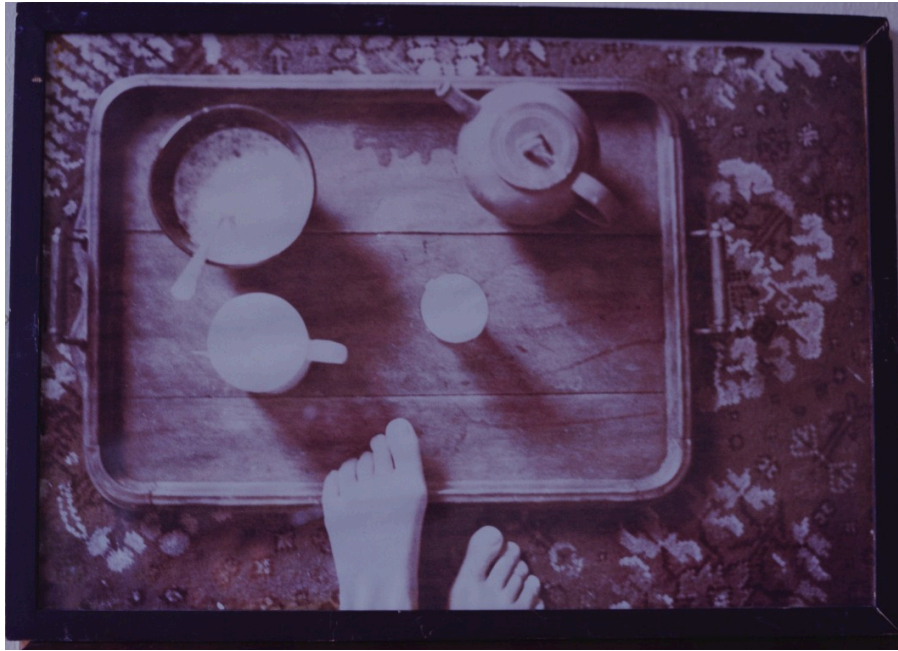


Figure 1.

Zarina Bhimji, *In Response to the F-Stops Exhibition. For the White Feminist* (detail), exhibited at Chelsea School of Art, London, 1985. Also exhibited at Goldsmiths, University of London, 1986, installation consisting of photographs and text. Copper toned photographs on document art paper, 35mm film, black & white, hand toned, 330 x 270 cm (overall dimensions variable). Digital image courtesy of Zarina Bhimji. DACS/Artimage 2021 (All rights reserved).



Figure 2.

Zarina Bhimji, *In Response to the F-Stops Exhibition*. For the *White Feminist* (detail), exhibited at Chelsea School of Art, London, 1985. Also exhibited at Goldsmiths, University of London, 1986, installation consisting of photographs and text. Copper toned photographs on document art paper, 35mm film, black & white, hand toned, 330 × 270 cm (overall dimensions variable). Digital image courtesy of Zarina Bhimji. DACS/Artimage 2021 (All rights reserved).



Figure 3.

Zarina Bhimji, *Aroused Heat* (detail), artist commission for *QJM: Monthly Journal of the Association of Physicians* 90, no. 12 (December 1997), medium format camera, transparency, 46 × 314 × 6.4 cm (overall dimensions variable). Digital image courtesy of Zarina Bhimji. DACS/Artimage 2021 (All rights reserved).

Archival records on Bhimji's early photo-text practice are scant; Bradley's review contains one of the only published mentions of her degree show, about which many questions remain.⁴ In this short piece, the critic articulates a paradox that has continued to mark the reception of and scholarship on Bhimji's practice. While her work is understood to be concerned with issues such as migration and diaspora, the body, memory and trauma, and the violence of humanitarian crises, her images are also perceived as iconographically illegible, intentionally emptied of political or biographical signifiers. This apparent illegibility is amplified by the artist's persistent rejection of critical interpretations that read her images only in relation to her specific cultural background. Viewers must search for meaning, instead, in tender photographs of childhood objects or abandoned edifices; in ephemeral materials such as spices, flowers, and burnt cloth; in the play of light and texture; in personal keepsakes and lines of poetry (Fig. 3). Such vignettes function as indices to the feelings of loss, betrayal, and melancholy that accompany the mass migrations and acts of violence of

which her work softly speaks. Critics continue to describe her work as opaque, enigmatic, and purposefully evasive. This much is certainly true. Yet I would venture that this perception has as much to do with factors external to Bhimji's practice—such as the rise of artistic postmodernism and mounting debates about race, identity, and inclusivity in the British art world in the 1980s—as it does with the art itself. We assume that we are perceiving something absent or erased, yet too often ignore the visual intelligence of what is there, in plain sight before us.

Toward the advancement of scholarship on this earliest stage in Bhimji's career, this article focuses on the artist's photo-text work of the 1980s, and asks what new connections and frameworks may arise when we consider Bhimji's work in dialogue with a wider range of art made in and around the London scene of the 1980s and 1990s. The text unfolds in three sections: the first provides an overview of the institutional forces that limited the reception of work by Black British artists during these years; the second reconsiders Bhimji's art in relation to surrealist aesthetics and visualizations of memory and the unconscious, by way of the work of her tutor at Goldsmiths, the artist Mary Kelly; and the third addresses her work's relationship to poetry as an analogous creative form. In approaching Bhimji's work as part of a more complex art-historical lineage than is often assumed, I intend to trouble the stringency of art history's classificatory structures, as well as to demonstrate that post-colonial or Global South artists such as Bhimji are central, not peripheral, to the development of British contemporary art.

This strategy is motivated by the work of critics such as Jean Fisher and Kobena Mercer, who have long compelled art historians and critics to move beyond writing that overemphasizes sociological frameworks while neglecting the art object itself. As Mercer ventured in his essay "Iconography After Identity", which addresses the state of critical writing on Black British artists of the 1980s, "there is a strong tendency in much of this discourse to shuttle between two extremes, between a sort of low-grade celebrationism of multicultural murmuring and a highly charged, explosive and divisive controversy, both of which deflect attention from the work of art itself".⁵ He later surmises that:

because so much of the writing concentrates on the artist's biographical identity or the experience of exclusion in institutional practice, the more interesting problems and questions of interpretation concerning iconography and iconology tend to be continually pushed back and deferred.⁶

In much of her writing through the 1990s, Jean Fisher astutely acknowledged that:

to be locked into the frame of ethnicity is also to be locked *out* of a rigorous philosophical and historical debate that risks crippling the work's intellectual development, and excluding it from the global circuit of ideas where it rightfully belongs.⁷

I follow Fisher's imploration to "rethink the ways by which we frame art in order to *return to it what is proper to art*".⁸

My aim is not to discount the significance of Bhimji's position as a diasporic subject, which remains crucial to a holistic understanding of her art. Yet the issue lies with what is often a reductive reception of her works, whereby the search for biographical signification, guided by both the rise of critical postmodernism and the politics of racial representation in 1980s Britain, results in one of two outcomes: either the work is simplified and misread as being merely *about* South Asia, Uganda, or postcolonial histories in a didactic sense; or it is declared to be inadequate because such references aren't readily available at the surface. As one writer admitted in a 1988 feature on Bhimji's work, "[o]ne of the criticism[s] Zarina has received is that her work is 'not powerful enough', that it is too 'quiet', almost bordering on the passive".⁹ Responding to this critique, Bhimji has stated: "my work is not passive. It deals with complex issues which I like to give time to".¹⁰ By the early 1990s, Bhimji began to strongly resist being categorized or labeled as a "Black artist" or an "Asian artist", and refused to participate in any more group exhibitions that were premised around the theme of identity. As she told the art historian Zehra Jumabhoy in 2012, "I just don't find such conversations interesting".¹¹ Evidence of her refusals and objections are readily found and oft-noted in literature, interviews, and statements.

What should we make, then, of the subtle tableaux, fragmented textual phrases, and shifting points of view that characterize Bhimji's early photo-text installations? What other interpretive methods may be brought to bear on a practice that is intentionally guarded in the face of such critique? One method that is rarely explored is to reverse the terms of the above dismissal, to lean into the "quietness" in her art as a source of insight. In their edited volume, *Silence, Feminism, Power: Reflections at the Edges of Sound* (2013), Sheena Malhotra and Aimee Carillo Rowe suggest that "silence allows us the space to breathe. It allows us the freedom of not having to exist constantly in relation to what is said".¹² Running counter to the idea that "silence" is symptomatic of oppression and powerlessness—as in Gayatri Spivak's famous call for the subaltern to "speak"—Malhotra and Rowe problematize

our accepted understanding of a power dynamic that favors those with the loudest voice, or the paternalistic notion that voice needs only be 'given' to marginalized individuals. They ask, instead, a question that motivates my research and reflections on Bhimji's art: "What nuances, strategic forms of engagement and ways of navigating or resisting power are made possible through silence?" ¹³

From Two Worlds and the Politics of Representation in 1980s Britain

There is an almost playful sense of indirectness in Bhimji's statements about her upbringing and past experiences, which echoes the abstract visual language that characterizes much of her work. When asked about her childhood in Uganda, for instance, she has avoided factual anecdotes in favor of sensory invocations, describing images, sounds, and colors drawn directly from memory. In a 1993 interview, she explained that her earliest memories were "textural things which are very small rather than specific ... more like, the texture of the wallpaper, or the earth, or my brother being born". ¹⁴ One year earlier, speaking on BBC radio with the curator Mark Haworth-Booth, she recalled memories of "bees in cardboard boxes, the sound of it... the earth, the mud, the color of the mud". ¹⁵ Such anecdotes are of interest here, not necessarily because of *what* they tell us but *how*. Fascinated with such multilayered and subtle modes of expression, Bhimji has recounted the creative ways in which different members of her family "used" the Gujarati language: her father, for instance, incorporated metaphor into his speech, entangling multiple meanings and associations, never satisfied with simple facts and narratives. "That's how I think I developed my interest in poetry," she muses. "Things that he's told me, I found that I kind of use in my photography". ¹⁶

Bhimji was just eleven years old when her family, in 1974, joined the nearly 30,000 refugees who settled in the United Kingdom after Idi Amin's decree calling for the mass expulsion of Asians from Uganda two years earlier. Raised in Leicester, she came of age in an era of British politics notable for the xenophobic and anti-immigration campaigns of Conservative politicians such as Enoch Powell and Norman Tebbit, a period followed by a decade of austerity and ethno-nationalist nostalgia under Margaret Thatcher. As a teenager, Bhimji became interested in feminist and anti-racist activism, and was naturally drawn to the theatricality of such demonstrations. She visited the Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp, a non-violent activist community formed in the early 1980s to protest the establishment of an American nuclear base in the County of Berkshire, west of London. In their most well documented protest action in 1983, women gathered to link arms around nine miles of barbed-wire fencing. They affixed objects to the fences—baby clothes, bottles, teething rings, family photographs, and

stuffed animals—so that these intimate objects would demonstrate the human toll of nuclear catastrophe. Bhimji has recently recalled how the fence resembled a kind of site-specific art: “Looking back, it was this mix of ethical and intellectual reflections that stayed with me throughout my career as an artist”. ¹⁷

In 1983, Bhimji began her studies at Goldsmiths, where she continued to be drawn to the use of distinctive objects, or images thereof, as indirect stand-ins for her personal or emotional experience. Undated photographs from her student portfolio offer hints of her political awakening: in one, captioned “How India won her Freedom”, she layers her Student Union ID card from Goldsmiths over the visa document that allowed her entry to Britain from Uganda. In another, a pair of sandals is thrown haphazardly on the floor. One shoe has landed on a softcover book, which is open to the first page of bell hooks’ essay, “Racism and Feminism: The Issue of Accountability”. ¹⁸ The artist joined a women’s group at Goldsmiths, and read texts by Audre Lorde and Adrienne Rich, all of which informed her desire to fuse the personal and political in her art.

Bhimji’s debut on the British art scene coincided with several important group exhibitions of work by Black artists: *From Two Worlds* at London’s Whitechapel Gallery (1986), *The Image Employed* at Manchester’s Cornerhouse Gallery (1987), and *The Essential Black Art* at London’s Chisenhale Gallery (1988). Yet, like many artists of her generation, she soon grew uneasy that her participation in such survey shows would encourage the tokenization of her work within the wider British art world. Institutional interest in the work of Black artists, in the late 1980s, was often led by a new Arts Council policy whereby arts organizations could only access all available funding by promoting “diversity”. ¹⁹ Between 1985 and 1990 alone she participated in nearly fifteen group exhibitions that were themed around varied demarcations of racial or ethnic identity. These included shows that emphasized Asian or Asian-British identity, such as *Jagrati* at the Greenwich People’s Gallery, London (1986), *Darshan* at Camerawork Gallery, London (1986), and *Fabled Territories* at the Leeds City Art Gallery (1990), as well as those themed around Black or Black-British identity, including *Mirror Reflecting Darkly* at Brixton Art Gallery, London (1985), *Black Women Photographers* at Camden Arts Centre, London (1987), *The Devil’s Feast* at Chelsea School of Art, London (1987), and *Dislocation* at Kettle’s Yard Art Gallery, Cambridge (1987), among others.

Such exhibitions arrived on the heels of decades of activism waged in protest of the British art world’s pervasive culture of racial exclusionism, yet they were inadequate solutions proposed via bureaucratic channels. ²⁰ In 1981, for instance, the Greater London Council implemented a “Race Relations Unit” and “Ethnic Minorities Committee”, the latter appended by a

subdivision called the “Black Arts Division” that sponsored exhibitions and provided funding to artists. In the following few years, the Arts Council of Great Britain created new appointments and committees tasked with supporting “Black and Minority Ethnic” artists. This increase in financial support was certainly welcome, yet, as Naseem Khan had predicted half a decade earlier in her prescient 1976 report, *The Arts Britain Ignores*, the “creation of new structures, Ethnic Arts Boards and full time officers” ran the risk of furthering segregation within the art world, establishing “an alternative body—a sort of parallel black Arts Council”, which would “perpetuate the myth that ethnic arts are some special activity for ethnic minorities alone”. ²¹

These developments meant that Black artists were increasingly limited in their control over the contexts in which their work was displayed. The checklists for exhibitions bearing titles such as *Eastern Views: Works by Young Asian Artists from the Midlands* (New Walk Museum, Leicester, 1985) or *Double-Vision: An Exhibition of Contemporary Afro-Caribbean Art* (Cartwright Hall, Bradford, 1986–87), were guided by artists’ backgrounds, rather than a desire for thematic or stylistic cohesion. Viewers, in turn, came to expect such projects to be instructive or educational, as if an exercise in sociology rather than art. As Fisher would later put it, the art criticism that followed “tends not to look at or address the experience of the work but rather, a commodified level of context”. ²² The result is palpable in critical responses that range from the naive to the pernicious; in a review of the groundbreaking *Into the Open* at Sheffield’s Mapping Gallery, Waldemar Januszczak ventures that “all black art is no more worthy of our undivided attention than all white art”, a statement that is perhaps only palatable when understood as a condemnation of the “survey” model in general. ²³ As Eddie Chambers notes, overtly racist language can be found in many critical assessments of the era’s most significant exhibitions, where terms such as “loud and angry”, or “choking on its own anger” are deployed “to describe art that had attempted to challenge racism or explore identity and culture”. ²⁴ Eventually, as Fisher has remarked, “the perception that an ‘ethnicity marker’ would, on the one hand, lead to limited readings of the work, and on the other, prejudice an artist’s success in a commercial market unreceptive to non-white artists was ... a wide-spread anxiety”. ²⁵ This claim is evidenced by the refusals of such artists as Anish Kapoor and Shirazeh Houshiary, who primarily work in abstraction and have achieved widespread acclaim since the 1980s, to participate in exhibitions such as *The Other Story*. Bhimji’s own early hesitation is legible in her contribution to the *From Two Worlds* exhibition catalogue, in which she asserts that “the act of making oneself visible, of exploring identity’s many selves, can be a dangerous one”, and that she “refuses to adopt the constraints of soul destroying stereotypes”. ²⁶

In fact, the example of *From Two Worlds* at the Whitechapel Gallery, which constitutes Bhimji's debut in a major institutional venue, lends some context to these concerns. Themed around the notion of cultural synthesis, the show was organized by then director Nicholas Serota in collaboration with the artists Gavin Jantjes, Sonia Boyce and Veronica Ryan, who acted as selectors. In the catalogue, the organizers write that they "felt that the most valuable exhibition at this moment would be one which sought to reveal the limitation of labels such as "Asian", "Indian", "Japanese", or "Afro-Caribbean" which are often used unthinkingly to describe art of very different moods and ambitions."²⁷ The show generated mixed reviews, both within and beyond the Black British art scene. James Lampley wrote for the *African Concord* that: "*From Two Worlds* ... openly invites the kind of labels that its organisers are determined to avoid: the "ethnic" tag generally appended to art emanating from the Third World, or in this instance, art by non-European artists living in Britain."²⁸ In *City Limits: London*, Mark Currah suggests that the included work "overcomes the restrictions imposed on it: the category into which it had to fit to merit inclusion".²⁹ The Artist Keith Piper wrote that *From Two Worlds* "looked and operated as if it had been formulated within the classic 'survey' mould", echoing the response of Chambers, who declined to participate and later ventured that the show was "arguably, ultimately an exercise in marginalization".³⁰

The discourse surrounding this exhibition reveals much about the forces guiding the interpretation of work by Black artists that diverged from the kinds of sociological or political expressions that critics had by then come to expect. While Bhimji turned away from biographical and culturally specific content in her art of the 1990s, her early photo-text installations provide an interesting opportunity to expand our interpretive toolkit; in many cases, these works *do* address issues surrounding gender, immigration, and diaspora, but perhaps the more interesting question is *how*. Fisher, again, offers insightful commentary on art criticism in the age of postmodernist identity politics. She cautions against "a return to some hermetic formalist critique", clarifying instead: "I am asking how we might effectively understand the processes of art, especially where cross-cultural symbolic orders are employed, without making them a sub-category of, say, anthropology or sociology. Visual art remains a material-based process, functioning on the level of *affect*, not purely semiotics—i.e., a synaesthetic relation is established between work and viewer which is *in excess of* *visuality*. It involves rather enigmatic sensations such as the vibrations of rhythm and spatiality, in a sense of scale and volume, of touch and smell, of lightness, stillness, silence or noise, all of which resonate with the body and its reminiscences and operate on the level of "sense" not "meaning"'.³¹ For *From Two Worlds*, Bhimji presented two photo-text installations (both 1986), which were installed across a corner of a gallery. One of these, entitled *What*

She Herself...Is...Was...Would Like To Be? is a grouping of eight “stained” amber-colored photographs of clothing paired with elusive fragments of text (Fig. 4). This work’s title is a reference to the short phrases that are embossed in a stenciled typeface across the panels. Visual motifs include clothing strewn across the floor, a small painted box with decorative floral patterns, and an embroidered object (Fig. 5).



Figure 4.

Zarina Bhimji, *WHAT SHE HERSELF...WAS...IS...WOULD LIKE TO BE?*, installation, Goldsmiths, University of London, 1986. Also exhibited at *From Two Worlds*, Whitechapel Gallery, London, 1986, toned photograph on document art paper. 35mm film, black & white, hand toned, 46 × 314 × 6.4 cm (overall dimensions variable). Digital image courtesy of Zarina Bhimji. DACS/Artimage 2021 (All rights reserved).



Figure 5.

Zarina Bhimji, WHAT SHE HERSELF...WAS...IS...WOULD LIKE TO BE? (detail), exhibited at Goldsmiths, University of London. 1986. Also exhibited at *From Two Worlds*, Whitechapel Gallery, London, 1986, toned photograph on document art paper. 35mm film, black & white, hand toned, 46 x 314 x 6.4 cm (overall dimensions variable). Digital image courtesy of Zarina Bhimji. DACS/Artimage 2021 (All rights reserved).

No doubt prompted by the overarching theme of *From Two Worlds* as it relates to expressions of cultural identity, commentators tended to search for perceived signifiers of “Indianness” within Bhimji’s contribution to *From Two Worlds*, despite there being very few within the images (Fig. 6). Nick Axarlis, for instance, suggested that the artist “uses photography and text to investigate the lives of Asian women”, a statement that seems slightly at odds with the highly personal nature of Bhimji’s art;³² Deanna Petherbridge misidentified an object in one photograph as a “skull cap” worn by Muslims during daily prayers.³³ Yet relevant iconography was subtly present. In addition to the titular stenciled phrase, Bhimji included handwritten texts, photographed and re-printed for the installation, which seemed to narrate her personal negotiation of cultural identity: “The past is a dream”, reads the leftmost panel, in cursive handwriting. “Flying my flag of identity, I prowl, in search of the chanting, incognito still, alone, but aware, visible. In peach shalwar kamiz with red geometric pattern ... Black Boots”. A nearby photograph depicted a pair of trousers, a blouse, and a pair of black Doc Martens. For some, the shoes may have recalled Mona Hatoum’s 1985 *Roadworks* performance in Brixton, wherein the British-Palestinian artist

walked barefoot, with Doc Martens—a symbol of British ethno-nationalism, “usually worn by both police and skinheads”—laced around her ankles like prisoner’s shackles (Fig. 7).³⁴ As such, in Bhimji’s piece, text and image work together to suggest that her British and Indian identities may be tried on or taken off at will.



Figure 6.

Zarina Bhimji, *WHAT SHE HERSELF...WAS...IS...WOULD LIKE TO BE?*, installation, Goldsmiths, University of London, 1986. Also exhibited at *From Two Worlds*, Whitechapel Gallery, London, 1986, 1997, toned photograph on document art paper. 35mm film, black & white, hand toned, 76.4 × 113.6 cm. Digital image courtesy of Zarina Bhimji. DACS/ Artimage 2021 (All rights reserved).



Figure 7.

Mona Hatoum, Performance Still, Roadworks, 1985–1996, gelatin-silver print on paper, mounted on aluminium, 76.4 × 113.6 cm. Collection of Tate (P80087). Digital image courtesy of Mona Hatoum (All rights reserved).

The second installation, entitled *Peckham = Uganda*, similarly comprised a set of enigmatic photographs of found objects, mainly dolls and childhood toys arranged atop rocks or within abstracted, empty fields (Fig. 8). In most cases, the objects were placed on the floor or viewed from unusual angles; sometimes, the rug or floor alone was all that was captured in the frame. The images were paired with a disjointed narrative that described memories related to assault, fear, and police violence in both Uganda and Britain. While Bhimji's texts offered a view into the visceral experience of living through a civil war, the images in both installations were comparatively inscrutable.



Figure 8.

Zarina Bhimji, *Peckham = Uganda*, exhibited at Goldsmiths, University of London, 1986. Also exhibited at *From Two Worlds*, Whitechapel Gallery, London, 1986, 1986, liquid light on glass, text, muslin, box frame, 66.04 x 33.02 cm. Digital image courtesy of Zarina Bhimji. DACS/Artimage 2021 (All rights reserved).

Writing for the *Financial Times*, Petherbridge devoted to Bhimji the highest word count of all the artists exhibiting in *From Two Worlds*. More specifically, she targets the artist's use, or alleged *misuse*, of the photo-text installation format. After discussing Rasheed Araeen's piece *Look Mama...Macho* (1986), which draws inspiration from Frantz Fanon's *Black Skin, White Masks*, and contains, in Petherbridge's description, "photographs of blood and slaughter" meant to symbolize religious ritual, the critic then posits an affinity between Araeen's and Bhimji's works, writing that "Zarina Bhimji has also chosen to work within the conventions of the cultural models of the photo-text practice". She continues,

Zarina's family fled Idi Amin's dictatorship when she was 11, and her personal experiences are incorporated within the work following the conventions of feminist practice where personal and political are opposed as a dialectic. Although her red photographic images of clothes—embroidered skull caps and abandoned saris—are poignant and sad, [the] rigid alienation techniques of this very specific form of art-practice are shown up as being inadequate for her needs.

In exhibitions of black or non-European artists working in Britain, criticisms have been made of inadequate uses of cultural models:

What is not observed is that perhaps the standard and restricted models of mainstream Western art are not adequate for the passion, the newness, or the discord of the message.³⁵

Petherbridge seems to appreciate the tender beauty of Bhimji's photographs, yet expresses some hesitation with regard to the artist's choice of a "rigid" artistic format that had been used to comment on issues of representation or mass media by postmodern artists such as Barbara Kruger, Adrian Piper, and Lorna Simpson in the United States, and by Mitra Tabrizian and Victor Burgin in Britain. She brings certain expectations to her encounter with Bhimji's work, whereby the "message" projected in works by "black and non-European artists" is seen in opposition to art that is "standard" and "mainstream"—terms that establish the modernist white artist as a normative or neutral aesthetic standard.

There is much to unpack in this view that Bhimji's work is somehow disconnected to the aims of photo-text installation. For one, this claim reflects wider divisions emerging within fields concerned with identity politics, such as feminist art, around this time. As the critic Janet Wolff has explained, for instance, the photo-text format had been relegated to one side of a rigid boundary that separated "the cerebral" from "the intuitive" as conceptual aims in women's art practices since the 1970s.³⁶ This dichotomy is one among many binary oppositions that were debated within feminist circles, such as "'scripto-visual' work versus painting; deconstruction versus celebration; theory versus experience; and elitism versus accessibility". To this point, by opening her own discussion on Bhimji's work with a statement on the artist's diasporic background, Petherbridge suggests from the start that because the work's content is likely biographical or personal, her use of a "critical" aesthetic format appeared to transgress the boundaries that separated these two distinct methods of practice. In contrast to the cool and ironic style associated with the media-savvy generation that preceded her, for which photo-text art may be most suited, Bhimji's work seemed too diaristic and intimate. As Petherbridge suggests, more generously, the format itself was perhaps too rigid a choice for her distinctive artistic vision.

The difficulty of placing Bhimji within the photo-text genre can be read between the lines of much commentary on this stage of her practice, and is alluded to, for instance, in Kellie Jones's significant *Artforum* essay "In Their Own Image" (1990).³⁷ In this piece, Jones writes about the ways in which Black women artists on both sides of the Atlantic make use of the photo-text method. She claims astutely that the genre's efficacy stems, in part, from its ability to mirror "the way photographs usually circulate in the world: in magazines, newspapers, and advertising, and on television an image is

always accompanied by a verbal cue”, noting that adding text “can also expand the meaning of a single image”.³⁸ Such works, Jones explains, provocatively address “the commodification and objectification of women”, while in some cases, “strident texts appropriate a ‘male’ voice, critiquing the foundations of authority”.³⁹ These descriptions best suit examples such as Mitra Tabrizian’s renderings of movie posters (1986–1987) that feature “women who appropriate femininity as power” (Fig. 9).⁴⁰ Jones connects Bhimji’s more introspective photographs to this group by way of her attention to “the broader issues of migration, displacement and identity”, but she also writes that her images depict “vaguely defined objects connected with ‘Indianness’”, that “float in and out of view” and are often encountered as “large, at times grainy, photographs” in which the images are blurred, overexposed, or somehow unresolved—qualities that seem at odds with the confrontational and slick aesthetics of much postmodernist photo-text installation.⁴¹



Figure 9.

Mitra Tabrizian, *The Blues* (detail), colour photograph. Digital image courtesy of Mitra Tabrizian. DACS/Artimage 2021 (All rights reserved).

It is to these early works and their reception that we may trace the origin of what Jumabhoy calls “the problem of situating Bhimji”.⁴² The artist’s work is undoubtedly informed by third-wave feminist literature, and by her own experiences as an Asian woman and an immigrant in Britain. Thus critics expect to encounter a deconstructive practice—perhaps signaled by operations of appropriation or the use of mass media artifacts—but instead

they find a more intimate and elusive art. Following these observations, most recent scholarship on Bhimji's practice has acknowledged its enigmatic nature. For instance, T.J. Demos identifies in Bhimji's recent work an "aesthetics of opacity ... a poetics of the image disconnected from background information", the implications of which he sensitively outlines with regards to Bhimji's diasporic identity.⁴³ As he puts it, Bhimji's later filmic works "'speak' ... with a telling silence".⁴⁴ Likewise, responding to the observation that "Bhimji herself has for years been vitriolic" about the subject of racial categorization, Jumabhoy aligns the artist's "hazy" aesthetic with the theories of cultural hybridity espoused by Homi Bhabha and others, linking her imagery to Bhabha's own "swishy language, the unraveling sentence structures, the muddying of metaphors" that offer ambiguity in both content and form.⁴⁵

Expanding on the work of these and other scholars, I propose a kind of lateral view across art history—one that seeks connections across modalities and movements without necessarily making a claim that such interrelationships are derivative or directly consequential to one another. Bhimji's photo-text work can be understood, for example, through the lens of a wider range of local artistic models than the cohort with whom she most often exhibited. Specifically, her emphasis on affect, memory and the symbolic use of childhood or domestic objects, and her blending of the "critical" and the "intimate", may have its roots in another constellation of artists working in and out of London at this time, mainly Bhimji's tutor, the conceptual artist Mary Kelly (but also Susan Hiller, Helen Chadwick, and others).

Kelly's work of the late twentieth century combines the stark didacticism of conceptual art with disarmingly personal subject matter, which sometimes includes abject bodily reference. She has resisted the appellation "feminist artist", despite her work's engagement with themes surrounding women's embodied and psychological experiences. In the artist's words, "you have to talk about feminist interventions in art practice and not 'feminist art'".⁴⁶ Thus, poised between the boundaries of several post-war movements, her practice has been subject to critique on all sides: conceptual artists bristled at her inclusion of references to motherhood and child-rearing in an otherwise stark and theory-driven artistic field, while feminist artists often found her work alienating and inaccessible.⁴⁷ In ways that echo my characterization of Bhimji's inclination in the 1980s, Griselda Pollock has described Kelly's filmic and artistic practice according to qualities of negation, which are shared by that of Laura Mulvey and other avant-garde filmmakers in 1970s London, for instance, "the refusal to opt either for social realism and political immediacy or formalism and self-referentiality".⁴⁸

While the multivalence of Kelly's practice cannot be captured in full herein, I wish to focus on a facet of her work that has been brilliantly examined by Margaret Iversen, which is her oeuvre's apparent engagement with (and perhaps, intervention in) surrealist aesthetics via psychoanalytic theory. The combination, in Kelly's practice, of purposefully disorienting or distancing visual methods with a deep interrogation of subjectivity and the body, opens up new interpretive pathways that we may bring to Bhimji's own early work, specifically her focus on symbolic part-objects and the relationship of text and image. As with Bhimji's later practice, Kelly resists figural representation in many of her installations made during the 1970s and 1980s, which instead feature articles of clothing, indices of touch, and unfiltered writing as a gateway to questions of subjectivity and the subconscious. These works originate, Iversen proposes, in a modernist interrogation of the subconscious that can be traced to the early twentieth-century avant-garde, and not necessarily in the postmodern politics of representation, although the latter provides a crucial framework for the development of both artists' work. Toward the thesis that Bhimji's photo-text work is ultimately intended as a poetic articulation of memory, the following section proposes an alternate artistic lineage for Bhimji's distinctly enigmatic visions of diaspora experience.

The Intimacy of the Index

While connections between Bhimji and Kelly have not been ventured in the scholarship on Bhimji's work, aside from a brief (and important) mention in a footnote in Demos's aforementioned essay, traces of this relationship can be found scattered throughout archival materials and lesser-known primary sources. Bhimji mentioned the influence of her tutor in a 1992 radio interview with Mark Haworth-Booth, when she describes the formative nature of her experience at Goldsmiths; she briefly recalls that "Mary Kelly was teaching there at the time" and notes the influence of women's student groups, adding that "I'd never read poetry or come across poetry in my life before [...] so I learnt things like that". ⁴⁹ Further, the connection is noted in a 1987 article by Anandi Ramamurthy in *Artrage Magazine*, which discusses the work of several Asian artists. Succinctly anticipating some of the arguments that I hope to develop here, Ramamurthy writes:

We are all living in Britain and we are by no means oblivious to the experimentation and creativity that is going on around us. Zarina Bhimji's work for example, has been influenced by Mary Kelly and other white feminist artists. Like Mary Kelly, she too

creates portraits of herself through her clothes and belongings, but her works are less time specific and evoke a multiplicity of emotions. ⁵⁰

Born in Iowa in 1941, Kelly lived in London from 1967 to 1987. She was involved with the Berwick Street Film Collective in the early 1970s and attended Saint Martin's School of Art, known for its cultivation of an advanced conceptual art cohort. She held a teaching position at Goldsmiths from 1977 to 1987. The distinct character of her artistic style—marked by an emphasis on repetition, seriality, and duration—is perhaps indebted to her training at Saint Martins, yet her practice developed in what she called the “open space” left unexplored by her male peers, who were reluctant to address the gendered condition of subjectivity through a deconstructive lens. “I did want to shift the emphasis from the notion of the analytical proposition to a more synthetic process”, she notes. “In my case, obviously, the founding condition is an investigation of the subject”. ⁵¹

Affect and theory work in tandem in Kelly's art to encourage the viewer's emotional identification with her subjects, an aim which is made possible through the auratic nature of individual artifacts and texts. In her seminal installation, *Post-Partum Document*, Kelly draws from psychoanalytic discourse on femininity and motherhood in order to align her “insistent and almost intuitive” desire for theory with “the cathexis of the everyday experience of mothering”. ⁵² Completed in 1973–1979, the installation comprises six parts, with the later stages unfolding during Kelly's tenure at Goldsmiths. Each presents material objects that index the evolving relationship between the artist and her infant son: wool vests, diaper liners, and examples of the child's scribbles, writings, and speech acts (Fig. 10). These artifacts are accompanied by analytic diagrams and diary-like texts written by the artist; such private traces are then sorted, classified, and preserved, re-enacting the mother's attempts to postpone the loss of her son to the world of language and culture. Kelly mines her diagrams from psychoanalytic literature and from Western aesthetic and philosophical history, emphasizing the legacy of Enlightenment visuality through allusions to thinkers such as Leon Battista Alberti and René Descartes. In so doing, she absorbed a then recent wave of critical theory that described modernism as a pervasive epistemological system, which itself must be deconstructed before any real social change could be expected. Yet Kelly insists on a kind of haptic aesthetic not present in much deconstructive art; as she later remarked, “there's no point at which it can become a critical engagement if the viewer is not first—immediately and affectively—drawn into the work”. ⁵³



Figure 10.

Mary Kelly, *Post-Partum Document: Documentation IV, Transitional Objects, Diary and Diagram (prototype)*, 1 of 11 units, 1976/2015, Perspex, white card, plaster, cotton, ink, string, wood, 35.5 × 28 cm each. Collection of Museum of Modern Art, New York. Digital image courtesy of The artist and Pippy Houldsworth Gallery, London (All rights reserved).

The dualities and oppositions inherent in Kelly's work reveal the double-bind that women artists—and others whose perspectives have been erased within high modernist discourse—had to negotiate as feminist art and politics gained visibility in the 1970s. Debuted at the Institute of Contemporary Art, London, *Post-Partum Document* was lambasted and ridiculed for the inclusion of “dirty nappies” in the galleries; those who were sympathetic to the modernist project of artistic autonomy vilified the installation’s body-oriented materiality. On the other hand, many felt that her work’s emphasis on theory was alienating, even *anti-feminist*, “too cerebral and obscure”.⁵⁴

Within the contradictory space between these critiques lies one of the primary affinities between Kelly and Bhimji: both artists are deeply interested in the politics of the body, yet refuse to directly represent it in their work. Referring to the performative gestures that came to define feminist art practice in her generation, Kelly later explained, “a number of women used their own bodies or images to raise questions about gender, but it was not that effective, in part because this was what women in art were expected to do”.⁵⁵ Bhimji has likewise very rarely produced representations of the body in her art; the primary exception among her photo-text works—the 1989 installation *Live for Sharam and Die for Izzat*—contains images only of a nude male figure (Figs. 11 and 12). The absence of the artist’s own body works strategically against (white) viewers’ preconceived expectations for her work. In fact, Kelly has likewise hinted that her decision not to picture the body was meant as a preventative measure against women’s own subconscious “identification with the male voyeur”.⁵⁶



Figure 11.

Zarina Bhimji, *Live for Sharam and Die for Izzat* (detail), commissioned by The Photographers' Gallery, London UK, 1989, installation consisting of seven lith film prints, hand-colored, suspended from the ceiling. Fourteen gelatin-silver prints and text, wall mounted, 35mm film, black & white, dimensions variable. Digital image courtesy of Zarina Bhimji. DACS/Artimage 2021 (All rights reserved).



Figure 12.

Zarina Bhimji, *Live for Sharam and Die for Izzat* (detail), commissioned by The Photographers' Gallery, London UK, 1989, installation consisting of seven lith film prints, hand-colored, suspended from the ceiling. Fourteen gelatin-silver prints and text, wall mounted, 35mm film, black & white, dimensions variable. Digital image courtesy of Zarina Bhimji. DACS/ Artimage 2021 (All rights reserved).



Figure 13.

Mary Kelly, *Interim, Part I: Corpus (Menacé)*, detail, 1 of 30 framed parts, 1984–1985, laminated photo positive, silkscreen, acrylic on Plexiglass, 121.9 × 91.4 cm each. Digital image courtesy of The artist and Pippy Houldsworth Gallery, London (All rights reserved).



Figure 14.

Mary Kelly, *Interim, Part I: Corpus (Extase)*, detail, 1 of 30 framed parts, 1984–1985, laminated photo positive, silkscreen, acrylic on Plexiglass, 121.9 × 91.4 cm each. Digital image courtesy of The artist and Pippy Houldsworth Gallery, London (All rights reserved).

In her 1997 essay, “Visualizing the Unconscious”, Iversen traces many of Kelly’s artistic choices to surrealist art, an unexpected source that nonetheless casts works like *Corpus* in a new light. She focuses on Kelly’s direct engagement with concepts in psychoanalysis, a point of departure shared with André Breton and his surrealist cohort, who sought to envision the workings of the unconscious mind using methods like automatism and dream-work. As Iversen explains, “the combination in Surrealism and in Kelly’s work of psychoanalysis, politics, word-image art practice, found objects, as well as ‘ethnographic research’ and documentation, makes the comparison compelling”.⁵⁷ While the writer warns of some significant ideological differences—namely, the culture of sexism (and I would add primitivism) that characterized many of the surrealists’ exploits—this reading

nonetheless opens up an alternate art-historical lineage for certain photo-text practices of the later twentieth century that seem slightly out of sync with the deconstructive or media-centric methods of postmodernist art. If we may further triangulate this lineage—that is to say, to position surrealism, Kelly, and later Bhimji in dialogue—we might understand that the younger artist’s work need not be written off as semiotically illegible or “closed” to critique, as has often been proposed; rather, it succeeds at an entirely different aim: the articulation of her personal experience not through iconographic representation but rather through the illogical and enigmatic languages of dreams, memory, and the irrational.

Iversen explains, for instance, that articles of clothing often functioned in surrealist art as fetishes that signified the absent body, as in Meret Oppenheim’s sculpture of bound shoes (*Object*, 1936), Giorgio de Chirico’s paintings of gloves and other isolated hand-like forms (such as in *The Song of Love*, 1914), and André Breton’s cast-bronze sculpture of a woman’s glove (*Gant de Femme*, 1926). She asserts that the images in Kelly’s *Corpus* may have been inspired by the latter—that “article of clothing suggesting a metonymy of part for whole (the glove standing in for the whole woman) and having a definite expressive character” (Fig. 15).⁵⁸

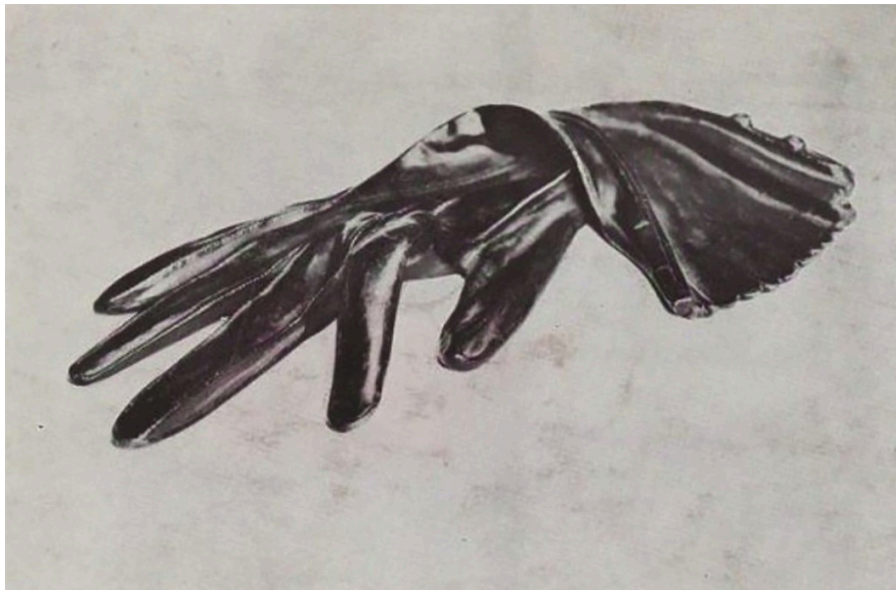


Figure 15.

Brassaï, Untitled, from André Breton, *Nadja*, 1924, photograph. Digital image courtesy of Association Atelier André Breton (All rights reserved).

To create *Corpus*, Kelly applied semi-transparent photographic laminates directly to the Perspex. Each image would cast a faint shadow behind it, “emphasizing the space or gap behind”. For Iversen, this effect bears

resemblance to works on glass by Marcel Duchamp, such as *Glider Containing a Watermill (1913–1915)*, which “sits on a hinge attached to the wall and throws a shadow on the wall”, just as Kelly’s images of jackets and vests cast a shadow on the matter within the frame.⁵⁹ As she explains, quoting the artist:

Kelly gives us a clue to what she found valuable in this work and the photographs when she contrasts the function of perspective construction, in which the surface of the picture is tied to a geometric point and conceived as the intersection of a pyramidal path of light, with another kind of picture found in “the realm of lost objects”, a realm where “vanishing points are determined not by geometry, but by *what is real for the subject, points linked, not to a surface, but to a place—the unconscious—and not by means of light, but by the laws of primary process*”.

Orthodox perspective construction was either entirely disposed of, or skewed and exaggerated, as in painting by de Chirico or Dalí. *But for the representation of lost-objects, traces of experience or traumas cut off from consciousness, the object is perhaps best represented as isolated, floating in an uncharted space.* [my emphasis]⁶⁰

Above, Iversen posits that new types of perspectival construction seen in surrealist photography are visually representative of unconscious states; such images depart from the conventions of naturalism, whose aim is to transcribe “reality” in an objectively accurate and recognizable (iconic) manner. This effect can also be discerned in Bhimji’s early photographs, which utilize a generous manipulation of aperture and other techniques of distortion. Bhimji has remarked that early in her studies, she was “interested in the idea that you could photograph something in macro lens and blow it up so big” to present a humble subject in monumental scale or heightened focus. This brings to mind canonical examples of surrealist photography such as Brassai’s *Sculptures Involontaires* (Fig. 16).⁶¹ Across her early works, subjects are often severely foreshortened, portrayed from a child’s point of view, as depicted from a standing position, with the camera pointed toward the floor or her own feet.

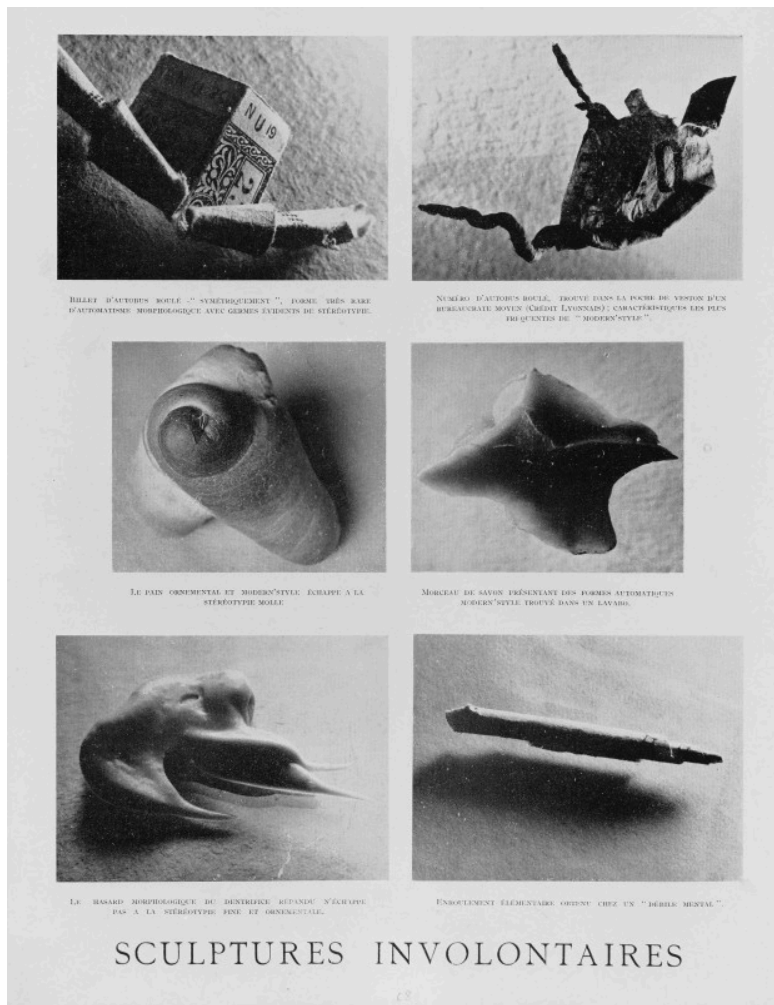


Figure 16.

Brassai, *Sculptures Involontaires*, from *Minotaure*, Nos. 3-4 (Paris: Albert Skira, 12 December 1933), photograph. Collection of RMN-Grand Palais. Digital image courtesy of Estate Brassai / Photo: Jean-Gilles Berizzi (All rights reserved).

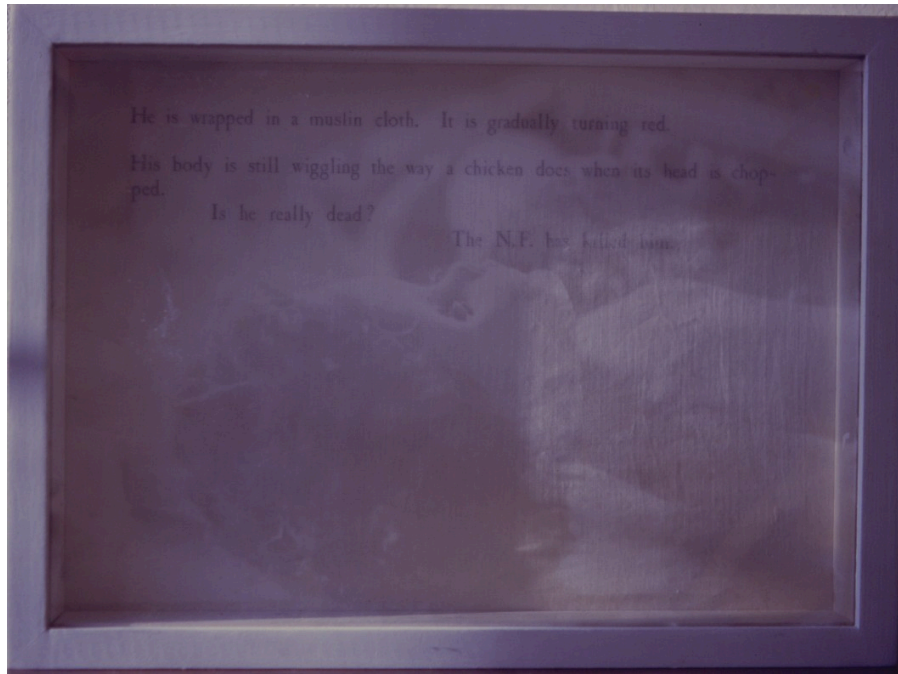


Figure 17.

Zarina Bhimji, *Peckham = Uganda* (detail), exhibited at Goldsmiths, University of London, 1986. Also exhibited at *From Two Worlds*, Whitechapel Gallery, London, 1986, liquid light on glass, text, muslin, box frame, 35mm film, black & white, 66.04 × 33.02 cm. Digital image courtesy of Zarina Bhimji. DACS/Artimage 2021 (All rights reserved).

Iversen's invocation of Duchamp's works on glass is especially pertinent to Bhimji's own lesser-known experiments in the same medium. In Bhimji's installation *Peckham = Uganda*, exhibited in *From Two Worlds*, the artist did not make use of paper at all. Grey picture frames were transformed into shallow display boxes, into which she placed pieces of muslin embedded with typed prose, which is printed on the cloth itself. She exposed six photographic images directly onto the sheets of glass that are set within these frames, using an emulsion called liquid light—a light-sensitive colloid that can be spread over any surface to create a photographic substrate. Using this method, the artist produced a ghostly, ethereal effect in which each semi-transparent image hovers over thin lines of text. In a similar manner to *Corpus*, the wall-mounted installation comprises floating images that create the shadow effect previously described (Fig. 17).

The use of transparency and hovering images serves to mimic and exaggerate the suspenseful compositions of Bhimji's photographs. For instance, one image depicts a small figurine, which is cropped and diagonally angled such that it appears to be lying on its back. While miniscule, the object occupies the majority of the composition and is further magnified by

its isolation within an empty visual field. Another image in the sequence features a baby doll lying unclothed on a sullied surface; her plastic eyelids are lightly shut and her tousled hair is covered in a sticky substance. The doll's face and chest are lit from above. Bhimji's camera scrutinizes the form of the head with her macro lens, as individual hairs and bits of dust catch light and focus. In a third photograph, Bhimji captures a broader spread of fragmented objects: a child's shoe (its strap unfastened), the detached leg of a plastic doll (à la Hans Bellmer, perhaps), and other objects resting on a stone surface. The image is shot from directly overhead in bright sunlight, such that each object's shadow is cast just beneath it.

Bhimji's photographs appear to allude to the visual presentation of dreams and fantasies, and the repression of trauma. Precedents for her aesthetic choices may also be found in the surrealists, who were suspicious, at first, of photography's capacity to visualize the unconscious. Breton was famously skeptical about images, in general, favoring automatic writing as a method through which the "pure creations of the mind" could be channeled. As Rosalind Krauss explains, photography's indexicality is potentially problematic because of its close ties to the physical world.⁶² Because we often *expect* photography to be realistic, any apparent "distortions" will appear artificially derived.

However, as Victor Burgin has commented, retinal images seen by the human eye are already inverted and distorted. He writes:

We make mental allowances for the known relative sizes of objects which override the actual relative sizes of their images on our retina; we also make allowances for perspectival effects such as foreshortening, the foundation of the erroneous popular judgment that such effects in photography are "distortions".⁶³

As he later concludes, "seeing is not an activity divorced from the rest of consciousness".⁶⁴ Surrealist images, then, draw attention to the hidden mechanics of vision; naturalism in art is, in fact, *less* real and *more* manipulated. For photography to further embody the tenets of surrealism, the medium needed to be dislodged from its status as a narrative document that simply recorded the real. If artists could disorient and distort the photographic image, perhaps the real itself could be recast as surreal. Likewise, Krauss posits that photography's indexicality works in service of surrealism when the image is able to express "the paradox of reality constructed as a sign—or presence transformed into absence, into representational space, into spacing, into writing".⁶⁵ This is achieved through experimentation with the medium itself, such as "solarization,

negative printing, cliché verre, multiple exposure, photomontage, and photocollage”, to which we may add the ghostly result of developing with liquid light, although straight photography can also dislocate reality.⁶⁶ In essence, surrealist photography performs a kind of visual automatism wherein the world writes itself—through the use of isolation, cropping or framing, through manipulating scale and point of view, such images model “the experience of nature as a sign or representation”.⁶⁷



Figure 18.

Mari Mahr, *Untitled #5*, from *13 Clues to a Fictitious Crime*, 1983, gelatin-silver photograph, 23 × 15.2 cm. Collection of Art Gallery of New South Wales (547.1996.5). Digital image courtesy of Mari Mahr / the Art Gallery of New South Wales (All rights reserved).

While Kelly’s installations reproduce the isolating effect of surrealist photographs, Bhimji may have also found precedent in the work of artists like Mari Mahr, whose surrealist-inspired photographs featuring displaced or fragmented objects were on view in several (solo and group) exhibitions in

London throughout the 1980s.⁶⁸ Born in Chile in 1951, Mahr arrived in England after studying photojournalism in Budapest during the 1960s and 1970s, but quickly abandoned the documentary style. Interested in memory, imagination, and fantasy, Mahr photographed “ephemeral objects, insignificant in themselves, which may nevertheless carry a charge powerful enough to release memories and associations long since buried”.⁶⁹ Bhimji even noted some similarities between her practice and Mahr’s, such as Mahr’s use of document art paper (which lent the photograph an object-like tactility).⁷⁰ What is more striking is the way each artist subverts the verisimilitude of photography through manipulations in scale, strange juxtapositions, and imagery that appears haunting or elegiac (Fig. 18). Nigel Finch, for instance, describes the quotidian sources of Mahr’s inspiration in a way that echoes Bhimji’s descriptions of her own work, writing that “she seemed to be fabricating a world from glimpsed events, snippets of overheard conversations, and borrowed objects”.⁷¹ As immigrant artists living in a society different from the one in which they were raised, perhaps Bhimji and Mahr shared a heightened awareness of details in the visual environment that others fail to notice; even the most everyday signs and utterances can be rich in aesthetic impact and easily rendered strange.



Figure 19.

Mary Kelly, *Interim, Part I: Corpus (Menacé)*, detail, 1 of 30 framed parts, 1984–1985, laminated photo positive, silkscreen, acrylic on plexiglass, 121.9 × 91.4 cm each. Digital image courtesy of The artist and Pippy Houldsworth Gallery, London (All rights reserved).

Mahr added handwritten texts to some of her photographs in her early series, *Movie Pictures* (1980), widening the range of associations invited by her images. In fact, both Kelly and Bhimji likewise include traces of linguistic rhymes, doubles, and automatic processes in their photo-text work, recalling the automatist experimentations and wordplay of the surrealists. In *Corpus*, cursive texts are silkscreened directly onto the backs of each Plexiglass sheet paired with an image of clothing (Fig. 19). Kelly's hand-rendering of her texts ensures that these narratives can be read as indexes, or in her words, “as a texture of writing, as evidence of the body”. She explains that “[t]he use of the first personal indicative feels as if you’re listening to someone speaking. It’s about that experience of the voice”.⁷² Moreover, the viewer is able to see herself reflected in the Perspex, “inviting pleasurable

identification with the characters” who describe each anecdote. The work speaks to the power of a collective unconscious, a chorus of “many bodies, shaped within a lot of different discourses”. ⁷³

As such, turning finally to the text that Bhimji includes in *Peckham = Uganda*, both the narrative and the form of her writing seem to reflect such processes as psychoanalytic excavation or dreamwork. Again, it is only in looking *through* the transparent images that the viewer may approach the written words, suggesting that these components are in dialogue with one another, and with the viewer’s reflection, and thus unfold simultaneously in real time. Beginning with the photograph of the toy figurine, her prose opens with a subtle allusion to that image:

Bapa and I arrived in Uganda
at our old home.
During the troubles, while
Amin’s army was about,
we all sleep together in the
same bedroom. ⁷⁴

Such passages move between past and present tenses, implying a narrative that hovers in the shifting space and time of memory, dreams, or *déjà vu*. The format of her telling exemplifies what Freud called “secondary revision”, which describes “the act of ordering, revising, and supplementing the contents of the dream so as to make a more intelligible whole out of it”. ⁷⁵ Narrative pathways are created between disparate photographs in the installation. Bhimji’s prose, for instance, continues beneath the second photograph, which depicts toys scattered across a stone surface, offering similar resonance between image and text:

Yasmin Zaherah and mother
have to sleep on the cement
floor
in the kitchen.
The floor is cold
and dirty. ⁷⁶

In the remaining texts, Bhimji describes scenes of violence—perhaps drawn from memory, dreams, or pure fiction—that shift between the contexts of Uganda and Britain. She writes, “They are bombarding our / verandah broken bottles. / or is it bullets?” “Bapa is angry. / He wants to kill a white / policewoman”. “I won’t let him, I say that if he / rapes her it / would be the

same as raping / me". As one "reads" the installation, violence is no longer a veiled or muted undertone; it acquires urgency as the text continues, culminating in the description of a coffin; "He is wrapped in a Muslin / cloth. It is / gradually turning red". Later, the text references racist attacks associated with the rise of the National Front: "The N.F. / has killed him".

While the piece does refer to some known aspects of the artist's biography, it also contains fabricated scenes, illogically merging references across place and time. Her text, thus, should not be decoded as if biographically accurate but rather treated as akin to a kind of dreamwork, which would feature "real" people acting in unreal scenarios. As Burgin explains, citing Freud, "in dreams, words and phrases are just meaningful elements among others, accorded no more or less status than are images, and their meanings have no necessary relation to the meanings they would carry in waking speech".⁷⁷

When confronted with readings that overemphasize the biographical nature of her art, Bhimji has typically retorted that her work is intuitive and that her images are open to multiple associations. "I don't consciously decide to photograph particular objects. I mean particular Indian objects", she later clarified. "But over the years I've realized that I've been doing that without knowing it".⁷⁸ She has elsewhere written about her creative process as intuitive, rather than premeditated, commenting that she prefers to photograph "objects which are personal to me as well as various images, conversations, bits of cloth, food labels ... I collect because they either trigger some memory or because I like them and relate to them on different levels", adding that "the image lies in front of me, and my diary, and the work begins".⁷⁹

Poetry and Art as Pathways to Empathy

If Bhimji's photo-text work can be understood as representing memory or the irrational content of dreams, one may reasonably ask next, to what end? Inviting the viewer to create "mental images" (both in image and text), rather than offering straight documentary images, is not merely a stylistic preference; it also serves to encourage a more genuinely empathetic response from viewers. The word "poetic" is often used to describe Bhimji's images on the basis of their indirectness, and this is no coincidence given her love of that literary genre. On more than one occasion, in fact, Bhimji has substituted lines of poetry in lieu of an artist statement. Throughout the late 1980s especially, one of her most oft-cited passages came from T.S. Eliot's poem *Ash Wednesday*, from which Bhimji frequently extracted and reprinted the following lines:

Lady of Silences
calm and distressed
torn and most whole ⁸⁰

These words grace the label for an untitled photograph in the Arts Council Collection, which depicts a tableaux of shorn hair, chiffon, and rose petals. The caption reads, “In this work, [Bhimji] wanted to capture the feeling of ‘being fragile and yet whole’ and ‘beauty, yet sadness’”, before quoting the above verse. ⁸¹ Eliot’s poetry is famously elusive: rich in symbolism and difficult to conclusively decode. The “lady of silences”, for instance, as G. Douglas Atkins has pointed out, is “an enigmatic and for many a perplexing if not contradictory figure”, about whom many readers likely feign understanding. Atkins admits that “paraphrasable content, as it were, holds little interest or value” for the poet. ⁸²

Bhimji’s desire to invite many possible associations is, of course, so common an approach taken by visual artists that it is almost not worth mentioning. However, given the context of representational politics which this article has presented, such a stance may be traced not only to a personal aesthetic taste but also to what Mercer calls the “burden of representation”—the widespread expectation that Black artists must shoulder the responsibility of “speaking as ‘representatives’ in the sense that they are expected to ‘speak for’ the black communities from which they come”. ⁸³ Bhimji explained as much when she cited *Ash Wednesday* in the context of her preparations for the 1989 Whitechapel Open. “The gallery thought I was making a piece about trying to break out of Asian boundaries”, she recalls. “It had absolutely nothing to do with that. I responded by sending them a quote by T.S. Eliot. ... You see, it was about loss of innocence and not about being an Asian woman”. ⁸⁴

A lady of silences herself, Bhimji used the term “silence” not only in her degree show, mentioned earlier, but also in the title of the most celebrated photo-text installation of her early career, *She Loved to Breathe—Pure Silence* (1987) (Fig. 20), which presents an elegiac meditation on loss, resilience, and memory. In this piece, four double-sided Plexiglass panels hang suspended from the ceiling by wire, floating above a scattering of powdered turmeric and red chili on the floor below. Rose-tinted photographs face out from each side of the Plexiglass panels, layered over thin swatches of muslin cloth. They depict a range of intimate objects that shift in and out of focus: embroidered slippers, a dead bird, a piece of metal jewelry. Some are intentionally blurred to the point of near illegibility, as in the image of a sparrow, placed delicately on its back: the bird’s recumbent body dissolves into a foggy aura of white light, as both figure and ground remain

frustratingly out of the viewer's reach. Such images are paired with fragmentary textual phrases, dry-transferred via Letraset onto the muslin, which fail to form a cohesive storyline. "The anger turned inwards", one reads. "Where could it go except to make pain?"



Figure 20.

Zarina Bhimji, *She Loved to Breathe—Pure Silence*, installation exhibited at *The Place is Here*, Nottingham Contemporary, 2017, 1987, installation consisting of eight hand-colored, gelatin-silver prints; text printed on muslin sandwiched between the photographs; latex gloves; Plexiglass; photocopied passports on the muslin; turmeric and chilli powder scattered on the floor, each image 49.7 × 51 cm (overall dimensions variable). Digital image courtesy of Zarina Bhimji. DACS/Artimage 2021 (All rights reserved).

Most literature on *She Loved to Breathe—Pure Silence* focuses on the work's fourth panel, which offers subtle iconographic allusions. One side contains a set of latex gloves, pressed between muslin and Plexiglass. This is a reference to the harrowing experience of Indian immigrant women who, as reported by the *Guardian* in 1979, were "intimately examined, to determine their virginity, by Home Office officials—wearing surgical gloves".⁸⁵ The other side reveals a transferred image of the artist's own visa stamp, permitting her entry to Britain as a young refugee from Uganda. This panel appears to signify the inhumanity of border regulations, the politics of space, and the individual's struggle for agency within it. Yet Bhimji has been persistent in her rejection of any historic, biographical, or cultural specificity in this piece, explaining, "it is not just about virginity tests—that is simply one example and a reminder of what life can be outside gallery walls".⁸⁶

The texts, expectedly, do not form a cohesive narrative across the sequence; rather, they seem like a collection of voices collaged together, alternating between grammatical tenses and a range of characters. Each describes an incident of hostility toward immigrants or women, and many commentators have concluded (with partial accuracy) that the texts “comment on the experience of Pakistani immigrants” or reflect “the forcefulness of spoken declaration, the anger of response, the violence of racism”.⁸⁷ The most oft-cited line of text is inscribed above the pair of surgical gloves: “Sometimes there, white people on their way to work laughed at their Indianness ... shouted PAKI: APRI BHENOI ... sucked their teeth, dismissing them”.

It has not been revealed in extant scholarship on *She Loved to Breathe—Pure Silence* that these texts are not, in fact, written by Bhimji, but instead are extracted from a variety of literary sources. Each is rooted in a different historical condition of exile or diaspora, ranging from narratives on Jewish refugees in Western Europe to Caribbean immigrants in Brooklyn. Another common thread is that each story contains a reflection on the author’s or protagonist’s mother, in many cases as an epitaph. Printed over one of the images of a dead bird, for instance, is a passage drawn from a poem titled “Putting the Good Things Away” by Marge Piercy; it was published in her 1985 anthology, *My Mother’s Body*, in which the writer reflects on the loss of her mother. The poem begins with an inventory of tactile, symbolic objects:

In the drawer were folded fine
batiste slips embroidered with scrolls
and posies, edged with handmade
lace too good for her to wear.⁸⁸

Throughout the poem, Piercy reflects on her elderly mother at rest—“in the coffin she was beautiful”—and on the innate connection between mother and daughter—“our minds were woven together”. The passage that Bhimji quotes marks a shift in the poem’s tone from a sense of nostalgia to one of bitterness and grief:

The anger turned inward, the anger
turned inward, where
could it go except to make pain?
It flowed into me with her milk.

Her anger annealed me.

I was dipped into the cauldron
of boiling rage and rose
a warrior and a witch. ⁸⁹

The phrase “anger turned inwards” appears in Freud’s essay, “Mourning and Melancholia”, where he uses these words to describe the physical sensations that accompany melancholy, a form of depression associated, specifically, with the hollowing sadness of grief. As in Bhimji’s installation, Piercy’s grief is expressed through allusions to textiles and other material traces that her mother left behind (Figs. 21-25).

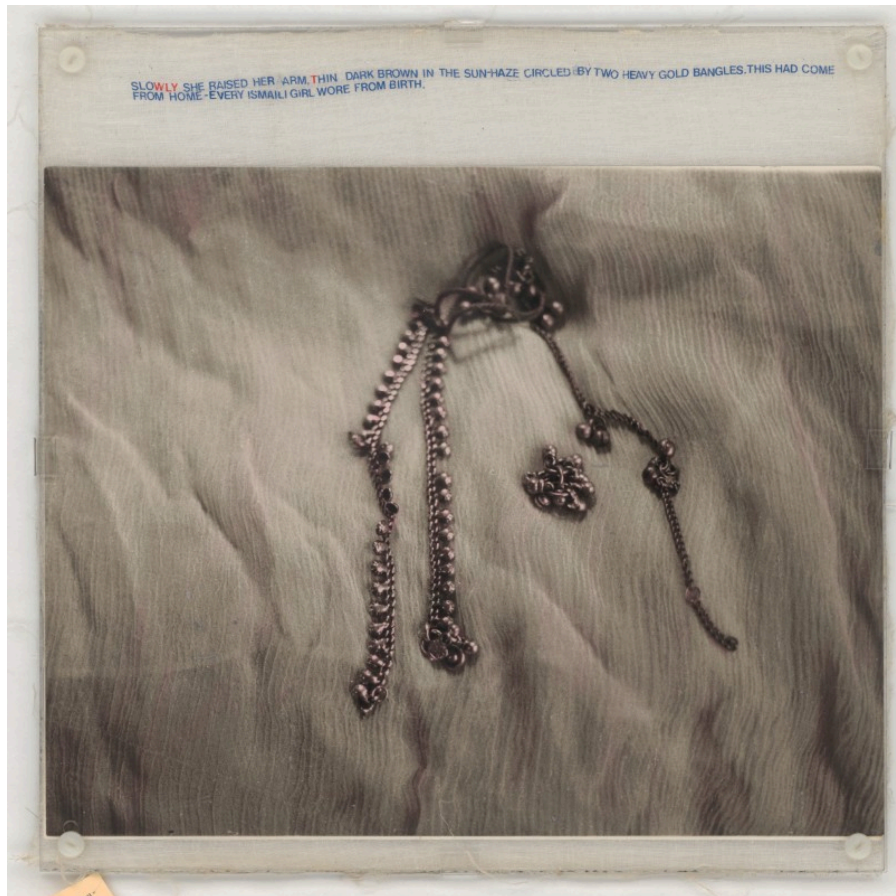


Figure 21.

Zarina Bhimji, *She Loved to Breathe—Pure Silence* (detail), 1987, installation consisting of eight hand-colored, gelatin-silver prints; text printed on muslin sandwiched between the photographs; latex gloves; Plexiglass; photocopied passports on the muslin; turmeric and chilli powder scattered on the floor, Perspex height: 49.7 cm, width: 50.8 cm, depth: 0.07 cm. Collection of Victoria and Albert Museum, London (PH.7208:1-1987). Digital image courtesy of Zarina Bhimji. DACS 2021 (All rights reserved).



Figure 22.

Zarina Bhimji, *She Loved to Breathe—Pure Silence* (detail), 1987, installation consisting of eight hand-colored, gelatin-silver prints; text printed on muslin sandwiched between the photographs; latex gloves; Plexiglass; photocopied passports on the muslin; turmeric and chilli powder scattered on the floor, Perspex height: 49.7 cm, width: 50.8 cm, depth: 0.07 cm. Collection of Victoria and Albert Museum, London (PH.7208:1-1987). Digital image courtesy of Zarina Bhimji. DACS 2021 (All rights reserved).



Figure 23.

Zarina Bhimji, *She Loved to Breathe—Pure Silence* (detail), 1987, installation consisting of eight hand-colored, gelatin-silver prints; text printed on muslin sandwiched between the photographs; latex gloves; Plexiglass; photocopied passports on the muslin; turmeric and chilli powder scattered on the floor, Perspex height: 49.7 cm, width: 50.8 cm, depth: 0.07 cm. Collection of Victoria and Albert Museum, London (PH.7208:1-1987). Digital image courtesy of Zarina Bhimji. DACS 2021 (All rights reserved).



Figure 24.

Zarina Bhimji, *She Loved to Breathe—Pure Silence* (detail), 1987, installation consisting of eight hand-colored, gelatin-silver prints; text printed on muslin sandwiched between the photographs; latex gloves; Plexiglass; photocopied passports on the muslin; turmeric and chilli powder scattered on the floor, Perspex height: 49.7 cm, width: 50.8 cm, depth: 0.07 cm. Collection of Victoria and Albert Museum, London (PH.7208:3-1987). Digital image courtesy of Zarina Bhimji. DACS 2021 (All rights reserved).



Figure 25.

Zarina Bhimji, *She Loved to Breathe—Pure Silence* (detail), 1987, installation consisting of eight hand-colored, gelatin-silver prints; text printed on muslin sandwiched between the photographs; latex gloves; Plexiglass; photocopied passports on the muslin; turmeric and chilli powder scattered on the floor, Perspex height: 49.7 cm, width: 50.8 cm, depth: 0.07 cm. Collection of Victoria and Albert Museum, London (PH.7208:4-1987). Digital image courtesy of Zarina Bhimji. DACS 2021 (All rights reserved).

Two panels in the work borrow their prose from a 1959 novel by Paule Marshall, titled *Brown Girl, Brownstones*.⁹⁰ Set in post-war Brooklyn, the book traces the coming-of-age story of Selina Boyce, the daughter of Caribbean immigrants, and speaks to the intersections of gender, sex, and race within a small Barbadian community in New York. Bhimji altered these lines slightly, substituting “Ismaili” for Boyce’s “Bajan” identity. “Slowly she raised her arm”, the line reads, “thin, dark brown the sun-haze circled by two heavy gold bangles. This had come from home—every Ismaili girl wore from birth”.⁹¹ Locating cultural identity in heirloom objects, this text hovers above the photograph of jewelry, delicately resting upon a bed of white muslin cloth.

Finally, the work's title can be located in a passage from Albert Cohen's 1954 novel, *Le Livre de ma mere* (*Book of My Mother*), a collection of essays on war and exile that also reflects on solitude, aging, and grief. Cohen's family migrated from the Greek island of Corfu to Marseilles when he was child. As German forces advanced to France in the early 1940s, Albert moved to London, and it was there "that he received news of the death of his mother" in Marseilles, as David Coward has relayed. "Unable to mourn her, he expressed his grief in a series of articles written for a morale-boosting periodical, *La France libre*".⁹² Like Bhimji, Kelly, and the aforementioned authors, Cohen's grief is conveyed through the symbolism of trivial objects and pneumatic traces of his mother:

quince jelly, pink candles, illustrated Thursday papers, plush teddy bears, joys of convalescence, birthdays, New Year letters on jagged-edged notepaper ... childhood, little scraps of peace, little scraps of happiness, Maman's cakes, Maman's smiles, O all this I shall know no more, O charms, O dead sounds of the past, vanished smoke and withered seasons.⁹³

Near the end of the book, Cohen laments the thought of his mother lying buried in the ground: "She loved to breathe the sea air on those Sundays of my childhood", he writes. "Why is she now beneath a stifling plank, that plank so close to her beautiful face? She loved to breathe, she loved life."⁹⁴

In light of these connections, Bhimji's piece grows more complex than a mere protest of the Heathrow incident. It comes to reflect on the feelings of grief and mourning that are often attendant to experiences of migration and exile. The scattered spices beneath Bhimji's photographs resonate as a burial, invoking ashes or the blanket of earth that covers a fresh grave. The jeweled shoes signify the absence of feet that may have once slipped into them. Noting an elegiac aesthetics in Bhimji's later cinematographic works, Achim Borchardt-Hume asked the artist, in 2012, "What motivates this grief?" In an illuminating response, she speaks not about personal loss but about this sensation as being familiar to those who have experienced diaspora:

Although I have relatives in India, because of the long migration period, it takes time to relate. This is what is sad; you can never really go back. Migration is about having to abandon family and friends. I wonder whether it is both, the one who leaves and the one who is left behind ...? Separation causes rupture and cultural inheritance is being questioned. The loss of this attachment may awaken anxiety; the new environment may be hostile and

therefore assimilation not straightforward. Refugees are forced by circumstance to leave their country with returning home often out of question due to political reasons. This brings isolation and loneliness, and results in a complex process of mourning.⁹⁵

The poems and passages quoted throughout *She Loved to Breathe—Pure Silence* are not cited in the installation itself. Their letters dissolve across muslin grounds, representing the whispers of many possible subjects, detached from locations, dates, or names. Bhimji encourages this ambiguity in her use of grammatical shifters such as “she”, “I”, or “here”, each only carrying a temporary reference to a fleeting act of utterance. This should encourage the viewer to transcend the specificity of the artist’s biography to find his or her own story in the images and stories she presents.

Writing on the work of T.S. Eliot, Atkins has suggested that the poet “is interested in something other than an intellectual or merely rational response to literature. He wants the whole person involved, not just ‘the heart’ but also ‘the cerebral cortex, the nervous system, and the digestive tracts’”.⁹⁶ As this article has shown, Bhimji extends a lineage of artists who have sought to relay the intimate content of memory, dreams, and fantasies, using objects as indices to loss or memory. In Kelly’s *Post-Partum Document*, for instance, elements such as the artist’s son’s handwriting or the imprint of his hand in clay transform into pneumatic objects; the artist clings to these as she mourns her child’s “entry into the patriarchal order”.⁹⁷ The absence of figural representation, as asserted above, serves to encourage a mode of identification that is not socially mediated; as Iversen has written, “the intimacy of the index, its relation to the sense of touch, is like an impression on memory which resists verbalization.”⁹⁸ Like the authors whose texts she has quoted, Bhimji’s photographs invite remembrance by focusing on ordinary objects and images, which gain meaning in their sedimentation in the unconscious over time. “I like to photograph things that are familiar and give them a charged feeling”, she has stated. “I am interested in speaking of that which is hard to speak about. Also, I am very inspired by literature that is quite intimate in the way it will describe something. ... There is an intimacy in the writing so that you can almost feel the details from the way they are described”.⁹⁹ Such comments deepen with consideration of Bhimji’s interest (noted recently by Demos) in the work of the literary theorist Elaine Scarry, whose ideas concern the failure of language to express the subject experience of pain. Writing on the importance of empathy, Scarry explains that “our capacity to injure other people is very great precisely because our capacity to imagine other people is very small”.¹⁰⁰

Yet art and literature have the ability, in Scarry's words, to “incite in our imaginings the vivacity of the perceptual world” and to impact our interpersonal behavior.¹⁰¹ Bhimji’s work achieves this directive through a range of eloquent formalist strategies that expand both on surrealism’s legacy of engagement with dreams and the visualization of memory and on Mary Kelly’s emphasis on intimate materiality in a feminist context. It is the artist’s wish that her depictions of symbolic objects and poetic texts will “tell stories of personal and cultural significance and create metaphors for people, emotions, and events”.¹⁰² Our capacity to imagine others, as Scarry would have it, expands through this encounter.

Footnotes

- 1 Jyll Bradley, “An Audience unto Herself: Zarina Bhimji profiled by Jyll Bradley”, *Women’s Art Magazine* 51 (March–April 1993).
- 2 The text panels spell out the following phrases: “THE IMAGE OPENS”; “SILENCE IS STARVATION”; “SILENCE IMPOSED AND CONDONED”; and “SILENCE ABOUT TO BREAK”. An unpublished text that Bhimji wrote at the time, which the author was able to access during a studio visit in May 2016, includes a longer quotation from Moraga: “Silence is starvation. It is from this starvation that other starvations can be recognized. If one is willing to be responsible to the result of the connection.”[fn]These sentences are drawn from Cherríe Moraga, “La Güera” [1979], in *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color*, ed. Cherríe Moraga and Gloria E. Anzaldúa (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2015), 22–29. Elsewhere, she quotes a passage from an essay by Audre Lorde, for which see Audre Lorde, “Age, Race, Class, Sex: Women Redefining Difference”, in *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches* (Berkeley, CA: Crossing Press, 1980), 114–123. She also quotes from a text by the artist Jennifer Comrie.
- 3 Bradley, “An Audience unto Herself”, 23.
- 4 Zarina Bhimji’s CV contains reference to a 1985 group exhibition titled *F-Stops*, which was held at the gallery of the Chelsea School of Art, but she has not been able to recollect the premise or curatorial framing of this show for the author, and archives could not be located. This presumably gave some inspiration to the title of her 1986 photo-text installation, *In Response to the F-Stops Exhibition (For the White Feminist)*.
- 5 Kobena Mercer, “Iconography after Identity”, in *Shades of Black: Assembling Black Arts in 1980s Britain*, ed. David A. Bailey, Sonia Boyce, and Ian Baucom (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005), 52.
- 6 Mercer, “Iconography after Identity”, 53.
- 7 Jean Fisher, “The Syncretic Turn: Cross-Cultural Practices in the Age of Multiculturalism”, in *New Histories*, ed. Judith Wilson, Milena Kalinovska, Lia Gangitano, and Steven Nelson (Boston, MA: Institute of Contemporary Art, 1996), 34.
- 8 Jean Fisher, “The Work Between Us”, in *Trade Routes: History and Geography: The 2nd Johannesburg Biennale*, ed. Rory Bester and Okwui Enwezor (Johannesburg: Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council, 1997), 20.
- 9 Roomana Mahmud, “An Interview with Zarina Bhimji: The Frustration with the Art Establishment”, *The Daily Jang* (London), 19–20 March 1988, n.p., V&A Archive, London, in a file on Zarina Bhimji’s 1991 residency in the South Asian Department at the Victoria and Albert Museum, consulted October 2014.
- 10 Zarina Bhimji, quoted in Mahmud, “An Interview with Zarina Bhimji”.
- 11 Zarina Bhimji, quoted in Zehra Jumabhoy, “Betwixt and In-Between: Reading Zarina Bhimji”, *n.paradoxa* 31 (January 2013), 88. Jumabhoy cites an interview with Bhimji that took place in October 2012, writing in note 2 that “the comment was also made at a recent talk that Bhimji gave at The Courtauld Institute of Art, May 2012”.
- 12 Sheena Malhotra and Aimee Carillo Rowe, introduction to *Silence, Feminism, Power: Reflections on the Edges of Sound*, ed. Sheena Malhotra and Aimee Carillo Rowe (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 2.
- 13 Malhotra and Rowe, *Silence, Feminism, Power*, 2.
- 14 Zarina Bhimji, Interview by David Brittain, “Oral History of British Photography: Zarina Bhimji”, 22 September 1993, British Library Sound Archive, London.
- 15 Zarina Bhimji, interview by Mark Haworth-Booth, “Judith Bumpus Radio Interview”, *Third Ear*, BBC Radio 3, 3 April 1992, British Library Sound Archive, London.
- 16 Bhimji, “Oral History of British Photography”.
- 17 See Achim Borchardt-Hume and Kathleen Bühler, “From Politics to Poetry: Zarina Bhimji in Conversation with Achim Borchardt-Hume and Kathleen Bühler”, in *Zarina Bhimji*, exhibition catalogue (London: Whitechapel Gallery, 2012), 33.
- 18 The photographs referred to here are unpublished but were viewed by the author on a visit to Bhimji’s studio in May 2016.

- 19 See discussion of this report in Richard Hylton, "The Arts Council of Great Britain 1986-89: the 'Action Plan', 'Towards Cultural Diversity' and the Visual Arts Department", in *The Nature of the Beast: Cultural Diversity and the Visual Arts Sector: A Study of Policies, Initiatives and Attitudes 1976-2006* (London: Institute of Contemporary Interdisciplinary Arts, 2007), 57-70.
- 20 There is a lengthy bibliography of scholarly sources on this period. Those directly quoted are cited herein but, beyond this list, readers may consult some of the following: Stuart Hall, "New Ethnicities", in *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*, ed. David Morley and Kuan-Hsing Chen (London: Routledge, 1996), 441-449; David A. Bailey, Sonia Boyce, and Ian Baucom, eds., *Shades of Black: Assembling Black Arts in 1980s Britain* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005); Eddie Chambers, *Things Done Change: The Cultural Politics of Recent Black Artists in Britain* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2012); Paul Gilroy, "Cruciality and the Frog's Perspective: An Agenda of Difficulties for the Black Arts Movement in Britain", *Art and Text*, 32 (Autumn 1989), 106-117; and Richard Hylton, *The Nature of the Beast: Cultural Diversity and the Visual Arts Sector: A Study of Policies, Initiatives and Attitudes 1976-2006* (London: Institute of Contemporary Interdisciplinary Arts, 2007).
- 21 Naseem Khan, quoted in Richard Hylton, *The Nature of the Beast*, 41. See, as well, Naseem Khan, *The Arts Britain Ignores: The Arts of Ethnic Minorities in Britain* (London: Community Relations Commission, 1976).
- 22 Fisher, "The Syncretic Turn", 34.
- 23 Waldemar Januszczak, as quoted in Eddie Chambers, "Black Art Exhibitions in Britain", in *Creation for Liberation Open Exhibition: Art by Black Artists*, exhibition catalogue: Brixton Village, Brixton Hill, 17 October-7 November 1987 (Creation for Liberation, 1987), 13-16. Accessed at ACAA Archive, Chelsea College of Arts Library, London.
- 24 As recounted in Eddie Chambers, *Things Done Change: The Cultural Politics of Recent Black Artists in Britain* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2012), 21. The quotation is partly a reference to Januszczak's review of the exhibition, *The Thin Black Line*; see Waldemar Januszczak, "Anger at Hand", *The Guardian*, 27 November 1985.
- 25 Jean Fisher, "The Other Story and the Past Imperfect", *Tate Papers* 12 (Autumn 2009), <http://www.tate.org.uk/research/publications/tate-papers/no-12/the-other-story-and-the-past-imperfect>.
- 26 Zarina Bhimji, artist statement in *From Two Worlds*, ed. Rachel Kirby and Nicholas Serota, exhibition catalogue (London: Whitechapel Gallery, 1986), 25.
- 27 See Nicholas Serota and Gavin Jantjes, introduction in *From Two Worlds*, ed. Rachel Kirby and Nicholas Serota, exhibition catalogue (London: Whitechapel Gallery, 1986), 5.
- 28 James Lampley, "Artists and Categorisation", *African Concord*, 4 September 1986, 41.
- 29 Mark Currah, *City Limits: London*, 7-14 August 1986, n.p.
- 30 Keith Piper, foreword to *The Image Employed: The Use of Narrative in Black Art*, ed. Keith Piper and Marlene Smith (Manchester: Cornerhouse Gallery, 1987), n.p. Also see Chambers, *Things Done Change*, 25.
- 31 Fisher, "The Syncretic Turn", 33.
- 32 Nick Axarlis, "Artists Show Spirit of Struggle", *The News Line*, 7 August 1986, 9.
- 33 Deanna Petherbridge, "Bold Conflict of Images from Two Worlds", *Financial Times*, 7 August 1986, 21.
- 34 See "Mona Hatoum: Performance Still, 1985, 1995", Tate, October 2013, <http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/hatoum-performance-still-p80087/text-display-caption>.
- 35 Deanna Petherbridge, "Bold Conflict of Images from Two Worlds". According to recent correspondence with the artist, many of the objects named in this excerpt were misidentified; the clothing was primarily "Western" style, and no saris or skull caps were depicted.
- 36 Janet Wolff, "The Artist, the Critic and the Academic: Feminism's Problematic Relationship with 'Theory'", in *New Feminist Art Criticism*, ed. Katy Deepwell (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 15.
- 37 Kellie Jones, "In Their Own Image", *Artforum*, November 1990, reproduced in Jacqueline Bobo, ed., *Black Feminist Cultural Criticism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), 173-183.
- 38 Jones, "In Their Own Image", 174.
- 39 Jones, "In Their Own Image", 174.
- 40 Jones, "In Their Own Image", 176.
- 41 Jones, "In Their Own Image", 180-181.
- 42 Jumabhoy, "Betwixt and In-Between", 88.
- 43 T.J. Demos, "Zarina Bhimji: Cinema of Affect", in *Zarina Bhimji*, exhibition catalogue (London: Whitechapel Gallery, 2012), 15.
- 44 T.J. Demos, "Zarina Bhimji: Cinema of Affect", 23.
- 45 See Jumabhoy, "Betwixt and In-Between".
- 46 As quoted in Dominique Heyse-Moore, ed., *Mary Kelly: Projects, 1973-2010*, exhibition catalogue: Whitworth Art Gallery, 19 February-12 June 2011 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), 12.
- 47 This is documented in several sources on Kelly but is concisely captured in Margaret Iversen, "Visualizing the Unconscious: Mary Kelly's Installations", in *Mary Kelly*, ed. Margaret Iversen, Douglas Crimp, and Homi Bhabha (London: Phaidon, 1997), 32-88.

- 48 Griselda Pollock, "Still Working on the Subject: Feminist Poetics and its Avant-Garde Moment", in *Re-Reading Post-Partum Document: Mary Kelly*, ed. Sabine Breitwieser (Vienna: Generali Foundation, 1999), 240.
- 49 Zarina Bhimji interview by Mark Haworth-Booth.
- 50 Anandi Ramamurthy, "Spilling Over Margins: Anandi Ramamurthy on the Question of Categorisation for South Asian Artists", *Artrage Magazine* 18 (1987): 6-7.
- 51 As quoted in Terry Smith and Mary Kelly, "A Conversation about Conceptual Art, Subjectivity, and the 'Post-Partum Document'", in *Conceptual Art: A Critical Anthology*, ed. Alexander Alberro and Blake Stimson (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999), 451.
- 52 Terry Smith with Mary Kelly, "A Conversation about Conceptual Art, Subjectivity, and the 'Post-Partum Document'", 451-452.
- 53 Paul Smith and Mary Kelly, "No Essential Femininity: A Conversation between Mary Kelly and Paul Smith", with introduction by Jane Weinstock, *Camera Obscura* 5, nos. 1-2 (Spring-Summer 1985), 153.
- 54 Iversen, "Visualizing the Unconscious", 34.
- 55 Douglas Crimp, "Interview: Douglas Crimp in Conversation with Mary Kelly", in *Mary Kelly*, ed. Margaret Iversen (London: Phaidon Press, 1997), 15-16.
- 56 See Mary Kelly, *Imaging Desire* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997), 170.
- 57 Iversen, "Visualizing the Unconscious", 35.
- 58 Iversen, "Visualizing the Unconscious", 54.
- 59 Iversen, "Visualizing the Unconscious", 57.
- 60 Iversen, "Visualizing the Unconscious", 57-58, where she quotes from Kelly, *Imaging Desire*.
- 61 Bhimji, "Oral History of British Photography".
- 62 See Rosalind Krauss, "Photography in the Service of Surrealism", in *L'Amour Fou: Photography and Surrealism*, ed. Rosalind Krauss and Jane Livingston (New York: Abbeville Press, 1985), 31; Krauss's quotation of Breton on "pure creations of the mind" appears on page 15.
- 63 Victor Burgin, "Photography, Phantasy, Function", in *Thinking Photography*, ed. Victor Burgin (London: Palgrave, 1982), 192-193.
- 64 Burgin, "Photography, Phantasy, Function", 192-193.
- 65 Krauss, "Photography in the Service of Surrealism", 31.
- 66 Krauss, "Photography in the Service of Surrealism", 25.
- 67 Krauss, "Photography in the Service of Surrealism", 35.
- 68 Mahr showed in solo and group exhibitions at the Photographers' Gallery, London in 1977, 1984, 1986, and 1989, and at the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1986 and 1988, where she participated alongside Bhimji in *British Photography: Towards a Bigger Picture*, ed. Keith Arnatt and Mark Haworth-Booth, exhibition catalogue, *Towards a Bigger Picture*, Victoria and Albert Museum, 30 November 1988-15 January 1989 (New York: Aperture, 1988).
- 69 John Stathatos, "A Sextant for Mnemosyne", in *Mari Mahr: Isolated Incidents*, exhibition catalogue, Photographers' Gallery, 17 March-1 April 1989 (London: Photographers' Gallery, 1989), n.p.
- 70 Bhimji mentions Mahr's work as an influence in "Oral History of British Photography".
- 71 Nigel Finch, foreword to *A Few Days in Geneva: Photographs by Mari Mahr* (London: Travelling Light, 1988), n.p.
- 72 Crimp, "Douglas Crimp in Conversation with Mary Kelly", 19.
- 73 Iversen, "Visualizing the Unconscious", 57; see also Mary Kelly, "That Obscure Subject of Desire: An Interview with Mary Kelly by Hal Foster", reproduced in Mary Kelly, *Imaging Desire* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997), 169.
- 74 This text is from Bhimji's installation, *Untitled*, presented at the *From Two Worlds* exhibition at Whitechapel Gallery in 1986.
- 75 Burgin, "Photography, Phantasy, Function", 197.
- 76 This text is from Bhimji's installation, *Untitled*, presented at the *From Two Worlds* exhibition at Whitechapel Gallery in 1986.
- 77 Burgin, "Photography, Phantasy, Function", 197.
- 78 Bhimji in Mahmud, "An Interview with Zarina Bhimji".
- 79 Bhimji, "Photo-Text by Zarina Bhimji".
- 80 T.S. Eliot, "Ash Wednesday" in *The Complete Poems and Plays, 1909-1950* (New York, San Diego and London: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1980): 62.

- 81 Based on observation in 2013 of an untitled photograph in the Arts Council Collection at its Brighton offices. This poem has been mentioned several times in publications and exhibition catalogues, including Tania V. Guha, "Face to Face: An Interview with Zarina Bhimji", in *Beyond Frontiers: Contemporary British Art by Artists of South Asian Descent*, ed. Amal Ghosh and Juginder Lamba (London: Saffron Books, 2001); Mark Haworth-Booth, introduction to *Zarina Bhimji: I Will Always Be Here* (Birmingham: Ikon Gallery, 1992); and Bhimji's biographical page in Rasheed Araeen, *The Essential Black Art* (London: Chisenhale Gallery, 1988).
- 82 G. Douglas Atkins, *T.S. Eliot Materialized: Literal Meaning and Embodied Truth* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 6–9.
- 83 See Kobena Mercer, "Black Art and the Burden of Representation", *Third Text* 4, no. 10 (1990): 62.
- 84 Bhimji, as quoted in Guha, "Face to Face", 94.
- 85 As described by Mark Haworth-Booth in "Zarina Bhimji", *British Journal of Photography*, 24 March 1994, 17. The article referenced is likely Melanie Phillips, "Virginity Tests on Immigrants at Heathrow", *The Guardian*, 1 February 1979, 1.
- 86 From an artist statement provided to the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, upon acquisition of the work *She Loved to Breathe—Pure Silence*; also cited in Deborah Cherry, "The Art of the Senses and the Making of a Diasporan Aesthetic: Zarina Bhimji's 'She Loved to Breathe—Pure Silence', 1987–2002", *Tessera* 32 (Summer 2003), 43.
- 87 Cherry, "The Art of the Senses and the Making of a Diasporan Aesthetic", 41.
- 88 Marge Piercy, "Putting the Good Things Away", in *My Mother's Body: Poems by Marge Piercy* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), 20–23.
- 89 Piercy, "Putting the Good Things Away", 20–23.
- 90 Paule Marshall, *Brown Girl, Brownstones* (New York: Random House, 1959).
- 91 Bhimji's text from *She Loved to Breathe—Pure Silence*.
- 92 David Coward, foreword to Albert Cohen, *Book of My Mother*, trans. Bella Cohen (London: Owen, 1997), n.p.
- 93 Cohen, *Book of My Mother*, 42–43.
- 94 Cohen, *Book of My Mother*, 107.
- 95 Borchardt-Hume and Bühler, "From Politics to Poetry", 41.
- 96 Atkins, *T.S. Eliot Materialized*, 6.
- 97 Jo-Anna Isaak, "Our Mother Tongue: *The Post-Partum Document*," *Vanguard*, April 1982, as cited in Mary Kelly, *Post-Partum Document*, foreword by Lucy R. Lippard (London, Boston, Melbourne and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983), 203.
- 98 Margaret Iversen, "The Bride Stripped Bare by Her Own Desire: Reading Mary Kelly's 'Post-Partum Document'", *Discourse*, no. 4, (Winter 1981–1982), 78.
- 99 Zarina Bhimji in conversation with Deepali Dewan in *No Place (Like Home)*, ed. Douglas Fogle, exhibition catalogue, Walker Art Center, Minneapolis, 9 March–8 June 1997 (Minneapolis, MN: Walker Art Center, 1997), 23.
- 100 Elaine Scarry, "The Difficulty of Imagining People", reproduced in Martha Nussbaum, ed., *For Love of Country: Debating the Limits of Patriotism* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1996), 102.
- 101 Elaine Scarry, "The Difficulty of Imagining People," 102.
- 102 Bhimji, artist statement in *The Image Employed*, n.p.

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Victorian Anatomical Atlases and Their Many Lives (and Deaths)

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Introducing Joseph Maclise, Victorian Anatomist

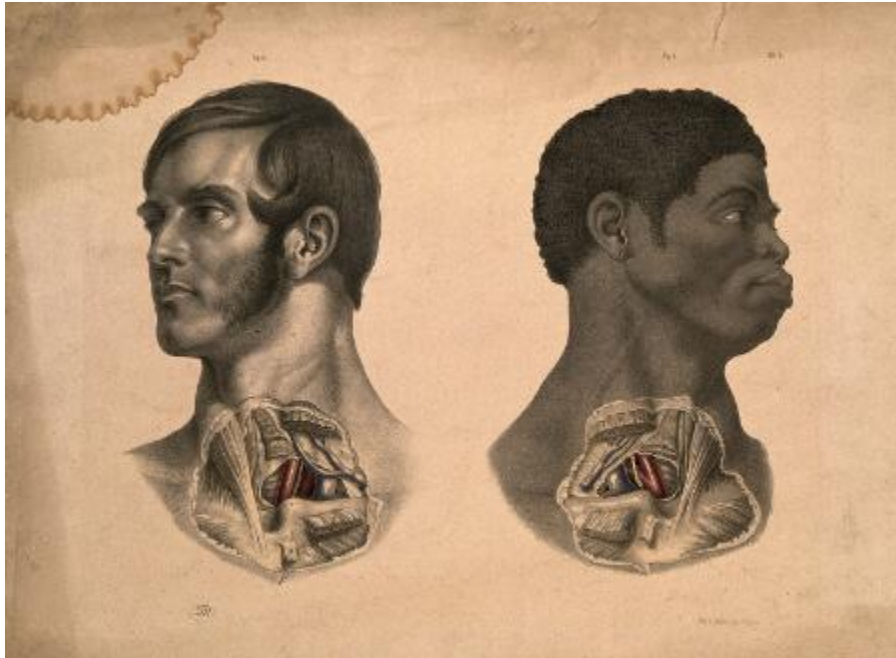
It was 2007, and I was a PhD student sitting in the special collections room in the Wellcome Library, London, searching for nineteenth-century British images of dissections. Victorian artists and art students most certainly attended, and sometimes even participated in, dissections, but I was struggling to find any visual evidence of it. It was fast becoming apparent that human dissection was considered an inappropriate subject for artistic treatment, and a rather unacceptable undertaking for any respectable Victorian gentleman.¹ Noticing my frustration, William Schupbach, lead librarian and curator at the Wellcome, presented me with the first British, 1851, folio edition of Joseph Maclise's *Surgical Anatomy* (Fig. 1). This little-known anatomical production is the jumping-off point for the current One Object feature, "Victorian Anatomical Atlases and Their Many Lives (and Deaths)".

One particularly significant aspect of Maclise's *Surgical Anatomy* is that it includes two illustrations of the dissection of a Black man: Plates 5 and 14 of the first British edition (Figs. 2 and 3). I examine Plate 14 in depth in my article for this feature, "Black Apollo: Aesthetics, Dissection, and Race in Maclise's *Surgical Anatomy*". Years after first encountering *Surgical Anatomy* in the Wellcome Library, I was in the National Library of Medicine in Bethesda, Maryland, USA, looking for the dissected Black man, only to discover that he was missing from all American editions of the same atlas (Figs. 4, 5, and 6). The discovery of this mysterious transatlantic erasure was developed into a paper, which I delivered in May 2018 at the "Objects in Motion" workshop in Giverny, France, sponsored by the Terra Foundation for American Art, the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, and the Yale Center for British Art. It soon became apparent that a comprehensive analysis of the British and American editions of Maclise's *Surgical Anatomy* required more voices than just mine. With support from the Terra Foundation, along with Angela McShane, Julia Nurse, and William Schupbach at the Wellcome, and Baillie Card and Sarah Victoria Turner at the Paul Mellon Centre, in April 2019, a remarkable group of historians, art historians, medical historians, curators, and librarians gathered in London to examine "in the flesh" the Wellcome Library's impressive collection of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century anatomical atlases. The ideas generated by that event formed the basis of the current feature, and I am deeply grateful to everyone who believed in the project and worked to bring it to fruition, above all, the editors of *British Art Studies*.

[View this illustration online](#)

Figure 1.

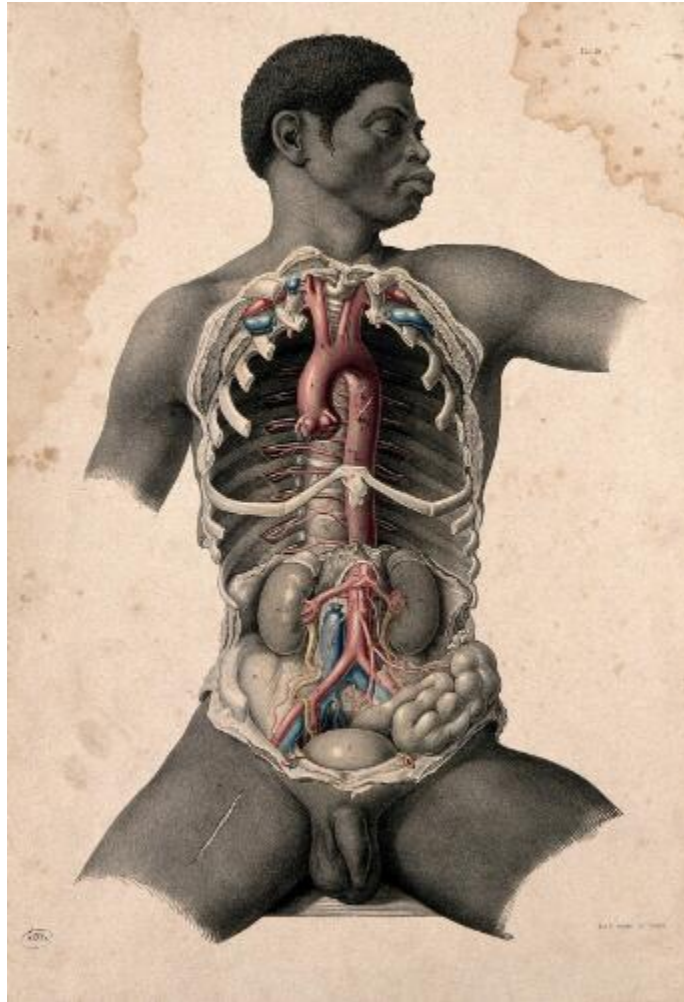
Joseph Maclise, *Surgical Anatomy*, 1st ed (London: John Churchill, 1851).
Wellcome Collection. Digital image courtesy of Digital facsimile courtesy of the
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Figure 2.

Joseph Maclise, *Surgical Anatomy*, 1st British ed (London: John Churchill, 1851): Plate 5, 1851, coloured lithograph. Wellcome Collection. Digital image courtesy of the Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).



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Figure 3.

Joseph Maclise, *Surgical Anatomy*, 1st British ed (London: John Churchill, 1851): Plate 14, 1851, coloured lithograph. Wellcome Collection. Digital image courtesy of the Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

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Figure 4.

Joseph Maclise, *Surgical Anatomy*, (Philadelphia, PA: Blanchard and Lea, 1851). Wellcome Collection. Digital image courtesy of Digital facsimile courtesy of the Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

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Figure 5.

Joseph Maclise, *Surgical Anatomy*, (Philadelphia, PA: Blanchard and Lea, 1859). Wellcome Collection. Digital image courtesy of Digital facsimile courtesy of the Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

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Figure 6.

The Plates of Maclise's *Surgical Anatomy with the Descriptions from the English* ed: with an Additional Plate from Bougery: Maclise, (Boston, MA: John P. Jewett and Co., 1857, plates only). Wellcome Collection. Digital image courtesy of Digital facsimile courtesy of the Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

Joseph Maclise was born in Cork, Ireland, in 1815. In the 1830s, he studied at University College, London, under Robert Liston and Samuel Cooper, to whom he dedicated *Surgical Anatomy*. He also studied in Paris at the École Pratique, L'Hôpital de la Pitié. His brother was the successful history painter, Daniel Maclise, and the two travelled together to Paris and other European cities in 1844. Interestingly, several sets of brothers make appearances over the course of this feature: the Maclise brothers, of course, Charles and John Bell, Richard and Jones Quain, and William and John Hunter. Before setting out for Europe with his brother, Maclise produced the illustrations for his former teacher, Richard Quain's *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body* (1844).² In *Comparative Osteology* of 1847, which Maclise wrote and illustrated, he identified what he termed the "archetype" skeleton, or the complete form from which different skeletal structures derived.³ He claimed to have come up with the concept—or at least this particular use of the term "archetype"—prior to the influential comparative anatomist, and opponent of Charles Darwin's theory of evolution by natural selection, Richard Owen.⁴ Nonetheless, Maclise's contribution to the study of human and animal anatomy continues to languish in obscurity. Following the publication of the second American edition of *Surgical Anatomy* in 1859, he published *On Dislocations and Fractures* and, by the 1860s, had fallen afoul of the medical fraternity.⁵ At this point, the archival trail runs cold, except for Michael Sappol's remarkable discovery of Maclise's death certificate (Fig. 7). No obituaries have yet been found.

Superintendent Registrar's District <i>Bamberwell</i>								
Registrar's Sub-District <i>Bamberwell</i>								
1891. DEATHS in the Sub-District of <i>Bamberwell</i> in the County of <i>London</i>								
Columns —	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
No.	When and Where Died.	Name and Surname.	Sex.	Age.	Rank or Profession.	Cause of Death.	Signature, Description, and Residence of Informant.	When registered.
106	<i>Fiftenth January 1891 11 Grace Road</i>	<i>Joseph Maclise</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>70 years</i>	<i>Retired Army Surgeon</i>	<i>Bronchitis — Syncope</i>	<i>S. A. Stokes Present at death 11 Grace Road Bamberwell</i>	<i>Twenty second January 1891</i>
								<i>S. M. Gregory Registrar</i>

Figure 7.

Joseph Maclise's death certificate, 1891. General Register Office. Digital image courtesy of Crown Copyright (Open Government Licence v3.0)

Maclise's *Surgical Anatomy* was initially released in four parts, starting in 1848, as an imperial folio with individual fasciculus. In 1851, John Churchill of London, and Blanchard and Lea of Philadelphia, published the atlas as complete first editions. In 1856, Churchill published a second expanded edition and, in 1859, Blanchard and Lea did the same. Henry C. Lea published a smaller, cheaper version in 1870. The atlas presents a series of illustrations of dissections with the purpose of teaching surgeons and aspiring surgeons the anatomical structures relevant to the successful performance of surgical procedures. The preface begins as follows: "The object of this work is to present to the student of medicine and the practitioner removed from the schools, a series of dissections demonstrative of the relative anatomy of the principal regions of the human body."⁶ The surface of the human body, Maclise argued, was like a map; the surgeon was required to read the topography of the body, seeing through the skin to the anatomy beneath. He called on his surgical readers to assume an "expansive gaze" and engage in a form of comparative anatomy—viewing human anatomy in relation to "all allying and allied species".⁷ "Comparison may be fairly termed the pioneer to all certain knowledge," he wrote.⁸

The monumental undertaking of producing the images and text for *Surgical Anatomy* was likely intended to establish Maclise as an eminent anatomist and anatomical illustrator in his own right. Nonetheless, it is tempting to imagine his Royal Academician brother, Daniel, assisting with this large artistic undertaking. The illustrations in *Surgical Anatomy* certainly work to demonstrate the artistic skill of their maker(s), featuring depictions of ideal physical specimens: attractive, seemingly healthy men, in their prime. Aside from their developed musculature, they bear no evidence of hard labour, poverty, or illness—they look more asleep than dead. On occasion, their poses are even made to invoke classical statues such as the *Belvedere Torso*, thereby elevating the atlas to the status of "high" art.

Despite its artistic and scientific merits, Maclise's *Surgical Anatomy* has been overlooked largely in both the art-historical and medical-historical literature.⁹ At best, it is briefly mentioned in histories of anatomical illustration.¹⁰ One possible explanation for this oversight is that Maclise's atlas is easily dismissed as too medical for art historians and too artistic for medical historians. Additionally, it does not fit seamlessly into traditional narratives about the development of anatomical illustration. After all, Henry Gray's *Anatomy of the Human Body*, with its modern-looking, pared down illustrations, was first published in 1858—only seven years after the publication of the complete first edition of *Surgical Anatomy*. It is difficult to square Maclise's large, elaborate, colourful engravings with Henry Vandyke Carter's starker productions. Therefore, it is not surprising that *Surgical*

Anatomy received a lukewarm reception in the United Kingdom when it was first published. The moment for these kinds of anatomical productions in the British context, it seems, had passed.

We often talk of canonical artists as being ahead of or of their time; with Maclise, it feels as though we are dealing with a great talent who came a moment too late. Hence, in an effort to raise Maclise and his work from obscurity, this One Object feature brings together historians of art and historians of medicine in what has proven to be an exciting exercise in interdisciplinarity. A series of three short films featuring Ludmilla Jordanova and William Schupbach in conversation in the Wellcome Library focus on Maclise's productions, the contexts in which they were made, used, and collected, and the materiality of the objects themselves. In his article, "Joseph Maclise, Taylor & Walton, and Publishing on Gower Street in the 1840s", Schupbach maps medical publishing and publishers around Gower Street in Bloomsbury during the nineteenth century. Anthea Callen, in "Bloodlines: Circulating the Male Body Across Borders in Art and Anatomy 1780–1860", situates Maclise in the medical and artistic networks of nineteenth-century Ireland, England, and France, in order to demonstrate the impact on Maclise's illustrations of a variety of visual sources. Naomi Slipp reveals in her article, "'It Should Be On Every Surgeon's Table': The Reception and Adoption of Joseph Maclise's *Surgical Anatomy* (1851) in the United States", that Maclise's *Surgical Anatomy* was remarkably well received in the United States. Michael Sappol's richly illustrated article, "Mr Joseph Maclise and the Epistemology of the Anatomical Closet", offers a provocative examination of the "queerness" of Maclise's illustrations, character, and relationships, and the palpable homoeroticism of several of his illustrations.

Despite the sanitised nature of many of Maclise's illustrations, it is clear that we are looking at dead bodies. Hence, I encourage readers to proceed with care. The substantial number of photographs that were taken of anatomy theatres and dissecting rooms during the nineteenth century offer vital clues to the use of illustrations of dissections, such as those produced by Maclise.

¹¹ These photographs, which can be difficult to look at, invariably feature objects: skeletons, écorchés, casts of classical statues and statuettes, and illustrations of dissections hanging on the walls; they also sometimes include people—dead and alive. While far from comprehensive, photographs of British, American, and Australian anatomy theatres are included here in an image gallery. Some of these photographs are discussed by contributors to this One Object feature; others are included to give a sense of the environments in which dissections were performed and the kinds of objects that were used for anatomical instruction during the nineteenth and early twentieth century (Figs. 8–18). Looking at these photographs, it is essential that we remain mindful of the ethical concerns surrounding the public and

private display of images and sculptures of dead and anatomised bodies. As several of the articles in this feature make clear, histories of anatomical illustration and modelling are inevitably bound up with the fraught issues of consent, exploitation, voyeurism, and the status of the corpse.

Finally, gaps remain for future scholars to fill in. Much is still unknown about Maclise. The nature of his relationship with his brother Daniel is commented on by all of the contributors, but the biographical material is one sided;

Daniel's life has been written, Joseph's has not.¹² As a result, we are often forced to find Joseph in Daniel's biography. Above all, with very little to work with aside from the images and texts produced by (white, male) doctors and artists like Maclise, we continue—slowly—to piece together the identities of the men, women, and children, who ended up on the dissecting table against their will in an age before consent was required to cut open dead bodies for the purpose of "Anatomical Examination".¹³

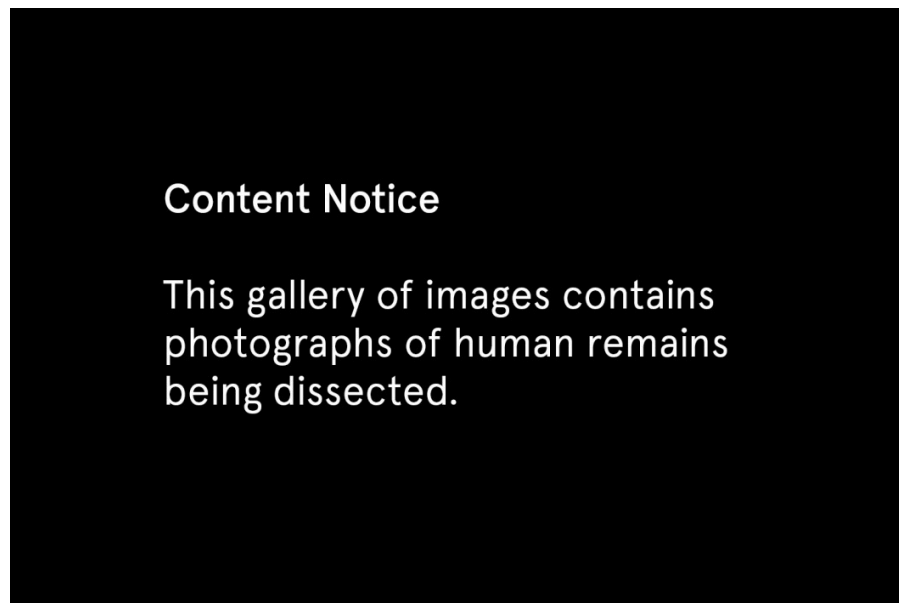


Figure 8.

Content Notice, This gallery of images contains photographs of human remains being dissected.



Figure 9.

Anatomy Lab, University of Pennsylvania, circa 1885, photograph. University of Pennsylvania Archives, Philadelphia, PA. Digital image courtesy of University of Pennsylvania Archives, Philadelphia, PA (all rights reserved).



Figure 10.

William Blackwood, Dissecting Room, Yale University School of Medicine, 1899, photograph. Bicentennial Collection, Cushing / Whitney Medical Library, Yale University School of Medicine, New Haven. Digital image courtesy of Yale University (all rights reserved).



Figure 11.

Benjamin Sharp, Biological Hall, circa 1884, photograph. University of Pennsylvania Archives, Philadelphia. Digital image courtesy of University of Pennsylvania Archives, Philadelphia (all rights reserved).



Figure 12.

The Interior of a Dissecting Room: Five Students and Teachers Dissect a Cadaver, circa 1900, albumen photoprint, 16 × 21.2 cm. Wellcome Collection. Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).



Figure 13.

Saint George's Hospital, London: The Dissecting Room with Students and Lecturers, Including Henry Gray, 1860, photoprint, 37 × 29.3 cm. Wellcome Collection. Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).



Figure 14.

The Interior of a Dissecting Room in Edinburgh, with Half-covered Cadavers on Benches, 1889, photoprint, 10 × 15 cm. Wellcome Collection. Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).



Figure 15.

University of Sydney Dissecting Room, 1882, photograph. Collection of the University of Sydney Medical School Museum (842_19). Digital image courtesy of University of Sydney Archives / Photo: CRB Blackburn (all rights reserved).



Figure 16.

University of Melbourne Dissecting Room, undated, photograph. Collection of the University of Melbourne Archives. Digital image courtesy of University of Melbourne Archives (all rights reserved).



Figure 17.

University of Melbourne Dissecting Room, undated, photograph. Collection of the University of Melbourne Archives. Digital image courtesy of University of Melbourne Archives (all rights reserved).

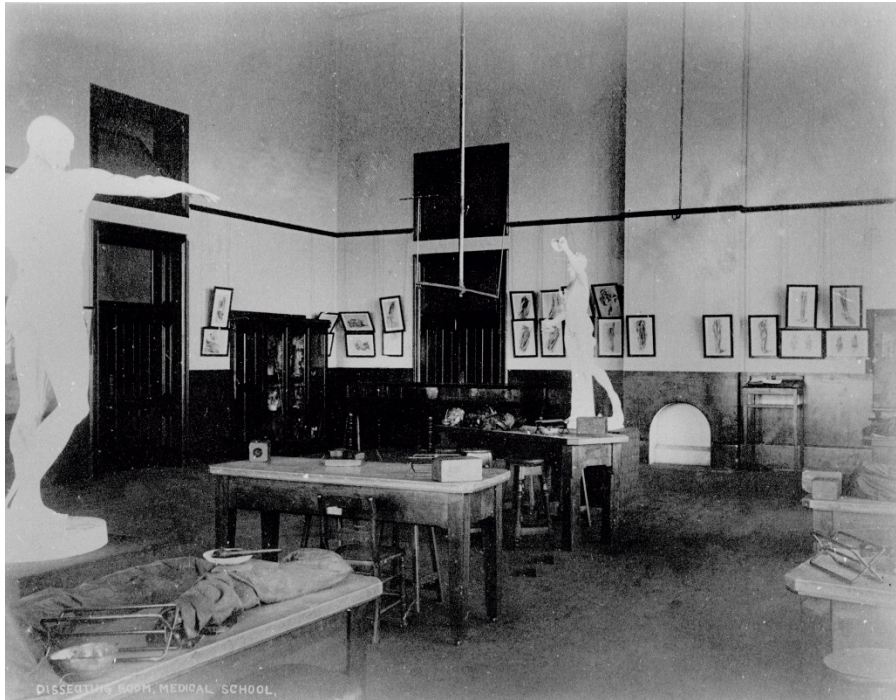


Figure 18.

University of Sydney Dissecting Room, 1900, photograph. Collection of the University of Sydney Archives (G3_224_1508). Digital image courtesy of University of Sydney Archives (all rights reserved).

Footnotes

- 1 I elaborate on this point in Keren Rosa Hammerschlag, "The Gentleman Artist-Surgeon in Late Victorian Group Portraiture", *Visual Culture in Britain* 14, no. 2 (2013): 154–178.
- 2 Richard Quain, *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body with its Applications to Pathology and Operative Surgery in Lithographic Drawings with Practical Commentaries: The Drawings from Nature and on Stone by Joseph Maclise* (London: Taylor and Walton, 1844). Quain writes in the Preface: "To carry out my views as to the delineations, I obtained the assistance of my friend and former pupil, Mr. Joseph Maclise".
- 3 Joseph Maclise, *Comparative Osteology: Being Morphological Studies to Demonstrate the Archetype Skeleton of Vertebrated Animals* (London: Taylor and Walton, 1847). I examine this text in greater depth in Keren Rosa Hammerschlag, "Drawing Racial Comparisons in Nineteenth-Century British and American Anatomical Atlases", in *Victorian Science and Imagery: The Evolution of Form in Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, forthcoming 2021). See also Adrian Desmond, *The Politics of Evolution: Morphology, Medicine, and Reform in Radical London* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1989).
- 4 Nicolaas A. Rupke, "Richard Owen's Vertebrate Archetype", *Isis* 84, no. 2 (1993): 234–235.
- 5 Joseph Maclise, *On Dislocations and Fractures* (London: John Churchill, 1859). As Michael Sappol outlines in his contribution to this One Object feature, Maclise inserted into *On Dislocations and Fractures* an "off-kilter diatribe against William Harvey's account of the action of the heart". Maclise then attempted, unsuccessfully, to defend his position in letters sent to the *Lancet*. After this, his name falls out of the record. [We will add Mike's reference when ready].
- 6 Joseph Maclise, Preface to *Surgical Anatomy* (Philadelphia, PA: Blanchard and Lea, 1851), v.
- 7 Maclise, Preface to *Surgical Anatomy*, v.
- 8 Maclise, Preface to *Surgical Anatomy*, vi. I elaborate on these ideas in "Drawing Racial Comparisons in Nineteenth-Century British and American Anatomical Atlases".
- 9 Two exceptions are Rebecca E. May, "'This Shattered Prison': Bodily Dissolution, *Wuthering Heights*, and Joseph Maclise's Dissection Manuals", *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 33, no. 5 (2011): 415–436; and *The Anatomy Lesson: Art and Medicine, An Exhibition of Art and Anatomy to Celebrate the Tercentenary of the Royal Charter of 1692 of the Royal College of Physicians of Ireland* (Dublin: The National Gallery of Ireland, 1992), 31–32 and 74–76.
- 10 Illustrations from *Surgical Anatomy* are discussed in K.B. Roberts and J.D.W. Tomlinson, *The Fabric of the Body: European Traditions of Anatomical Illustration* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), 570–573.

- 11 Historian of medicine, John Harley Warner, analyses photographs of American medical students gathered around cadavers in *Dissection: Photographs of a Rite of Passage in American Medicine 1880-1930*, ed. J.H. Warner and James M. Edmonson (New York: Blast Books, 2009).
- 12 William Justin O'Driscoll, *A Memoir of Daniel Maclise, R.A.* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1871); Richard Ormond, "Daniel Maclise", *Burlington Magazine* 110 (December 1968): 684-693; Nancy Weston, *Daniel Maclise: An Irish Artist in Victorian London* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001); and Peter Murray, ed., *Daniel Maclise 1806-1870: Romancing the Past*, exhibition catalogue (Cork: Crawford Art Gallery, 2008).
- 13 The 1832 British Anatomy Act made unclaimed human bodies legally available to medical schools for "Anatomical Examination". *An Act for Regulating Schools of Anatomy* [1st August 1832]. The National Archive, UK.
<https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/resources/body-snatchers/source-four-the-anatomy-act-1832/>



Anatomy in Context: Conversations in the Wellcome Collection, London

Jonathan Law, Ludmilla Jordanova and William Schupbach

Authors

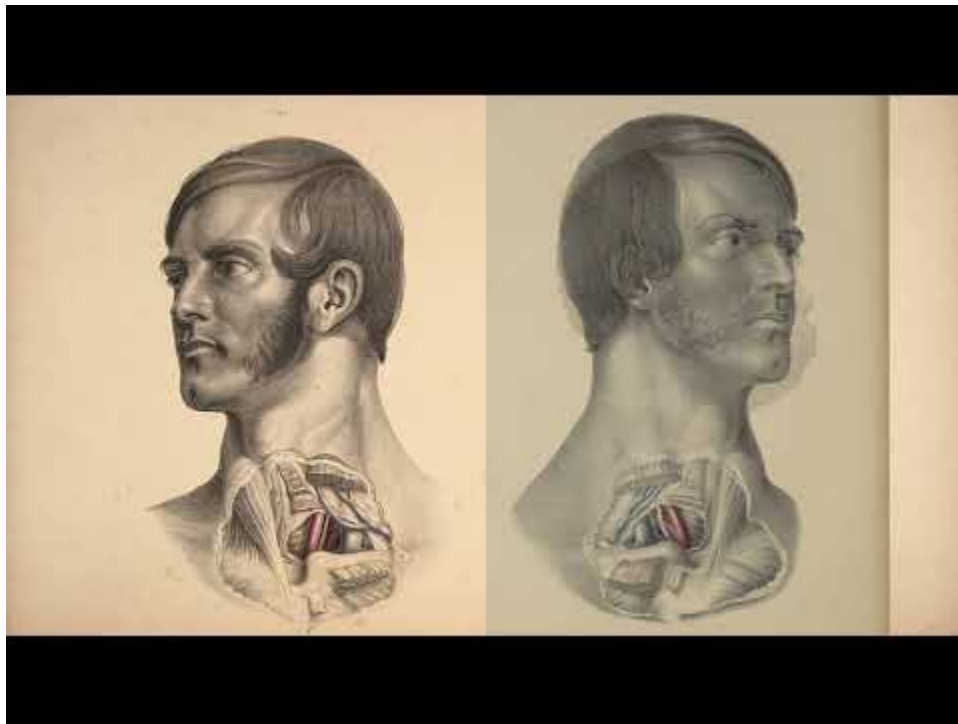
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In these three short films, Ludmilla Jordanova and William Schupbach discuss the production, use, and circulation of a range of anatomical images and texts from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the Wellcome Collection. With a focus on works by Joseph Maclise and his predecessors, the discussants consider the aesthetic, scientific, and philosophical contexts in which anatomists and artists made images of the inside of the human body. They also discuss the professional networks involved in the production of William Hunter's *The Anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus*, Richard Quain's *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body*, Maclise's *Surgical Anatomy*, among others. By turning pages, examining binding, deciphering inscriptions, and comparing editions, Jordanova and Schupbach engage with the materiality of the atlases, reminding us that they functioned as both working objects and collectors' items.

Joseph Maclise's Anatomical Atlases: His Works and Influences



[Watch Video](#)

Figure 1.

Jonathan Law with Ludmilla Jordanova and William Schupbach, Joseph Maclise's Anatomical Atlases: His Works and Influences, film, 2021, 14 minutes 28 seconds.

William Hunter's Atlas of Human "Gravid Uterus": The Production and Uses of Atlases



[Watch Video](#)

Figure 2.

Jonathan Law with Ludmilla Jordanova and William Schupbach, William Hunter's Atlas of Human "Gravid Uterus": The Production and Uses of Atlases, film, 2021, 12 minutes 23 seconds.

Joseph Maclise's Anatomical Atlases: The Scientific and Intellectual Contexts of Anatomical Production



[Watch Video](#)

Figure 3.

Jonathan Law with Ludmilla Jordanova and William Schupbach, Joseph Maclise's Anatomical Atlases: The Scientific and Intellectual Contexts of Anatomical Production, film, 2021, 11 minutes 4 seconds.



Bloodlines: Circulating the Male Body Across Borders in Art and Anatomy 1780–1860

Anthea Callen

Abstract

Art and anatomy in the nineteenth century were intimately linked male-dominated professions, where hand and eye united. These activities were key interconnected sites of male bonding, of growing professional identity formation, and of the construction of modern masculinity. For the Irish-born Maclise brothers, Daniel and Joseph, the bonds were also fraternal: brothers living and working together in London throughout their lives with a shared passion for life drawing, anatomy, and the human figure in pictorial representation. Dissecting, in particular, the lithographic drawings of surgeon-artist Joseph Maclise (1815–1880) in Richard Quain's *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body* (1840–circa 1844) and his own *Surgical Anatomy* (1851, 1856, and 1859), this essay tracks the lifeblood of the anatomical arts circulating around the networks of specialists with whom Maclise was associated, from Cork and the capitals of Scotland, England, and France, across the Atlantic to Philadelphia and Boston. At a time when travel was far slower, surgeons, artists, and printmakers travelled long distances in search of greater learning, the flow returning to generate new knowledges in its places of origin. Like the Grand Tour, these journeys often lasted far longer than a passing tourist visit, at times entailing months or years of professional study and work—as in Joseph Maclise's anatomy studies in Paris. The anatomical work, and its representation in images and texts, was thereby circulating in shared ideas, practices, teaching, books, manuals, atlases, art, and crucially, given that the (primarily) white male body was the “universal” body in medical anatomy, in shared ways of seeing and constituting the human (male) body.

Authors

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too, to the incomparable William Schupbach at the Wellcome, who answered all my obscure queries during library lockdowns in 2020; Michael Sappol was also very kind in answering my questions and sharing his research. Irish medical historians Davis Coakley and Clive Lee have also generously shared their research and networks with me, without which my knowledge especially of the Cork anatomy fraternity would be greatly impoverished. The *BAS* project editors, especially Baillie Card, and Maisoon Rehani who has organised the illustrations, deserve my grateful thanks for their hard work, patience, and invaluable input. I am also indebted to all those individuals and organisations that supplied the illustrations.

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*It is wholly impossible for anyone to describe form in words
without the aid of figures.*

—Joseph Maclise, *Surgical Anatomy*.¹

*It is the virile and muscular [male] body whose anatomy is
speaking.*

—Mechthild Fend, *Fleshing out Surfaces*.²

Art, anatomy, and printing in the nineteenth century were intimately linked, male-dominated professions, where hand and eye unite. All three activities were key interconnected sites of male bonding, of growing professional identity formation, and of the construction of modern masculinity.³ For the Irish-born Maclise brothers, Daniel and Joseph, these bonds were also fraternal: brothers living and working together throughout their lives with a shared passion for life drawing, anatomy, and the human figure in pictorial representation.⁴ Where Daniel as a history painter gained fame and royal patronage under the prince regent, executing monumental commissions for the Houses of Parliament, little is known of surgeon-anatomist Joseph.⁵ Here I argue that the difference between Joseph Maclise's work as an accomplished artist-anatomist and that of previous anatomical illustrators is that he fused his dissection drawings with his studies after living "life models", superimposing onto, *incorporating* these beautifully "airbrushed" innards into the superbly drawn bodies of his life figures: these are not cadavers, not those truly dead corpses with muscles tensed in rigor mortis found in anatomy dissection rooms (Fig. 2).⁶ Where in Vesalius or Valverde, blatantly deathly figures act out *life* (albeit classically, mythologically inspired and often as *memento mori*), Maclise's very real, athletic men perform *death*. Not only do his (almost exclusively) male models hold themselves in ways impossible to rope up or secure dead bodies, but also their flesh and muscle retain the full vigour and synergy of life.⁷

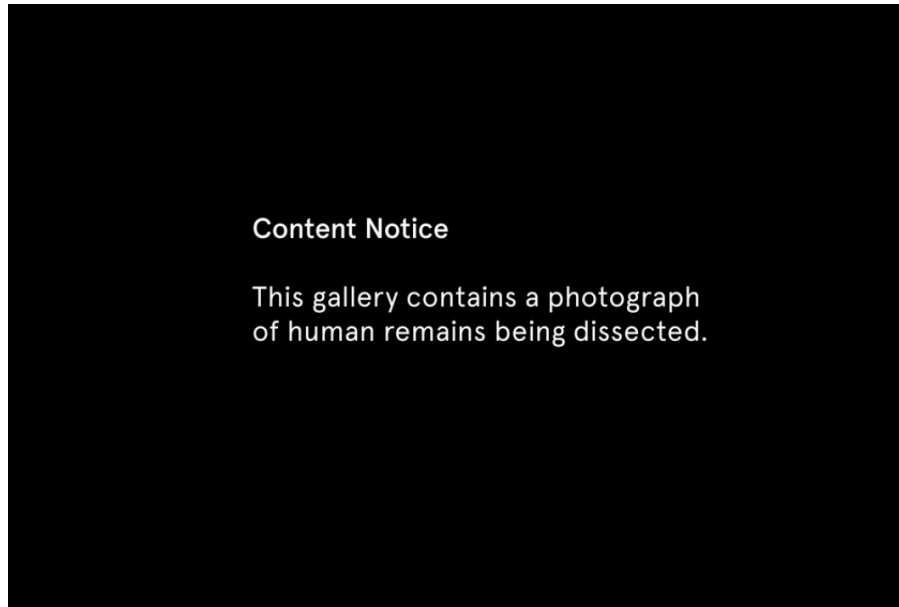


Figure 1.

Content Notice, This gallery contains a photograph of human remains being dissected.



Figure 2.

Anatomy Lab, Rush Medical College, Chicago, circa 1900, photograph. Wisconsin Historical Society (WHi-24273). Digital image courtesy of Wisconsin Historical Society (all rights reserved).

Major Arteries

Dissecting the work of Joseph Maclise (1815–1880), this essay tracks the life-blood of the anatomical arts circulating around the networks of specialists with whom Maclise was associated, from Cork and the capitals of Scotland, England, and France, across the Atlantic to Philadelphia and Boston.⁸ At a time when travel was of course far slower, anatomists, surgeons, artists, and printmakers travelled long distances in search of greater learning, the flow returning to generate new knowledges in its places of origin. Like the Grand Tour, these journeys often lasted far longer than a passing tourist visit, at times entailing months or years of professional study and work—as in Joseph Maclise’s anatomy *stage(s)* in Paris. The anatomical work, and its representation in images and texts, was thereby circulating in shared ideas, practices, teaching, books, manuals, atlases, art, and crucially, given that the (primarily) white male body was the “universal” body in medical anatomy, in shared ways of seeing and constituting the human (male) body. As we shall see, Maclise’s lithographs, already unusual for the inclusion of Black men, are of such high quality that “ethnic” variations of skin tone are discernible even in this grey-scale medium. Although perhaps equally studied in anatomy dissection rooms, the female body was rare in anatomical prints, especially for teaching—and used almost exclusively to display female *difference*: woman’s generative organs.⁹ Female bodies caused concern and breaches of propriety in the male-student only dissection room.

By 1800, human (pathological and comparative) anatomy was both a research science in its own right and the foundational study not just for surgeons, but increasingly also for all serious medical practitioners.¹⁰ Yet far from being a forked road where art and science irrevocably separated, this period in fact heralded an ever deeper mutual dependence, especially in anatomy, physiology, and nascent anthropology; this mutual dependence was further entrenched with the advent of photography in 1839, followed by radiographic and other imaging processes. Artists, too, continued to study anatomical dissection to hone their knowledge of the human body, gaining kudos from this association; anatomy professors trained artists while simultaneously relying on their representational skills to communicate their own learning—and their professional prestige in major portraits.¹¹ Traditionally in Britain, physicians were university trained (Oxford and Cambridge in England, Edinburgh in Scotland, and Dublin in Ireland), as against surgeons whose more “craft” associated training had remained closely allied to the private anatomy schools, to the hospitals, and to apprenticeships or “demonstratorships”.¹² Only once the Anglican stranglehold of the Oxbridge universities had been loosened in England, and secular medical schools like London’s University College had been founded (in 1826), did the expansion in anatomy teaching foster a burgeoning market

in textbooks—as well as in bodies for dissection.¹³ Edinburgh surgeon-anatomists John (1763–1820) and Charles Bell's (1774–1842) quarto-sized publications with in-text images were pragmatically designed for individual student use, whereas the life-size lithographs in Maclise's atlas (up to about 64 x 50 cm) for trainee surgeons were first released in loose-leaf fascicules, whether for use in libraries and lecture theatres, or pinned to the walls of anatomy schools, hospital dissection rooms, or operating theatres—or indeed for the specialist tastes of *cognoscenti* collectors.¹⁴

Academy-trained professional artists, especially men like Daniel Maclise, with ambitions to excel in the top echelons of history painting, attended compulsory anatomy classes in the art academies of Cork, London, and Paris. The Maclise brothers were keen Europhiles with a particular passion for France: Daniel made his first visit to Paris in 1830, and he and Joseph are recorded there together in September 1844. After he finished at University College in 1839, and perhaps again in 1844, Joseph Maclise continued his anatomy studies in Paris, then not only world capital of art but also of Enlightenment natural sciences and medical research; there he undertook hundreds of anatomical dissections at Pierre-Nicolas Gerdy's (1797–1856) École d'Anatomie attached to the Hôpital de la Pitié in the fifth arrondissement (Fig. 3). As Maclise explained in his own preface to *Surgical Anatomy* (1851), the “illustrations made by myself from my own dissections” were “first planned at London University College”, presumably while still a student there, and “afterwards realised at the École Pratique, and School of Anatomy a few years since”.¹⁵ He would have left University College already briefed on his commission for Richard Quain's *Anatomy of the Arteries* since the first plates appeared late in 1840, and he also did the groundwork in Paris for his own subsequent publications.¹⁶ For the journeyman anatomist or trainee surgeon at this time, the Hôpital de la Pitié had two distinct advantages. First, ready access to corpses: it was the Paris hospital-asylum for the poor and destitute, and hence furnished an endless supply of unclaimed bodies for dissection and, being located next to Sainte-Pélagie prison, it also had access to the corpses of criminals.¹⁷ Second, its chief anatomist-surgeon, Gerdy, was one of the most interesting and radical anatomists of his era: his work—and networks—were undoubtedly a key formative influence on Joseph Maclise.



Figure 3.

A. and W. Galignani and Co., *Galignani's New Paris Guide*, 17th ed. (Paris: A. and W. Galignani, 1830). Map detail, Left Bank, Paris, including L'Hôpital de la Pitié; rue Corneille, where the Maclise brothers stayed in the Luxembourg area; and the Écoles de Médecine and Beaux-Arts. Digital image courtesy of the author (all rights reserved).

Underpinning my discussion in this essay is the idea of a disinterested “objective” scientific gaze (Foucault’s “controlling” medical gaze), as distinct from its “subjective” counterpart, the artist’s gaze. Yet why so superior, different or mutually exclusive? ¹⁸ These apparently distinct views are in fact shared, not least because they were jointly formed. Positioning the gaze as essentially embodied, subjective—as classed, racialised, gendered, sexed, socio-historically, and geographically specific—these two purportedly distinct visualities—science/art, “objective/subjective”—converge here in, and on, a single principal “subject”: at once the desiring male artist-anatomist and the desirable male (anatomical) body. In anatomical representation, there is often an obsessional, narcissistic scrutiny of the male body, whether in all its beauty or in all its sordid abjection; its circulation in this private scientific world authorised an entirely legitimate desiring gaze, a gaze seeking knowledge—but also pleasure and pain. The objective scientific gaze, like the artist’s gaze, is simultaneously a private libidinous gaze. So multiple lines of sight, visual positions, converge and enmesh on a single corpus: subjective, objective, libidinous, *embodied*. ¹⁹

Given the multi-sensory nature of artistic and medical practice alike, my discussion highlights their shared reliance on the senses of sight and touch.

²⁰ In medical research of the period, especially in diagnostics, the two senses are closely aligned. ²¹ Imagine the intimate marriage of these senses necessary for brilliant French *médecin-philosophe* and pathological anatomist Xavier Bichat (1771–1802) to accomplish his remarkable anatomical taxonomy of human tissues and membranes, entirely without the visual aid of a microscope. ²² John and Charles Bell also emphasised the importance of touch as well as vision, the latter writing treatises on both the eye and the hand; as we shall see, Joseph Maclise’s Parisian mentor Gerdy, too, researched the sense of touch. ²³ Seen in comparison to the work of contemporaries, or indeed almost any other anatomist, Maclise’s lithographic anatomies are strikingly erotic. Examining them here in fine-grained detail enables an exploration of the roles of sight and touch in the generation of an embodied libidinous gaze in art and anatomy alike.

Corpses

Since the vast majority of bodies available for dissection belonged to the poor and destitute, the abject and powerless, anatomy was fundamentally an issue of class, of who held the power and who ended up on the slab. Anatomy schools sprang up conveniently alongside hospitals or asylums for the poor, or close to prisons. Xavier Bichat benefited, too, from the proliferation of available corpses during the Reign of Terror (1793–1794); even in his last year, he is reputed to have opened upwards of 600 bodies. ²⁴ Ironically, many such guillotined specimens would also have had the advantage of being young, healthy, and fit, albeit headless. Surgeon-anatomist Jean-Joseph Sue *fils* (1760–1830) and artist-surgeon Jean-Galbert Salvage (1772–1813) both profited too from the invaluable experience of war surgery on the battlefield—as did Charles Bell—and from access to dead soldiers or duellists for dissection. ²⁵ Salvage’s work entered the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture collections, as did his *Anatomie du Gladiateur* (1812), which other art academies also acquired, while in 1789 Sue *fils* himself inherited the chair of anatomy there from his father. ²⁶ A typical medical traveller in search of knowledge, Sue *fils* completed his MD in 1783 at the Royal College of Physicians in Edinburgh, overlapping there with John Bell, who had become a fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons in 1780. Both Sue *fils*, who wrote on the nature and experience of death by guillotine, and Bichat were among many anatomists researching key scientific questions of life and death, which were central preoccupations during this period and which pertain to my discussion of Joseph Maclise. Although Bichat’s research was unknown outside Paris when he died at the early age of thirty, by the 1840s, “his system of histology and pathological anatomy

had taken both the French and English medical worlds by storm".²⁷ And just as from this period onwards in France corporal punishment and the scaffold were forbidden as public spectacles, so too did the carnivalesque public dissections in the European theatres of anatomy cease. This "discipline", entering the professional realms of institutional science, was now hidden from the public gaze.²⁸

Between the 1820s and the 1860s, the overarching period covering Joseph Maclise's publications, there were dramatic changes in the provision of anatomy teaching for medical students, aided by the 1832 Anatomy Act in Britain permitting the release of unclaimed bodies to science. The old private anatomy schools closed down or combined with the newly proliferating university and hospital medical schools which took over and regulated their role.²⁹ Thus Charles Bell, for example, who in 1811 had moved his anatomical practice from his home into William Hunter's (1718–1783) old Great Windmill Street School of Anatomy, became the first professor of anatomy and surgery at the London College of Surgeons in Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1824. In 1829, the Great Windmill Street School of Anatomy was incorporated into the new (Anglican) King's College medical school established to counter the new reformist London University College, to which Bell was appointed professor of surgery in that same year.³⁰

Arterioles

Edinburgh

At a moment in the late eighteenth century when modern medicine began its inexorable rise, John Bell's work produced the first modern surgical anatomy. He elaborated not simply anatomists' growing knowledge of the human body, its norms, and pathologies, but also offered insight into its surgical treatment.³¹ His brother Charles added further volumes at the turn of the century and in the years immediately following.

Although published in the relatively small octavo, John Bell's plates were uncompromisingly blunt: rendered with an almost aggressive crudity, a Rembrandtesque chiaroscuro adds atmospheric gloom to his anti-aesthetic pictorial "naturalism". Aiming, he states in the preface to his 1794 *Engravings Explaining the Anatomy of the Bones, Muscles and Joints*, at the "useful" (for the student) rather than the "beautiful",³² Bell explains:

I have drawn my plates with my own hand. I have engraved some of these plates, and etched almost the whole of them: Which I mention only to show, that they have their chance of being correct in the anatomy ... and whatever they may have lost in elegance, they have gained ... in truth and accuracy.³³

His “gothic horror” anatomical plates figured the violence of dissection. Unmistakably dead, his corpses and body parts lie abruptly dumped on tables or strung up with gallows-style ropes, set in awkwardly angled compositions within dingy interiors closed off from light and air (Fig. 4). Here, we are told, is the natural home of dissection: in mean, ill-lit backrooms or dank basements, like the dark underground chambers of Henri Gervex’s (1852–1929) oil study *Autopsy at the Hôtel-Dieu* (1875) (Fig. 5).³⁴

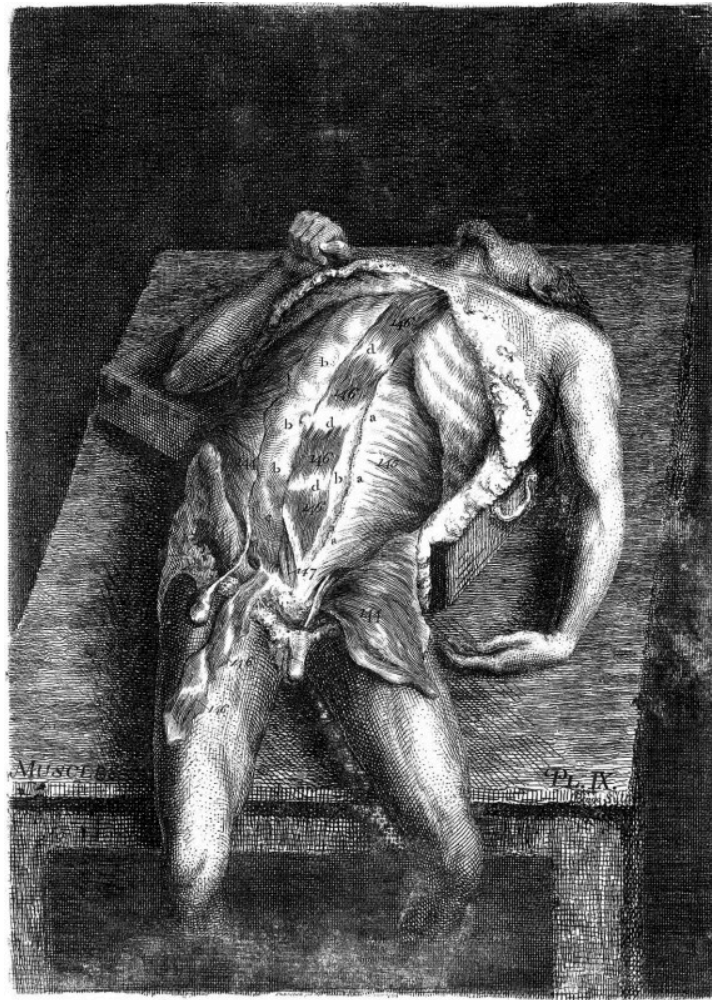


Figure 4.

John Bell, Second Dissection of the Belly, Plate IX, quarto, from *Engravings, explaining the Anatomy of the Bones, Muscles and Joints* (Edinburgh: J. Paterson for Bell & Bradfute, etc., 1794), 1794, engraving. Wellcome Collection. Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).



Figure 5.

Henri Gervex, Study for Autopsy at the Hôtel-Dieu, 1876, oil on canvas, 53.3 × 43.2 cm. Collection of the National Gallery of Art, Washington (2006.158.1). Digital image courtesy of National Gallery of Art, Washington (public domain).

All outward appearance of respect for the dead that might be politely parsed in a classical idiom is in Bell sacrificed to the sceptic's plain-speaking eye. Thus, Bell's etchings, deeply blackened with the oily printing ink, render the dissection slab a terrifying scene of back-street butchery, torture, and human sacrifice, anticipating by over twenty years literary works like Mary Shelley's (1797–1851) *Frankenstein* (1818) and the later anatomist-turned-author Eugène Sue's (1804–1857, son of Sue fils) *Les Mystères de Paris* (1830).³⁵ John Bell's prints, then, are unmediated by conventional "taste" or by examples drawn from classical Greek or Roman models, deliberately eschewing the cultivated mannerisms that made ideal anatomies socially acceptable. Effectively the founder of applied surgical anatomy and Scotland's most successful surgeon in his time, John Bell flaunted his

materialist expertise in the dissecting room in the face of his rivals, the Edinburgh University and Edinburgh Royal Hospital medical elite: not for Bell the niceties of the Edinburgh drawing room. ³⁶

Arguing as powerfully for plainness of words as for directness of images, John Bell decried professional anatomists' self-defeating obscurantism which, especially in language, alienated young would-be practitioners in the field. ³⁷ Analysing a range of historical illustrations widely deployed or imitated, from Vesalius (1514–1564) on, Bell described the continual struggle between painter and anatomist—the “one striving for elegance of form, the other for accuracy of representation”. ³⁸ Derived merely from the imagination of the painter, he noted, such illustrations show “sturdy and active figures, with a ludicrous contrast of furious countenances, and active limbs, combined with ragged muscles, and naked bones, and dissected bowels, which they are busily employed in supporting, forsooth, or demonstrating with their hands.” ³⁹

This was, Bell argued (referring to Albinus), like a “statue anatomised”, where “all the irregularities of substance, all the gradations of bones, ligaments, tendon, and flesh, are rounded down with studied smoothness; it is a figure that can never compare with the body as it lies before him for dissection”. ⁴⁰ Instead of this “vicious [*sic*] practice” images illustrating anatomy texts should be “useful” rather than “elegant” and “tasteful”, presented, Bell argued, only as they appear on the dissecting table during the procedures, notably with “enough of the general figure ... kept there to explain the posture of the parts”. ⁴¹ This could only be achieved, we understand, by a singular talent combining both the artistic and scientific—like his own and that of his younger brother Charles, and, of course, Joseph Maclise. Following John Bell, Maclise was a strict adherent to evidential science; yet, in Maclise's atlas-size plates, representation of the “general figure” came almost to dominate over the dissection itself, and death succumbed to life.

Cork

drink deeply of the nectared cup of science.

—John Woodroffe, Cork, 1815 ⁴²

Beginning his art studies as a youth in Cork, copying classical casts in Crawford Art Gallery from the newly acquired collection cast by Antonio Canova, from 1828, Daniel Maclise continued his art studies at the Royal Academy in London. ⁴³ Joseph Maclise may also have drawn from these casts

and would certainly have known them. Daniel began his anatomy studies too in Cork, with the influential military surgeon, anatomist, and art enthusiast John Woodroffe (1788–1859), attending his lectures over a number of years and devoting “many winters” to dissection.⁴⁴ The Cork network was highly influential within London circles too; Richard Quain (1800–1887) may well have studied under Woodroffe, who probably taught Joseph Maclise, too. Woodroffe, in turn, commended Maclise to Quain at University College in London to continue his studies, and where in 1832 Quain was appointed professor of descriptive anatomy.⁴⁵

In the preface to his *Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body* (1840–circa 1844), Richard Quain described his illustrator Joseph Maclise as “my former pupil”.⁴⁶ Maclise gained his licentiate at University College in 1839 and by the date of Quain’s publication was working “at the duties of his profession”.⁴⁷ Joseph himself named his teachers at University College as Robert Liston (1794–1847) and Samuel Cooper (1780–1848); it was to them (as well as his fellow students), rather than Quain, that Maclise dedicated his *Surgical Anatomy*.⁴⁸ ⁴⁹ Samuel Cooper gave Joseph Maclise the intellectual and discursive basis for his publishing interests, while Robert Liston taught him the incisive surgical dexterity which, thanks to Joseph’s equal dexterity with both scalpel and pencil, provided the perfect combination for his anatomical publications. Like his brother Daniel, Joseph Maclise was a superb draughtsman of the human body; indeed, Joseph was perhaps the greater of the two, with his more instinctive feel for composition and bold treatment, but with the same sharp eye for detail. Joseph’s figures are more powerfully emotive than those of Daniel—who could not resist a trivialising anecdotalism in the gestures and expressions of his figures, even when making grand history paintings like *The Death of Nelson* or *Waterloo* (1858–1864) (Fig. 6, see also Fig. 10).



Figure 6.

Daniel Maclise, Cartoon for The Meeting of Wellington and Blücher after the Battle of Waterloo: The Waterloo Cartoon (detail), March 1858-June 1859, chalk on paper, on ten separate sheets attached to individual panels, 337 × 1381 cm. Collection of the Royal Academy of Arts, London (04/2437). Digital image courtesy of Royal Academy of Arts, London; Photographer: Prudence Cuming Associates Limited (all rights reserved).

London

The urban geographies of London and Paris were highly significant to the Maclise brothers, who are known to have lived together throughout their lives, with sister Isabella as their housekeeper.⁵⁰ Daniel Maclise arrived in London in 1827 aged twenty-one, enrolling at the Royal Academy the following year. His brother followed him to London, perhaps at the of age twenty-two in 1837, the year Daniel took up residence in 14 Russell Place (Fig. 7).⁵¹ It was here that Daniel must have had his studio, and where doubtless the brothers worked side by side drawing together from the muscular male life models that are characteristic in the oeuvre of both.

Eventually, this would also be the address of Joseph's surgical practice.⁵² Yet, since he qualified in 1839, it is more likely Joseph arrived in London considerably earlier when, from 1831 to 1837, Daniel lived just a few doors south at 63 Charlotte Street.⁵³ An area of good houses, constructed only thirty years previously, Fitzrovia was renowned for its artists as well as the artists' trades: John Constable (a tutor of Daniel Maclise at the RA) lived at 78 Charlotte Street from 1822-1837, finishing *The Lock*, *Salisbury Cathedral*, and *Hampstead Heath* while there.⁵⁴

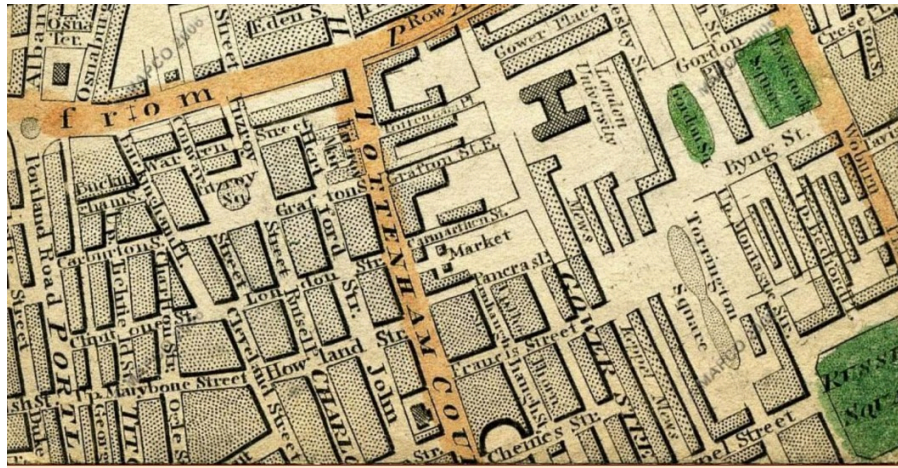


Figure 7.

Smith's New Map of London (Fitzrovia detail), 1830, map. Digital image courtesy of MAPCO (all rights reserved).

Right across the street from the Maclises, at 64 Charlotte Street, lived and worked the famous lithographic printers that Joseph chose for his *Surgical Anatomy* plates: Michael and Nicolas Hanhart, who came to London in the 1820s. They were from the same Mulhouse/Paris stable as Godefroy

Engelmann (1788–1839) and Jeremiah Graf, “Printers to Her Majesty”.⁵⁵,⁵⁶ Indeed, in this early period, lithographers were an even more interconnected fraternity than artists or anatomists. Graf was the lithographer selected by Quain to print Maclise’s illustrations to his *Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body* in 1840–circa 1844. Jeremiah Graf and Godefroy’s nephew Auguste Engelmann had established a lithography business in London in 1826, joined there from Paris by Michael Hanhart in 1828 as an assistant, then manager. In 1830, M. & N. Hanhart established their own lithographic business in Charlotte Street, when the Engelmann London branch (Engelmann, Graf & Coindet) failed. Jeremiah Graf too, apparently with his brother Charles, set up his own business nearby that same year, first at 14 Newman Street (also Fitzrovia) and, by 1838, at 16 Castle Street (now Eastcastle Street), just off Charlotte Street.⁵⁷ The proximity of both Graf and M. & N. Hanhart to the Maclise residence meant that not only were they familiars but, in the case of Hanhart, Joseph had merely to cross the street to work on his stones at the printers’ (where studios with stones were made available) or, as was also customary at this period, stones for artists’ to work on were delivered to their studios.⁵⁸ Conveniently too, for both Maclise brothers, the firm of Winsor & Newton, artists’ colourmen, was established in 1832 just down from Charlotte Street at 38 Rathbone Place. George Rowney Colourmen had begun around the corner at 10 and 11 Percy Street in 1783; by the 1850s, they had their retail outlet at 51 Rathbone Place, with wholesale at 10 Percy Street.⁵⁹

Paris

The precise dates of Joseph Maclise's anatomy studies in Paris are uncertain. He most likely worked there for a couple of years immediately after qualifying at London University College in 1839, but he was certainly back in Paris for an extended period in 1844. By summer 1844, Maclise's lithographic plates for Quain's *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body* would have been more or less completed, and some of these provided the backbone for his own *Surgical Anatomy* (1851). Daniel Maclise had first visited the city while still a Royal Academy student, just after the "Three Glorious Days" of the July Revolution in France in 1830. His return visit for a month in 1844 confirms Joseph was already in Paris and perhaps based again at the École d'Anatomie at L'Hôpital de la Pitié.⁶⁰ It was probably late August when Daniel joined "Joe", who was living in student lodgings at Hôtel Corneille, rue Corneille, in the Luxembourg area centrally located between the Sorbonne and the Écoles de Médecine and Beaux-Arts (see Fig. 3). The hotel served as a residence, as he reported, "... principally occupied by students of every grade and style, and of every profession—clerical, law-yal [*sic*], medical, artistical".⁶¹ Daniel had already been three weeks in Paris when he wrote this, and his description illuminates Joseph Maclise's circumstances while working in Paris:

I am *au quatrième* in a small room in the ... hotel, my bed in a recess at one end, and the casement opening from ceiling to floor at the other. It commands a view of the Odéon Theatre, which is on the opposite side of the narrow street ... On the left, I can see the principal dome of the Palace of the Luxembourg, and can be in the Gallery in 2½ minutes from my bedroom. I have a little bed, a little chair, a little chest of drawers, a big looking glass, a large washing-basin, jug, and water-bottle; the room is surrounded by shelves for books, the floor is polished oak, laid down in a pattern, and this is, I believe, the exact model of all the rooms in the house ... Each floor is served by a *garçon*, who is every man's factotum; he makes the bed, cleans the boots, brushes the clothes, stitches on buttons, and does everything that the necessities of fifty men require. ... I fortunately got into the very next room to Joe, which was unoccupied, the tenant having just left the day before ...

I breakfast and dine, and do all that I have to do, from home. I am out from nine in the morning; I am choke-full up to my eyes in pictures; I never saw so much in all my life put together; it has

taken me from ten in the morning till four in the afternoon, for three days together, constantly walking, to see the miles of canvas in Versailles. ⁶²

In his descriptions of the sites and galleries he visited, and of the many notable London friends (mainly artistic) he met, who were also in Paris on tour, Daniel scarcely mentions his brother. ⁶³ Nevertheless, since Joseph was known to frequent the galleries and museums, it is likely that for much of Daniel's stay they joined forces. It is clear it was quite customary to drop into the studios of artists one admired, or who were friends/associates; presumably Joseph also engaged in this practice—and in visits to lithographers like Engelmann associated with his London printers.

Together in Paris, Daniel and Joseph Maclise undoubtedly visited the artworks both greatly admired, including the Louvre's Napoleonic paintings by Antoine-Jean Gros (1771–1835) and Paul Delaroche's (1797–1856) *Execution of Lady Jane Grey* (1833), plus his recently completed *L'Hémicycle du Palais des Beaux-Arts* (1837–1841) at the Palais des Beaux-Arts, which Daniel claimed to visit almost daily. ⁶⁴ The Maclises both admired Théodore Géricault's (1791–1824) monumental *Raft of the Medusa* (1819), which entered the Louvre in 1824, soon after the artist's early death (Fig. 8). ⁶⁵ However, according to Nicolas-Sebastien Maillot's 1831 painting, *Raft of the Medusa Shown in Salon Carré of the Louvre*, the huge canvas was then hung too high for close study (Fig. 9). In his monumental history painting, *The Meeting of Wellington and Blücher after Waterloo* (1861), Daniel follows Gros' heroic Napoleonic dramas like the *Retreat from Moscow* in his own treatment of the foreground dead (Fig. 10). ⁶⁶ Particular poses in *The Meeting of Wellington and Blücher after Waterloo* owe a clear debt too, to Géricault's *Raft of the Medusa*: two sprawled soldiers (far left and right) in eye-catching white breeches, are direct quotes, in reverse, of the foreground right corpse posed by Delacroix for Géricault's painting. Likewise, the beautifully modelled thighs and the use of eroticising drapery in this Géricault/Delacroix nude find powerful echoes in Joseph's drawings, for example, Plate 16 of *Surgical Anatomy* (1851)(Fig. 11), with its equally sumptuous thighs; here, the cursorily suggested white drapery nevertheless performs a key narrative function: akin to a lifted shirt, it serves a seductive, revelatory role more associated with female nudes, drawing the eye to the genitals, rather than (as in the Géricault) covering them up. This device had been yet more provocatively deployed by Maclise in his abdomen dissection for Quain (circa 1844, Plate 51)(Fig. 12). Maclise's drapery is remarkably pristine compared to the filthy rags we sense in John Bell's prints—or yet the blood-soaked cloth draped across the central nude in Delacroix's *Massacre at Chios* (1824), also in the Louvre (Fig. 13). ⁶⁷ Delacroix's modern Greek god, his languidly

beautiful body and rich olive skin, echoed by Joseph Maclise in his Plate 51 for Quain, lies dying in a position commonly used when starting dissection: even closer is the pose of the corpse, far left, in Géricault's *Raft of the Medusa*.



Figure 8.

Théodore Géricault, *Raft of the Medusa* (detail), 1819, oil on canvas, 490 cm × 716 cm. Collection of the Musée du Louvre, Paris (INV. 4884). Digital image courtesy of RMN-Grand Palais (Musée du Louvre) / Michel Urtado (all rights reserved).

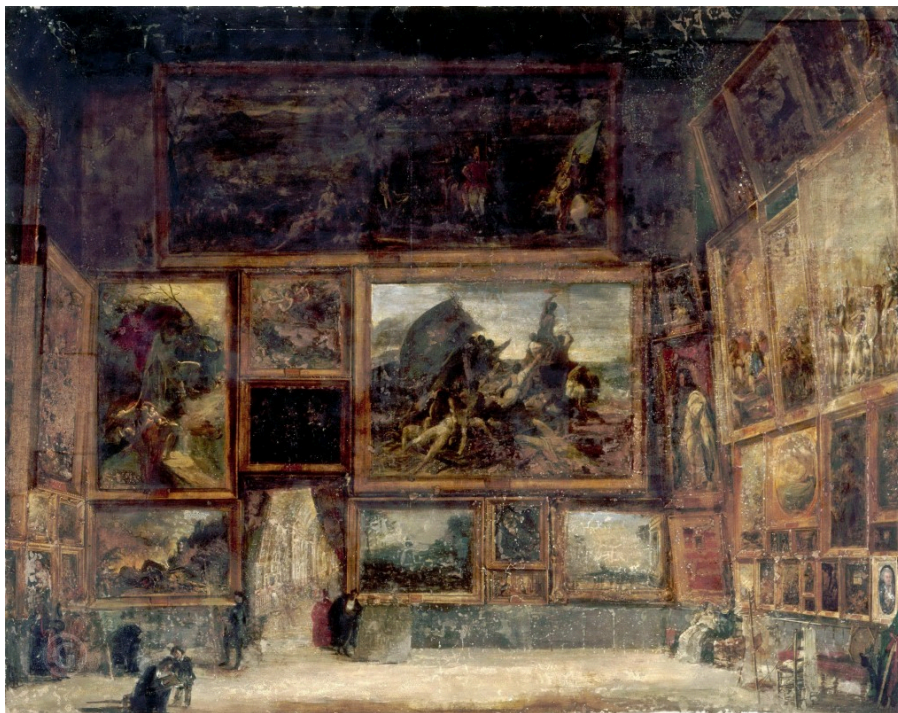


Figure 9.

Nicolas-Sebastien Maillot, *Raft of the Medusa* shown in Salon Carré of the Louvre in 1831, 1831, oil on canvas, 126 cm × 142 cm. Collection of the Musée du Louvre, Paris (RF 1969-15). Digital image courtesy of Gallerix.org (public domain).



Figure 10.

Daniel Maclise, *The Meeting of Wellington and Blücher after the Battle of Waterloo*, completed 1861, waterglass fixed with potassium silicate, on plaster, 368 × 1392 cm. Collection of The Royal Gallery, Palace of Westminster. Digital image courtesy of Bridgeman Images (all rights reserved).

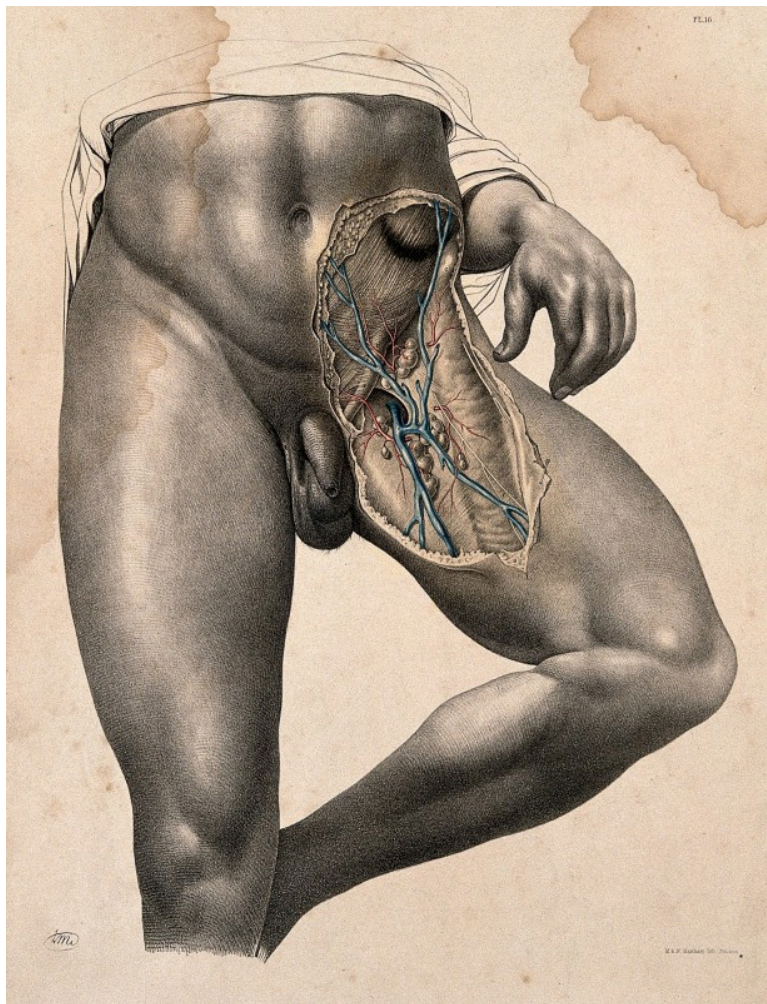


Figure 11.

Joseph Maclise, *Dissection of the Left Groin of a Standing Man*, from *Surgical Anatomy* (London: John Churchill, 1851): Plate 16, 1851, lithograph, 54.5 × 37.7 cm. Wellcome Collection. Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (no. 640777i) (CC BY 4.0).

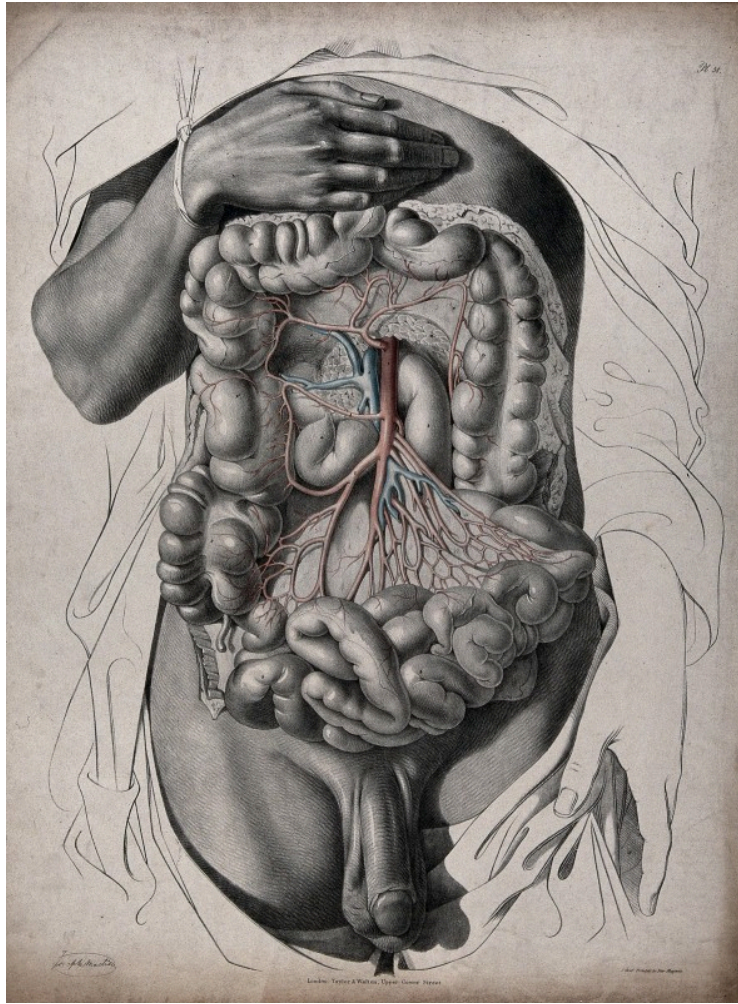


Figure 12.

Joseph MacLise, Dissection of the Abdomen Showing the Large Intestine, with the Arteries and Veins Indicated in Red and Blue, from Richard Quain, *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body* (London: Taylor & Walton, 1841/1844): Plate 51, c.1841-44, lithograph, with watercolour, 64.2 x 49 cm. Wellcome Collection (no. 579361i). Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).



Figure 13.

Eugène Delacroix, *Massacre at Scios*, 1824, oil on canvas, 419 × 354 cm. Collection of the Musée du Louvre, Paris (INV. 3823). Digital image courtesy of Web Gallery of Art (public domain).

In addition to the painting's material presence on view in Paris, several prints after Géricault's *Raft of the Medusa* were circulating in London from the time of Géricault and his friend Nicolas Toussaint Charlet's (1792–1845) British tour of the painting during April 1820–December 1821; Charlet produced a first, somewhat woodcut-like lithograph in 1820, which was published at least twice (in 1820 and 1823).⁶⁸ Often attributed to Géricault, Charlet was in fact its principal author, and since Charlet himself became a renowned lithographic printmaker, their work together in London exploiting the medium is no surprise.⁶⁹ Géricault was one of the first major artists, in 1817, to experiment with lithography as an artistic rather than a purely reproductive medium, rapidly becoming an adept—as did Delacroix. The medium's immediacy, precision, and versatility stemmed from the directness of the artist's drawn chalk mark on the prepared stone surface.⁷⁰ Although

obviously reversed, the resulting print was an exact replica of the drawing retaining its original qualities of draughtsmanship and personal “touch”: a reproducible drawing. It could be fine and delicate like silverpoint, or rich with deep tone and *sfumato*. Since artists themselves could draw directly on the stone, the process could eliminate the intermediary craftsman or designer; intaglio methods, however, required the help (as in the case of John Bell) or full intervention of a skilled craftsman-artisan, who engraved the drawing onto the copper plate. Lithographic prints were also therefore cheaper as well as almost endlessly repeatable.⁷¹

However, Charlet’s choice of a linear rather than a tonal print after Gericault’s *Raft of the Medusa* meant it lost all the chiaroscuro drama and painterliness of the original. Much closer in painterly feel was the print made for the mass market by British printmaker, Samuel William Reynolds (1773–1835) (Fig. 14). His mezzotint (circa 1829) was undoubtedly made in Paris, since it was printed by F. Chardon, 30 rue Hautefeuille (just off Boulevard St Germain between Boulevard St Michel and Place de l’Odéon), and not long after Gericault’s painting entered the Louvre. Also a friend of Charlet, and probably encouraged by him, Reynolds often visited Paris and was certainly there in the later 1820s; he was a painter and printmaker whose work was more widely appreciated on the Continent than in Britain and he regularly exhibited at the Paris Salon.⁷² Reynolds’ mezzotint of the *Raft of the Medusa* meant the painting that proved so popular in Britain was already available in print and circulating in Paris and London by 1829; Daniel could have acquired a copy in Paris in 1830.⁷³



Figure 14.

Samuel William Reynolds after Théodore Géricault, *Raft of the Medusa*, 1820-1830, mezzotint print, 62.8 × 82.6 cm. Collection of The British Museum (1875,0508.531). Digital image courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

Still more telling are the networks in Paris that Joseph Maclise accessed through Pierre-Nicolas Gerdy and his École d'Anatomie. Like Maclise, Gerdy was deeply committed to sensory evidence and reason in the science of anatomy, first publishing his ideas in a pamphlet in 1844.⁷⁴ Thus, during the likely period of Maclise's *stage* there, Gerdy was researching touch and skin sensation.⁷⁵ Throughout the 1820s, he welcomed artists as well as medics at the École d'Anatomie, running courses in which a key feature for all students was work from the "living figure", which he deemed crucial to a real understanding of human anatomy. Gerdy advertised his dedicated *Cours d'anatomie appliquée à la peinture et à la sculpture* in 1827 and, in 1829, published his atlas, *Anatomie des peintres*, with three lithographic figures posed in conventional front, back, and side views; separate linear key plates avoided complex key letters marring his figures (Figs. 15-17).⁷⁶ Both publications coincided with Gerdy's bid for the chair of anatomy at the École des Beaux-Arts.⁷⁷ Many students from the Beaux-Arts preferred his teaching to that of ageing incumbent Professor Jean-Joseph Sue (1760-1830), whose classes they deserted in droves; Gerdy was young, exciting, and interdisciplinary. Significantly, not only did he teach from the live model but also from paintings and sculpture, closing his curriculum with "considérations historiques et bibliographiques sur l'anatomie, les beaux-arts, et par des promenades anatomiques dans les jardins et les musées publics, pour y

analyser les reliefs sensibles sur les statues et les tableaux". ⁷⁸ He was (in)famous for his student tours of the Louvre, critiquing artists' anatomical knowledge in great works of art. Gerdy's emphasis on the living body in the actual and pictorial underpinned all his teaching, although in his treatises he (like Bichat) placed great emphasis on weighty and at times impenetrable textual description. Even his innovative classes, founded on the study of surface anatomy, entailed obsessive description of every curve, bump, and crevice of the human body (see [Fig. 15](#)). His students clearly loved him: there were riots and two years of strikes at the École des Beaux-Arts when, in 1830, Gerdy was passed over for the chair, ostensibly on the grounds of his youth. ⁷⁹

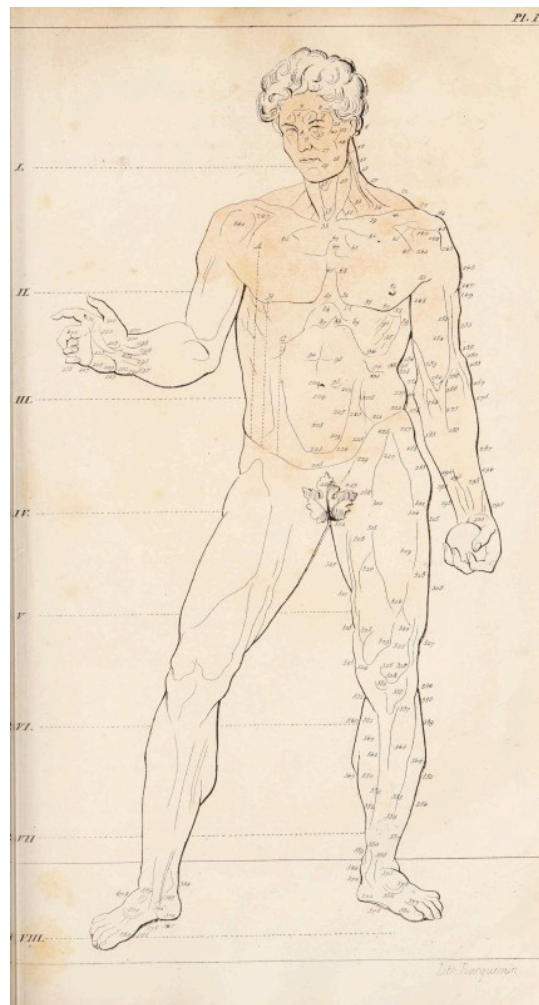


Figure 15.

Maximilien-Félix Demesse, from Pierre-Nicolas Gerdy, *Anatomie des formes extérieures du corps humain, appliquée à la peinture, à la sculpture et à la chirurgie*, (Paris: Béchét, Jnr., 1829): Plate 1 key diagram, 1829, lithograph. Wellcome Collection. Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

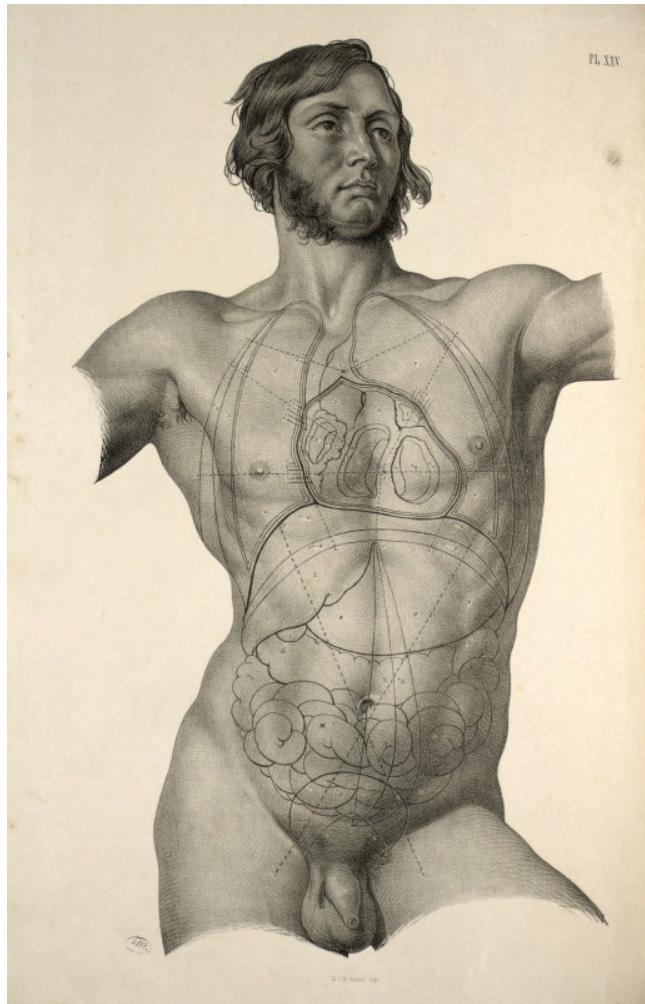


Figure 16.

Joseph Maclise, Location of Viscera in Vivo, from *Surgical Anatomy*, 2nd edition (London: J. Churchill, 1856): Plate 25, 1856, lithograph, 45 × 28 cm. Collection of the University of Toronto Anatomy Collection. Digital image courtesy of University of Toronto Anatomy Collection (public domain).

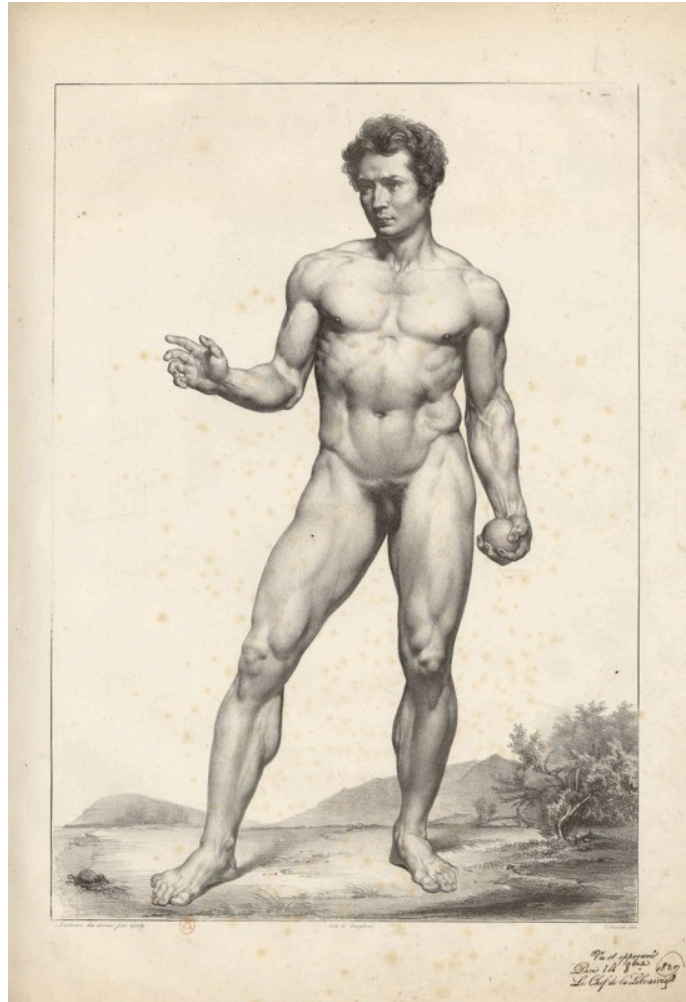


Figure 17.

Maximilien-Félix Demesse, from Pierre-Nicolas Gerdy, *Anatomie des peintres*, (Paris: Chez Bechet Jeune Libraire, 1829): figure 1, 1829, lithograph. Collection of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (GR FOL-TA10-24 (ATLAS)). Digital image courtesy of Bibliothèque nationale de France (public domain).

Before Géricault's untimely death, he too probably worked with Gerdy and, through him, may have had access to the corpses and body parts he studied in his studio while working on the *Raft of the Medusa*. Gerdy had links too with Gros, whose students at the École des Beaux-Arts also studied with Gerdy: under Gros, Maximilien-Félix Demesse (1806-18??) competed unsuccessfully four times for the Prix de Rome, in 1827-1830.⁸⁰ Demesse provided the surface anatomy drawings for Gerdy's lithographic illustrations to his *Anatomie des peintres*: he even redeployed this same frontal figure for the protagonist Méléagre in his *concour esquisse* for the Rome Prize in 1830 (Fig. 18). His master Gros' own early life studies, dynamic and muscular (Fig. 19), make a telling comparison too with the models of Maclise (see Fig. 16). While the overall muscular athleticism is comparable, Maclise gives his

figures an extraordinary, extrovert vitality, openly disporting themselves as if to a complicit viewer. Notable, too, is Gros' academic treatment of the genitals, reduced to a shrunken, abstracted pouch; the contrast reveals just how daringly explicit were those of Maclise, even given the rationale of their medical context. While working in Paris, Joseph Maclise could well have attended Gros' studio to pursue his life drawing, or equally the open Académie Suisse life studio frequented by all the great artists of the period, which was located on Île de la Cité, just across the Pont Saint-Michel on the Quai des Orfèvres (see Fig. 3).⁸¹ Demesse's life drawings for Gerdy were printed by lithographer Pierre Langlumé (1790–18??), who exhibited at the Paris Salon in 1822 and 1824, and whose printing workshop was conveniently located at 6 rue de l'Abbaye, between the École des Beaux-Arts and the École de Médecine.⁸² Through Gerdy, Joseph Maclise likely met Demesse and Gros, and, while in Paris, Maclise himself may have practised lithography, perhaps at Langlumé's (then owned by Bénard), or with Jean Engelmann—son of Godefroy, an associate of Maclise's London printers Graf and the Hanharts—perhaps alongside the renowned Nicolas-Henri Jacob (1782–1871), who lived next door to Langlumé/Bénard, at 4 rue de l'Abbaye.⁸³ Trained under Jacques-Louis David and professor of drawing at the École nationale vétérinaire d'Alfort (1818–1830), Jacob was artist-lithographer to the renowned anatomist Jean-Baptiste-Marc Bourgery (1797–1849), whose magisterial *Traité complet de l'anatomie de l'homme* (1831–1854), which Joseph would have known, ran to fourteen volumes, including eight of plates, with over 700 illustrations.⁸⁴ Early on, Jacob had demonstrated the new medium in practice in his 1819 lithograph, *The Genius of Lithography*: his 1831 frontispiece for Bourgery flaunted his Davidian credentials and penchant for male muscle (Fig. 20).⁸⁵



Figure 18.

Maximilien-Félix Demesse, Méléagre reprenant les armes à la sollicitation de son épouse, student esquisse for the Rome Prize, 1830, black chalk on paper, 18.9 × 24.2 cm. Collection of the Beaux-Arts de Paris (PC 18081-1830-10). Digital image courtesy of Beaux-Arts de Paris, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais (all rights reserved).

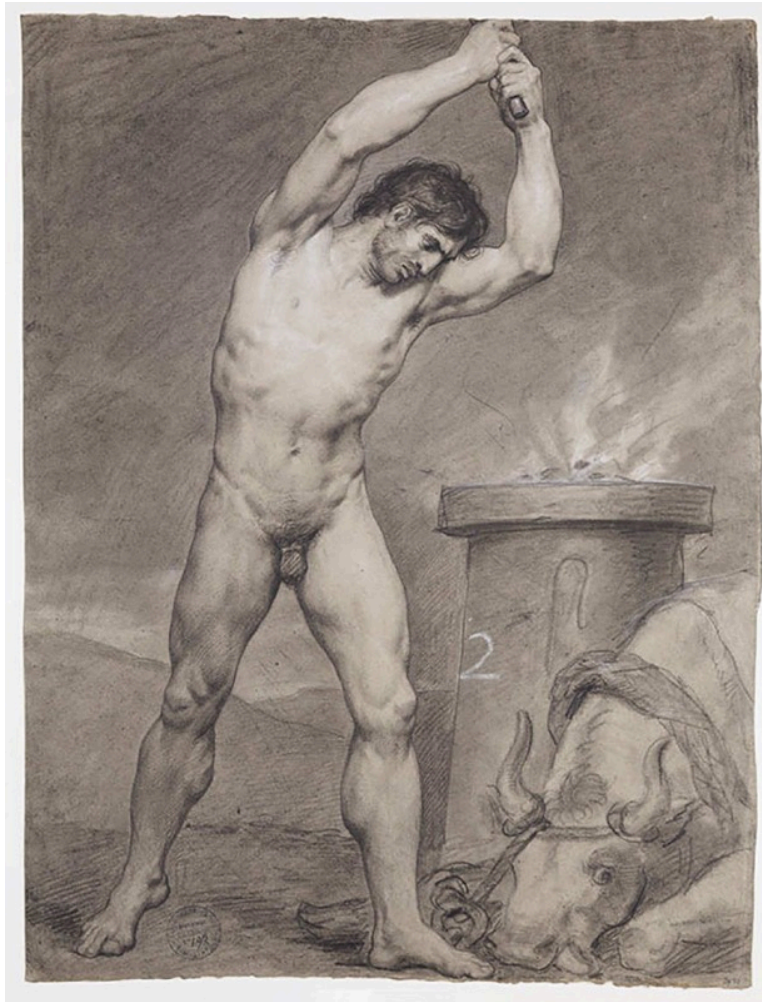


Figure 19.

Antoine-Jean Gros, Standing Man Hitting a Bull, 1790-1810, black chalk, stump and white chalk on paper, 58.8 × 44.3. Collection of the Beaux-Arts de Paris (EBA 2934). Digital image courtesy of Beaux-Arts de Paris (all rights reserved).

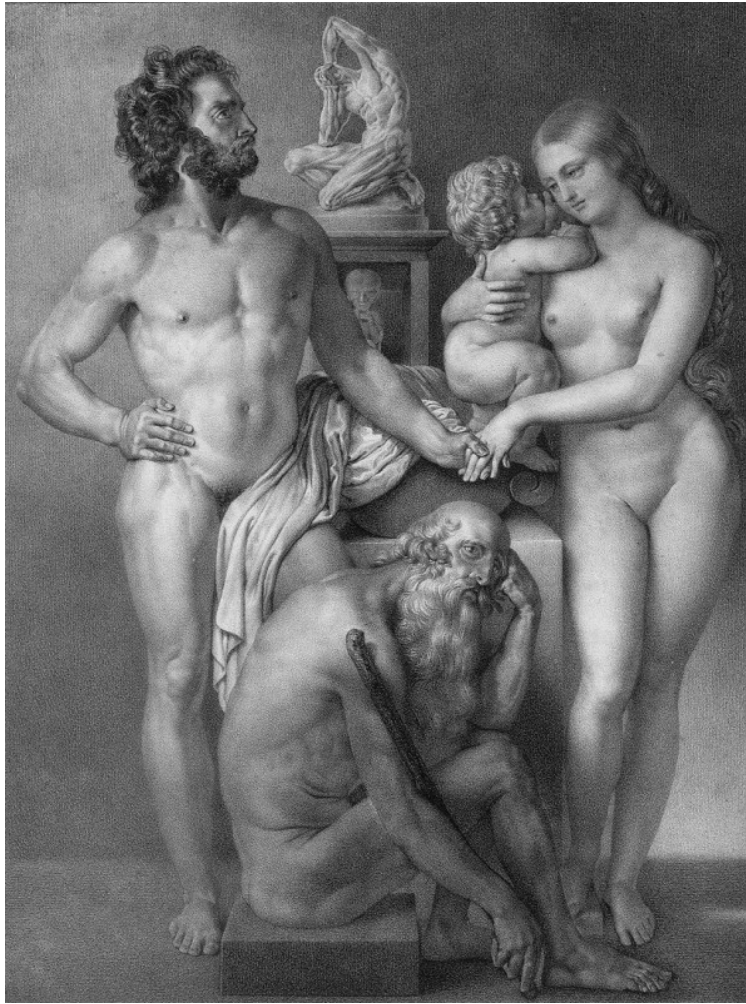


Figure 20.

Nicolas-Henri Jacob, frontispiece, from J. M. Bourgery, *Illustrations de Traité complet de l'anatomie humaine*, Vol.1, (Paris: 8 Bände, 1832), 1832, lithograph. Collection of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. Digital image courtesy of gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France (all rights reserved).

Delectable Bodies / corpus delecti⁸⁶

a sense of the body presented in such a way as to make it not simply desirable, but desirable by design; a non-material desire emanating from and framing the surface of the body, be it the sensuous touche of the pastel or the slick, smooth surface of bronze.

—Michael Hatt⁸⁷

A key characteristic of all exemplary dissection *écorchés* (cast from flayed corpses) on display in anatomy schools was their muscular fitness: in life, they were exclusively well-built soldiers, duellists, pugilists. So for artistic anatomists like Joseph Maclise, even in death, high manly ideals prevailed. Indeed, I contend that the figures in Maclise's anatomies actually were live models: men drawn from life and probably in the studio alongside Daniel—the latter preparatory to his grand historical battle scenes full of military men, the former his “ideal” guardsmen stripped off in the life room and transformed on the lithographic stone into living anatomical specimens.⁸⁸ They are designed, as Joseph stated, “to indicate the interior through the superficies, and thereby illustrate *the whole living body* which concerns surgery”, which was precisely Gerdy's philosophy in teaching anatomy to artists and surgeons alike.⁸⁹ Rather than making complete and finished drawings after his dissected bodies for his lithographic figures, or indeed drawing them directly on stone in the anatomy room, Maclise must first have made detailed preparatory drawings just of the dissected parts, and later transposed these, incorporating them onto/into his figures drawn in the studio from life. Joseph may have made drawings from the life model leaving blank spaces ready to receive the dissected details to scale, or possibly he made composites: scaled dissection drawings pasted over a ready-drawn figure, which he would then redraw complete onto stone.⁹⁰ No studies or life drawings on paper seem to survive which could elucidate his method, and nor do there seem to be extant life drawings of Daniel for comparison; the latter's full-scale cartoons that include semi-naked male figures are the closest one gets to the latter's method.⁹¹

Comparing work by other British contemporaries, for example, William Fairland's lithographs after J. Walsh's drawings (1837), while powerfully emotive, lack the taut anatomical precision and skilled figure drawing of Maclise.⁹² This is partly the result of a less coherent light source than is customary in Maclise, but also their romantic figure of a young male, appears decontextualised, a cut-out floating in the middle of the sheet (Fig. 21).⁹³ Similar figures by Maclise, like John Bell's (see Fig. 4), inhabit “real” space: a table, or a surface with objects, drapery, the outline of a chair all evoke an inhabited spatial setting. Nevertheless, the richly sensual chiaroscuro in Walsh's anatomical figures, almost closer in appearance to mezzotint, are a probable influence on Maclise's lithographs, most notably in his own *Surgical Anatomy* of 1851. Walsh's drawing romanticises its subject, a muscular and healthy young beauty with a glorious sweep of curly hair stylishly coiffed as if “in life”, his eyelids simply lowered at rest. Light and shade in Maclise's lithographs are more closely observed: his directional light source produces greater formal, and hence representational, coherence than does Walsh's more “abstracted” light, that merely catches the corporeal prominences. There was something of this, however, in Maclise's first lithographs for Quain

(Fig. 22). Walsh depicts a youth's head on a man's body; the sumptuous tonalities and modelling have all the romantic mystery of a Géricault *académie*. Yet, despite being a dissection illustration, the Walsh lacks the taut violence that in Géricault is rarely far below the surface and which, as in the mature Maclise, is sublimely erotic: desire, sex, and death come together.

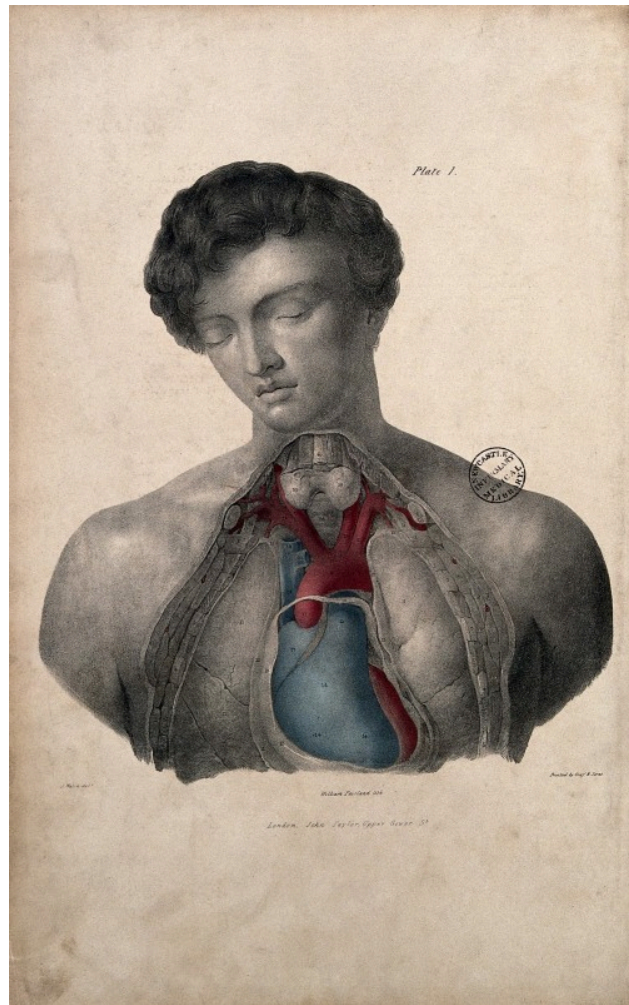


Figure 21.

William Fairland after a drawing by J. Walsh, Dissection of the Chest of a Young Man to Show Blood-Vessels Around the Heart, (London: John Taylor, 1837), 1837, coloured lithograph, 49.4 × 31.3 cm. Wellcome Collection (no. 641913i). Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

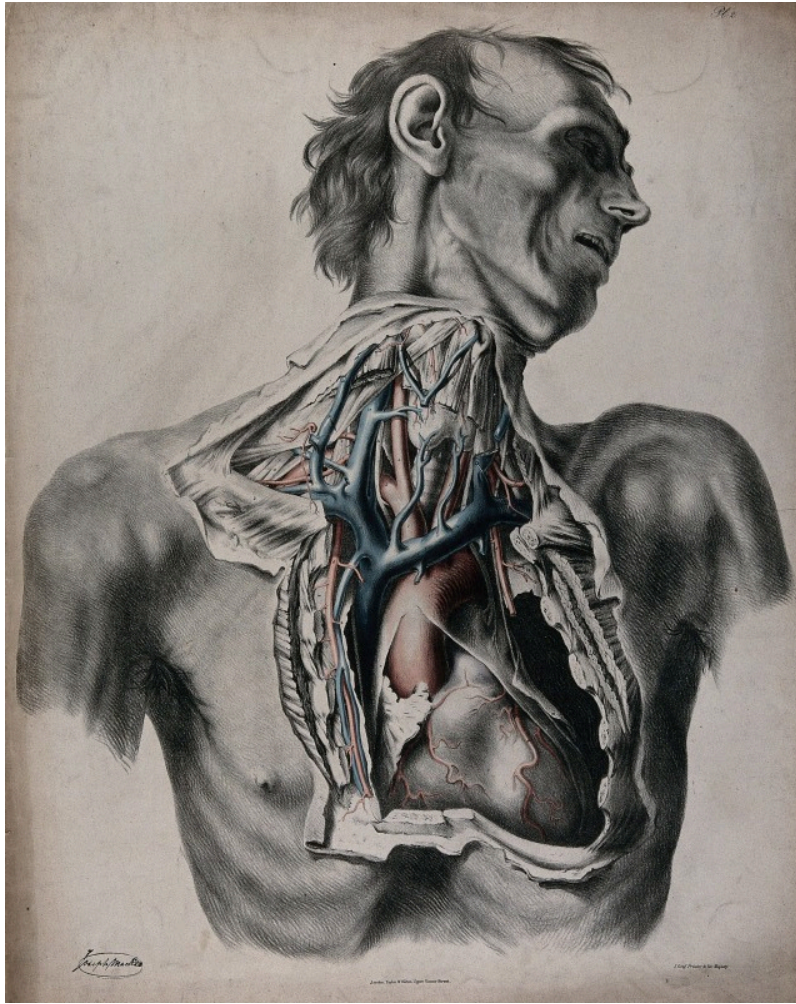


Figure 22.

Joseph MacLise, *The Circulatory System: Dissection of the Neck and Thorax of a Man, with Aorta, Arteries and Veins Indicated in Red and Blue*, from Richard Quain, *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body* (London: Taylor & Walton, 1841/1844): Plate 2, circa 1840?, coloured lithograph, 63.4 x 49.5 cm. Wellcome Collection (no. 579497i). Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

Similar in style to Walsh/Fairland, the later anatomical lithographs Fairland produced for Francis Sibson's (1814–1876) *Medical Anatomy* (1869), deployed Sibson's idiosyncratic technical procedure for tracing his own dissections, which were then lithographed by William Fairland. Sibson describes his work thus:

This ... and all the following plates were taken from dissections made by myself. I took the outlines of the organs by the aid of a transparent tracing frame ... Those outlines formed the groundwork for the coloured drawings from the body, which, as

well as the lithographs, were executed with untiring care by Mr Fairland, under my close supervision. The lithographs have been carefully coloured, from the original drawings, by Mr Sherwin.⁹⁴

This overly complex process, difficult to imagine in practice (how such a tracing frame could be set up and worked on above a corpse on a slab), is not known to have been widely adopted. Inventive though it is, it suggests the mind of a pure scientist complicating an otherwise direct transcription that could be produced by any good artist, including Fairland himself, but especially one like Joseph Maclise, who was also a surgeon-anatomist. Crucially, in Sibson's case, it enabled the anatomist to retain full control, rather than conceding it to Fairland's skills.

The complete Quain text for *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body* was, according to its title-page, published in 1844, but Maclise's plates were printed in batches or "fascicules" beginning as early as 1840, with an anticipated total of thirteen.⁹⁵ While there is no certainty over the extent to which Joseph Maclise was directed or constrained by Quain, a mature Maclise style emerged in the later plates, circa 1842–1844, when he came closer in feel to the Walsh/Fairland plates. Thus, in "Abdomen" (see [Fig. 12](#)), Maclise explored a far richer and more sensual use of the lithographic chalk than seen in his earlier Quain plates. Here, to differentiate the complex, richly detailed textures of the organs, he exploits an extensive range of tonal values and touch that are arguably best suited to this complex subject. The cornucopia of bulging organs is animated by Maclise's densely worked detail in the central ellipse, brought into "sculpted" relief under his left-to-right directional light and rendered by his superbly varied hatched modelling. Projecting into our space, this brilliant illusion of three-dimensionality is cleverly reinforced by the surrounding linear simplicity, where delicate black lines, stark in contrast to the white paper, evoke the linen swaddling the figure. Maclise drapes his white "cloth" theatrically over the figure's left hip, to create a striking cast shadow from his well-endowed genitals, which hang pristine before his smoothly carved loins to draw the spectator's eye. The genitals are beautifully rendered with contour hatch lines to echo and sculpt its plump forms. A deeply shadowed fold of fabric between his thighs is a metonymic device more commonly seen in female erotica to suggest the vulva.⁹⁶ Clearly, by this date, Joseph Maclise's style (as his commentators were to observe) owed less to his English contemporaries or the Bells than to Continental influences, whether Gros, Gericault, Delacroix, or Nicolas-Henri Jacob ([Fig. 23](#)). And yet, direct comparison between Jacob and Maclise serves powerfully to demonstrate the painterly sensuality of the latter, as against

the static formal restraint of Jacob, despite his “live” muscular figure. Maclise evidently looked more to the theatrical drama, sensuality, and *mouvementé* flamboyance of French Romantic art than to Jacob’s colder Davidian manner.

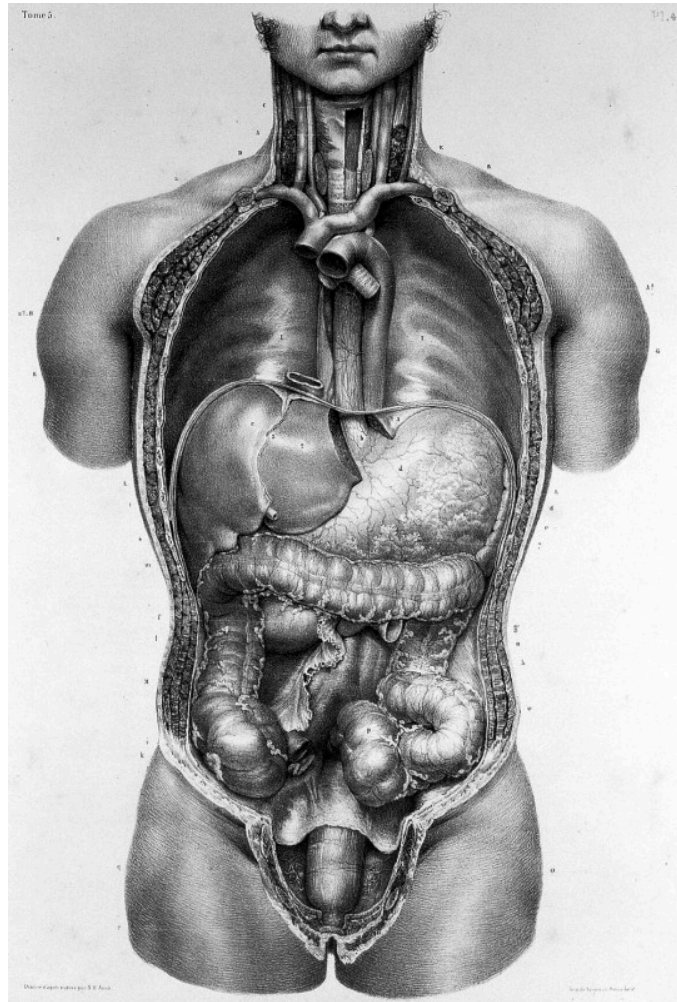


Figure 23.

Nicolas-Henri Jacob, Thorax and Abdomen, from Jean-Baptiste-Marc Bourgery, *Traité complet de l'anatomie de l'homme comprenant la médecine opératoire*, Vol.1, (Paris: C.A. Delaunay, 1831): Plate 4, 1831, lithograph. Wellcome Collection. Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

What we are witnessing here, I contend, is a stylistic development, an ever-growing confidence and skill in Joseph Maclise’s use of the lithographic medium, and with it a parallel shift to “live” figures, probably inspired by his work in Paris with Gerdy and his study of French art. In the preface to his own 1851 *Surgical Anatomy*, Maclise provides a clear scientific rationale to underpin this “new” style which, addressed specifically to the trainee surgeon, is after all intended as an aide to operating on *live* subjects. ⁹⁷ Superbly emotive in their lush build-up of chalk strokes, producing a richly

modelled effect, without loss of precision in the detail, Maclise's mature lithographs demonstrate an extraordinary control of his drawing mediums. His first plates for Quain, then, are less clearly personal: the scrawny unidealised body in Plate 2, "Neck and thorax" (see Fig. 22) is stylistically closer to the Bells, particularly to John Bell (see Fig. 4). Maclise's figure looks very dead: a worn old man emaciated by a lifetime of hunger and work, and typical of the actual corpses available for dissection (see Fig. 2). Maclise soon abandoned this abrasive Bellsian style. By Quain Plate 51 (see Fig. 12), especially the intestines, his complex lighting includes highlights, reflected lights, and lustre to suggest moist malleability and vitality, the very textures of the different organs. The degree of Maclise's obsession with precise observational detail—or the *appearance* of it—is seen here in the glistening entrails where even an overhead window is apparently reflected. Another glossy bar of light cast on the firmly straight (circumcised?) penis affirms its solid bulk, its tantalising hint of tumescence. ⁹⁸

Sight, Touch, and "Appendages"

In Quain Plate 51, Joseph Maclise also exploits contrasts of "finish" (see Fig. 12). A schematic left hand dissolves into drapery, in contrast to the beautifully resolved right hand and muscular arm, held effortlessly above the open and extravagantly baroque abdomen by a delicate twist of bandage. These are not the hands of a labourer or manual worker. In Maclise's Plate 55 for Quain, both arms are folded across the chest, and again hands play a central role (Fig. 24). Unmistakably youthful, this figure is verging on puberty. Although, echoing the subject matter, an oval format is common for the trunk in artistic anatomies, here, distinctively for Maclise, this beautiful boy-man is tenderly "framed" in an encircling ellipse reminiscent of rococo portraiture—and lithographic portraits. This figure has youthful genitals and the palest "girlish" skin. Maclise is remarkable for his close observational attention to skin texture and tone from a wide range of ethnic origins and ages, which, thanks to his extraordinary skills in life drawing and lithography, he is able to represent so persuasively in black and white. Combined, these qualities ensure the "truth" and legitimacy of his images, convincing the viewer of a scientific authority based in extensive comparative (human) anatomy, while simultaneously delighting the voyeuristic eye.

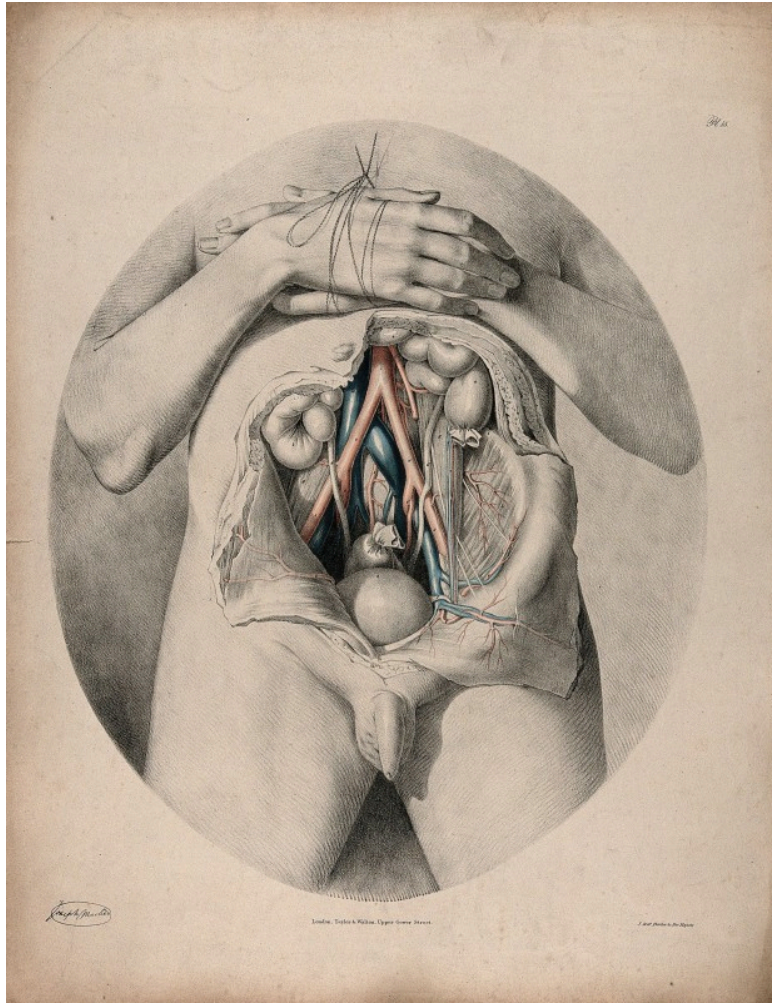


Figure 24.

Joseph Maclise, *The Circulatory System: Dissection of the Abdomen Showing the Intestines and Bladder, with the Arteries and Veins Indicated in Red and Blue*, from Richard Quain, *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body* (London: Taylor & Walton, 1841/1844): Plate 55, ca. 1843?, coloured lithograph, 63.8 x 49.7 cm. Wellcome Collection (no. 579371i). Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

Differentiating the *physiology* of the senses from their *cultural* associations (if this is indeed possible), Sander Gilman observes that “[t]o comprehend the social construction of ‘touch’ and its relationship to sexuality, we must take into consideration the fact that the representation of touch is always in the realm of another sense, that of sight”.⁹⁹ Elaborating this idea, he argues:

Thus the status afforded sight and touch, most often considered the highest and the lowest of the senses, is not random. These two senses are inexorably linked within the social construction of their history, just as they are linked within the internalized construction of the erotic gaze. ¹⁰⁰

Distinguishing the social construction of “good” and “bad” touching, Gilman suggests that the touching of the self is a “powerful homologue” for the touching of a same-sex Other—a touch electrifyingly visible in Maclise’s surgical anatomies where, in addition to penises, hands play a central role. In the majority of his plates, neither appendage was strictly necessary. Yet Maclise stressed in his preface regarding (and justifying) his “novel treatment” of anatomical figures for the surgeon, like the dashingly vigorous model in “location of the viscera” (see [Fig. 16](#)): “I have [...] *left appended* to the dissected regions as much of the undissected as was necessary”. ¹⁰¹

In a series of dissections of the groin on standing figures, Maclise first presents a single exquisite model. Quite gratuitously overexposed from the ribcage to below the right knee (see [Fig. 11](#)), he empowers this model with a more confident homoerotic self-display and panache than can be found even in dedicated “artistic nudes”, like Émile Bayard’s (1868–1937) photographic “Nus masculins” in *Le Nu esthétique* or those of Wilhelm von Gloeden (1856–1931) ([Fig. 25](#)). ¹⁰² In Maclise’s plate, the figure’s right leg takes the body weight, while the left is raised to the side, knee bent, the better to expose the dissected groin. This is a bronzed Athenian god of a figure, his superb athletic form and firm flesh smoothly rendered, muscles catching a light angled to accentuate their perfection. Hairless almost throughout, in the manner of a scraped Greek athlete, like Lysippos’ *Apoxyomenos*, this trope makes explicit reference to Hellenic homosexual culture, or the modern Turkish bath, to a knowing Victorian male audience ([Fig. 26](#)). ¹⁰³ Maclise marks a modern masculinity in discreetly drawing attention to his model’s testicles, where minutely observed pubic hairs stand out against the white of the paper. The model’s hand introduced here in Plate 16 (1851) (see [Fig. 11](#)), if more “work-reddened” and meaty than that for his Quain Plate 51 (see [Fig. 12](#)), is again eloquent, evoking the sense of touch and of self-touching between the index and second fingers and again on his thigh. ¹⁰⁴ This immediately recalls Gerdy and his artist Maximilien-Félix Demesse, whose Plate 3 has the same hand, the same touch ([Fig. 27](#)). ¹⁰⁵ The fact that the figure holds a ball in his hand (cue “athlete”) is barely perceptible in this plate (compare with Gerdy’s diagram and Plate 1, [Figs. 15](#) and [17](#)). Instead, the eye lingers over whether his finger and thumb touch, or do not touch, the flank of his own buttock. Maclise undoubtedly knew Gerdy’s *Anatomie des peintres*, and he probably knew Demesse himself.



Figure 25.

Baron Wilhelm von Gloeden, *Nude Youth*, 1890-1900, gelatin silver print, 20.8 × 15.2 cm. Collection of The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (84.XO.891.4.57). Digital image courtesy of The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (public domain).

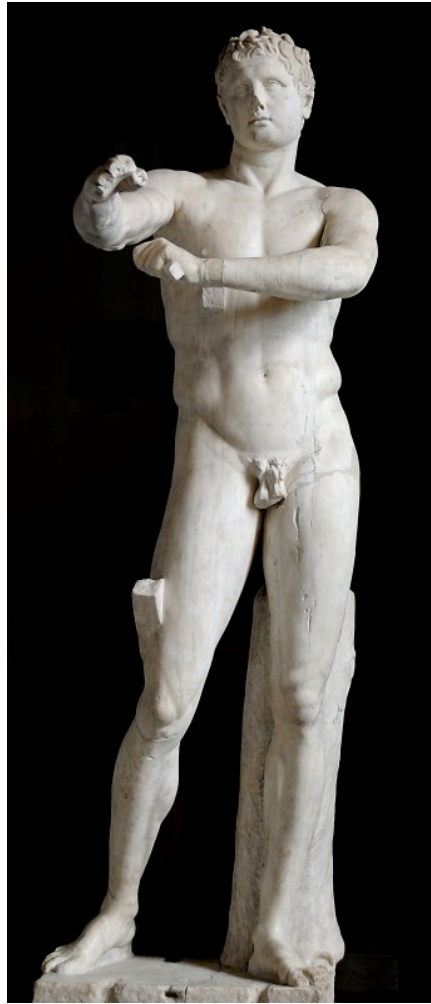


Figure 26.

Lysippus, The Vatican
Apoxyomenos, Roman copy of the
1st century AD after a Greek
bronze original circa 320 BC, found
in Trastevere, 1849, marble
sculpture, height: 205 cm.
Collection of the Museo Pio-
Clementino, Apoxyomenos Hall
(INV 1185). Digital image courtesy
of Wikimedia Commons (CC BY
3.0).

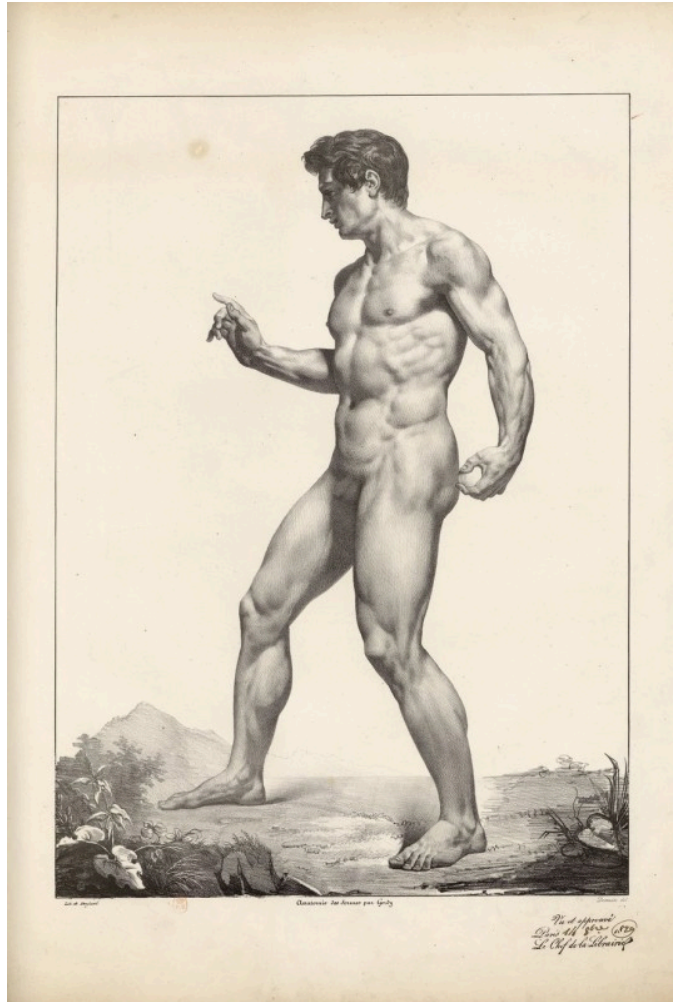


Figure 27.

Maximilien-Félix Demesse, *Anatomie*, from Pierre-Nicolas Gerdy, *Anatomie des peintres* (Paris: Chez Bechet Jeune Libraire, 1829): Plate 3, 1829, lithograph. Collection of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. Digital image courtesy of gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France (all rights reserved).

In Plate 26 of Maclise's *Surgical Anatomy* (1856 London edition), this figure is transformed, reproduced landscape on the sheet, cut off at upper thigh; yet, the eloquent hand remains, as do the tiny pubic hairs on the scrotum, along with new anatomical detail: on his right thigh, Maclise provides the surface appearance of the femoral vessels dissected on the left leg. The model's full vertical splendour returns in Plate 48 (1856; see also Plate 47 in the 1851 edition): the same pose but with hand and drapery omitted (Fig. 28). ¹⁰⁶ Instead, there are other, different *frissons*. A hanging slab of muscle echoes the angle and dangle of the penis; the bent left leg is restrained below the calf, for once the rope shown digging into flesh, tautly tied for no apparent reason and to nowhere we can see. On this leg, the indication of surface veins below the skin continues beyond the dissection on to the thigh and

calf; yet only on a live body in which blood is circulating would such raised veins or arteries be expected to occur. On both sides of the ligature restricting the femoral vein in the dissection itself, there is a lumpy swelling of its “contents” (despite nearby vessels being severed); the similar “tourniquet” roping of the calf would arguably result in a swelling above it of the arteries rather than the veins in a living subject.¹⁰⁷ This olive-skinned flesh characteristic of the preferred Italian artists’ models of the period also sports a suture to the right leg. Seen first on the inner thigh of the Black man (1851) ([Fig. 29](#)) and later recurring sutured, here the sutured incision is replicated on a “white” man. Highly evocative/provocative and exquisitely drawn, the thread of this apparently subcutaneous suture is left hanging from the sewn wound, casting its own delicate shadow.¹⁰⁸ Pleasure and pain again: secret cuts and scars give authenticity and human frailty to perfect beauty.

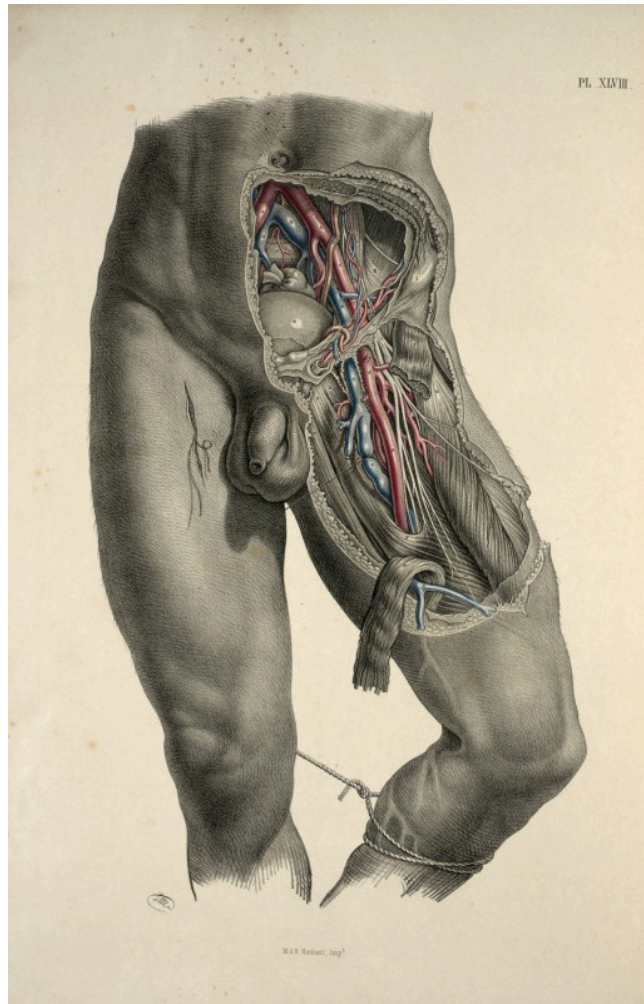


Figure 28.

Joseph Maclise, Dissection of the Pelvis, Groin and Thigh; Iliac and Femoral Vessels, in *Surgical Anatomy*, 2nd edition (London: John Churchill, 1856): Plate 48, 1856, lithograph, 42 × 24 cm. Collection of the University of Toronto Anatomia Collection. Digital image courtesy of University of Toronto Anatomia Collection (public domain).

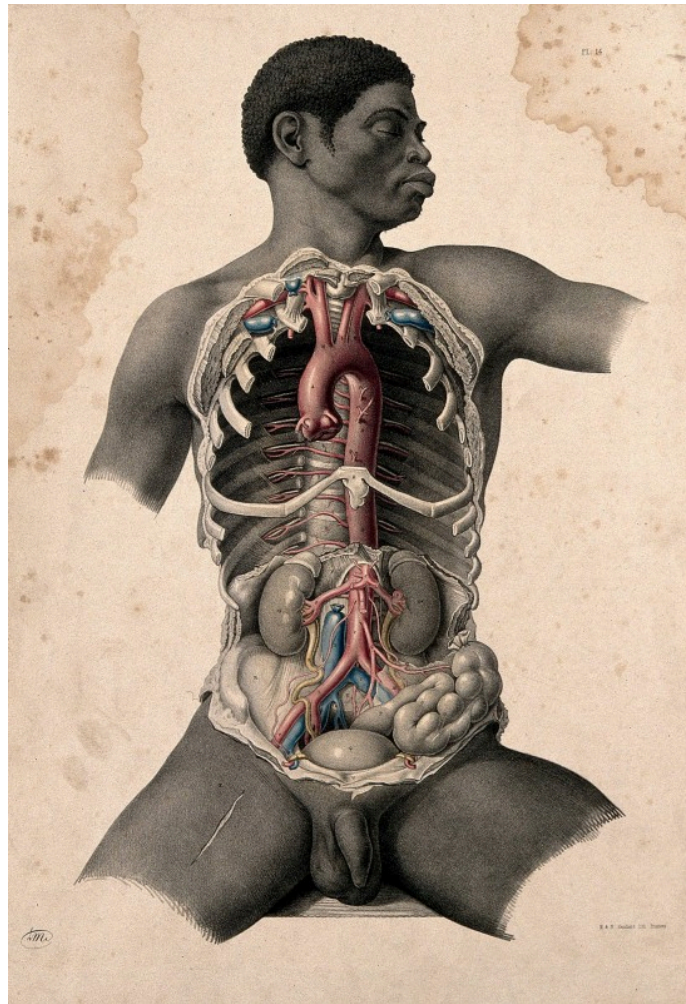


Figure 29.

Joseph Maclise, Dissection of the Abdomen and Thigh of a Standing Man, Showing Major Blood-Vessels, (London: John Churchill, 1851): plate 14, 1851, lithograph, 54.5 x 37.7 cm. Wellcome Collection (no. 640789i). Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

Maclise's Plate 18 in *Surgical Anatomy* (1851) extended this theme into coupledness (Fig. 30). Close-cropped, he focuses in on a series of groins of two overlapping figures. Almost line dancers in a cabaret or an anatomical striptease, each dissection reveals deeper and different layers of component organs, the veins and arteries picked out in watercolour. And, of course, the acutely observed and distinct genitals: all different, each carefully delineated. Thus, posed alike, these two, well-built males contrast: on our right, a mature manly physique, darker skinned with a hint of ageing flesh on the muscle; on our left, narrow-hipped and lithe, a firm-bodied young blood. The older figure pushes up against the younger, his genitals suggestively touching the thigh of the younger model. In Maclise's 1856 London second edition, with its smaller sheets (52 x 34 cm), the two figures are reduced and slightly cropped in two successive landscape sheets showing the

incrementally deeper dissections (Plates 27 and 28). Two further plates of paired groins illustrate inguinal hernias, the figures placed side by side, not touching (Plates 29 and 30). ¹⁰⁹ There seems here in Maclise no intimation of, no concession to, the rising public anxieties at this period over moral probity, where even medical images might be subject to censure; this resulted, in 1857, in the Obscene Publications Act that sought to define and police the immoral power of the libidinous gaze. ¹¹⁰

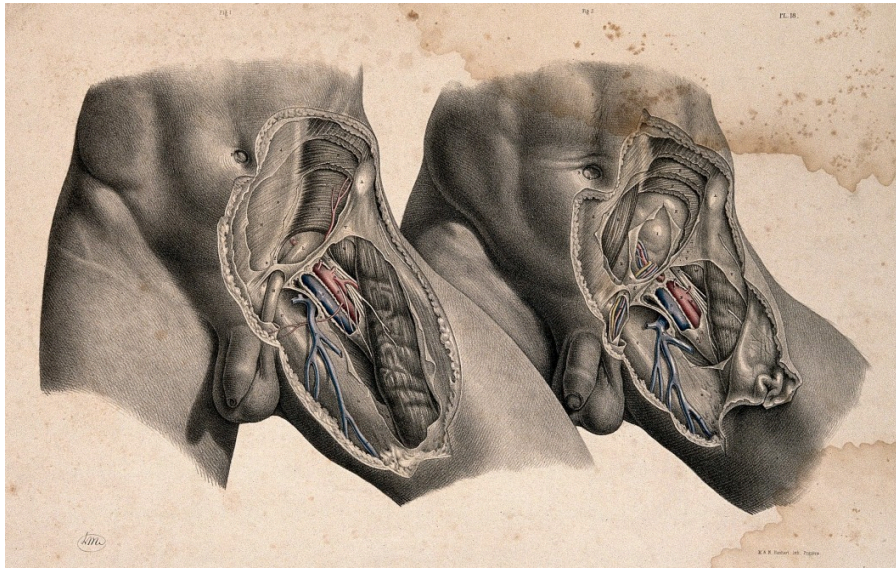


Figure 30.

Joseph Maclise, Dissection of the Left Groin of a Man: Two Figures, from *Surgical Anatomy* (London: John Churchill, 1851): Plate 18, 1851, lithograph with watercolour, 54.5 × 37.7 cm. Wellcome Collection (no. 640780i). Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

The Lubricant

Lithography oiled the wheels of dissemination. And of course, unlike an incised or intaglio medium, lithographs can be almost indefinitely reprinted from the original stone without wearing out, or rather wearing *down*, as happens—with an attendant loss of definition—in etched or engraved printing; hence, this planographic method is quite distinct, more economic, and direct. Lithography depends upon the oily printing ink adhering only to the areas of the stone marked by the artist’s design in waxy lithographic crayon, giving effects like chalk or pastel, or with “tusche”—the liquid waxy variant which can be applied with pen or brush—to achieve a distinctively ink or watercolour effect. ¹¹¹

Maclise principally uses the lithographic crayon, mirroring the effect of black chalk drawing. Marking his professional terrains in his lithographs for Quain, Maclise advertises his skills as both artist and surgeon-anatomist, self-

consciously positioning exquisite still lifes of his tools alongside the dissections. His draughtsman's tools: a roll of paper, a *porte-crayon*, knife, quill pen, and a bottle of ink (or lithographic tusche), lie at the foot of a dissected leg in Plate 72 (circa 1844) (Fig. 31). In the lateral dissection of a female bladder and reproductive organs, Plate 59 (circa 1842-1843) (Fig. 32), Maclise's curved surgical scissors (a feminine tool?) eloquently reinforce the curve of a smooth-fleshed buttock, so plumply rounded it appears not to be load-bearing. In a second lateral dissection (male), Plate 60, a phallic *porte-crayon* awaits the cadaver's hand (Fig. 33). A disembodied hand in Quain, Plate 43 (Fig. 34; see also Fig. 35, which shows the *porte-crayon* among the essential tools of the lithographer), gestures eloquently to the interlocked tools of the artist-anatomist: a loaded *porte-crayon* rests on tweezers and a small blade or scalpel. In Plate 44, the "corpse's" hand is wittily poised beside the surgeon-anatomist's threaded curved needle, a specialist wood-handled flesh-hook and probe(?). For Maclise, all the tools of his trades included in his lithographs served as reminders both of the expert human touch of the specialist entailed in this multilayered work, and of the work's "objective" scientific basis in observation; it was, as William Hunter named it, the "mark of truth".¹¹² It is for Maclise, when working under Quain's direction, simultaneously the young artist-surgeon's calling card; indeed, in Plate 43, the tools appear immediately above the artist's signature (see Fig. 34). Yet, equally, in his play on tools and cadavers, Maclise is making macabre visual puns that border on the knowing dissection-room prank: in-jokes which, to the *aficionados* of anatomy were a key feature of this "rite of passage".¹¹³ By the time of Joseph Maclise's solo publications, especially the major *Surgical Anatomy* (1851), his skills were famous: with his own authority stamped on the title-page, there was no longer the need to publicise his dual expertise.¹¹⁴

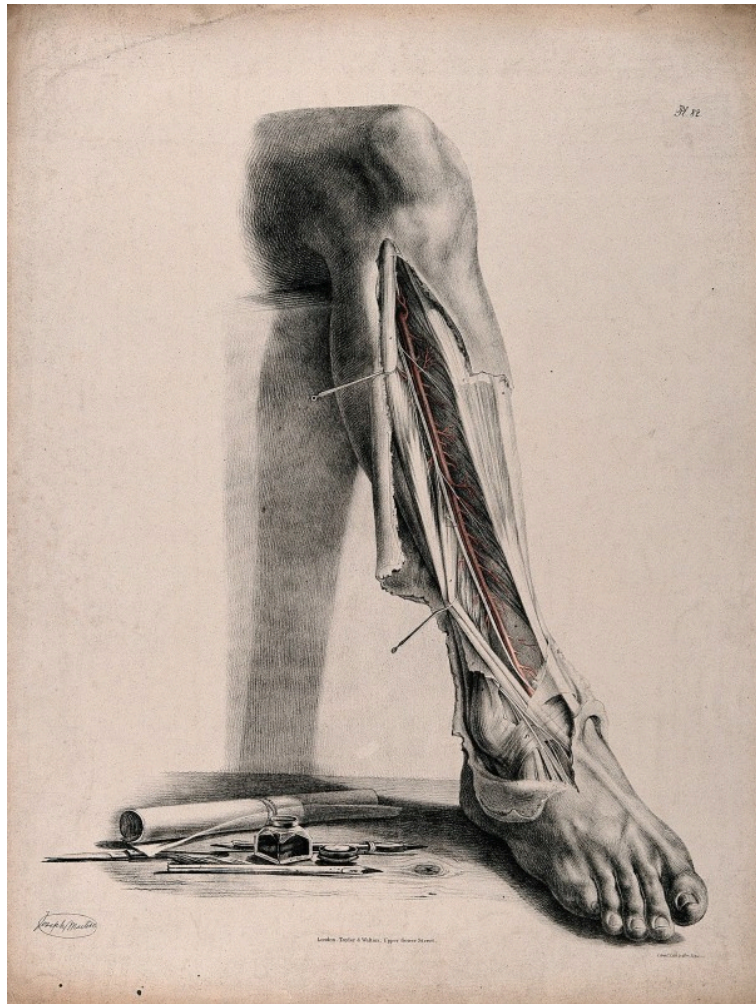


Figure 31.

Joseph Maclise, *The Circulatory System: Dissection of the Front of the Lower Leg and the Ankle, with Arteries Indicated in Red and Blue*, from Richard Quain, *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body* (London: Taylor & Walton, 1841/1844): Plate 82, circa 1844?, coloured lithograph, 64.2 × 49.1 cm. Wellcome Collection (no. 579465i). Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

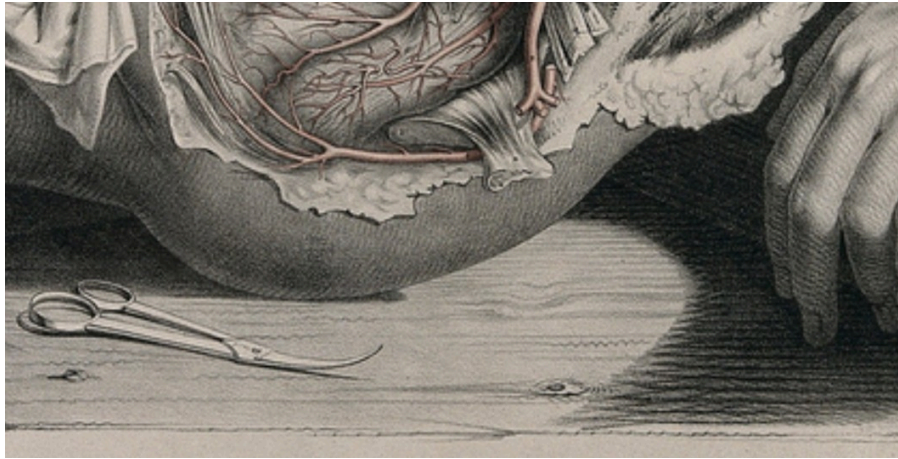


Figure 32.

Joseph Maclise, *The Circulatory System: Dissection of the Abdomen and Pelvic Region of a Woman, Side View, Showing the Intestines and Bladder, with the Arteries Indicated in Red. A Pair of Surgical Scissors are Shown Below* (detail), from Richard Quain, *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body* (London: Taylor & Walton, 1841/1844): Plate 59, circa 1843?, coloured lithograph, 49.6 × 63.9 cm. Wellcome Collection (no. 579384i). Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

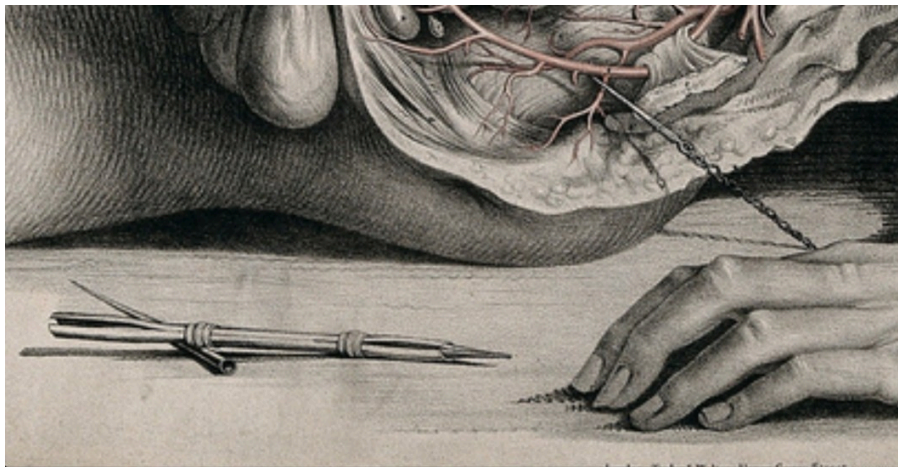


Figure 33.

Joseph Maclise, *The Circulatory System: Dissection of the Abdomen and Pelvic Region of a Man, Side View, Showing the Intestines and Bladder, with the Arteries Indicated in Red* (detail), from Richard Quain, *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body* (London: Taylor & Walton, 1841/1844): Plate 60, c.1843? Coloured lithograph, 49.3 × 64.2 cm. Wellcome Collection (no. 579389i). Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

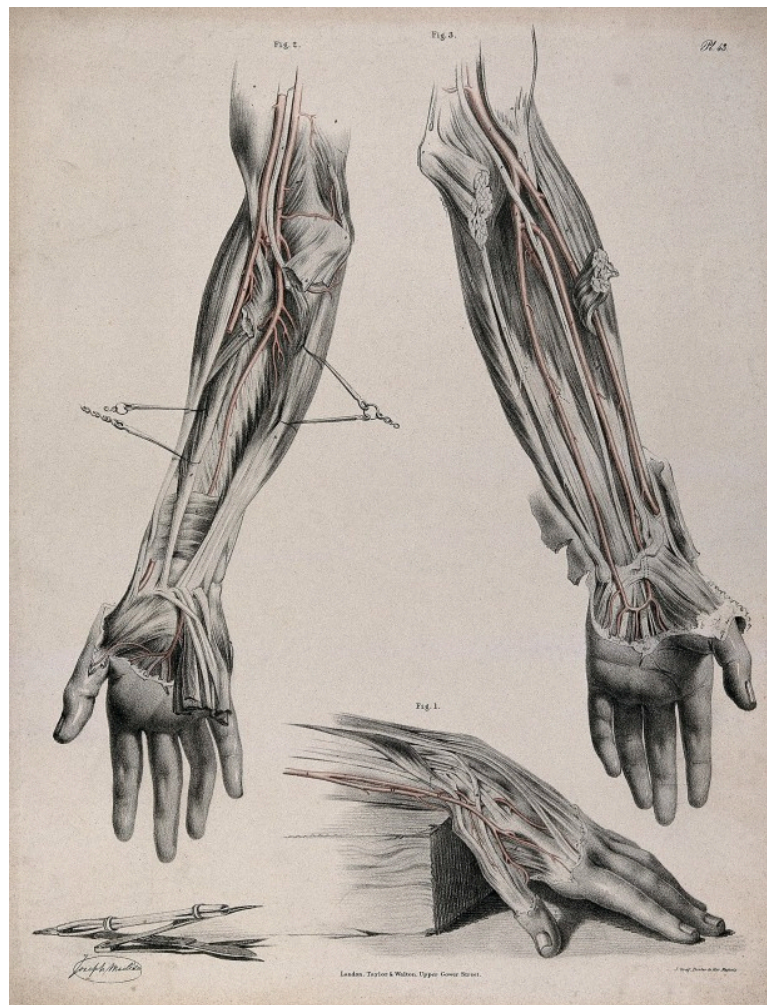


Figure 34.

Joseph Maclise, The circulatory system: three dissections of the hand and arm, with arteries and blood vessels indicated in red and surgical instruments shown beneath, from Richard Quain, *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body* (London: Taylor & Walton, 1841/1844): Plate 43, c.1842-43? Coloured lithograph, 58.2 x 45.4 cm. Wellcome Collection (no. 579605i). Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

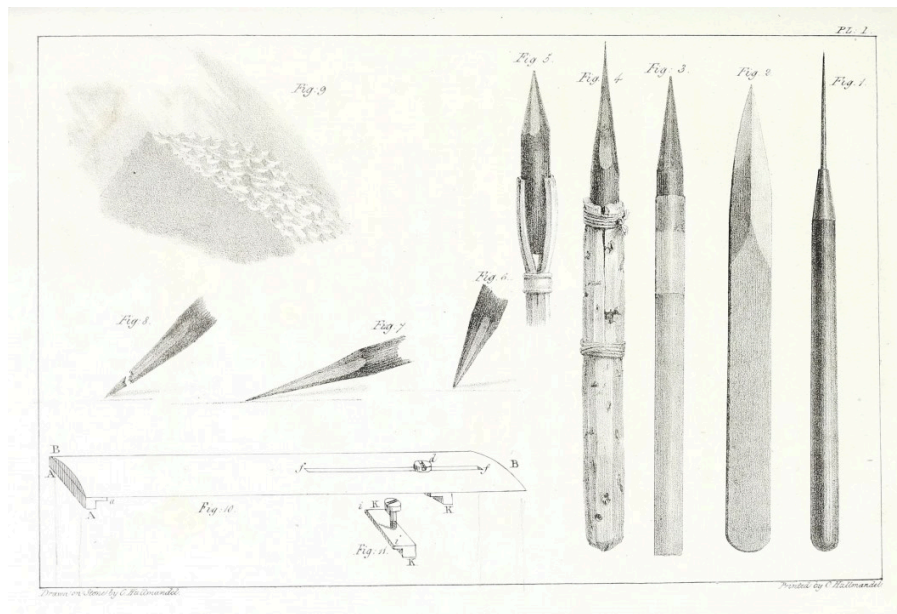


Figure 35.

Charles Hullmandel, *The Art of Drawing on Stone*, (London: C. Hullmandel & R. Ackermann, 1824): Plate 1, 1824, lithograph. Collection of the Getty Research Institute. Digital image courtesy of Internet Archive (public domain).

Indeed, Quain could be a patronising patron. In the 1844 preface to his atlas, *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body*, Quain noted with clinical understatement that although his friend and associate Joseph Maclise was first and foremost an “anatomist and surgeon”, his (eighty-seven plates of) “drawings will, I believe, be found not have lost in spirit and effect” as a result. The lithographs were initially available in seventeen unbound fascicules produced between 1840 (when on 19 December the first issue was reviewed in the *Provincial Medical & Surgical Journal*) and 1846, when a subscription appeal for five hundred bound volumes appeared in *The Lancet* on 31 October.¹¹⁵ Quain emphasised his requirement that Maclise “carry out my views as to the delineations”: his lithographs were to follow Quain’s directions. The atlas’s title-page clearly specifies what Maclise undertook: “The Drawings from Nature and on Stone by Joseph Maclise Esq. Surgeon”—not only did he make the initial anatomical drawings, we are told he also drew them on the lithographic stone.¹¹⁶ This work was more typically undertaken by draughtsmen-designers employed by the lithographic printers, usually overseen by the original artist and/or the anatomist-surgeon. Yet evidently, in Maclise’s case, his desire for authority and the integrity of the work meant he drew the stones himself, and his style is highly characteristic throughout his illustrations.¹¹⁷ The effort was certainly worth his while. For the 1840 reviewer, Joseph Maclise “evinced artistical talent of the very highest order”; “brother to the famous painter of that name”, Joseph’s lithographs “completely overshadowed” Quain’s

confused text. Significantly given Joseph Maclise's Paris *stage* and artistic interests, his lithographs "bear comparison with any of those splendid specimens of anatomical drawing, so abundant on the continent but ... so rare in our own country". ¹¹⁸ The reviewer was doubtless alert to the outstanding contemporary work of Jacob in Paris for Jean-Baptiste-Marc Bourgery's (1797–1849) *Traité complet de l'anatomie de l'homme comprenant la médecine opératoire* (1831–1854), already in production when Maclise was living there. ¹¹⁹ The 1846 Taylor & Walton subscription to Quain's *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body* also offered the entire run of the then "eighty-seven drawings" in unbound portfolio form: in imperial folio, "an oblong, averaging about two feet square, the figures thus being the size of life". The publishers stressed that "the large size of the stones renders it difficult to preserve them uninjured ..." thus,

they design to print off as many copies as are wanted by subscribers, and then to efface the drawings from the stones, in order that the plates may not be hereafter produced in a less perfect manner, or the pecuniary value of the work to the purchaser be lessened by a subsequent flooding of the market with an indefinite number of copies, worn or not. ¹²⁰

Equally, however, it is clear when comparing prints from different editions of Maclise's *Surgical Anatomy* that there are subtle variations in interpretation when a stone was redrawn, and re-sized, not necessarily by Maclise himself. The Philadelphia editions, in a much weaker hand, were copied onto stone in America. ¹²¹ Abstracted stylisation accretes too through repetition from the flat, where knowledge and sight of the original is lost. There are slight differences, for example, in the twist of the torso and the muscular detail in the dissection figures of "Thorax and abdomen" between the 1851 and 1856 editions (Plates 12 and 22, respectively); more thigh is visible in the 1851 print while, in the 1856 print, the contrasts of light and shade in the modelling are more pronounced. ¹²² Differences are particularly clear in comparing the drawings of a Black man's head in the 1851 and 1856 London editions (Figs. 36 and 37). Whereas the two "white" heads in this comparative anatomy sheet are relatively similar, differing just in subtle physiognomic details and in 1856 a reduced light-dark contrast, the treatment of the two Black men's heads—notably in the handling of the hair, but also in the appearance of the skin—suggests the later draughtsman had no personal knowledge of Black people. In the 1851 print, the intense light-absorbing properties of a matt blue-black skin, and the tightly curled hair are beautifully evoked but, in the 1856 print, not only is the head physiognomically more brutish but also the hair is rendered like burnished, light-reflective bronze studs, or a scaly helmet—an effect heightened by the

raking overhead light that also gives areas of skin a glistening sheen more common on Maclise's white flesh. It is probable these lithographs in the second London edition (1856) were drawn directly on stone—not by Maclise himself but by expert “copyists”.

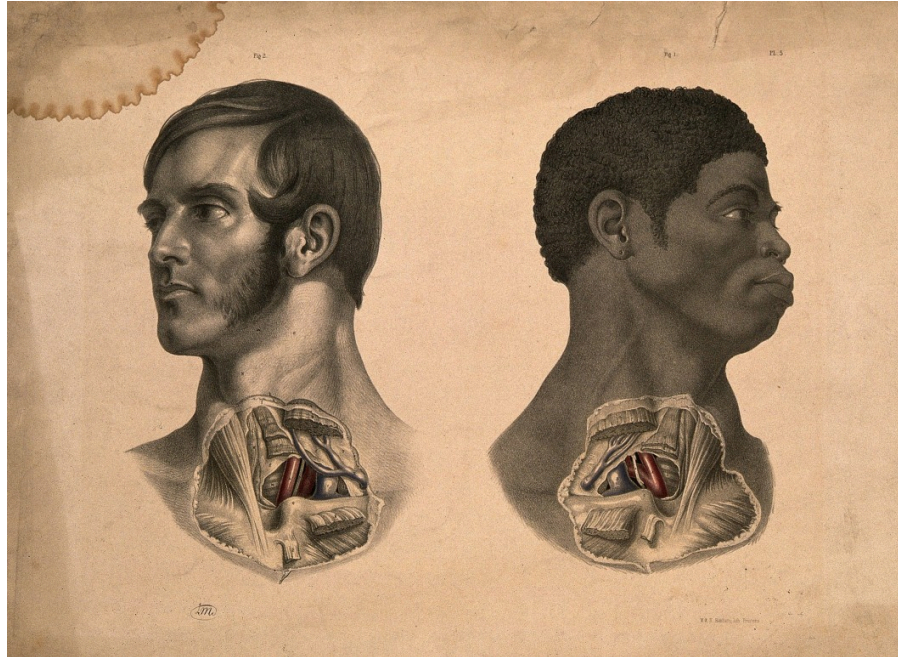


Figure 36.

Joseph Maclise, Two Heads of Men, Showing Dissection of Muscles and Blood-Vessels of the Subclavian Region of the Chest, from Joseph Maclise, *Surgical Anatomy* (London: John Churchill, 1851): Plate 5, 1851, lithograph with watercolour, 54.5 × 37.7 cm. Wellcome Collection (no. 640714i). Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

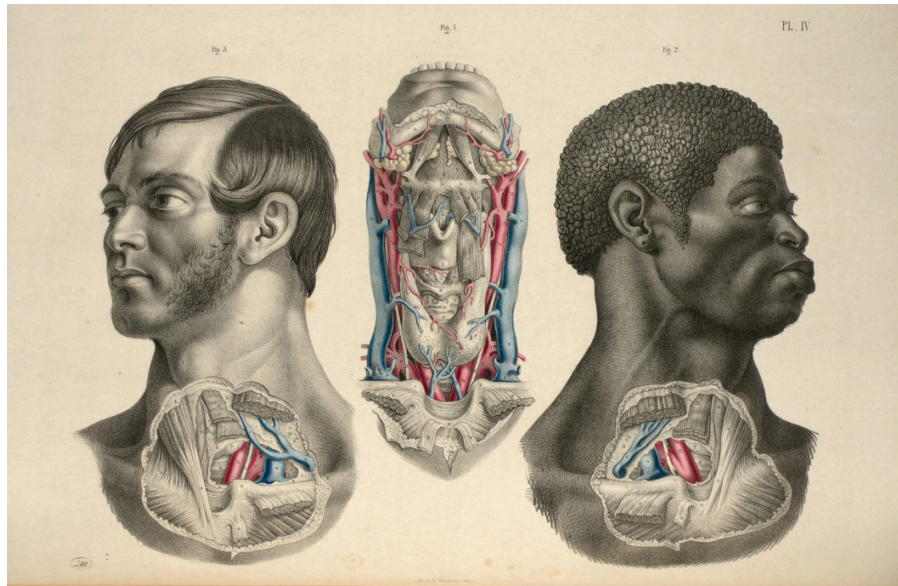


Figure 37.

Joseph Maclise, Dissection of the Neck, from *Surgical Anatomy*, 2nd edition (London: J. Churchill, 1856): Plate 4, 1856, coloured lithograph, 28 × 38 cm. Collection of the University of Toronto Anatomia Collection. Digital image courtesy of University of Toronto Anatomia Collection (public domain).

Whether as a naturalistic “mark of truth”, a sentimental gesture of shared humanity, or an erotic sign, Joseph’s inclusion of the earring hole, too, meticulously denoted in the lobe of his Black model (Fig. 38) is equally a signifier of the man’s social status and profession: in London at this period, most Black men were freed or escaped slaves employed mainly as sailors, and earrings were associated with this profession.¹²³ Commonly a captain’s gift to a young sailor on first crossing the equator or rounding Cape Horn, the gold hoop was both a talisman against drowning (among other things), and a bond to cover a dead sailor’s transport home and funeral.¹²⁴ There is thus a narrative eloquence here to the Black man’s empty earring hole, and tragic irony in his “appearance” on the dissection slab. The bodies available for medical dissection might as often be female as male, and yet in visual representation the “Body” was essentially male. Significantly with respect to the racialised body (and this is apparent in Maclise’s anatomies, see Figs. 29, 36, 37, and 38) and despite the contentions of some comparative anatomists and proto-anthropologists, dissection prompted others to question theories of an embodied racial difference precisely because beneath differently pigmented skins the same flesh and corporeal structures were present.¹²⁵ In Europe, the appearance of Black people or “outsiders” like Jews in anatomical atlases and painting alike might suggest a negatively racialised interest in comparative anatomy, yet perhaps paradoxically can equally signal the work of radicals: abolitionists, non-conformists, and liberal thinkers like Gericault, William Etty (1787–1849), and Joseph Maclise himself.

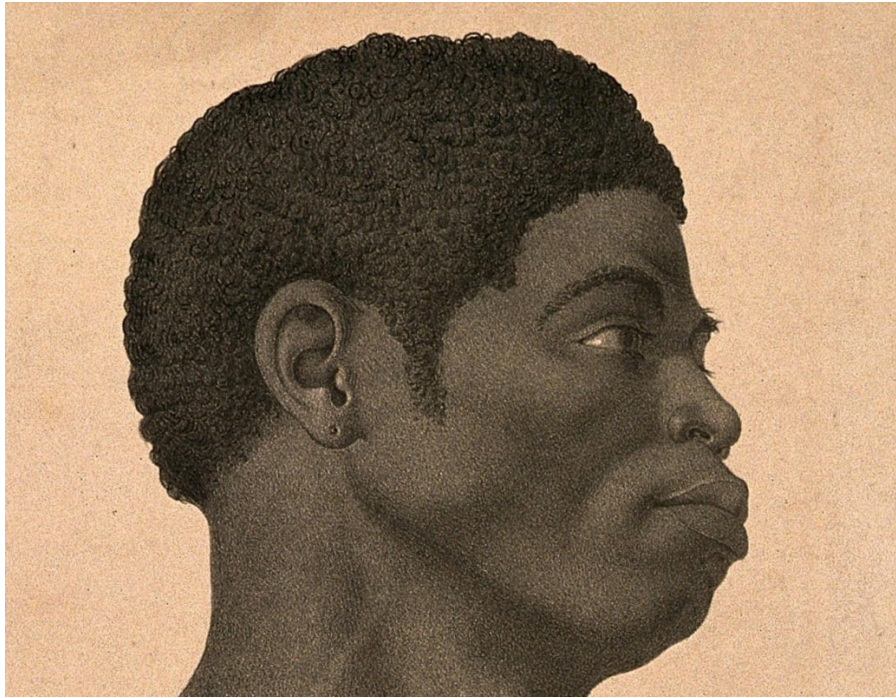


Figure 38.

Joseph Maclise, *Two Heads of Men, Showing Dissection of Muscles and Blood-Vessels of the Subclavian Region of the Chest* (detail), from Joseph Maclise, *Surgical Anatomy* (London: John Churchill, 1851): Plate 5, 1851, lithograph with watercolour, 54.5 × 37.7 cm. Wellcome Collection (no. 640714i). Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

Appended

Just as in the burgeoning series of “aesthetic nude” photographs notionally intended for artists’ use, or the artistic studies of beautiful well-hung Sicilian youths posed by photographers like Baron Wilhelm von Gloeden (see Fig. 25) forty-odd years later, in his *Surgical Anatomy*, Joseph Maclise left particular parts more exposed than others—notably, as we have seen, hands and the male external genitalia.¹²⁶ The viewer’s eye is inexorably drawn in particular to his penises, their sheer variety and myriad beauty, their personal portrait-like individuality. Given his large-scale, almost life-size figure plates, their impact is all the greater. Verging on the obsessional, every conceivable shape and state of vigorous male genitalia—apart from erect—are lovingly delineated, providing his readership with a veritable taxonomy of healthy sexual organs.¹²⁷ Indeed, visibly more full-blooded and generous than those found on neoclassical nudes, Maclise’s penises were barely constrained by the bounds of Victorian propriety and convention. Although recognised as “high art” and as skilful as those of his brother Daniel, arguably Joseph’s naked male figures could *only* be accommodated within the homosocial world of medicine.¹²⁸ Unmistakably erotic in feel as in sheer penis count,

genitals are often the central focus between assertively splayed thighs or “man-spread”. Far from evoking death, Maclise’s life-size male figures *embody* vital manly virility, the “absent” erect penis displaced in the muscular verticality of his models’ superbly taut polished flesh: the rippling athletic thighs, arms, shoulders and, indeed, in the eloquent hands. ¹²⁹

The particular advantages of the lithographic medium, its expressive qualities, and approximation to the intimacy of chalk drawing, plus the wealth of rich texture and detail it offered to such a consummate draughtsman, its subtle direct and indirect lights, reflections and shadows both attached and cast, result in an extraordinary variety of sensual, erotic delights for the libidinous eye. Paraphrasing Michael Hatt’s analysis of Haymo Thornycroft’s rural *Mower*, Maclise’s well-endowed, urban guardsmen, sailors, and labouring bodies have a kind of masculine muscle that could be looked at and enjoyed overtly in a medico-anatomical narrative, and also as “phantasmatic figure[s] to be consumed covertly in an erotic one; the very process of looking, of contemplation, is one which submerges this paradox”. ¹³⁰ Given the medical context and function of Maclise’s lithographs, their artistic quality and scale demonstrate the artist’s own pleasure in the male body, a pleasure with a more than chance resemblance to pictorial homoerotic pornography—and similarly a resistance to normative Victorian heterosexuality. Yet, covert erotic looking in the domain of the anatomy room, or the private library, is a very different affair to that in a public art gallery or Westminster Halls. According to the Obscene Publications Act of 1857, it was not possession as such of erotica that was considered dangerous but rather its uncontrolled production and dissemination among the ill-educated masses, threatening to distract and weaken workers, and corrupt the innocence of youth. Working privately from live rather than dead models, Maclise could sate his own homoerotic desires (whether lived out or phantasmic) for the male military body: a passion he shared with his brother Daniel. Creating medical anatomies at such a high level of aesthetic skill meant Joseph Maclise observed and drew the best male models as a fine artist, while at the same time being licensed as a surgeon-anatomist to explore intimate bodily terrains forbidden to Daniel as a painter of heroic military history.

Like their anatomical artists, such lithographic plates travelled widely. Their relative cheapness—especially in individual fascicules of a few plates—meant that, like pornography, they were readily available and doubtless circulated within educated circles well beyond their primary audience of medical students and surgeons. Under the umbrella of medical science, these superb lithographs offered their all-male viewers, whether in London or Paris, Boston or Philadelphia, a safe space to enjoy their libidinous gaze on exquisite male bodies, modern ideals of athletic masculinity, without fear of persecution or censure.

Footnotes

- 1 Joseph Maclise, Preface to *Surgical Anatomy* (Philadelphia, PA: Blanchard and Lea, 1951), vi. The first fascicule of lithographs of Joseph Maclise's *Surgical Anatomy*, first London edition (London: John Churchill, 1851) were advertised in February 1849, see "Miscellaneous", *Provincial Medical & Surgical Journal* (1844-1852) 13, no. 3 (7 February 1849): 84.
- 2 See Mechthild Fend, *Fleshing out Surfaces: Skin in French Art and Medicine 1650-1850* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), 216, discussing Jean-Galbert Salvage, 1772-1813.
- 3 On women printers and printmakers in the nineteenth century, see Michelle E. Tusan, "Performing Work: Gender, Class, and the Printing Trade in Victorian Britain", *Journal of Women's History* 16, No. 1 (Spring 2004): 103-126; Anon., "Women Printers in the 19th Century", *International Printing Museum*, <https://www.printmuseum.org/blog/women-printers-in-the-19th-century/>; and Allison Meier, "Remembering Forgotten Female Printmakers from the 16th to the 19th Centuries", *Hyperallergic*, 19 October 2015, <https://hyperallergic.com/246077/remembering-the-forgotten-female-printmakers-from-the-16th-to-19th-centuries>.
- 4 Their Scottish Presbyterian father, Alexander, came to Cork with the Scottish Highlanders, settled and married there.
- 5 Daniel's life and painting career are well documented, whereas that of the less famous Joseph is patchy and oddly ill-known; it is strange that, despite their close intimacy throughout their lives, neither Daniel nor his biographers make more than passing reference to his brother Joseph. On Daniel Maclise, see W. Justin O'Driscoll, *A Memoir of Daniel Maclise* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1871); Richard Ormond, "Daniel Maclise", *Burlington Magazine* 110, no. 789 (December 1968), Special Issue Commemorating the Bicentenary of the Royal Academy (1768-1968): 684-693; Nancy Weston, *Daniel Maclise: An Irish Artist in Victorian London* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001); Peter Murray, ed., *Daniel Maclise 1806-1870: Romancing the Past*, exhibition catalogue, Crawford Art Gallery, Cork (Kinsale: Gandon Editions, 2008). On Joseph Maclise, see Davis Coakley, "Anatomy and Art: Irish Dimensions", in *The Anatomy Lesson: Art and Medicine*, ed. Brian Kennedy (Dublin: The National Gallery of Ireland, 1992), 74-76. I am very grateful to Professor Davis Coakley for this and other references relevant to Joseph Maclise, and for introducing me to Professor Clive Lee, to whom I am also most grateful for his references; see, for example, his "Anatomies and Academies of Art II: A Tale of Two Cities", *Journal of Anatomy* 236, no. 4 (April 2020): 577-587, doi:10.1111/joa.13130. On the Maclises' Cork circle, see also Davis and Mary Coakley, *Wit and Wine: Literary and Artistic Cork in the Early Nineteenth Century* (Peterhead: Volturna Press, 1975).
- 6 On nineteenth-century anatomical conventions, see Janis McLarren Caldwell, "The Strange Death of the Animated Cadaver: Changing Conventions in Nineteenth-Century British Anatomical Illustration", *Literature and Medicine* 25, no. 2 (2006): 325-357; and Martin Kemp, "Style and Non-Style in Anatomical Illustration: From Renaissance Humanism to Henry Gray", *Journal of Anatomy* 216 (2010): 192-208.
- 7 Clive Lee makes a similar point in his discussion of William Hunter's various *écorchés*, in "Anatomies and Academies of Art II: A Tale of Two Cities".
- 8 Joseph Maclise had editions of his *Surgical Anatomy*, published in Boston and especially Philadelphia (1851, 1856, 1859); see Naomi Slipp, "'It Should Be On Every Surgeon's Table': The Reception and Adoption of Joseph Maclise's *Surgical Anatomy* (1851) in the United States", *British Art Studies* 20 (July 2021), <https://doi.org/10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-20/nslipp>.
- 9 William Hunter's *Gravid Uterus* is the most famous example; see Ludmilla J. Jordanova, "Gender, Generation and Science: William Hunter's Obstetrical Atlas", in her *Nature Displayed: Gender, Science and Medicine 1750-1820* (London: Routledge, 1999), Chapter 11. On the history of printmaking and its vital cultural importance, see the classic text, William M. Ivins, *Prints and Visual Communication* (Boston, MA: MIT Press, 1969).
- 10 On the Royal College of Surgeons, see "History of the RCS", *Royal College of Surgeons of England*, <https://www.rcseng.ac.uk/about-the-rcs/history-of-the-rcs/>. See Cindy Stelmackowich, "Bodies of Knowledge: The Nineteenth-Century Anatomical Atlas in the Spaces of Art and Science", *Canadian Art Review* 33, nos. 1-2 (2008): 75-86.
- 11 On the symbiotic relations between art and anatomy, physiology and anthropology, see Anthea Callen, *Looking at Men: Art, Anatomy and the Modern Male Body* (London: Yale University Press, 2018), passim; see also Mary Hunter, *The Face of Medicine: Visualising Medical Masculinities in Late Nineteenth-Century Paris* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015).
- 12 On the history of the Royal College of Surgeons (founded in 1800), and its origins in the trade guild and London Livery Company of Barber-Surgeons which, until 1745, held a monopoly on training surgeons, see Royal College of Surgeons, "History of the RCS". For an overview of the history of medical training in the UK, see M.D. Warren, "Medical Education during the Eighteenth Century", *Postgraduate Medical Journal* 27, no. 308 (1951), esp. 307-309, doi:10.1136/pgmj.27.308.304; and Bernice Hamilton, "The Medical Professions in the Eighteenth Century", *The Economic History Review*, New Series 4, no. 2 (1951): 141-169, doi:10.1111/j.1468-0289.1951.tb00606.x.
- 13 See notably Ruth Richardson, *Death, Dissection and the Destitute* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2001); and Helen MacDonald, *Human Remains: Dissection and its Histories* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006).
- 14 The text volume for Richard Quain's *Anatomy of the Arteries* (1841-1844), is sometimes referred to as quarto, sometimes as octavo. It is noteworthy that the lithographic atlases were not hugely expensive, see discussion here. I am grateful to Keren Hammerschlag for drawing my attention to the direct reference to Charles Bell in Joseph Maclise's Plate 66 for Quain. A book by 'C Bell' lies beneath a section of pelvis displaying the blood vessels that nourish the penis; it is unclear if this is intended as a compliment or is a ribald University College in-joke.

- 15 Joseph Maclise, Preface to *Surgical Anatomy*, 1st edn (London: John Churchill, 1851), viii. By then linked to La Salpêtrière (nearby, in the thirteenth arrondissement and already noted for its syphilis specialism, later made infamous by the work of Jean-Martin Charcot and his Hysteria patients from the early 1870s), l'Hôpital de la Pitié was the largest hospital in France.
- 16 Joseph Maclise may have remained in Paris for upwards of two years, probably 1839–1841, given the 900 plus bodies dissected for Quain's atlas. Since the plates for Quain were printed and published in London (by Jeremiah [aka Jérémie] Graf, and Taylor & Walton respectively) between 1840 and circa 1844, Maclise must have travelled back and forth regularly between London and Paris; fascicules I and II were published in late 1840 and reviewed in the "Review of New Books: *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body, with its Applications to Pathology and Operative Surgery*, in *Lithographic Drawings, with Practical Commentaries*. By Richard Quain, &c. &c. *The Delineations by Joseph Maclise, Esq. Surgeon*. Parts I and II. London: Taylor and Walton. 1840", *Provincial Medical & Surgical Journal* 1–1, no. 12 (19 December 1840), 203, doi:[10.1136/bmj.s1-1.12.203](https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.s1-1.12.203).
- 17 Sainte-Pélagie prison, originally for "debauched" females was, by the 1820s, a prison for "moral affairs" and debtors; in times of revolution, it was used to incarcerate radicals, whether Royalist or Republican.
- 18 On the medical gaze, see Michel Foucault, *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception*, trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith (London: Pantheon Books, [1973] 2003), 202ff. For a discussion of the male artistic and medical gaze, extending the framework of Foucault's analysis, see Callen, *Looking at Men*, especially 13, 15–18, Chapter 3, and 220. Fend's discussion of the medico-artistic gaze is excellent in *Fleshing Out Surfaces*, Chapter 6). For a history of empirical "scientific" objectivity, see Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity* (New York: Zone Books, 2007).
- 19 The key text on male same-sex bonds and homosocial desire is Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985); see also her *Epistemology of the Closet* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1990). On Victorian sexuality, see Jeffrey Weeks, *Sexuality and its Discontents: Meanings, Myths and Modern Sexuality* (London: Routledge, 1985); and Jeffrey Weeks, *Sex, Politics and Society: The Regulation of Sexuality since 1800* (London: Routledge, 1989), especially Chapter 6. See also H.G. Cocks, *Nameless Offences: Homosexual Desire in the Nineteenth Century* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010).
- 20 See W.F. Bynum and Roy Porter, eds., *Medicine and the Five Senses* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, [1993] 2004).
- 21 The other senses, including hearing/listening, notably with the invention of the stethoscope, were also much discussed in medical research; Charles Bell himself addressed all five senses, *A Familiar Treatise on the Five Senses: Being an Account of the Conformation and Functions of the Eye, Ear, Nose, Tongue, and Skin ...*, 2nd edn (London: Henry Washbourne, 1841). The stethoscope was invented in 1816 by French physician René Théophile Hyacinthe Laënnec (1781–1826); using this new instrument, he investigated the sounds made by the heart and lungs and determined that his diagnoses were supported by the observations made during autopsies; see Ariel Roguin, "Rene Theophile Hyacinthe Laënnec (1781–1826): The Man Behind the Stethoscope", *Clinical Medicine & Research* 4, no. 3 (2006): 230–235. doi:[10.3121/cmr.4.3.230](https://doi.org/10.3121/cmr.4.3.230).
- 22 The "father" of modern histology, Bichat's hugely influential *Traité des membranes en general et de diverses membranes en particulier* (Paris: Richard, Caille, Ravier, 1800) was swiftly followed that same year by his *Recherches physiologiques sur la vie et la mort* (Paris: Brosson, Gabot et Cie, 1800), and, in 1801, by his four-volume *Anatomie générale, appliquée à la physiologie et à la médecine* (Paris: Brosson, Gabot et Cie, 1801). On visual aids, visibility, and observation in the period, see Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Boston, MA: MIT Press, 1990).
- 23 Charles Bell, *On the Motions of the Eye, in Illustration of the Uses of the Muscles and Nerves of the Orbit* (London: W. Nicol, 1823); and *The Hand: Its Mechanism and Vital Endowments as Evincing Design*, The Bridgewater Treatises (London: William Pickering, 1833).
- 24 Not surprisingly, he died very young from sepsis. Bichat's final-year body tally is noted by Fend, *Fleshing Out Surfaces*, 118; in her excellent study, Fend points to the Reign of Terror (1793–1794), when the thousands guillotined provided anatomist-surgeons with an almost endless supply of fresh corpses for anatomical dissection; see especially 117–119. See also Fend's discussion of Foucault's ideas on Bichat's importance (in Foucault, *The Birth of the Clinic*), and Fend's own analysis of Bichat's discoveries on membranes and tissue in relation to skin, *Fleshing Out Surfaces*, 119–123. For a summary of Bichat's career, see Mohammadali M. Shoja, R. Shane Tubbs, Marios Loukas, Ghaffar Shokouhi, and Mohammad R. Ardalan, "Marie-François Xavier Bichat (1771–1802) and his Contributions to the Foundations of Pathological Anatomy and Modern Medicine", *Annals of Anatomy—Anatomischer Anzeiger* 190, no. 5 (2008): 413–420, doi:[10.1016/j.aanat.2008.07.004](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.aanat.2008.07.004). On Bichat and Foucault, see also Roy Porter, *The Greatest Benefit to Mankind: A Medical History of Humanity from Antiquity to the Present* (London: HarperCollins, 1997), 306–314.
- 25 On Jean-Galbert Salvage, see Raymond Lifchez's important article "Jean-Galbert Salvage and his *Anatomie du Gladiateur Combattant*: Art and Patronage in Post-Revolutionary France", *The Metropolitan Museum Journal* 44 (2009): 163–185, doi:[10.1086/met.44.25699111](https://doi.org/10.1086/met.44.25699111), with a valuable bibliography. See also the discussions of Salvage and Sue fils especially in K.B. Roberts and J.D.W. Tomlinson, *The Fabric of the Body: European Traditions of Anatomical Illustration* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1992); Philippe Comar, *Figures du corps: une leçon d'anatomie à l'École de Beaux-Arts* (Paris, ENSBA, [2008] 2012), 226, catalogue nos. 82–85, 230, catalogue no. 86, and passim; Fend, *Fleshing Out Surfaces*, 207–216, and passim; and Callen, *Looking at Men*, 14, 38, 49, 83–85, and passim.
- 26 Jean-Joseph Sue fils published his own *Éléments d'anatomie à l'usage des peintres, des sculpteurs et des amateurs ...* in 1788, with a view to his eventual appointment to the chair of anatomy at the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture in 1792 (he became assistant to his father in 1788): his engraved plates merely reused the four plates, including that of the female skeleton, from the earlier d'Arconville-Sue père treatise; see Callen, *Looking at Men*, 36. Salvage's 1812 *Anatomie du Gladiateur combattant* (and his associated sculptures) was far more radical both technically and aesthetically; London's Royal Academy acquired a copy of the book.
- 27 William B. Ashworth Jnr, "Scientist of the Day: Xavier Bichat", Linda Hall Library, 14 November 2018, <https://www.lindahall.org/xavier-bichat/>.

- 28 See Michel Foucault on the decline of the “spectacle of the scaffold”, in *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, [1975] 1995), 9–15 and 32–69.
- 29 See Richardson, *Death, Dissection and the Destitute*, 287; and Piers D. Mitchell et al., “The Study of Anatomy in England from 1700 to the Early 20th Century”, *Journal of Anatomy* 219, no. 2 (August 2011): 91–99, Introduction. doi:[10.1111%2Fj.1469-7580.2011.01381.x](https://doi.org/10.1111%2Fj.1469-7580.2011.01381.x). Charles Bell was among those who, from 1819 onwards, lobbied for a change in the anatomy laws.
- 30 Charles Bell’s tenure at University College was brief: he resigned after only one year due to disagreements with its radical reformers. Bell had begun his professional association with Middlesex Hospital in 1814 as a surgeon and, in 1835, was instrumental in the foundation of its new Middlesex Hospital Medical School. On radical reformers, see Adrian Desmond, *The Politics of Evolution: Morphology, Medicine, and Reform in Radical London* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1992), who includes Joseph Maclise among these. Charles Bell, a “soft” or conservative reformer, was hostile to radical French anatomy; see Desmond’s annotated “Biographical List of British Medical Men”, in *The Politics of Evolution*, 417–418 and 425. See also Carin Berkowitz, who notes that Charles Bell’s politics were shaped by the exigencies of developing a living through patronage in a time when careers in medicine simply did not exist; see her overview in *Charles Bell and the Anatomy of Reform* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2015), “Introduction”, 1–13, and “Conservative Reform”, 89–96.
- 31 See especially John Bell’s Preface, *Engravings Explaining the Anatomy of the Bones, Muscles, and Joints*. By John Bell, Surgeon (Edinburgh: John Patterson, 1794).
- 32 Bell, *Engravings Explaining the Anatomy of the Bones, Muscles, and Joints*, xviii.
- 33 John Bell continues “I must not be ungrateful to [my printer] Mr. Beugo ... wherever in these plates all is fair and clean, it is owing to his care”, Bell, Preface, *Engravings Explaining the Anatomy of the Bones, Muscles, and Joints*, xx.
- 34 See Mary Hunter, “Intern, Orderly, Artist, Corpse: Emergent Masculinities in Henri Gervex’s *Autopsy at Hôtel-Dieu*”, *Oxford Art Journal* 38, no. 3 (November 2015): 405–426; see also Callen, *Looking at Men*, 12, and 15–16.
- 35 John Bell’s *Engravings Explaining the Anatomy of the Bones, Muscles and Joints* (Edinburgh) with title-page dated 1794 (the text volume was published in Edinburgh and London in 1793); the Royal Academy London copy notes that all plates (except Plate 9, undated) bear the publisher’s imprint and date 1804; the imprint of their copy names both London and Edinburgh presses, for full details, see Royal Academy Collection: Book, Record No. 03/6639, <https://www.royalacademy.org.uk/art-artists/book/engravings-explaining-the-anatomy-of-the-bones-muscles-and-joints-by-john>. On John and also Charles Bell, see Roberts and Tomlinson, *The Fabric of the Body*, 488–495. See also my discussion of gothic horror and anatomy, including the Bells and the writer Eugène Sue, in Callen, *Looking at Men*, 35–36, 190–199, and 202–204; Sue, who trained under his father Jean-Joseph Sue *fils*, was expected to continue his family dynastic tradition in anatomy and surgery.
- 36 Professor of Medicine Dr James Gregory, who envied and undoubtedly felt threatened by the popular success of Bell’s Extramural Anatomy School, while himself disdaining such hands-on anatomical practice, engineered Bell’s exclusion from hospital surgical practice. Without naming names, John Bell describes his *r*ejection by the Edinburgh Royal Infirmary and the surgeon-anatomy clique dominated by the Munro dynasty, in his Preface to his *Engravings Explaining the Anatomy of the Bones, Muscles and Joints Illustrating the First Volume of the Anatomy of the Human Body*, 2nd edn (London: Longman et al., 1804), xi, footnote; and see the account in Roberts and Tomlinson, *The Fabric of the Body*, 488.
- 37 See John Bell, *Anatomy of the Human Body*, 3rd edn (corrected) (London: Longman et al., 1808), Vol. 2: on blood vessels, see Preface, xiii–xvi; on “jargon” (both Bells eschewed Latin terminology); his preface also stresses the vital importance of anatomical knowledge of the arteries in surgery. In the at times vitriolic preface to his *Engravings Explaining the Anatomy of the Bones, Muscles and Joints* (1804), John Bell criticised the hubris and impractical lack of necessity he found in earlier life-sized anatomical prints, seeking himself to create in both scale and utility an educative unity between image and text (iii–iv), and similarly the frequent reuse of outdated and badly mangled historical images like those of Vesalius, to illustrate new texts (iv–v). Bell also contrasted the educational needs in anatomical instruction of artists as against surgeons; see Bell, *Engravings Explaining the Anatomy of the Bones, Muscles and Joints* (1804), xiii–xv. I concur with Martin Kemp’s contention that there is no such thing as “style-less” anatomical illustration, see Kemp, “Style and Non-Style in Anatomical Illustration”, 192; his analysis of Bell’s Preface, is excellent, Kemp, “Style and Non-Style in Anatomical Illustration”, 193–196.
- 38 Bell, *Engravings Explaining the Anatomy of the Bones, Muscles and Joints*, vi.
- 39 Bell, *Engravings Explaining the Anatomy of the Bones, Muscles and Joints*, vi.
- 40 Bell, *Engravings Explaining the Anatomy of the Bones, Muscles and Joints*, ix.
- 41 Bell, *Engravings of the Bones, Muscles and Joints*, vi, xviii, and xi.
- 42 John Woodroffe, publicising his anatomy lectures and popularising medical science in the *Cork Mercantile Chronicle*, 15 November 1815, quoted in Eoin Lettice, “‘Drink Deeply of the Nectared Cup of Science’: Woodroffe and the Cork Anatomists”, *Communicate Science*, 13 September 2011, <http://www.communicatescience.eu/2011/09/drink-deeply-of-nectared-cup-of-science.html>. My thanks to Davis Coakley for this reference.
- 43 For the important cast collection in Cork, see “Crawford Art Gallery”, *Wikipedia*, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Crawford_Art_Gallery.
- 44 See Coakley, “Anatomy and Art”, 65. Woodroffe, who founded the first Cork anatomy school in 1811, also taught several of the Quain brothers: Coakley, “Anatomy and Art”, 74. For the Cork anatomy references, my thanks to Davis Coakley.

- 45 Royal College of Surgeons of England. "Quain, Richard (1800-1887)". Plarr's Lives of the Fellows, [https://livesonline.rcseng.ac.uk/client/en_GB/lives/search/detailnonmodal/ent:\\$002f\\$002fSD_ASSET\\$002f0\\$002fSD_ASSET:372381/one](https://livesonline.rcseng.ac.uk/client/en_GB/lives/search/detailnonmodal/ent:$002f$002fSD_ASSET$002f0$002fSD_ASSET:372381/one). See also Michael Hanna, "John Woodroffe and the Cork Anatomists", *UCC Medical Alumni and Faculty Newsletter* 10 (January 2012), <https://www.ucc.ie/en/anatomy/about/ahistoryofthedepartment/woodroffeartmichaelhanna/>; reference kindly supplied by Davis Coakley. There were two Richard Quains, cousins: Sir Richard Quain (1816-1898) became a prominent London physician; he trained at University College during the same period as Joseph Maclise and moved in the same circle of friends with Daniel Maclise (who painted his portrait), John Forster, and Charles Dickens. See G.H. Brown, "Sir Richard Quain", *Lancet*, 1898; *British Medical Journal*, 1898; *Times*, 14 March 1898; and *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1st Suppl., iii, 288, reproduced at Royal College of Physicians, <https://history.rcplondon.ac.uk/inspiring-physicians/sir-richard-quain>. Jones Quain (1796-1865), an anatomist at University College, was a brother of Richard Quain and a cousin of Sir Richard.
- 46 Richard Quain, *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body and its Application to Pathology and Operative Surgery, in Lithographic Drawings with Practical Commentaries. The Drawings from Nature and on Stone by Joseph Maclise Esq. Surgeon. With an octavo volume of letterpress*. [text 8vo]; Atlas, fol., 87 plates (London: printed for Taylor and Walton, Booksellers and Publishers to University College, Upper Gower Street, 1844).
- 47 Quain, Preface to *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body*, n.p., one page. The date of 1839 is given by Nancy Weston in *Daniel Maclise*, 229. I am very grateful to Davis Coakley for sending me the information on Joseph Maclise in Weston's out-of-print book. Maclise was elected Assistant-Surgeon at University College Hospital only in April 1852, on the resignation of William Cadge, as noted in "Miscellaneous: Medical Intelligence: Appointments", *Provincial Medical & Surgical Journal* (1844-1852) 16 (1852), 202.
- 48 From 1831 to 1848, Cooper was Professor of Surgery at University College and a surgeon to University College Hospital; Robert Liston became the first Professor of Clinical Surgery at University College in 1835, and also performed the first modern anaesthesia surgery in Europe at University College Hospital in 1846.
- 49 See the dedication page to Maclise's *Surgical Anatomy* (1851); and Royal College of Surgeons of England, "Maclise, Joseph (1815-1880)", *Plarr's Lives of the Fellows*, <http://livesonline.rcseng.ac.uk/biogs/E002613b.htm>.
- 50 The Maclise siblings' parents also moved from Cork to live with them in London. After Daniel's death in 1870, Joseph moved to 9 Great College Street, Westminster, see *Plarr's Lives of the Fellows*, "Maclise, Joseph (1815-1880)".
- 51 Russell Place is now Fitzroy Street, a northern extension of Charlotte Street, Fitzrovia; Russell Street was a one-block section between Howland Street and the then London Street, now Maple Street, near Fitzroy Square. Joseph is recorded as setting up a practice at 14 Russell Street after his studies in Paris, see *Plarr's Lives of the Fellows*, "Maclise, Joseph (1815-1880)"; but he was already living there with his brother, while studying at nearby University College. For all the London street names at this period, see "Smith's New London Street Map c.1830", <https://mapco.net/smith/smith.htm>.
- 52 *Plarr's Lives of the Fellows*, "Maclise, Joseph (1815-1880)".
- 53 This section of Charlotte Street was then known as Upper Charlotte Street, covering the southern section of Charlotte Street between Goodge Street and Percy Street.
- 54 See Christine E. Jackson, "M. & N. Hanhart: Printers of Natural History Plates 1830-1903", *Archives of Natural History* 26, no. 2 (June 1999), 289. doi:[10.3366/anh.1999.26.2.287](https://doi.org/10.3366/anh.1999.26.2.287).
- 55 Credited with bringing lithography to Paris, see "Godefroy Engelmann", *Wikipedia*, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Godefroy_Engelmann. And see Edward Clements Bigmore and Charles William H. Wyman, *A Bibliography of Printing: With Notes and Illustrations*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge Library Collection, 2014), Vol. 1 [1880], 200-201; and Jackson, "M. & N. Hanhart", 287-289.
- 56 The Grafts (Charles and Jeremiah [also Jérémie]) executed work for Joseph Maclise, but most notably for the Quain-Maclise *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body*, 1840-circa 1844. The lithography firm, Graf & Soret, became just "J. Graf Printers to Her Majesty" in 1838. The British Museum catalogue gives their back-history as: "Graf & Soret" active 1830-1838 at 14 Newman Street, London and also 1 Great Castle Street [which starts one block behind the north-east side of Oxford Circus] in 1834-1836. All were close to the Maclises' residences. See also Michael Twyman, who gives their names Charles and Jeremiah, in *Directory of London Lithographic Printers 1800-1850* (London: Printing Historical Society, 1976), 34.
- 57 "C Graf" is recorded on some prints, but less is known about Charles than about Jeremiah Graf.
- 58 See Michael Twyman, *Lithography 1800-1850: The Techniques of Drawing on Stone in England and France and their Application to Works of Topography* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), 116.
- 59 George Rowney & Co., *Wholesale Catalogue for the Trade Only* (London: George Rowney & Co., 1858).
- 60 Joseph Maclise would also have been preparing plates and text for his 1847 *Comparative Osteology: Being Morphological Studies to Demonstrate the Archetype Skeleton of Vertebrated Animals* (London: Taylor and Walton, 1847).
- 61 Letter from Daniel to John Forster, Monday 23rd [July? August?] 1844, quoted in O'Driscoll, *A Memoir of Daniel Maclise*, 87. "In Paris he came into contact with French and classical art in the Louvre, the Luxembourg, and Versailles. He studied and copied from these artworks, which greatly influenced his own work over the years." See "Daniel Maclise (1806-1870)", National Gallery of Ireland, <https://www.nationalgallery.ie/art-and-artists/highlights-collection/daniel-maclise-1806-1870>.
- 62 O'Driscoll, *A Memoir of Daniel Maclise*, 87-88. O'Driscoll's biography is heavily reliant on the painter's voluminous correspondence with his friend John Forster.
- 63 O'Driscoll, *A Memoir of Daniel Maclise*, 89.

- 64 *L'Hémicycle du Palais des Beaux-Arts* was photographed as an albumen silver print by Parisian dealer and printer Goupil & Cie. in 1858 and widely circulated, see "'L'Hémicycle du Palais des Beaux-Arts' by Paul Delaroche", *The J. Paul Getty Museum*, <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/43937/goupil-cie-l%27hemicycle-du-palais-des-beaux-arts-by-paul-delaroche-french-1858/>; Goupil also commissioned a three-part engraving by Louis-Pierre Henricquel-Dupont (1797–1892) after the hemicycle. "I go to see it every day almost", he wrote to Forster; see O'Driscoll, *A Memoir of Daniel Maclise*, 89.
- 65 The National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, records the debate over the spelling of Géricault's name without the accented "e" and chose to follow this style, as do I: "In contrast to traditional and very recent sources, this spelling follows Philippe Grunhech and his adherents [...] The origin of the word is reportedly the river Ger in his native Normandy; family documents exclude the accent; and Géricault regularly signed his name without". See Philippe Grunhech, *Tout l'oeuvre peint de Géricault* (Paris: Flammarion, 1978), 83; Philippe Grunhech, *Master Drawings by Géricault*, exhibition catalogue (Washington, DC: International Exhibitions Foundation, 1985), 11; and for additional information, see "Théodore Géricault", National Gallery of Art, <https://www.nga.gov/collection/artist-info.1334.html>.
- 66 House of Lords, Palace of Westminster, London, Parliamentary Art Collection, water-glass wall painting, 285.8 × 3535.7 cm. See especially Leon Litvack, "Continental Art and the 'Cockneyfied Corkian': German and French Influences on Daniel Maclise". In *Daniel Maclise, 1806–1870: Romancing the Past*. Edited by Peter Murray (Cork: Crawford Art Gallery, 2008), 198–213.
- 67 Delacroix's painting entered the Louvre in 1824, and thus would also have been hanging there during the brothers' Paris visits. The bloody rags depicted in Géricault's still lifes of dissection body parts and severed heads would not have been publicly seen at this period.
- 68 This lithograph was used as a flyer for the painting's British tour.
- 69 While in London Géricault produced a suite of twelve lithographs with a frontispiece of uncompromising London scenes, mainly its lowlife, printed by C. Hullmandel's Lithography, and published/sold by Rodwell & Martin, New Bond Street, between February and May 1821.
- 70 A hard and menial task, the stone was differently prepared for either ink or chalk by an apprentice lithographer: while the stone surface for ink required polishing, that for drawing needed a "grain" for chalk to adhere. See Twyman, *Lithography 1800–1850*, 115–116; he notes that Engelmann's *Manuel du dessinateur lithographe* (Paris, 1822), was technically the most detailed and best of those available, as well as the first to appear in print, *Lithography 1800–1850*, 114. Twyman stresses that becoming expert in lithography was not entirely simple; see his *Lithography 1800–1850*, Chapter 9.
- 71 Twyman notes the relative cost and print-run effectiveness of early lithography versus copper engraved plates, *Lithography 1800–1850*, 113; see also his invaluable history of the early techniques and spread of lithography 1819–1825, in *Lithography 1800–1850*, Chapter 9. For reproductive printmaking, obviously the original image had to be reversed on the plate to print in the correct orientation.
- 72 On Reynolds' print, see "The Wreck of the Medusa; Print by Samuel William Reynolds after Théodore Géricault, c.1820–30", The British Museum, <https://www.bmimages.com/preview.asp?image=00756206001>; and for Charlet's print, *Shipwreck of the Meduse*, see The British Museum, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1868-1114-277. Reynolds added drapery to cover the exposed genitals of Géricault's nude, foreground left, altering the original perhaps to accommodate the sensibilities of a British public. Mezzotint was deemed a very British method of printing in post-Revolutionary France, where lithography instead gradually gained ground, especially for reproductive printmaking and among radical younger artists.
- 73 Even if the brothers did not discover Reynolds' print, a second mezzotint reproduction of Géricault's *Raft of the Medusa* by London-based Irish printmaker James Egan (1799–1842) was published in 1837, and would doubtless have been known to the them.
- 74 Pierre-Nicolas Gerdy, *De la perception sensoriale et du jugement méthodiques et raisonnés* (Paris: Cosson, 1844); an extended treatise appeared in 1846: *Physiologie philosophique des sensations et de l'intelligence fondée sur des recherches et des observations nouvelles et applications à la morale, à l'éducation, à la politique*, par le Dr P.-N. Gerdy (Paris: Labé, 1846), xxiv.
- 75 See Gerdy's *Mémoire sur le tact et les sensations cutanées* (Paris: M. Cousin, 1842).
- 76 Pierre-Nicolas Gerdy, *Anatomie des peintres: Atlas* (Paris: Bechet jeune, 1829).
- 77 See Anthea Callen, "The Body and Difference: Anatomy Training at the École des Beaux-Arts in the Later Nineteenth Century", *Art History* 20, no. 1 (March 1997): 30–31, doi:[10.1111/1467-8365.00045](https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8365.00045); and Comar, *Figures du corps*, 42, and passim.
- 78 Pierre-Nicolas Gerdy, *Cours d'anatomie appliquée à la peinture et à la sculpture* (Paris: E. Pochard, 1827), prospectus-curriculum, n.p. Gerdy's emphasis on the live figure and the external superficial anatomy was taken up in teaching and "morphological" research under Dr Paul Richer at the École des Beaux-Arts later in the century; see Callen, *Looking at Men*, Chapters 1 and 4; and Comar, *Figures du corps*, especially 268–273 and passim.
- 79 See Callen, *Looking at Men*, especially 39–41 and 188; and Comar, *Figures du corps*, 42 and passim.
- 80 See Cat'zArts ENSBA online catalogue, Maximilien-Félix Demesse, http://www.ensba.fr/ow2/catzarts/rechcroisee.xsp?f=fulltext&v=Demesse%2C+Maximilien-F%C3%A9lix&f=img_word&tr=simple.
- 81 The Académie Suisse was an independent art studio, founded in 1815 by a renowned ex-model of Jacques-Louis David (1748–1825), Martin François Suisse (circa 1781–1859), and operated from 1858 to 1870 by his nephew Charles-Alexandre Suisse (1813–1871). It was located at the corner of the Quai des Orfèvres and the Boulevard du Palais, in 1830 called rue de la Barillerie (see [Fig. 3](#)).

- 82 See “Langlumé, Pierre, 1790–” in the Library of Congress catalogue, <https://id.loc.gov/authorities/names/nr97017565.html>.
- 83 Significantly, Langlumé’s business was taken over in 1830 by Bénard, whose firm had by 1840 become the famous Lemercier lithographic printer responsible for Bourgery’s *Traité complet de l’anatomie de l’homme comprenant la médecine opératoire* (Paris: Delaunay, 1831–1854), illustrated by Nicolas-Henri Jacob; see Michael Twyman, “Hand-Colouring or Chromolithography: The Pros and Cons”, *Bourgery & Jacob* (2018), <https://www.bourgery-jacob.fr/an-article-of-professor-michael-twyman/>.
- 84 Jacob’s address is recorded in “Nicholas Henry Jacob”, *The British Museum*, <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG32746>; on Bourgery’s prized lithographic hand-colouring, see Twyman, “Hand-Colouring or Chromolithography”.
- 85 A print of Jacob’s *The Genius of Lithography* (1819, lithograph, 19.2 x 16.4 cm; originally published in Alois Senefelder, *L’art de la lithographie* [Munich, 1819]), and a useful article on it, can be found on the Getty website, Sarah Zabrodski, “The Genius of Lithography”, *Getty*, 29 January 2015, <https://blogs.getty.edu/iris/this-just-in-the-genius-of-lithography/>.
- 86 With grateful thanks to Fae Brauer for her title to Fae Brauer and Anthea Callen, eds., *Art, Sex and Eugenics: Corpus Delecti* (London: Routledge, 2008).
- 87 Michael Hatt, “Near and Far: Homoeroticism, Labour and Hamo Thornycroft’s *Mower*”, *Art History* 26, no. 1 (February 2003): 50. doi:10.1111/1467-8365.d01-1.
- 88 Guardsmen, among the most popular life models for artists and very apt for Daniel’s military paintings, were known to “rent” themselves out for such purposes—as well as for sexual encounters with homosexuals; with reference to the latter in early 1880s London, and Albany Barracks (Regent’s Park) in particular, see Matt Cook, *London and the Culture of Homosexuality 1885–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 19–20 and passim. On artists’ models, see Ilaria Bignamini and Martin Postle, *The Artist’s Model: Its Role in British Art from Lely to Etty*, exhibition catalogue, Djanogly Gallery, University of Nottingham and Kenwood Gallery, London (Nottingham: Nottingham University Art Gallery, 1991); and Martin Postle and William Vaughan, *The Artist’s Model: From Etty to Spencer* (London: Merrell Holberton, 1999). On models in Paris, see Susan Waller, *The Invention of the Model: Artists and Models in Paris, 1830–1870* (London: Routledge, 2006).
- 89 Joseph Maclise, preface to *Surgical Anatomy* (London, 1851), viii, my emphasis.
- 90 As, for example, in Francis Sibson’s method, see discussion below and note 93.
- 91 I contend that Joseph shared Daniel’s meticulous technical approach. Figure drawings in the large collection of Daniel’s works on paper in the V&A Museum are clothed and mainly portrait studies. *The Waterloo Cartoon* (1858–1859) is in the Royal Academy, see “Daniel Maclise: The Waterloo Cartoon”, exhibition, 2 September 2015–3 January 2016, Royal Academy, <https://www.royalacademy.org.uk/exhibition/macclisewaterloo>.
- 92 See Jones Quain and Erasmus Wilson, *Vessels of the Human Body: In a Series of Plates, with References and Physiological Comments* (London: printed for Taylor and Walton, 1837); both authors were University College surgeons: Jones Quain (1796–1865, half-brother to Richard Quain) was Professor of Anatomy and Physiology, 1831–1835. William (1805–[post]1869) and Thomas Fairland (1804–1852) were also brothers, both lithographers/engravers.
- 93 “Dissection of the chest of a young man to show blood-vessels around the heart”, see Quain and Wilson, *Vessels of the Human Body*, Plate 1, artist J. Walsh, lithographer William T. Fairland.
- 94 Francis Sibson, *Medical Anatomy, or Illustration of the Relative Position and Movements of the Internal Organs* (London: John Churchill, 1869), explanation to Plate I, n.p.
- 95 There were eventually seventeen in total. I am very grateful to William Schupbach at the Wellcome Collection for kindly sharing with me his knowledge of the probable chronology of Quain’s *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body*, and Maclise’s lithographs for it, during the Library lockdowns in 2020–2021. Schupbach provided me with information on a number of such advertisements for *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body* included in medical books published in 1840–1842. He states: “At the end of the project [1844?], Taylor & Walton were offering bound volumes of the whole lot of fascicules, with the option of one massive volume or two smaller ones. Quain’s volume *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body* (on the title-page of the *Anatomy of the Arteries* it’s called octavo rather than quarto) is available online at <https://archive.org/details/anatomyofarterie01quai/mode/2up>”. Schupbach adds that “the Wellcome copy of George Viner Ellis, *Demonstrations of Anatomy: Being a Guide to the Dissection of the Human Body* (London: Printed for Taylor and Walton, 1840), has advertisements stating Quain and Maclise’s work will be ‘above 13 parts Imperial folio and an octavo volume of letterpress. A part containing five plates with its accompanying letterpress will appear on the 1st of every month’”; from personal communication of William Schupbach with the author. However, the series took longer to produce, since the complete volume appeared after the 1844 title-page date, apparently in 1846: see n. 111, below. Maclise’s 1851 *Surgical Anatomy* was also published in fascicules: the first early in 1849, in the *Provincial Medical & Surgical Journal* 13, no. 3 (7 February 1849): 84; and the fifth, on inguinal hernias, was also advertised in the *Provincial Medical & Surgical Journal* 14, no. 9 (1 May 1850), 236.
- 96 Obscured in deep shadow, female pudenda appear only in a single Maclise *Surgical Anatomy* plate (1856, Plate 35, two stages of a “Dissection of the abdomen and groin, inguinal hernia in a female”); the anatomically accurate mons veneris here, including the slit of the vulva but without pubic hair is, in the 1851 Philadelphia version (Plate 51), completely “airbrushed” out, smoothed over like Victorian nude sculpture.

- 97 In the preface, Maclise writes: "The unbroken surface of the human figure is as a map to the surgeon, explanatory of the anatomy arranged beneath; and I have therefore left appended to the dissected regions as much of the undissected as was necessary. My object was to indicate the interior through the superficies, and thereby illustrate the whole living body which concerns surgery, through its dissected dead counterfeit. We dissect the dead animal body in order to furnish the memory with as clear an account of the structure contained in its living representative, which we are not allowed to analyse, as if this latter were *perfectly translucent*, and directly demonstrative of its component parts." Maclise, preface to *Surgical Anatomy* (London 1856), vi. The same text appears in the preface to the 1851 and 1859 Philadelphia editions.
- 98 See also Michael Sappol, "Mr Joseph Maclise and the Epistemology of the Anatomical Closet", *British Art Studies* 20 (July 2021), <https://doi.org/10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-20/msappol> on the homoerotic; and on Jewish circumcision, see Keren Rosa Hammerschlag, "Black Apollo: Aesthetics, Dissection, and Race in Joseph Maclise's *Surgical Anatomy*", *British Art Studies* 20 (July 2021), <https://doi.org/10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-20/khammerschlag>. As well as a religion-specific practice, by mid-century, circumcision was increasingly debated as a hygienic measure to counter the spread of venereal diseases, and also as a means to curtail sexual pleasure and hence masturbation in young men.
- 99 Sander Gilman, "Touch, Sexuality and Disease", in *Medicine and the Five Senses*, ed. W.F. Bynum and Roy Porter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, [1993] 2004), 198–199.
- 100 Gilman, "Touch, Sexuality and Disease", 198–199.
- 101 Maclise, *Surgical Anatomy* (London, 1856), vi, my emphasis. The same text appears in the preface of the 1859 Philadelphia edition, viii. As a result of library closures during Covid-19, I have been unable to examine the preface of the first (1851) London edition. Plate 25 (see Fig. 15) is an excellent expression of Maclise's notion of corporeal "transparency", preface to *Surgical Anatomy* (1856) vi.
- 102 For Bayard, see, for example, the sheet of photographs in Callen, *Looking at Men*, 70, Plate 2.7. The key text on male same-sex bonds and homosocial desire is Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men*; see also her *Epistemology of the Closet*. On Victorian sexuality, see Jeffrey Weeks, *Sexuality and its Discontents* and Jeffrey Weeks, *Sex, Politics and Society*, especially Chapter 6. See also H.G. Cocks, *Nameless Offences*; Alison Smith, ed., *Exposed: The Victorian Nude*, exhibition catalogue (London: Tate, 2002); and Emmanuel Cooper, *Fully Exposed: The Male Nude in Photography* (London: Routledge, 1996), especially Chapter 1.
- 103 *Scraper*, Roman marble copy after a bronze statue from circa 330 bce, 205.75 cm high (Vatican Museums). On scraped Greek athletes in classical examples, the physical culture movement, and modern hygiene, see Callen, *Looking at Men*, 21, 146–147, and 167. There are many more penises illustrated by Maclise than I touch on here: further cropped, multiply repeated, whether dealing specifically with the male reproductive organs or deformities of the urethra, etc., see "Diseases of the penis ...", Plate 45 (1856); there are also powerful lithographs showing lithotomies and dissection of the perineum and anus, not addressed here. See also Sappol, "Mr Joseph Maclise and the Epistemology of the Anatomical Closet".
- 104 See Fend's discussion of self-touching, *Fleshing Out Surfaces*, 88–94. She notes, quoting Gerdy's instructions to Demesse, that the pose he chose for Demesse approximates to the ancient Greek sculpture *Discobolus* at rest, associated with the classical canon of Polyclitus, a marble version of which entered the Louvre circa 1808; Fend, *Fleshing Out Surfaces*, 220.
- 105 There are three plates/views: front, back, and side.
- 106 In the 1851 Philadelphia edition, Plate 47 is a modified variant excluding the lower legs and thus without the roped calf; the skin is also completely hairless, see <https://archive.org/details/b32723659/page/189/mode/1up>.
- 107 There is no reference to or rationale in Maclise's texts accompanying these Plates in the 1851 or 1856 editions, for the venous ligature, or in 1856 for the "tourniquet". The resulting images do, however, demonstrate for the surgeon the subcutaneous location of the veins. It was not uncommon to inject the veins and arteries post-mortem with coloured inks or waxes to aid their visibility in dissection; Charles Bell gave detailed instructions in this practice in his earliest publication, *A System of Dissections: Explaining the Anatomy of the Human Body, the Manner of Displaying the Parts, and Their Varieties in Disease. With plates*. Vol. 1 (Edinburgh: Mundell and Son, 1799).
- 108 The cut is designed to mark the position of the femoral artery, as described in Maclise's textual annotations. His numbering of the parts is intentionally very discreet to avoid spoiling the images' aesthetic qualities. Continental and especially Italian models were widely employed and highly prized in nineteenth-century artists' studios in London and Paris. See Susan Waller, *The Invention of the Model*; Postle and Vaughan, *The Artist's Model from Etty to Spencer*; Bignamini and Postle, *The Artist's Model*; and Jane Desmarais, Martin Postle, and William Vaughan, eds., *Model and Supermodel: The Artist's Model in British Art and Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006).
- 109 Maclise appears less comfortable depicting heterosexual couplings, giving very different examples in both his 1851 and 1856 London atlases: the former (larger) plates position the figures side by side, the female with her back to the male, without any overlap or touching; in the reworked 1856 Plate 10, they overlap, the male turning his back on the athletic-looking female, obscuring her face, and casting his shadow over her breast, but still nowhere touching. In Blanchard and Lea's 1851 Philadelphia edition (with locally redrawn plates), the male and female are allotted separate sheets/separate spheres (Plates 13 and 14).
- 110 As Meredith Drew argues: "In the years immediately preceding the Obscene Publications Act of 1857 that defined the category of 'pornography', anatomical illustration was being purged of sexual connotations as part of an attempt to consolidate medicine as a respectable profession [...] In the eyes of this new professional body, there was no space for sexual associations in anatomical texts"; see Meredith Drew, "Dissecting the Erotic: Art and Sexuality in Mid-Victorian Medical Anatomy", BA dissertation, University of British Columbia, 2006, ii.
- 111 See Twyman's discussion of relative print runs, and also lithographic methods, in *Lithography 1800–1850*, Chapter 9.

- 112 "Mark of truth" from William Hunter, Preface to *Gravid Uterus*, and elaborated by Martin Kemp, "'The Mark of Truth': Looking and Learning in Some Anatomical Illustrations from the Renaissance and Eighteenth Century", in *Medicine and the Five Senses*, ed. W.F. Bynum and Roy Porter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, [1993] 2004), 121; see also Kemp's "Style and Non-Style in Anatomical Illustration", 192–208.
- 113 See John Harley Warner and James Edmonson, eds., *Dissection: Photographs of a Rite of Passage in American Medicine, 1880–1930* (New York: Blast Books, 2009).
- 114 In 1847, Joseph Maclise had first published his *Comparative Osteology: Being Morphological Studies to Demonstrate the Archetype Skeleton of Vertebrated Animals*; however, its lithographic illustrations were simpler and more strictly functional, prioritising skeletal/bone fragments.
- 115 An extensive review of fascicules I and II (whose price is "very moderate") in Anon., "Review of New Books: *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body*", 203. By 1846, the work had grown to its final seventeen fascicules and with a volume of Commentaries was published at £10 12s. With five hundred subscribers to the "new issue", the special price offered was £6 6s. (six guineas), "less than eighteen pence per plate, without charge for the [text] volume of 560 pages", estimated at one guinea. *Lancet* 48, no. 1209, 31 October 1846, 487–488 (see also n. 93 above).
- 116 For a comprehensive study of early lithographic methods in use in London, see Twyman, *Lithography 1800–1850*, especially Chapter 9.
- 117 Anon., "Review of New Books: *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body*", 203.
- 118 Anon., "Review of New Books: *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body*", 203.
- 119 *Traité complet de l'anatomie de l'homme comprenant la médecine opératoire* (Paris: C.-A. Delaunay, 1831–1854), illustrated by Nicolas-Henry Jacob (1782–1871); this grew to eight volumes in-folio, with over 700 lithographic figures.
- 120 *Lancet*, 48, no. 1209, 31 October 1846, 487–488.
- 121 See Slipp, "'It Should Be On Every Surgeon's Table'". The drawing is uncertain, copying skills limited and there are fewer contextual elements: heads and genitalia are all but eliminated (censored?).
- 122 Maclise's *Surgical Anatomy*, 2nd edn (London: John Churchill, 1856) 118 pp., 52 leaves of plates; 52 x 34 cm. Variations in contrast may also be due to different printers, inks, and papers.
- 123 Keren Hammerschlag discusses the representation of racialised "others" in her article, "Black Apollo: Aesthetics, Dissection, and Race in Joseph Maclise's *Surgical Anatomy*", Hammerschlag, "Introduction". Black men were also popularly employed as artists' models. For Black people in Victorian England, see Jan Marsh, ed., *Black Victorians: Black People in British Art 1800–1900* (Aldershot: Manchester Art Gallery and Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery in association with Lund Humphries, 2005); for Black models in London in Maclise's time, see Postle and Vaughan, *The Artist's Model from Etty to Spencer*; on Black models in France, see Cécile Debray, Stéphane Guégan, Denise Murrell, and Isolde Pludermacher, curators, *Le Modèle Noir de Géricault à Matisse*, exhibition catalogue, Musée d'Orsay, 26 March–21 July 2019 (Paris: Musée d'Orsay/Flammarion, 2019).
- 124 See Remy Melina, "Why Did Pirates Wear Earrings?" *Live Science*, 8 March 2011, <https://www.livescience.com/33099-why-did-pirates-wear-earrings-.html>.
- 125 See Andrew S. Curran, *The Anatomy of Blackness: Science and Slavery in an Age of Enlightenment* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), see especially Chapter 4. See also David Bindman, *Ape to Apollo: Aesthetics and the Idea of Race in the 18th Century* (London: Reaktion Books, 2002).
- 126 On (homo)sexualised male artistic photography, see Cooper, *Fully Exposed*, especially Chapter 1; see also Callen, *Looking at Men*, 62–70; the popularity of casts and table-top models such as those after *The Pancrastinae*, or *Wrestlers* (late third century bce marble statue in the Uffizi, Florence), is symptomatic of the desire for acceptable homoerotic viewing.
- 127 While this is true for his whole-plate figures, a good deal of Maclise's *Surgical Anatomy* treats diseased/deformed male external genitalia, each characterised in lithographic details from multiple dissection fragments, as well as the texts describing them; likewise the male anus appears in uncompromising lithographic images where the whole figure is tied up in the operative position.
- 128 The superb quality of Joseph's figure drawing had been remarked on even in early reviews, like that on Quain, Anon., "Review of New Books: *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body*", 203.
- 129 My thanks to Marcia Pointon for encouraging me to consider the "displaced" erection.
- 130 Michael Hatt, discussing male cross-class desire in the context of Haymo Thornycroft's *Mower*: in my paraphrase, I have substituted Hatt's "bucolic" with my own "medico-anatomical"; see Hatt, "Near and Far", 39.

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Black Apollo: Aesthetics, Dissection, and Race in Joseph Maclise's *Surgical Anatomy*

Keren Rosa Hammerschlag

Abstract

This article is part of the Objects in Motion series in British Art Studies, which is funded by the Terra Foundation for American Art. Projects in the series examine cross-cultural dialogues between Britain and the United States, and may focus on any aspect of visual and material culture produced before 1980. The aim of Objects in Motion is to explore the physical and material circumstances by which art is transmitted, displaced, and recontextualised, as well as the transatlantic processes that create new markets, audiences, and meanings.

Joseph Maclise's *Surgical Anatomy* (1851) is no ordinary anatomical atlas. While there is an assumption that the cadavers pictured in Western anatomical illustrations are white, Maclise included in his publication several depictions of the dissection of a Black man. A close examination of Maclise's rendering of the interior and exterior of the Black body allows for a consideration of the complex relationship between aesthetics and race in mid-nineteenth-century anatomical illustration. It also offers an opportunity to reflect on the nature of dissection during the mid-Victorian period and the racial identities of those who ended up, against their will, on the dissecting table. Shifting from the anatomy theatre to the art gallery, the Black cadaver in Maclise's atlas is notably aestheticised, placing him in dialogue with classical statues such as the *Apollo Belvedere*, the "high" art productions of Joseph's brother Daniel Maclise, pictures of Black pugilists, and abolitionist imagery from the period.

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Introduction

Western anatomical atlases are rarely viewed through the lens of race. One reason for this is that most of the bodies that furnish anatomical atlases dating back to Andreas Vesalius' *De humani corporis fabrica* (1543) are white—or so they seem.¹ The figures in anatomical atlases often appear without their skin, their bodies having been literally and representationally flayed, in order to display the underlying anatomical structures. But their status as white Europeans has remained unquestioned in the scholarship on the history of anatomical illustration.² This assumption is reinforced by the frequency with which anatomised subjects from the Renaissance onwards have been positioned to resemble Greco-Roman statues. A prime example of this is an illustration of a flayed cadaver holding his skin in one hand and a dissecting knife in the other from Juan Valverde de Amusco's *Anatomia del corpo humano* (1560) (Fig. 1).³ This is a remarkable image for numerous reasons, including the fact that the man's skin, which he has apparently removed himself, resembles a second ghostly visage.⁴ It is also significant that the anatomised figure strikes a pose which resembles that of the *Apollo Belvedere* (ca. 120–140), with one arm raised, the other lowered, a wide *contrapposto*, and head turned towards the raised arm (Fig. 2). I will be returning to the *Apollo Belvedere* and Valverde's macabre anatomised version of it in due course.



Figure 1.

Juan Valverde de Amusco, *Anatomia del corpo humano*, (Rome: Antonio Salamanca and Antonio Lafrerj, 1559), Plate 64, 1559, copper plate engraving. Collection of the National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, Maryland. Digital image courtesy of National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, Maryland (public domain).



Figure 2.

after Leochares, Apollo Belvedere, (Roman copy of Greek bronze original) , circa AD 120–140, marble, 224 cm. Collection of the Vatican Museums, Rome. Digital image courtesy of Wikimedia Commons (CC BY-SA 4.0).

Artistic anatomy teaches artists to see through skin to the underlying anatomical structures, principally the bones and muscles, which dictate the appearance of the body in action and repose.⁵ Around 1771, William Hunter, professor of anatomy at the Royal Academy of Arts (or the artist enlisted to help him, Agostino Carlini), directed that the flayed body of an executed criminal be manoeuvred into the pose of the famous *Dying Gaul* (Roman, first or second century ad) (Fig. 3) before being cast in plaster (ca. 1834) (Fig. 4).⁶ This *écorché* then took its place among the other teaching aids in the Royal Academy Schools.⁷ By having *Smugglerius*, as it continues to be known, repeat the pose of the *Dying Gaul*, artists and art students could see through the marble surface of the classical statue and imagine the musculature

beneath. The lesson was that, if the artist wanted to create an image of the human form as perfect as that seen in the *Dying Gaul*, he must have a grasp of the anatomical structures that produced its outward appearance. ⁸



Figure 3.

The Dying Gaul, first or second century AD Roman, marble, 93 cm. Collection of Musei Capitolini, Rome (inv. MC0747). Digital image courtesy of Karen Bleier/AFP via Getty Images (all rights reserved).



Figure 4.

William Pink after Agostino Carlini, Smugglerius, circa 1834, plaster cast of 1776 original, 75.5 × 148.6 cm. Collection of the Royal Academy of Arts, London (03/1436). Digital image courtesy of Royal Academy of Arts, London. Photo: Paul Highnam (all rights reserved).

In 1878, John Marshall, professor of anatomy at the Royal Academy from 1873 to 1891, laid out the anatomy—the bones, joints, and muscles—that he believed artists should know in order to depict the human body accurately.⁹ His manual, *Anatomy for Artists*, includes several illustrations that epitomise the kind of penetrative looking that the study of anatomy was intended to encourage. For example, in “Figure 64.—Front view of the Male Skeleton”, an animated skeleton is seen resting its hand on what appears to be a canvas (Fig. 5). The outline of the body is included, but the artist is encouraged to see through the surface of the body to the skeleton beneath. A few pages later, in “Figure 66.—The Female Skeleton”, another skeleton—this time, a female one—rests her elbow on an easel (Fig. 6). The outline of the body is again included, with hair attached.¹⁰ The canvas in “Front view of the Male Skeleton” and the easel in “The Female Skeleton” place us in an artist’s studio, with the skeleton in the first illustration playing the role of the artist, and the skeleton in the second assuming the role of the life model.

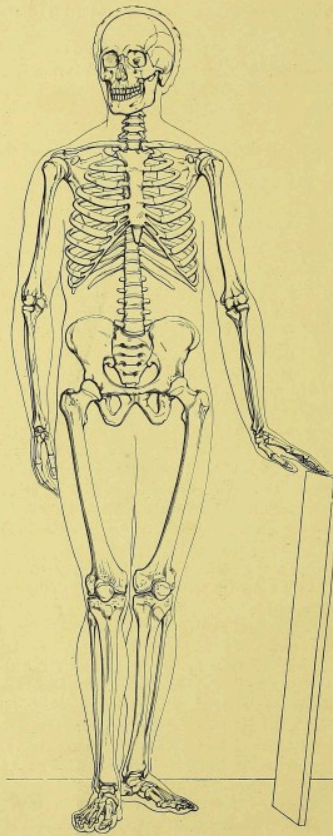


FIG. 64. Front view of the Male Skeleton.

Figure 5.

J.S. Cuthbert, Front View of the Male Skeleton, from John Marshall, *Anatomy for Artists, Illustrated by Two Hundred Original Drawings by J.S. Cuthbert, engraved by J. and G. Nicholls* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1878), 180, Fig. 64, 1878, engraving. Collection of University College London. Digital image courtesy of Internet Archive (public domain).

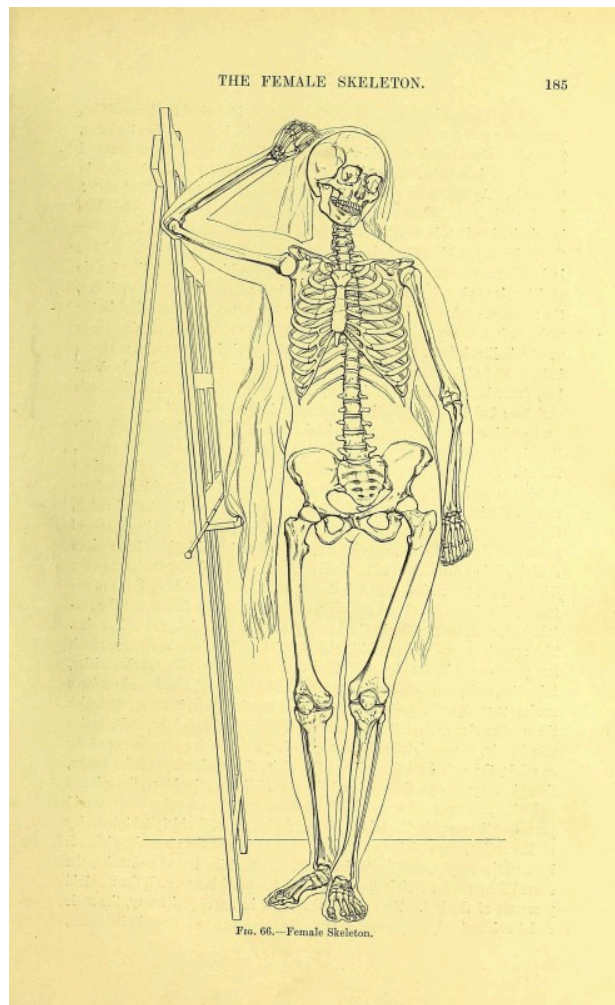


Figure 6.

J.S. Cuthbert, Front View of the Female Skeleton, from John Marshall, *Anatomy for Artists, Illustrated by Two Hundred Original Drawings by J.S. Cuthbert*, engraved by J. and G. Nicholls (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1878), 185, Fig. 66, 1878, engraving. Collection of University College London. Digital image courtesy of Internet Archive (public domain).

In this article, rather than attempting to see through the surface of the body as Marshall and others advocated, I want to imagine a process by which the anatomised bodies used to teach anatomy to aspiring doctors, surgeons, and artists might be re-skinned, and the racial identities of those who ended up on the dissecting table restored. In *Human Remains: Dissection and Its Histories*, Helen MacDonald quotes John Gurche, the paleo artist (a paleo artist uses scientific evidence to recreate in visual form prehistoric scenes and creatures): “The process of reconstruction is like a dissection in reverse”.

¹¹ MacDonald describes being “caught in the historian’s impossible dilemma ... No historian can really make people live again. We are not

resurrectionists.”¹² Nonetheless, she believes “that historians can be sufficiently thorough to reconstruct something of how people in the past experienced their lives”—and their deaths.¹³ If we look closely enough at the anatomical illustrations and associated text produced by or under the instruction of such eminent surgeons as William Hunter, Friedrich Tiedemann, John Marshall, and Joseph Maclise, it is possible to find traces of the identities of “the dissected”.¹⁴ From there we can begin the slow process of building up a fuller picture of the race (and gender, religion, etc.) of those who ended up, against their will, on dissecting tables in a period before consent was required to cut open a person’s corpse. Hence, with an awareness of the limitations of such an endeavour—I am no resurrectionist (!)—I will be attempting “a dissection in reverse” through close analysis of a range of images, principally Plates 5 and 14 of Joseph Maclise’s *Surgical Anatomy* (1851) (Figs. 7 and 8).

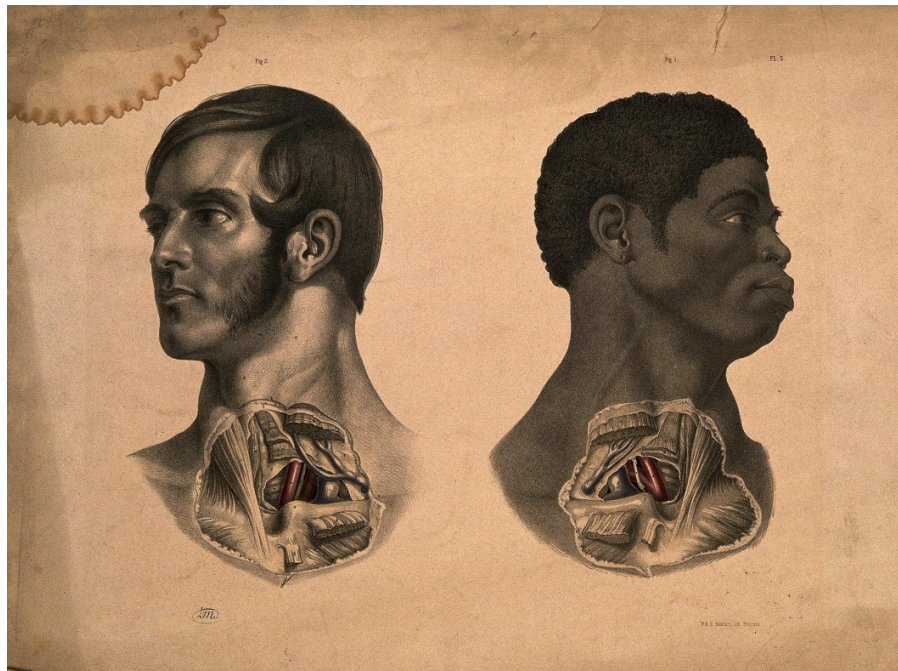


Figure 7.

Joseph Maclise, Two Heads of Men, Showing Dissection of Muscles and Blood-Vessels of the Subclavian Region of the Chest, from Joseph Maclise, *Surgical Anatomy* (London: John Churchill, 1851): Plate 5, 1851, lithograph with watercolour, 54.5 x 37.7 cm. Wellcome Collection (no. 640714i). Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

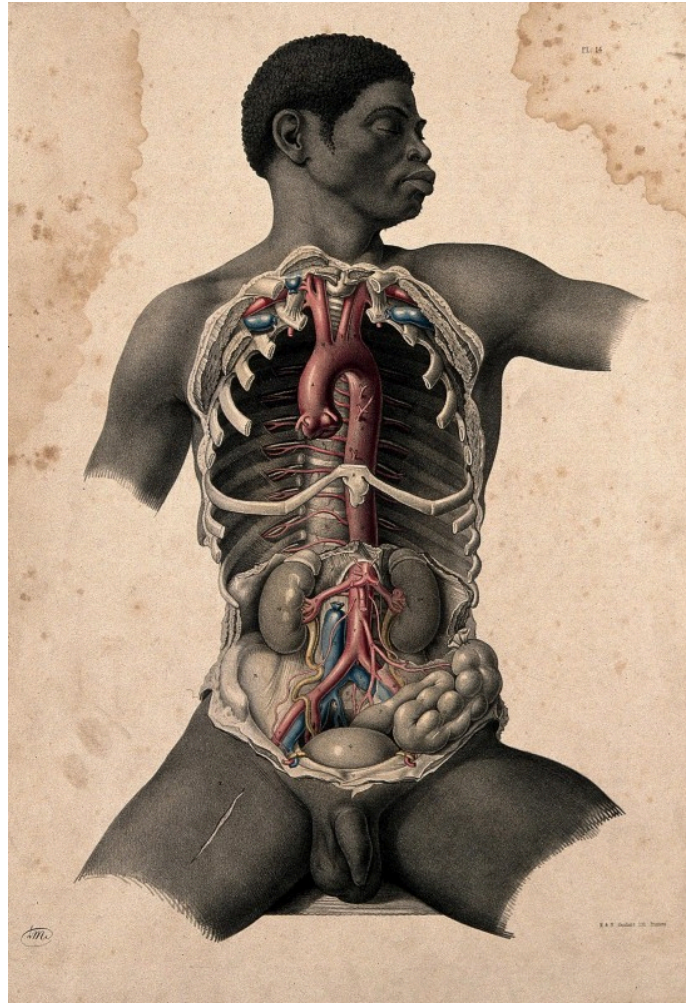


Figure 8.

Joseph Maclise, Dissection of the Trunk of a Seated Black Man, Showing Major Blood-Vessels, (London: John Churchill, 1851), 1851, coloured lithograph, 54.5 × 37.7 cm. Wellcome Collection (no. 640722i). Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

Identifying Corpses

In the illustrations produced by Joseph Maclise for *Surgical Anatomy*, exemplary male physical specimens abound.¹⁵ Maclise (1815–1880) was an Irish surgeon who studied at University College, London, and the École Pratique, L'Hôpital de la Pitié, in Paris, before settling into practice on Fitzroy Square in London.¹⁶ He was also brother to the successful Royal Academy artist Daniel Maclise (1806–1870), known for his decorative schemes for the House of Lords. Joseph Maclise not only penned medical and scientific texts, but also produced the illustrations, no doubt with reference to the art and expertise of his brother. After illustrating Richard Quain's *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body* (1844), Maclise wrote and illustrated

Comparative Osteology (1847), *Surgical Anatomy* (1851), and *On Dislocations and Fractures* (1859).¹⁷ In the preface to *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body*, Quain, then professor of anatomy at University College, wrote of Maclise: “To carry out my views as to the delineations, I obtained the assistance of my friend and former pupil, Mr. Joseph Maclise.” Also in his preface, Quain professed that he had inspected 930 bodies “with reference to the subject of my inquiries”.¹⁸

In *Surgical Anatomy*, hooks, scalpels, and other surgical instruments reference the dissections undertaken by Maclise in London and Paris, and guide the aspiring surgeon as he or she dissects (Fig. 9). A connection might here be made between the surgical instruments depicted by Maclise and the engraver’s tools that would have been used in the production of the images. In the preface to *Surgical Anatomy*, Maclise specified the intended audience for the publication: “the student of medicine and the practitioner removed from the schools”.¹⁹ As photographs of nineteenth-century anatomy theatres reveal, the folio-sized illustrations (54.5 x 37.7 cm) hung on the walls of dissecting rooms and anatomy theatres (see Figs. 9–18 in this [feature's introduction](#)). But the size of the atlas, along with its elaborate illustrations, made it suitable for libraries and the collections of educated gentlemen with an aesthetic sensibility and interest in male anatomy.²⁰ The figures, as rendered by Maclise, are overwhelmingly healthy adult men with developed musculature, lustrous hair, blemish-free skin, and expressions that look remarkably peaceful considering the bodily violations taking place. Occasionally, fabric-turned-drapery crops and frames the body pictured (Fig. 10).²¹ This enhances the aesthetic quality of the atlas and those depicted in it, elevates the images to the status of “high” art, and speaks to the skill of the artist-anatomist.

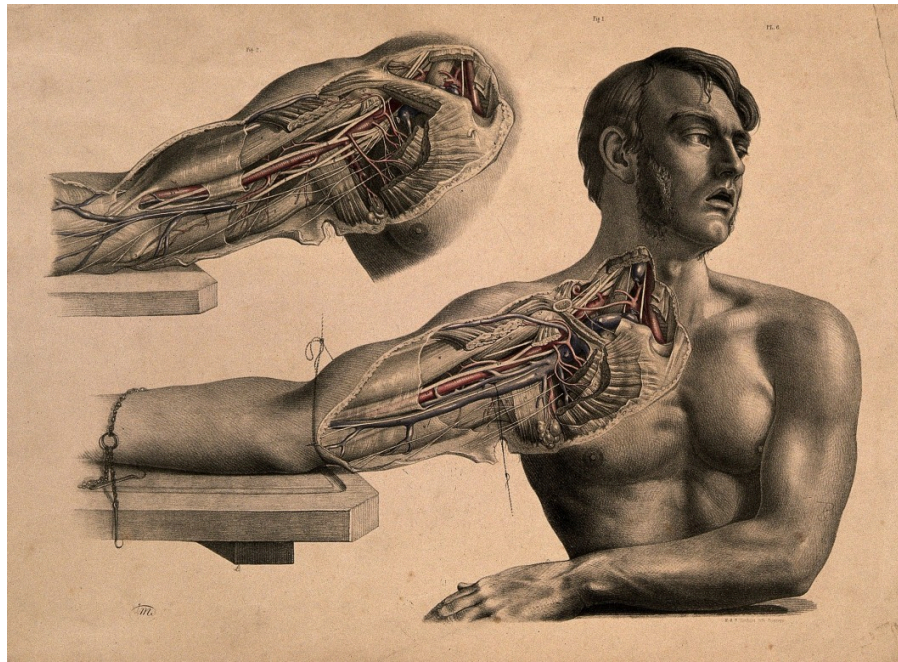


Figure 9.

Joseph Maclise, Dissection of Muscles and Blood-Vessels of the Shoulder and Arm of a Seated Man, (London: John Churchill, 1851), Plate 6, 1851, coloured lithograph, 54.5 × 37.7 cm. Wellcome Collection (no. 640715i). Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).



Figure 10.

Joseph Maclise, *Dissection of the Left Groin of a Standing Man*, (London: John Churchill, 1851), Plate 16, 1851, coloured lithograph, 54.5 x 37.7 cm. Wellcome Collection (no. 640777i). Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

In Plate 12 (Fig. 11), an illustration of the deeper organs of the thorax and abdomen, the body is gently cropped at the top of the arms and thighs, much like the *Belvedere Torso* (first century BCE) (Fig. 12). The figure is in possession of distinguishing mutton-chop sideburns and a carefully placed curl, which hangs from his downcast head, the overall appearance being of a man who has peacefully nodded off to sleep. In Plate 15, an illustration of the relation of the internal parts to the external surface of the body, we see the cadaver's arms, but not his hands, which are likely tied behind his back (Fig. 13).²² The position of his arms helps emphasise his musculature, signalling that this was clearly someone who laboured. But there are no signs of physical degradation, injury, poverty, or hardship. His head is turned towards the left and angled downward, which serves to highlight his pronounced jawline, a bulging vein in his neck, and a lick of hair that comes down

between his ear and the corner of his eye. His penis and scrotum are positioned prominently between his muscular thighs—thighs that gently fade out towards the bottom of the page. While the body is truncated at the top of the legs, we do not see evidence of the violent dismemberment of the limbs, which is so striking a feature of Table VI of William Hunter's *The Anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus* (1774) (Fig. 14).²³

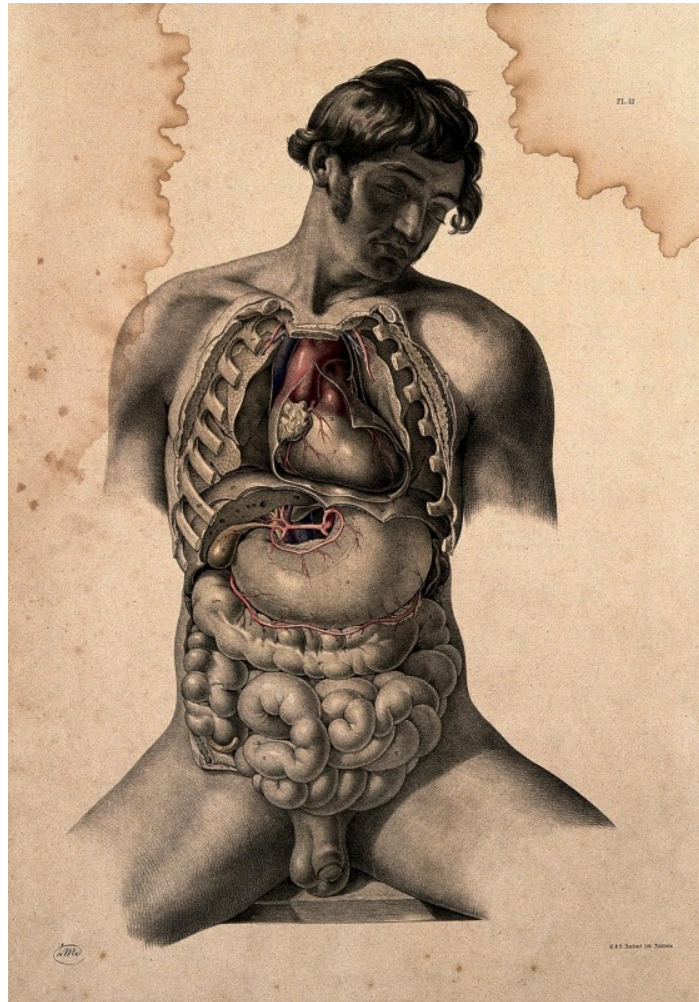


Figure 11.

Joseph Maclise, *Dissection of the Trunk of a Seated Man*, (London: John Churchill, 1851), Plate 12, 1851, coloured lithograph, 54.5 × 37.7 cm. Wellcome Collection (no. 640721i). Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).



Figure 12.

Belvedere Torso, copy from the first century BC, marble, 159 cm. Collection of Musei Vaticani (INV. 1192). Digital image courtesy of Wikimedia Commons (CC BY-SA 3.0).

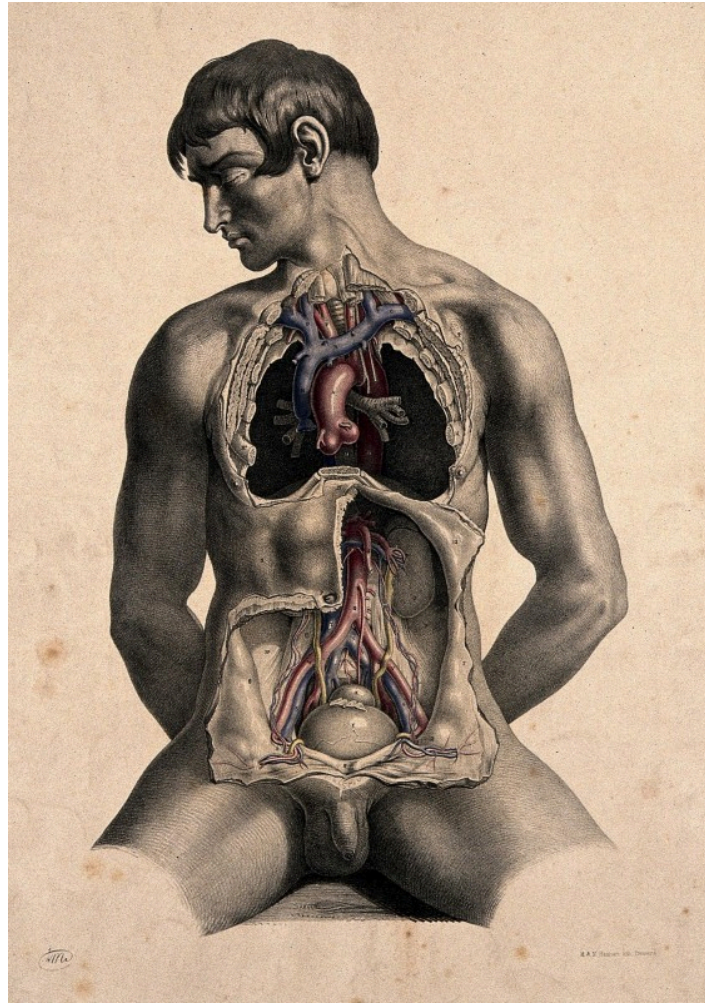


Figure 13.

Joseph Maclise, Dissection of the Trunk of a Seated White Man, Showing Major Blood-Vessels, (London: John Churchill, 1851), 1851, coloured lithograph, 54.5 × 37.7 cm. Wellcome Collection (no. 640730i). Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).



Figure 14.

William Hunter, *Anatomia uteri humani gravidi tabulis illustrata ...The Anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus Exhibited in Figures*, Table VI: The Child in the Womb, in its Natural Situation, (Birmingham: J. Baskerville, & S. Baker & G. Leigh, etc., London, 1774), Table 6, 1774, lithograph. Wellcome Collection. Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

We can assume that, at University College and the École Pratique, Maclise would have had access to the best cadavers on the market. Nonetheless, the idealised cadavers depicted in *Surgical Anatomy* are a far cry from the actual sick, poverty-stricken, and elderly bodies that Maclise and his colleagues would have encountered in mid-nineteenth-century dissecting theatres. On 1 August 1832, in Britain, the Anatomy Act was passed, which made unclaimed human bodies legally available to medical schools for “Anatomical Examination”. Prior to that, dissection was a form of corporal punishment, depicted in all of its gory brutality by William Hogarth in *The Reward of Cruelty*, the final stage in his *The Four Stages of Cruelty* series (1751) (Fig.

15). In *The Reward of Cruelty*, Tom Nero still has a noose around his neck, having been delivered fresh from the gallows. The Anatomy Act mandated the appointment of inspectors of schools of anatomy, who were required to:

Make a Quarterly Return to the said Secretary of State or Chief Secretary ... of every deceased Person's Body that during the preceding Quarter has been removed for Anatomical Examination to every separate Place in his District where Anatomy is carried on, *distinguishing the Sex*, and as far as is known at the Time, the *Name and Age* of each Person whose Body was so removed as aforesaid. 24

As a result, body registers from the nineteenth century generally note the sex of the deceased, and the name and age, if known; they do not record race or ethnicity. 25



Figure 15.

William Hogarth, *The Reward of Cruelty* (*The Four Stages of Cruelty*), 1 February 1751, etching and engraving, 37.8 × 31.8 cm. Collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 32.35(121). Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (public domain).

With such limited official information available, historians, art historians, and medical historians are required to examine a range of visual and textual materials related to death and dissection in order to build up a more substantial picture of the identities of those who ended up on dissecting tables during the nineteenth century. In *Dissection: Photographs of a Rite of Passage in American Medicine 1880–1930*, medical historian John Harley Warner performs this important work by examining photographs of American medical students grouped around cadavers. In the United States, with an insufficient supply of cadavers for dissection, grave robbing was widespread, and it was disproportionately African American graves and cemeteries that were pillaged. Warner explains that this was because African Americans, along with other disenfranchised groups, were less able to defend against the violation of grave robbing. In the Australian context, a rare piece of

evidence relating to the race of cadavers used for dissection appears in the May 1898 edition of *Speculum*, the University of Melbourne Medical School journal. The following apparently comical incident is relayed: “In the Dissecting Room.—Very junior man gazing on a blackfellow: ‘See! this body is putrifying: it is all black.’” ²⁶ The racist joke lies in the equation of dark skin with decaying flesh.

Just as there is an assumption that the bodies depicted in anatomical atlases are white, so too is there an assumption that they are male. When female anatomy is displayed, it is generally the reproductive organs that are the focus of scientific and artistic interest. ²⁷ Friedrich Tiedemann’s *Tabulae arteriarum corporis humani* (1822), translated into English in 1829 as *Plates of the Arteries of the Human Body*, suggests otherwise. ²⁸ Tiedemann explains in his introduction: “I have with my own hands dissected upwards of five hundred bodies, and examined with no small degree of diligence subjects of *both sexes*, and of all ages.” ²⁹ Later he states:

In the explanations, I have always indicated the age and sex of the individual from whom the plate is taken, as the diameter of the arteries differ much according to age and sex; but their relations, curvatures, and direction are so constant, that it is of no moment whether the body has been male or female, young or old. ³⁰

It would be hard to tell just from looking at the illustrations in Tiedemann’s atlas that the figures are a mixture of men and women; they are neither explicitly gendered nor racialised (i.e. they mostly do not have skin, hair, or other individualising features). They do not differ in size. But the explanatory text reveals that several of the body parts belonged to women. This includes Plate XIV, Figure 2, which “Shows the left arm of a woman”; Plate XV, Figure 3, which “Exhibits the right arm of a woman, in which the interosseal artery arose from the humeral”; Plate XVI, Figure 2, which “Exhibits the left arm of a woman, in which an unusual superficial interosseal artery is served”; and Plate XVIII, Figure 3, which displays “The right hand of a woman, in which an unusual distribution of the arteries is seen” (Fig. 16).

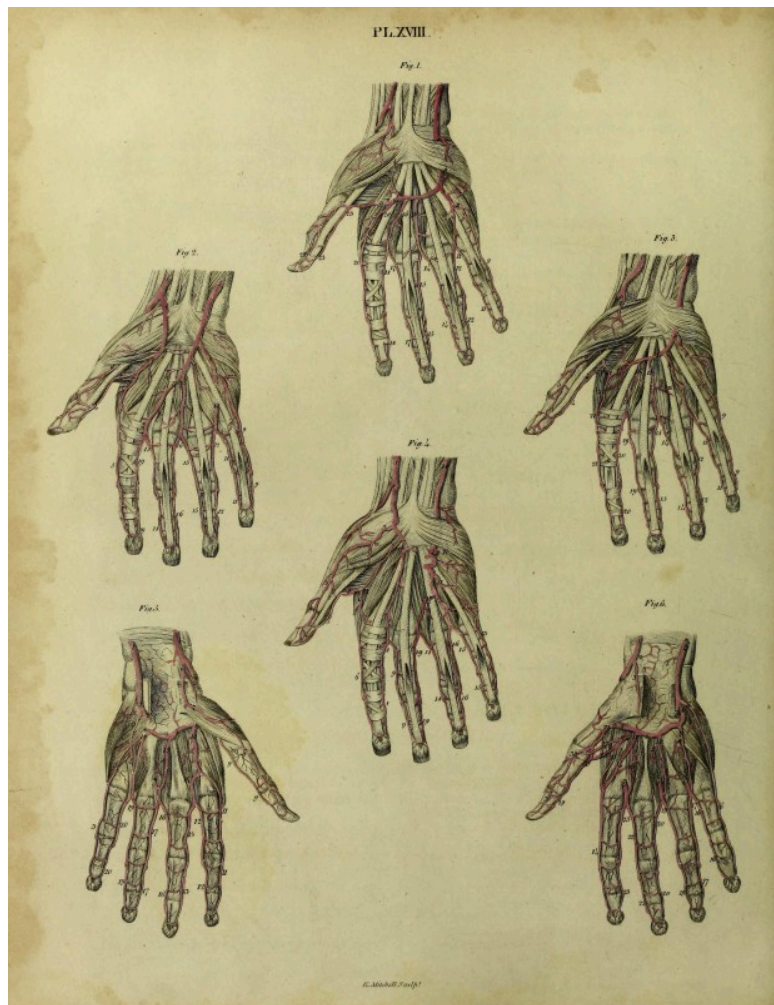


Figure 16.

Friedrich Tiedemann, *Plates of the Arteries of the Human Body*, after Frederic Tiedemann, engraved by E. Mitchell, *under the superintendency of Thomas Wharton Jones, explanatory references translated from the original Latin, with additional notes by Dr Knox* (Edinburgh: Printed for MacLachlan & Stewart, 1829), Plate 18, 1829, engraving. Wellcome Collection. Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

Finally, there is another clue to the identity of dissected corpses in anatomical atlases: foreskins, or the lack thereof. The majority of male cadavers in Maclise's *Surgical Anatomy* have foreskins; however, in Plate 12, the man is circumcised or has a withdrawn foreskin.³¹ It is hard to judge conclusively based on this image the intactness of the prepuce, but the genitalia are presenting in an anomalous mode and are therefore worthy of commentary.³² Despite debates over the potential health benefits of circumcision, the operation was not routinely performed in nineteenth-century Britain. In the words of Sander L. Gilman: "Modernity, at least in the Western diaspora, came to regard infant male circumcision as the key marker

of a Jewish religious identity.”³³ In other words, a circumcised penis was a sign of Jewish “Otherness”. There were circumcisions performed on non-Jewish men for medical reasons. In these cases, the objective was to remove the restriction on urine, not to remove the entire prepuce. In the case of Plate 12, not enough of the foreskin has been removed to constitute a “kosher” circumcision according to Orthodox Jewish Law, but it nonetheless appears that the procedure has taken place. It could be a botched Jewish circumcision, which did and still does occur.

In Plate 12, the circumcised penis is inconsequential to the anatomical lesson being taught, but it invites speculation about the religious background of the figure. Could this be a Jewish cadaver? Significantly, one of the *écorché* models in the collection of the Royal Academy is widely recognised to have been made from the body of Solomon Porter, an executed Jewish criminal (Fig. 17).³⁴ Porter was part of a gang of Jewish burglars, led by a Jewish surgeon and apothecary, Dr Weil, who broke into the house of Mrs Hutchinson in Chelsea on 11 June 1771. In the course of the robbery, a servant was murdered. Solomon, along with Dr Weil, Asher Weil, and Jacob Lazarus, was found guilty and executed at Tyburn on 9 December 1771.³⁵ It is likely that it was Porter’s body that was, under the direction of William Hunter, flayed, manoeuvred into a pose reminiscent of a classical statue, and then cast in the production of an *écorché* for the Royal Academy.³⁶ But the use of Porter’s corpse did not end at the Royal Academy. Hunter removed and preserved Porter’s penis for his anatomical collection, now at the Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow.³⁷ The record in the *Catalogue of Anatomical Preparations in the Hunterian Museum* (1840) reads: “No. 45. s. The upper half of the Penis of a Jew; as the prepuce is removed, it explains circumcision: there are also two large chancres on the glans. (Solomon Porter.)”³⁸ Porter’s penis was clearly of interest to Hunter because it was Jewish/circumcised *and* diseased.

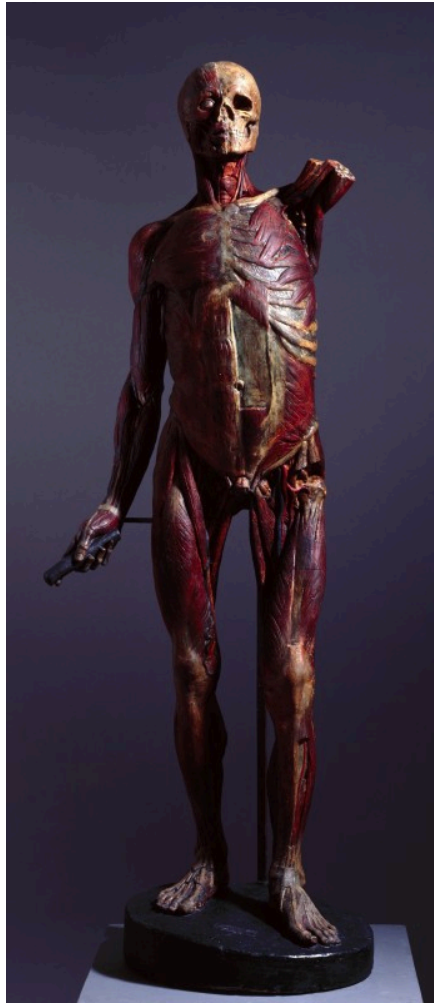


Figure 17.

Unidentified maker, attributed to William Hunter, Écorché figure, probably 1771, plaster cast, 171.5 × 61 cm. Collection of the Royal Academy of Arts, London (03/1435). Digital image courtesy of Royal Academy of Arts, London. Photo: Paul Highnam (all rights reserved).

Whether Jewish men were more or less susceptible to syphilis by virtue of being circumcised was the subject of medical inquiry during the nineteenth century.³⁹ Jonathan Hutchinson, surgeon to the Metropolitan Free Hospital and an expert on syphilis, concluded that “[t]he circumcised Jew is ... very much less liable to contract syphilis than an uncircumcised person”.⁴⁰ In the same year that Hutchinson published his findings, the second volume of Maclise’s *Surgical Anatomy* was being advertised. Mr E. Harding Freeland,

surgeon to the St George's and St James's Dispensary, London, writing for *The Lancet* (basing his findings on the data collected by Hutchinson fifty years earlier), found

not only that the incidence of syphilis is far less frequent among the Jews but that the incidence of gonorrhœa is far more frequent, thus clearly proving that their comparative immunity from syphilis is not due to their excessive morality, but rather ... to circumcision. ⁴¹

Solomon Porter's preserved genitals bring to the fore the intersecting histories of deviant sexuality and religious Otherness, especially in the case of Jewish men, and the medical procedures (circumcision, cosmetic surgery, etc.) that were blamed as their cause and/or touted as their cure.

Black Anatomy

What distinguishes Maclise's *Surgical Anatomy* from other elaborately illustrated anatomical and surgical productions from around this date is the inclusion of illustrations of the aestheticised body of a dissected Black man. ⁴² The dissected Black cadaver is depicted in Plate 5 (see [Fig. 7](#)) and Plate 14 (see [Fig. 8](#)) of the first British edition (1851), and Plate 4 ([Fig. 18](#)) and Plate 24 ([Fig. 19](#)) of the second British edition. It is also possible that it is the Black man's dissected abdomen that appears in Plate 25 of the first British edition ([Fig. 20](#)). ⁴³ In Plate 14, the man has a cut on the inside of his right thigh, which appears to have been sutured in Plate 25 (this is the only illustration with stitches in that spot).

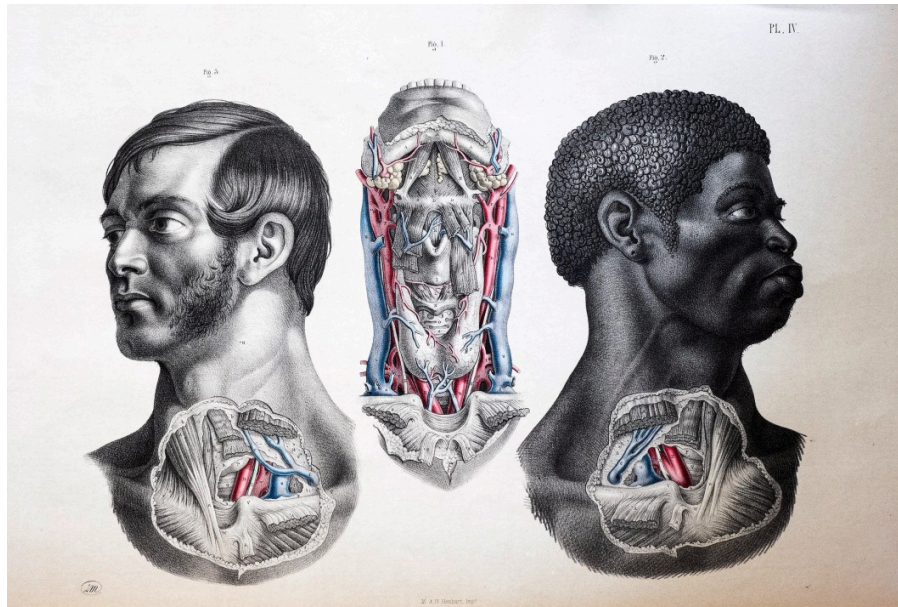


Figure 18.

Joseph MacLise, *Surgical Anatomy*, 2nd edn (London: John Churchill, 1856), Plate 4. Collection of the National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, Maryland. Digital image courtesy of National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, Maryland (public domain).

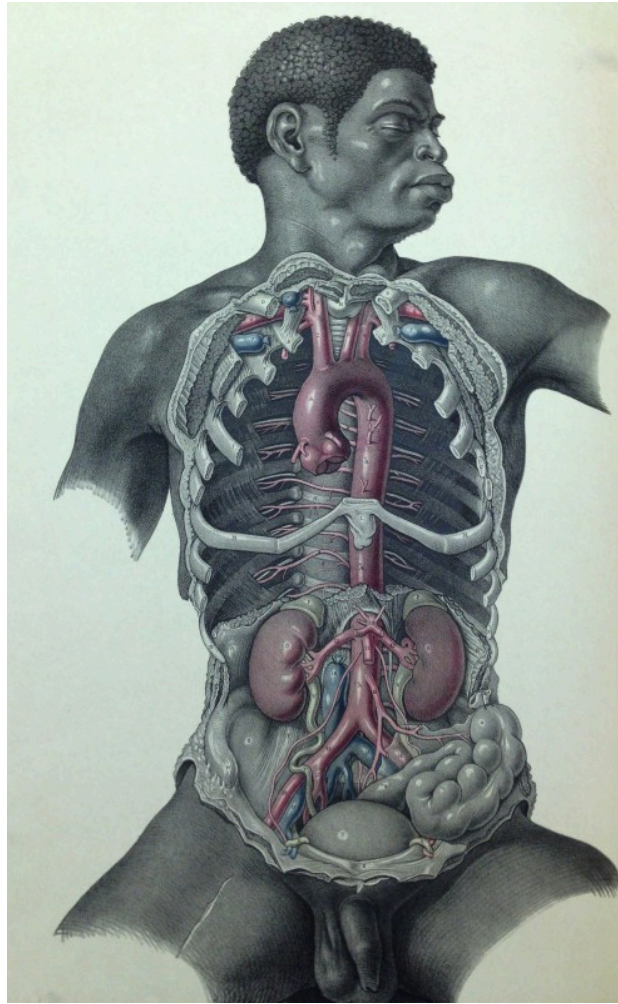


Figure 19.

Joseph Maclise, *Surgical Anatomy*, 2nd edn (London: John Churchill, 1856), Plate 24. Collection of the National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, Maryland. Digital image courtesy of National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, Maryland (public domain).

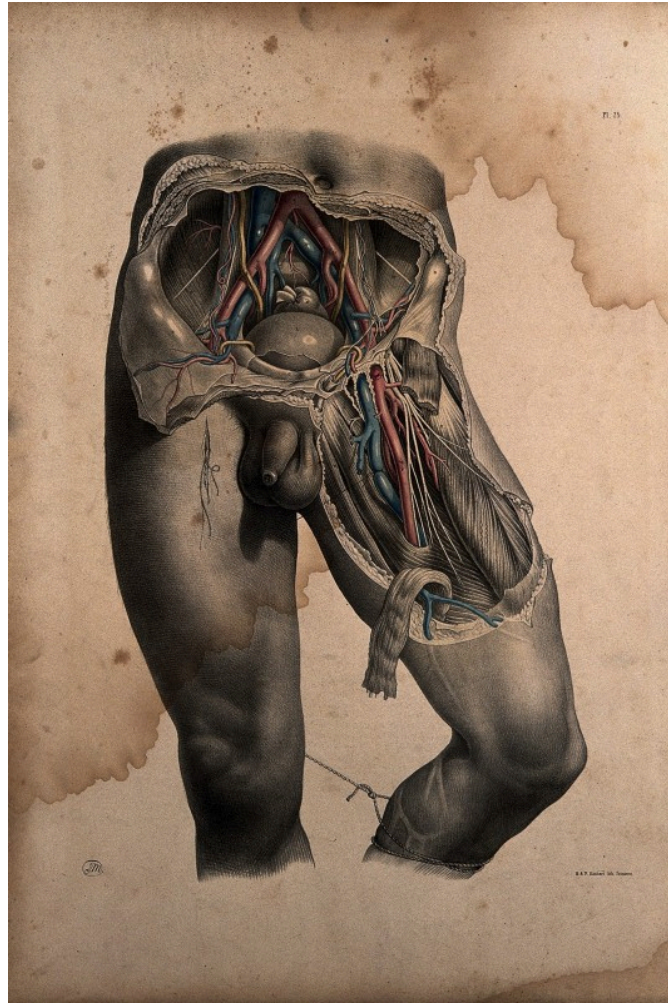


Figure 20.

Joseph Maclise, Dissection of the Abdomen and Thigh of a Standing Man, Showing Major Blood-Vessels, (London: John Churchill, 1851), Plate 25, 1851, coloured lithograph, 54.5 × 37.7 cm. Wellcome Collection (no. 640789i). Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

Significantly, the Black man in the British editions of *Surgical Anatomy* is transformed into a white man in all American editions of the same atlas, his skin having been lightened and his racial identity whitewashed. In the American version of Plate 5, rather than showing a white man and a Black man facing away from each other, we are presented with two versions of the same white man facing towards each other (Fig. 21).⁴⁴ In the American version of Plate 14, the tone of the figure's skin is lightened and his head is cropped out of the picture, giving the impression that we are looking at the anatomy of a white man (Fig. 22).⁴⁵ In other words, in the American editions of Maclise's atlas, the Black man's anatomy is shown as a white man's anatomy. This is a remarkable example of the whitewashing of racial

difference in anatomical publications. Maclise, or, more likely his American publishers, Blanchard and Lea of Philadelphia, must have calculated that Plates 5 and 14 in their original form were too inflammatory for the American scientific community, especially in the South where slavery was still being practised. ⁴⁶

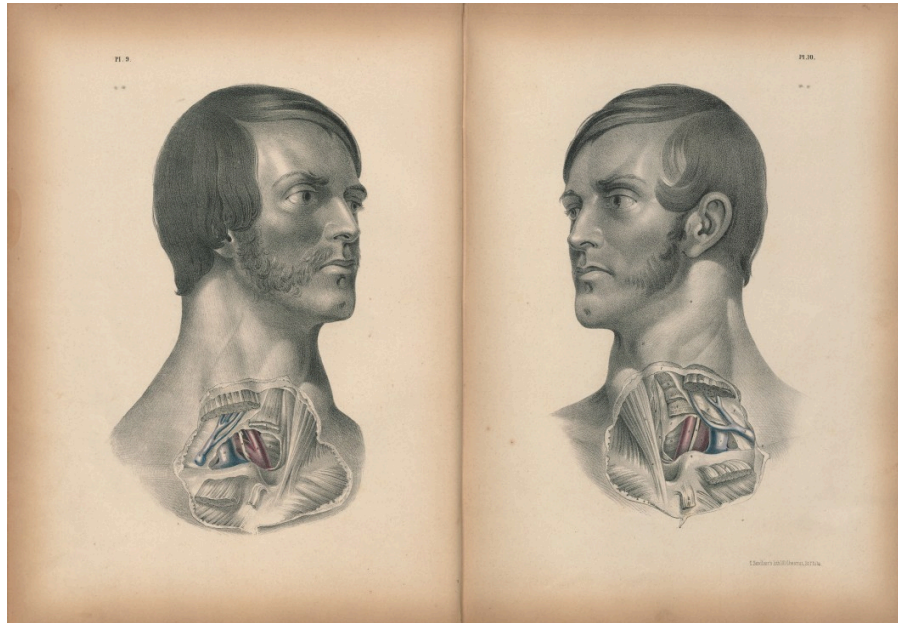


Figure 21.

Joseph Maclise, Two Heads of Men, from *Surgical Anatomy* (Philadelphia, PA: Blanchard and Lea, 1851), Plates 9 and 10, 1851, coloured lithograph, 38 cm. Collection of Georgetown University Library, Washington, DC. Digital image courtesy of Getty Research Institute / Internet Archive (public domain).

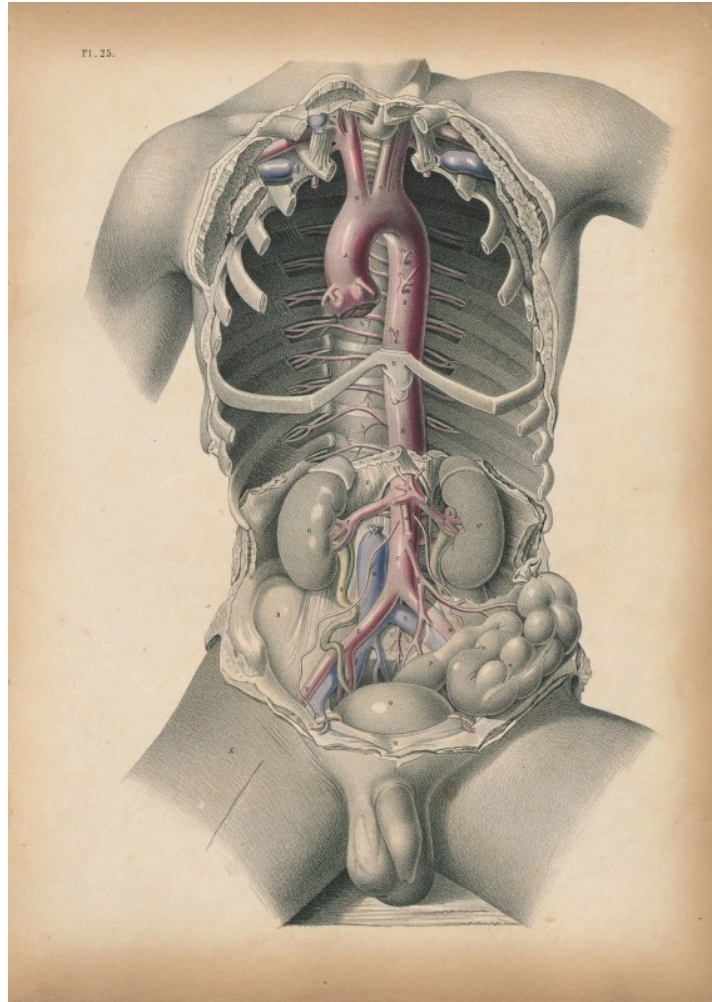


Figure 22.

Joseph Maclise, Dissection of the Trunk of a Seated White Man, Showing Major Blood-Vessels, from *Surgical Anatomy* (Philadelphia, PA: Blanchard and Lea, 1851), Plate 25, 1851, coloured lithograph, 38 cm. Collection of Georgetown University Library, Washington, DC. Digital image courtesy of Getty Research Institute / Internet Archive (public domain).

The only precedents that I have been able to find for Maclise's illustrations of an anatomised Black man in an anatomical or surgical production appear in two publications by Charles Bell (1774–1842): *Engravings of the Arteries* (1811) and *Illustrations of the Great Operations of Surgery* (1821).⁴⁷ Like Maclise, Bell was a surgeon-anatomist who produced both the text and images for his publications.⁴⁸ In the third British edition (1811) of Bell's *Engravings of the Arteries*, a Black figure appears in an illustration of the carotid artery (Fig. 23).⁴⁹ The race of the figure is referenced in the accompanying text: "Finding in the head of this black the most common and regular distribution of the branches of the Carotid Artery, I took this sketch

from it.”⁵⁰ This statement makes clear that the image was made from direct observation. It also justifies Bell’s use of a Black man’s anatomy by explaining that his carotid artery is standard—it presents the “most common and regular distribution of the branches”. In *Illustrations of the Great Operations of Surgery*, a different Black man appears in an illustration of trepanation (Fig. 24).⁵¹ The illustration shows “the wound after the operation has been performed, the trephine having been applied, and the shattered bones removed”.⁵² Additionally, there is a sketch—a sketch within a sketch—of the fractured bone. With the bed sheets pulled right up to the bottom of his chin, the man turns his head to reveal a large, red, flower-like, gaping wound where the trephine bore down into his skull. His expression betrays no pain and suffering—perhaps the operation has provided some relief—but there is blood behind his ear and on the cloth under his neck.



Figure 23.

Charles Bell, Engravings of the Arteries, Illustrating the Second Volume of The Anatomy of the Human Body, and Serving as an introduction to The Surgery of the Arteries, (London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown [etc.], 1811), 1811, engraving. Wellcome Collection. Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).



Figure 24.

Charles Bell, *Illustrations of the Great Operations of Surgery, Trepan, Hernia, Amputation, Aneurism, and Lithotomy*, (London: Longman, 1821), Plate 2, 1821, engraving. Wellcome Collection. Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

There are similarities between Bell's depiction of the Black man in *Engravings of the Arteries* and his depiction of the Black man in *Illustrations of the Great Operations of Surgery*. Both have backward-sloping foreheads, tightly curled hair, and stubble. While the men face in different directions, the angles of their heads are the same. The main difference is that in *Illustrations of the Great Operations of Surgery* the man is still alive. The dissected Black corpse in *Engravings of the Arteries* has his eyes and mouth open, as if suspended in the moment of his last breath. In *Illustrations of the Great Operations of Surgery*, the man's eyes are open and his mouth is closed—he is silent but alert. Although the operation appears to have been successful, it is tempting to imagine it going a different way, and the unfortunate patient in *Illustrations of the Great Operations of Surgery* ending up a dissected cadaver in one of Bell's anatomical publications. In *Possessing the Dead*, MacDonald notes that, following the passing of the Anatomy Act, hospitals became a primary (legal) source of corpses for dissection.⁵³ Bell produced his publications before the Anatomy Act was passed, hence the corpses that he dissected would have been either executed criminals or obtained via the black market in human remains (i.e. grave robbing and/or “burking”).⁵⁴ Maclise, who produced his texts after the Anatomy Act was passed, would have had access to the unclaimed bodies of those who died in public institutions: hospitals, poorhouses, asylums, etc. Put differently, the

Black man in Bell's *Engravings of the Arteries* was likely executed, murdered, and/or exhumed; the Black man in MacLise's *Surgical Anatomy* presumably died poor and without family.

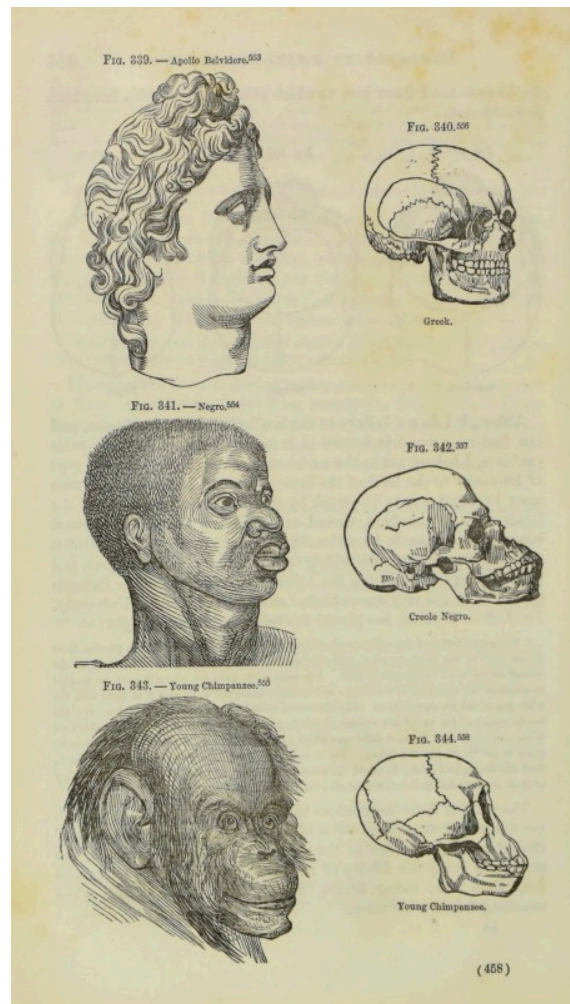


Figure 25.

J.C. Nott and George R. Gliddon, *Types of Mankind, or, Ethnological Researches, Based Upon the Ancient Monuments, Paintings, Sculptures, and Crania of Races, and Upon their Natural, Geographical, Philological and Biblical History*, (Philadelphia, PA: J.B. Lippincott, 1860), Figs. 339–344, 1860, engraving. Wellcome Collection. Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

While non-white bodies are almost entirely absent from general anatomical treatises, depictions and descriptions of the anatomical structures of non-white bodies are a ubiquitous presence in ethnographic and anthropological texts from the nineteenth century. To cite one particularly shocking example, Josiah Nott and George Gliddon's infamous and influential American polygenisist text, *Types of Mankind* (1854), includes an illustration comparing

the faces and skulls of the “Apollo Belvedere”/“Greek”, “Negro”/“Creole Negro”, and “Young Chimpanzee” (Fig. 25).⁵⁵ The heads and skulls are organised one above the other to make clear the racial hierarchy being presented: Europeans above Africans above primates. The sculpted head of the *Apollo Belvedere* is the whitest and has the smallest facial angle, as per Pieter Camper’s eighteenth-century system of facial measurements.⁵⁶ Significantly, despite their placement on the page, the facial angle of the skull of the Black man is presented as the largest—larger even than that of the chimpanzee. It is purposefully tipped back to overemphasise the facial angle, in contrast to the skulls above and below it, which are more upright. In fact, the backward slope of the Black man’s skull is so pronounced that it does not even bear a structural resemblance to his head beside it.⁵⁷ Finally, the head of the chimpanzee has a larger and more pronounced forehead than the Black man’s, the implication being that races with darker skin are less intelligent even than apes.

Although Bell’s illustration of trepanation in *Illustrations of the Great Operations of Surgery* shows the brain and skull of a Black man, it represents a departure from the kinds of racialised pictures of brains and skulls that appeared in ethnographic texts at the time. This is because the Black man’s brain and skull are not isolated from the rest of his body and therefore cannot be measured and weighed. Furthermore, race goes unmentioned in the explanatory text. Significantly, on 9 June 1836, Tiedemann presented a paper to the Royal Society, which refuted the proposition that the brains of “Negros” were smaller than those of Europeans. In his discussion of the “Weight of the Brain of a Negro”, he stated:

Camper’s assertion, that the facial angle is smaller in the Negro than in the European, has led many anatomists to the supposition that the Negro has a less quantity of brain than the European. There are but few observations on the weight of the brain of the Negro, and these do not agree with this supposition.⁵⁸

Later, he revealed that, “by measuring the cavity of the skull of Negroes and men of the Caucasian, Mongolian, American, and Malayan races”, he was able to show “that the brain of the Negro is as large as that of the European and other nations”.⁵⁹

In *Races of Men: A Fragment* (1851), the influential anatomist Robert Knox objected to “the contrary opinion professed by Dr Tiedemann respecting the great size of some African skulls”, stating: “I feel disposed to think that there must be a physical and, consequently, a psychological inferiority in the dark races generally”.⁶⁰ Knox devoted an entire chapter of *The Races of Men* to

“The Dark Races of Men”, in which he argued that “[s]ince the earliest times, then, the dark races have been the slaves of their fairer brethren”.⁶¹ This was because of the “obvious physical inferiority of the Negro”.⁶² Knox contended that the darker races were inferior “as regards mere physical strength”, “in size of brain”, in “the form of the skull” and its placement on the neck, and in “the texture of the brain”.⁶³ He also stated that “the whole shape of the skeleton differs from ours, and so also I find do the forms of almost every muscle of the body”.⁶⁴ For Knox, racial difference went as deep as the skeleton and muscles.



Figure 26.

John Downman, Thomas Williams, a Black Sailor, 1815, chalk and graphite on paper, 32.3 × 29.7 cm. Collection of Tate (T10168). Digital image courtesy of Tate (CC-BY-NC-ND 3.0).

In contradistinction to Knox’s polygenist conception of racial difference, which emphasised the permanence and inferiority of Black anatomy, the Black figure in MacLise’s *Surgical Anatomy* constitutes an exemplary, even

idealised, anatomical specimen. (*The Races of Men* was published in the same year as the complete first edition of *Surgical Anatomy*.) In Plate 5 of *Surgical Anatomy*, “The Surgical Dissection of the Sterno-Clavicular or Tracheal Region, and the relative position of its main blood vessels, nerves [, &c] etc.”, Maclise depicted men of different races facing away from each other (see [Fig. 7](#)). But when one penetrates below the surface of the skin, through what appears to be a window or portal to the anatomy beneath, one finds the same anatomical structures rendered in the same schematised colours. This is not an image of racialised anatomy; this is a depiction of “universal anatomy”. The Black figure’s head is turned to reveal an indentation on his earlobe, suggestive of an ear piercing.⁶⁵ This detail opens up the possibility that the Black man in Maclise’s atlas is a sailor. A drawing by John Downman from 1815 of *Thomas Williams, a Black Sailor* shows the sitter with his hands positioned in a prayer-like gesture, and his head angled towards the left to reveal a hooped earring in his left earlobe ([Fig. 26](#)). Another possibility is that the ear piercing in Plate 5 of Maclise’s atlas is a sign of the Black figure’s exoticism. In *The Secret of England’s Greatness* (ca. 1862–1863) by Thomas Jones Barker, Queen Victoria presents a Bible—that is, the secret of England’s greatness—to an African ambassador or prince ([Fig. 27](#)). The African bows before the English sovereign, extending his left arm to receive the gift. Both Victoria and the African prince wear light-coloured garments, and both have feathers as part of their headpieces. They also both wear jewels, indicating their shared royal status. But the jewellery worn by the African prince, in particular his large hoop earring, marks him out as different from the other (white) men in the scene.⁶⁶



Figure 27.

Thomas Jones Baker,, *The Secret of England's Greatness* (Queen Victoria presenting a Bible in the Audience Chamber of Windsor), circa 1862-1863, oil on canvas, 167.6 × 213.8 cm. Collection of the National Portrait Gallery, London (NPG 4969). Digital image courtesy of National Portrait Gallery, London (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0).

We see more of the Black man in Plate 14 of *Surgical Anatomy*, “The Surgical Dissection of the First, Second, Third, and Fourth Layers of the Inguinal Regions, in connection with those of the Thigh” (see Fig. 8). The only reference to the dissecting table is the grain of the wood seen on the bench between his thighs beneath his scrotum. The figure’s eyes are closed tightly, his nostrils slightly flared, and his lips pressed together. His torso faces forward, but his head is turned to the right. The turn of his head allows the viewer to see his pronounced jawline, the shape of his skull, and the angle of his profile. At this time, the jaw, facial angle, and skull were all subjects of examination by ethnographers and anthropologists concerned with the study of racial difference. But Maclise’s illustration combines a racialised exterior with “typical” anatomy, to use Bell’s term. The Black cadaver is depicted with dark skin and tightly curled dark hair, which were recognised at the time as characteristics of the “Negroid Type”.⁶⁷ He also exhibits individualising features, including the previously noted cut on the inside of his right thigh. Where the cut appears and the dark skin is torn, light flesh is revealed. Additionally, the torn and turned-back flesh that produces a jagged uneven line along the base of the figure’s torso is light in tone, as are the broken bones of his ribcage and some of his internal organs. This is the case in other plates too, but in Plate 14 there is a more obvious contrast between the dark

exterior and light interior of the body. While the exterior of the body is Black, the interior is depicted in the standardised colour scheme of anatomical illustration (red for arteries and blue for veins). Hence, the internal organs are presented as raceless—a marked departure from the racialised presentations of anatomy that were being advanced in ethnography and anthropology at the time.⁶⁸

Black Apollo

The appearance of a Black cadaver in the British editions of Maclise's *Surgical Anatomy*, and his disappearance from the American editions, raises a series of poignant questions about the often-overlooked issue of race in nineteenth-century dissecting rooms: how likely was it that an anatomist or artist in mid-century Britain or America would have encountered a non-white cadaver on the dissecting table? Would a Black cadaver have been desirable, or were other factors more important such as the age and physical condition of the body? At the same time, one needs to remain mindful of the limitations of relying on an image such as Plate 14 for historical evidence. In *Black Victorians*, Jan Marsh offers the following warning:

In itself, a display of black figures in visual culture is not a history of the black presence in Britain from 1800–1900. Still less is it a history of black experience. It is even difficult to say what relation the visual record bears to historical actuality in demographic or social terms, since few population estimates or first-hand testimonies exist.⁶⁹

It is difficult to ascertain what relation Plate 14 bears to the realities of Black experience in nineteenth-century anatomy theatres. After all, it is a highly sanitised and aestheticised representation of the dissection of a Black body. Thought of differently, as an aestheticised depiction of a dissected Black male body, Plate 14 has much to reveal to us about the often-messy relationship between aesthetics, dissection, and race in mid-nineteenth-century Britain.

In Plate 14, the man's arms fade out at the biceps, but we are presented with enough information to be able to recognise that his left arm is outstretched and his right arm lowered. The positioning of the arms, along with the turn of the head, gives this figure the appearance of the *Belvedere Torso* or *Apollo Belvedere*.⁷⁰ That said, despite the classicising positioning, as a picture of a dead and dissected Black body presented for examination by presumably white viewers, it feels far from being a "Black Apollo". The relationship of white male viewers to exposed Black male bodies was satirised by John

Bourne in *Meeting of Connoisseurs* (ca. 1807) (Fig. 28). Bourne's watercolour pokes fun at the fashion for Black models at the time by showing a group of white male artist-connoisseurs in an artist's studio surveying the unclad body of a Black male model. The comedy of the images lies in the fact that these are connoisseurs of naked Black men, rather than "Art".⁷¹ In contrast to the short, stubby, and scrawny bodies of the pasty white gentlemen-connoisseurs, the unclad Black model boasts an impressive physique. Seeing him from behind, we are able to admire his muscular back, legs, and arm, and to appreciate his remarkably taut buttocks. So taut are his buttocks that he even resembles *The Farnese Hercules* (Fig. 29). Some white fabric around his waist could or could not be covering his genitals—only the connoisseurs and artist know (although, from the concentrated stare of the man crouched in front of the canvas, and the suggestive gesture of the artist with his cane in his mouth, it would seem not). The model's legs are in *contrapposto*, with his left foot slightly raised off the ground. His outstretched arm, bent at the elbow, rests on a broom handle for support, an alternative no doubt to the ropes that were often used to keep the limbs of life models (and cadavers) in place. A comically short and pudgy connoisseur has his hand under the Black man's chin. He could be moving the man's face into the correct position of the *Apollo Belvedere*, surveying the model's profile, enjoying a titillating caress of the Black man's flesh, or all of the above. Aris Sarafianos writes of this image that its satirical tone stems from "a growing sense of the intellectual shakiness and triteness of the comparison between black people and the *Apollo* rather than ... from the 'unusual' nature of this analogy".⁷² Furthermore, the way in which the exposed body of the Black man is closely scrutinised by the white connoisseurs invokes the scopic economy of the Atlantic slave trade and conjures up images of American slave auctions.⁷³



Figure 28.

John Boyne, *A Meeting of Connoisseurs*, circa 1790–1807, watercolour on paper, 41.3 × 55.5 cm. Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (1703–1871). Digital image courtesy of Victoria and Albert Museum, London (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0).



Figure 29.

Hendrick Goltzius, *The Farnese Hercules*, circa 1592, engraving, 41.8 × 30 cm. Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (29408A/1). Digital image courtesy of Victoria and Albert Museum, London (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0).

The gesture of a muscular Black man with one arm outstretched and the other lowered appeared in major artworks from around this date, works of which Maclise would have no doubt been aware.⁷⁴ At the apex of Théodore Géricault's *The Raft of the Medusa* (1819), for example, a Black man waves red and white fabric to attract the attention of a boat in the distance (Fig. 30). The hope of salvation for these shipwrecked wretches lies in the Black man's gesture—in his strength, energy, and determination to keep his arm outstretched. Similarly, in one of Daniel Maclise's designs for the Royal Gallery of the Palace of Westminster, *The Death of Nelson Supported by Captain Hardy on the Victory at Battle of Trafalgar* (completed 1865), a muscular Black man plays a seminal role in the unfolding drama (Fig. 31). At the centre of the fresco, a Black figure extends his left arm and points towards Nelson's killer. With his right hand, he touches the man beside him

to alert him to the perpetrator.⁷⁵ Amidst the tumult of battle, the outstretched muscular arm of the dark-skinned man stands out. As is the case in Géricault's *The Raft of the Medusa*, the Black man in Daniel Maclise's scheme performs an important compositional role, with the diagonal thrust of his arm directing the viewer's eye into the drama. Interestingly, the Black sailor depicted by Daniel Maclise has an ear piercing, just like the Black figure in Plate 5 of Joseph Maclise's *Surgical Anatomy*.⁷⁶



Figure 30.

Théodore Géricault, *The Raft of the Medusa*, 1818-19, oil on canvas, 490 cm x 716 cm. Collection of The Louvre, Paris (INV 4884). Digital image courtesy of Wikimedia Commons (public domain).



Figure 31.

Daniel Maclise, *The Death of Nelson* (finished study), 1859-1864, oil on canvas, 98.5 x 353 cm. Collection of the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool (WAG 2116). Digital image courtesy of Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool (public domain).

There was, of course, another reason why a Black man might extend his arm: to land a punch. By the time Maclise produced his atlas, several men of colour had achieved fame as prize-fighters in the era of bare-knuckle pugilism, Bill Richmond and Tom Molineaux foremost among them.⁷⁷ As

boxing was illegal for much of the nineteenth century, write Ruti Ungar and Michael Berkowitz, “[t]hose who turned to boxing as a livelihood tended to come from the lower rungs of the social ladder, and frequently they were among minority groups, such as the Irish, Jews, and Blacks”.⁷⁸ Some of the most famous boxing matches—and the pictures inspired by them—pitted pugilists of different races against each other.⁷⁹ The fighters in Géricault’s 1818 lithograph *Les Boxeurs* are generally thought to be Molineaux and Tom Cribb, the champion of England, who fought on 28 September 1811 ([Fig. 32](#)).⁸⁰ In Géricault’s lithograph, the muscular bodies of the boxers mirror each other—the Black boxer wears white pants and the white boxer wears black pants—their front legs forming a cross. To the left of the image, a bare-chested man assumes the pose of the *Dying Gaul*, reminding us once again of *Smugglerius*. In William Etty’s painting *The Wrestlers* (1840s), racially diverse, muscular male bodies are brought into even closer contact, with differently coloured flesh pushing up against each other ([Fig. 33](#)). The Black wrestler is shown kneeling, right arm hooked around the white man’s torso, and front leg positioned underneath the white man’s thigh. While the white man wears a loincloth, the Black man is apparently naked, his taut shiny buttocks revealed to the viewer. Even if it was believed by many at the time that white men *should* win, in the images produced by Géricault and Etty the fighters seem evenly matched.⁸¹



Figure 32.

Théodore Géricault, *Les Boxeurs* (Boxers), 1818, lithograph, 38.5 × 45 cm. Collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (22.63.28). Digital image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (public domain).

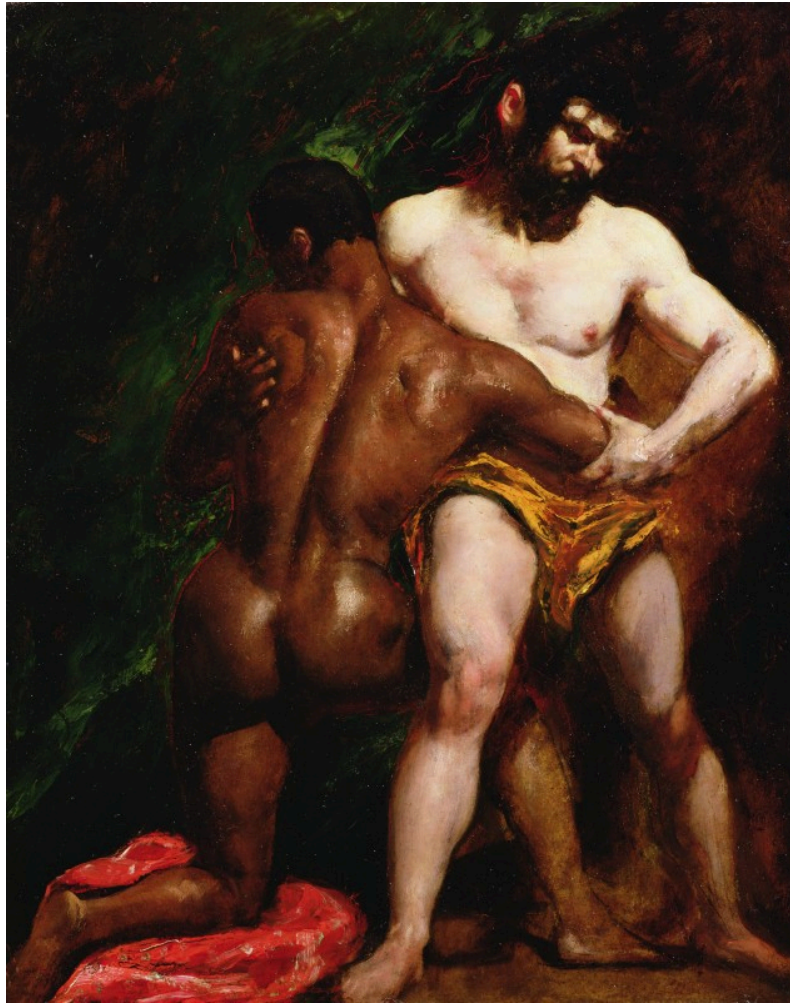


Figure 33.

William Etty, *The Wrestlers*, circa 1840, oil on millboard, 68.5 x 53.3 cm. Collection of York Art Gallery (YORAG : 89). Digital image courtesy of York Art Gallery (public domain).

Turning once again to Plate 14 of Maclise's *Surgical Anatomy* and its relationship to the *Apollo Belvedere*, if the anatomised Black man in Plate 14 had his legs and arms restored, would he embody the classical youth and beauty of the *Apollo Belvedere*, or the strength and hopelessness of *The Dying Negro*?⁸² The title page of Thomas Day's abolitionist poem of 1775 (first published 1773) features a picturesque landscape, with a divine light piercing the dark clouds to illuminate the body of a muscular Black slave (Fig. 34). In the background, three Black figures pull a wagon under the cruel mastery of a white slaveholder. Despite the chains that bind his arms and legs, the Black man in the foreground raises his right arm towards the light and, in this hand, he holds a dagger. The message conveyed is that this man would rather die than live in chains. In George Cooke's 1793 *Slave on Deck*, the figure assumes a similar gesture, but now the action takes place at sea, amidst cargo, rigging, and ropes, presumably on the dreaded middle passage

(Fig. 35). As in Day's image, the bound man in Cooke's image holds a dagger, but this time it is in his lowered right hand. This makes him look less as if he is taking an oath before God, and more as if he is pledging to himself that he will escape bondage by ending his life. Additionally, in Cooke's version, the dagger has blood on it, prompting the question of what kind of violence he might already have instigated.

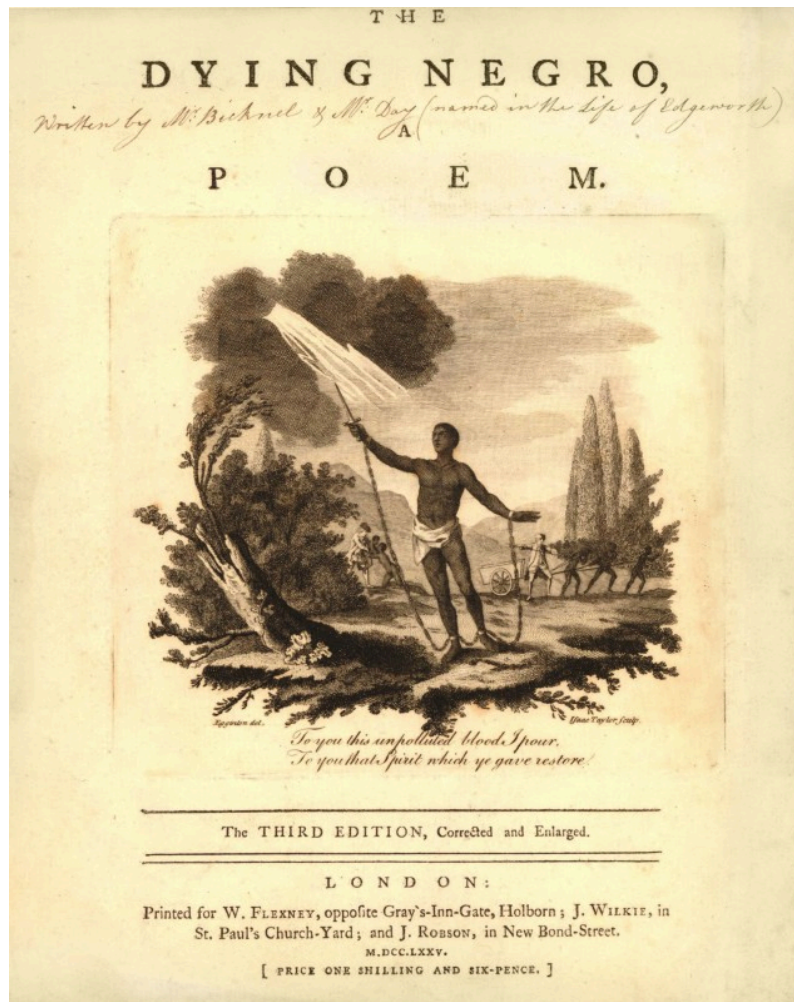


Figure 34.

Isaac Taylor after Francis Eginton, Title-page from J. Bicknell and T. Day, *The Dying Negro, a Poem* (London: W. Flexney/G.&T. Wilkie/James Robson, 1775), 1775, etching and engraving, 13.6 x 15 cm. Collection of The British Museum (1895,1031.222). Digital image courtesy of Trustees of The British Museum (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

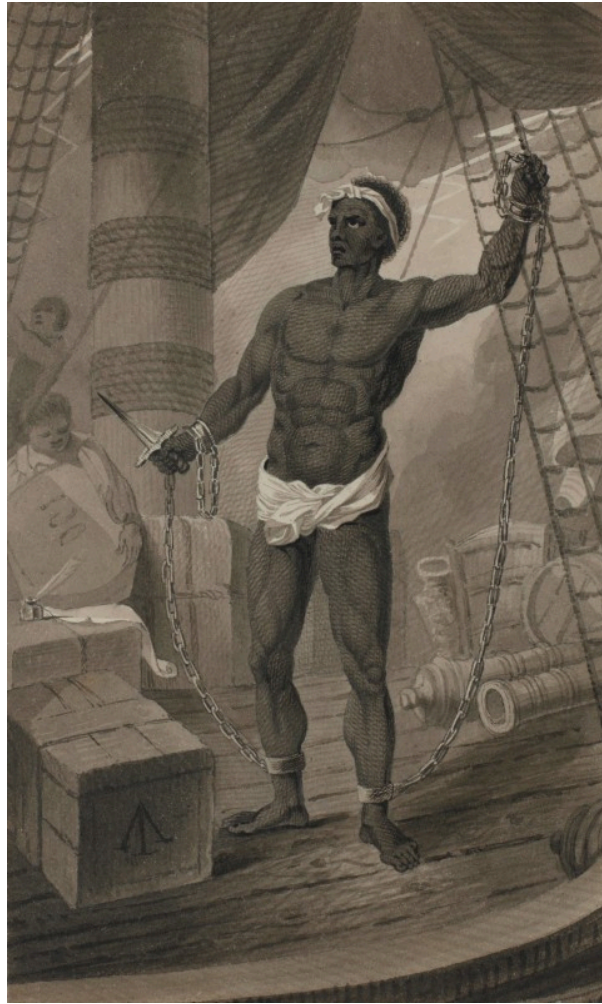


Figure 35.

George Cooke, *Slave on Deck*, 1793, pen and wash, 15.8 × 9.6 cm. Collection of the National Maritime Museum, London (ZBA2660). Digital image courtesy of National Maritime Museum, London (all rights reserved).

In contrast to more familiar abolition imagery that shows enslaved men and women in unthreatening gestures of supplication and pleading such as Josiah Wedgwood's medallion, "Am I Not a Man and a Brother?" (1787), the images by Day and Cooke present an upstanding and empowered image of the enslaved Black body. The men exhibit impressively muscular physiques, likely produced by servitude and hard labour, which associate the figures with the exemplary bodies of classical statues. Furthermore, despite the fact that the men are bound in chains, they stand in *contrapposto* and wear white loincloths. The loincloths conceal the men's potentially scandalous genitals and add a classicising element. But shifting focus from the figures to what they hold—that threatening dagger—the images by Day and Cooke recall a picture that we encountered at the very outset of this article: the flayed man in Valverde's *Anatomia del corpo humano*. The dagger returns us to the act

of flaying. It also invokes the scalpels and other instruments depicted by Maclise in his atlas for the purpose of anatomising the human body. Above all, it allows us to imagine the excruciating and violent process by which the dark flesh of the enslaved Black man might be cut away in the production of anatomical models and illustrations for use in European and American art and medical academies.

The implied whiteness of figures in anatomical atlases works to perpetuate a series of assumptions about the normative human body, namely, that it is white, male, and classically proportioned, like the *Apollo Belvedere*. Ironically, there is plenty of evidence that not even classical statues, including the *Apollo Belvedere*, were originally white.⁸³ The whitewashing of anatomised subjects in atlases, diagrams, and textbooks masks the fact that a significant proportion of people who ended up on dissecting tables in Britain, America, Australia, and beyond were not white. Close analysis of publications such as Maclise's *Surgical Anatomy* opens up questions about the processes by which the violated bodies of the old, young, sick, pregnant, unborn, enslaved, indentured, institutionalised, imprisoned, poor, destitute, Black, Irish, and Jewish individuals who ended up on the nineteenth-century dissecting table were abstracted into objects of great aesthetic, intellectual, and monetary value. It suggests that the removal of flesh in the production of *écorchés* not only exposes the underlying musculature but also strips away those signifiers of non-ideal identity (dark skin, wrinkles, blemishes, scars, tattoos, and so on) in the production of ideal physical specimens. Addressing the relationship between aesthetics, dissection, and race during the nineteenth century is not a simple or straightforward task—it requires us to keep our head, follow our gut, and, on occasion, take a dagger in hand.

Footnotes

- 1 As work in the fields of Critical Race Studies and Critical Whiteness Studies reveals, “whiteness” constitutes the invisible vantage point of power and privilege. See W.E.B. DuBois, *Darkwater* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Co., 1920); Toni Morrison, *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993); bell hooks, *Black Looks: Race and Representation* (Boston, MA: South End Press, 1992); Richard Dyer, *White* (London: Routledge, 1997); and Robin DiAngelo, *White Fragility: Why It's So Hard for White People to Talk About Race* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2018).
- 2 For seminal studies of the history of Western anatomical illustration, see Londa Schiebinger, “Skeletons in the Closet: The First Illustration of a Female Skeleton in Eighteenth-Century Anatomy”, *Representations* 14 (1986): 42–82; K.B. Roberts and J.D.W. Tomlinson, *The Fabric of the Body: European Traditions of Anatomical Illustration* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992); Ludmilla J. Jordanova and Deanna Petherbridge, *The Quick and the Dead* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997); Martin Kemp and Marina Wallace, *Spectacular Bodies: The Art and Science of the Human Body from Leonardo to Now* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000); Michael Sappol, *Dream Anatomy* (Bethesda, MD: National Library of Medicine, 2002); and Elizabeth Stephens, *Anatomy as Spectacle: Public Exhibitions of the Body from 1700 to the Present* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011). Gender is considered by several of these scholars, Schiebinger, Jordanova, and Stephens foremost among them, but race remains largely unexamined. In the field of art history more generally, much great work has been done on depictions of non-white subjects in terms of race. By contrast, representations of white bodies continue to be treated as just humans and are therefore exempt from scrutiny in terms of race.
- 3 Juan Valverde de Amusco, *Anatomia del corpo humano* (Rome: Per Ant. Salamanca, et Antonio Lafrerj, 1560), 64.
- 4 A version of this figure appears as Saint Bartholomew in Michelangelo's *Last Judgement* (1536–1541). The artist's likeness is recognisable in the flayed skin held by the martyred Apostle.

- 5 For a discussion of the study of anatomy in the French art academy during the nineteenth century, see Anthea Callen, "The Body and Difference: Anatomy Training at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris in the Later Nineteenth Century", *Art History* 20, no. 10 (1997): 23–60.
- 6 Meredith Gamer, "The Smugglerius, Re-Viewed", *Sculpture Journal* 28, no. 3 (2019): 331–344.
- 7 An *écorché* is a drawing or sculpture of the human body with the skin removed.
- 8 For more on this, see Mechthild Fend, "Seeing Through Skin", Chapter 6 in *Fleshing Out Surfaces: Skin in French Art and Medicine 1650–1850* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), 193–234. The first female student was admitted to the RA Schools in 1860.
- 9 John Marshall, *Anatomy for Artists*, illustrated with 200 original drawings by J.S. Cuthbert, engraved by J. and G. Nicholls (London: Smith, Elder and Co, 1878).
- 10 It should be noted that this is an unusual image. As Anthea Callen and others have recognised, it was primarily the ideal *male* body that was the focus of anatomical study. In *Looking at Men: Art, Anatomy and the Modern Male Body*, Callen writes: "In art academies, anatomical studies of the human body had, from the very first, been constructed around notions of a classical ideal ... The human body in question was, of course, male"; Anthea Callen, *Looking at Men: Art, Anatomy and the Modern Male Body* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2018), 14.
- 11 Helen MacDonald, *Human Remains: Dissection and Its Histories* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), 54.
- 12 MacDonald, *Human Remains*, 53.
- 13 MacDonald, *Human Remains*, 53.
- 14 John Harley Warner describes "the dissected" as "people whose class, ethnicity, race, or poverty made them vulnerable to dissection"; John Harley Warner, "Witnessing Dissection: Photography, Medicine, and American Culture", in *Dissection: Photographs of a Rite of Passage in American Medicine 1880–1930*, ed. John Harley Warner and James M. Edmonson (New York: Blast Books, 2009), 15.
- 15 The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines "specimen" as: "An example, instance, or illustration of something, from which the character of the whole may be inferred; A single thing selected or regarded as typical of its class; a part or piece of something taken as representative of the whole; An animal, plant, or mineral, a part or portion of some substance or organism, etc., serving as an example of the thing in question for purposes of investigation or scientific study" [electronic resource], 2nd edn, ed. John A. Simpson and Edmund S.C. Weiner (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).
- 16 "Maclise, Joseph (1813–1880)", *Plarr's Lives of the Fellows*, Royal College of Surgeons of England, <http://livesonline.rcseng.ac.uk/biogs/E002613b.htm>.
- 17 Richard Quain, *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body with its Applications to Pathology and Operative Surgery in Lithographic Drawings with Practical Commentaries: The Drawings from Nature and on Stone by Joseph Maclise* (London: Taylor and Walton, 1844); Joseph Maclise, *Comparative Osteology being Morphological Studies to Demonstrate the Archetype Skeleton of Vertebrated Animals* (London: Taylor and Walton, 1847); and Joseph Maclise, *On Dislocations and Fractures* (London: John Churchill, 1859).
- 18 Quain, *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body*, 1844.
- 19 Joseph Maclise, preface to *Surgical Anatomy* (Philadelphia, PA: Blanchard and Lea, 1851), v.
- 20 The question of who the audience for Maclise's atlas were is addressed by Michael Sappol and Naomi Slipp in their contributions to this One Object feature for *British Art Studies*, see Michael Sappol, "Mr Joseph Maclise and the Epistemology of the Anatomical Closet", *British Art Studies* 20 (July 2021), <https://doi.org/10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-20/msappol> and Naomi Slipp, "'It Should Be On Every Surgeon's Table': The Reception and Adoption of Joseph Maclise's *Surgical Anatomy* (1851) in the United States", *British Art Studies* 20 (July 2021), <https://doi.org/10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-20/nslipp>. Slipp, for instance, demonstrates that Maclise's *Surgical Anatomy* was widely used in American medical schools during the second half of the nineteenth century.
- 21 This devise was used more extensively by Maclise in his illustrations for Quain's *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body*. See, for example, Plates 8, 28, 52, and 62.
- 22 My thanks to Karen Myer, librarian at the History of Medicine Library, Royal Australasian College of Physicians, for confirming this detail.
- 23 Ludmilla J. Jordanova, "Gender, Generation and Science: William Hunter's Obstetrical Atlas", in *William Hunter and the Eighteenth-Century Medical World*, ed. William F. Bynum and Roy Porter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 385–412.
- 24 An Act for regulating Schools of Anatomy [1st August 1832], The National Archive, UK. <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/resources/body-snatchers/source-four-the-anatomy-act-1832/> [emphasis added].
- 25 At the time of writing this article, I have not been granted access to any nineteenth-century cadaver books in the UK or Australia. Nonetheless, curator Rohan Long has generously consulted the incoming specimen books from the 1930s, currently in the collection of the Harry Brooks Allen Museum of Anatomy and Pathology, University of Melbourne, and confirmed that the following information is included: No. (the number, as entered, in the book's listings), Name of Doctor, Date, Patient, Whence Obtained, Disposed.
- 26 "Spicula", *Speculum* 40 (May 1898), 27. This is noted by Ross L. Jones in *Humanity's Mirror: 150 Years of Anatomy in Melbourne* (Melbourne: Haddington Press, 2007). For more on the history of dissection in Australia, see Ross L. Jones, "Cadavers and the Social Dimension of Dissection", in *The Body Divided: Human Beings and Human "Material" in Modern Medical History*, ed. Sarah Ferber and Sally Wilde (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 29–52.

- 27 Ludmilla J. Jordanova, *Sexual Visions: Images of Gender in Science and Medicine* (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1989).
- 28 *Plates of the Arteries of the Human Body*, after Friedrich Tiedemann, Engraved by E. Mitchell, under the superintendency of Thomas Wharton Jones. The explanatory references translated from the original Latin, with additional notes by Dr Knox (Edinburgh: MacLachlan, Stewart, 1829).
- 29 Tiedemann, *Plates of the Arteries of the Human Body*, 2 [emphasis added].
- 30 Tiedemann, *Plates of the Arteries of the Human Body*, 3.
- 31 Dr Alan Shroot is convinced that there is evidence here of circumcision.
- 32 My thanks to Sander Gilman for these thoughts. The male genitals are shown in this way in other illustrations in Maclise's *Surgical Anatomy*, but this is the only illustration in the atlas that includes both the potentially circumcised penis and the figure's face.
- 33 Sander L. Gilman, "Cutting it Short: James Boon's Circumcision", *Anthropological Quarterly* 90, no. 4 (2017): 1033.
- 34 Thank you to Annette Wickham for bringing this to my attention.
- 35 For a discussion of the crime and the anti-Semitic backlash it caused, see Todd M. Endelman, *The Jews of Georgian England, 1714-1830: Tradition and Change in a Liberal Society* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1999), 198-203.
- 36 A third *écorché*, the *Anatomical Crucifixion* (1801), was made from the body of an Irishman, James Legg.
- 37 Accession number GLAHM: 121404 (previously Series Number 43.52), <http://collections.gla.ac.uk/#/details/ecatalogue/145390>.
- 38 *Catalogue of Anatomical Preparations in the Hunterian Museum*, compiled by George Fordyce, David Pitcairn, and Charles Combe (Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 1840), 131. Nicky Reeves, curator of scientific and medical history collections at the Hunterian, drew my attention to the fact that the 1900 printed *Catalogue of the Anatomical Pathological Preparations of Dr William Hunter in the Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow* quotes the description of the specimen as being "the penis of a Jew", but then describes at greater length its status as a specimen/exemplar of chancres and syphilis.
- 39 More recently, there have been discussions around circumcision and HIV transmission. Robert Darby considers the parallels between responses to syphilis in nineteenth-century Britain and HIV/AIDS in contemporary Africa, in "Syphilis 1855 and HIV-AIDS 2007: Historical Reflections on the Tendency to Blame Human Anatomy for the Action of Micro-Organisms", *Global Public Health* 10, nos. 5-6 (2015): 573-588. For a critique of Darby's position, see Brian J. Morris et al., "Male Circumcision to Prevent Syphilis in 1855 and HIV in 1986 is Supported by the Accumulated Scientific Evidence to 2015: Response to Darby", *Global Public Health* 12, no. 10 (2017): 1315-1333.
- 40 Jonathan Hutchinson, "On the Influence of Circumcision in Preventing Syphilis", *Medical Times and Gazette* 11, no. 283 (1 December 1855): 542-543.
- 41 E. Harding Freeland, "Circumcision as a Preventative of Syphilis and Other Disorders", *The Lancet* 156, no. 4035 (29 December 1900), 1870. For more on this, see Robert Darby, "'Where Doctors Differ': The Debate on Circumcision as a Protection against Syphilis, 1855-1914", *Journal of the Society for the Social History of Medicine* 16, no. 1 (2003): 57-78.
- 42 Contemporaneous examples of surgical atlases include: Thomas Morton and William Cadge, *The Surgical Anatomy of the Principal Regions of the Human Body* (London: Taylor, Walton, & Maberly, 1850); George Viner Ellis and G.H. Ford, *Illustrations of Dissections* (London: James Walton, 1867); and Francis Sibson, *Medical Anatomy, or Illustrations of the Relative Position and Movements of the Internal Organs* (London: John Churchill, 1869).
- 43 It appears as Plate 48 in the second British edition; Joseph Maclise, *Surgical Anatomy*, 2nd edn (London: John Churchill, 1856).
- 44 It appears as Plates 9 and 10 in the 1851 American edition of Maclise, *Surgical Anatomy*.
- 45 It appears as Plate 25 in the 1851 American edition of Maclise, *Surgical Anatomy*.
- 46 I examine in depth the significance of the whitewashing of racial difference in the American versions of Maclise's atlas in "Drawing Racial Comparisons in Nineteenth-Century British and American Anatomical Atlases", in Nancy Rose Marshall, ed., *Victorian Science and Imagery: Representation and Knowledge in Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, forthcoming, July 2021).
- 47 Charles Bell, *Engravings of the Arteries; Illustrating the Second Volume of the Anatomy of the Human Body, and Serving as An Introduction to the Surgery of the Arteries*, 3rd edn (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, Paternoster-Row; and T. Cadell and W. Davies, Strand, 1811); and Charles Bell, *Illustrations of the Great Operations of Surgery, Trepan, Hernia, Amputation, Aneurism, and Lithotomy* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1821).
- 48 Maclise makes explicit reference to Bell by including a depiction of a book with "C.Bell" inscribed on the spine in Plate 66 of Quain's *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body*.
- 49 In Bell, *Engravings of the Arteries*, it appears as Plate 4.
- 50 Bell, *Engravings of the Arteries*, 11.
- 51 Bell, *Illustrations of the Great Operations of Surgery*, Plate 2. A trephine or hole saw was used by surgeons for perforating the skull.

- 52 Also included are: A. The lower flap of the integuments; B. The upper flap; C. The cranium; D. The dura mater; Bell, *Illustrations of the Great Operations of Surgery*, Plate 2.
- 53 "After workhouses, British hospitals were the most important source of subjects for dissection"; Helen MacDonald, *Possessing the Dead: The Artful Science of Anatomy Illustrated* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2010), 96.
- 54 "To burke is to kill secretly by suffocation or strangulation for the express purpose of selling the victim's body for dissection"; Warner, "Witnessing Dissection", 16. The expression derives from the murders committed by William Burke and William Hare in Edinburgh in 1828. Burke and Hare sold the bodies of their victims to Robert Knox for dissection. For more on this, see Ruth Richardson, *Death, Dissection and the Destitute* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2000).
- 55 Josiah C. Nott and George R. Gliddon, *Types of Mankind: or, Ethnological Researches, based upon the Ancient Monuments, Paintings, Sculptures, and Crania of Races, and upon their Natural, Geographical, Philological, and Biblical History: Illustrated by Sections from the inedited papers of Samuel George Morton, and by additional contributions from Professor L. Agassiz, W. Usher, and Professor H.S. Patterson*, 8th edn (Philadelphia, PA: Lippincott, Grambo & Co, 1860), 458.
- 56 Camper compared the skulls of different racial types by drawing a line "along the forehead and the upper lip" and measuring the angle. He used this measurement to rank races from those exhibiting the most "beautiful lines and angles" ("an angle of 100 degrees with the horizon", pertaining to a classical Greek head) through to the opposite end of the scale, which established the "degree of similarity between a negro and the ape"; Camper quoted in Petherbridge and Jordanova, *The Quick and the Dead*, 82. It is worth noting that Camper was a monogenist and his drawings were not intended to be used as registers of varying cognitive ability. "Camper's famous diagrams were meant as value-free formal sequences recording the geometrical regularity of visual variations of anatomical structure", writes Aris Sarafianos in "B.R. Haydon and Racial Science: The Politics of the Human Figure and the Art Profession in the Early Nineteenth Century", *Visual Culture in Britain* 7 (2006): 82-83. Also see the discussion of Camper in Fend's *Fleshing Out Surfaces*, 159-163. Fend recounts how, in a lecture titled "On the Origin and Colour of the Blacks", delivered in Groningen in 1764, Camper used an "anatomical dissection to demonstrate that beyond the coloured layer just below the epidermis, humans all look fairly alike" (160). Another relevant text is David Bindman, *Ape to Apollo: Aesthetics and the Idea of Race in the 18th Century* (London: Reaktion Books, 2002).
- 57 My thanks to Anthea Callen for these observations.
- 58 Frederick Tiedemann, "On the Brain of the Negro, Compared with That of the European and the Orang-Outang", *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London* 126, no. 2 (1836), 504.
- 59 Tiedemann, "On the Brain of the Negro", 504.
- 60 Robert Knox, *The Races of Men: A Fragment* (Philadelphia, PA: Lea & Blanchard, 1850), 151. Despite holding contrary positions on racial physiognomy, the English edition of Tiedemann's *Plates of the Arteries of the Human Body* was translated from the original Latin, with additional notes by Dr Knox.
- 61 Knox, *The Races of Men*, 150.
- 62 Knox, *The Races of Men*, 151.
- 63 Knox, *The Races of Men*, 151.
- 64 Knox, *The Races of Men*, 152.
- 65 No other corpse in the atlas has this individualising feature, not even the same Black man in Plate 14.
- 66 In *The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex*, Charles Darwin associated a juvenile love of ornaments and shiny things with animals and "savages". He even claimed that "[j]udging from the hideous ornaments, and the equally hideous music admired by most savages, it might be urged that their aesthetic faculty was not so highly developed as in certain animals, for instance, as in birds". Charles Darwin, *The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex*, 2nd edn, revised and augmented (London: John Murray, 1883), 93.
- 67 For one of many descriptions of this type, see "II. The Negroid Type", in T.H. Huxley, "On the Geographical Distribution of the Chief Modifications of Mankind", *Journal of the Ethnological Society of London* 2, no. 4 (1870): 405-407.
- 68 The unreliability of skin, hair, and eye colour as markers of racial difference led many nineteenth-century race scientists to locate racial difference in the deeper anatomical organs and structures of the human body.
- 69 Jan Marsh, "The Black Presence in British Art 1800-1900: Introduction and Overview", in *Black Victorians: Black People in British Art, 1800-1900*, ed. Jan Marsh (Aldershot: Lund Humphries, 2005), 14.
- 70 Sarafianos recounts two instances in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century in which a non-white body was described as resembling the *Apollo Belvedere* and vice versa: Benjamin West's exclamation upon first seeing the *Apollo Belvedere* in 1760, "My God, how like it is to a young Mohawk warrior!"; and Thomas Winterbottom's claim in *An Account of the Native Africans in the Neighbourhood of Sierra Leone* (1803) that "Among those of them [the Fulas], I saw a youth whose features were exactly of the Grecian mould, and whose person might have afforded to the statuary a model of the *Apollo Belvedere*" (Vol. 2, 200); quoted in Sarafianos, "B.R. Haydon and Racial Science", 96 and 88-89.
- 71 Hugh Honour observes that "Blacks were increasingly employed by artists as models from the early nineteenth century despite the common association of their colour and physiognomy with ugliness". Hugh Honour, *The Image of the Black in Western Art*, Vol. IV: *From the American Revolution to World War I*, Part II: *Black Models and White Myths* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), 21.
- 72 Sarafianos, "B.R. Haydon and Racial Science", 95.

- 73 For a study of nineteenth-century depictions of American slave auctions, including their exhibition in Britain, see Maurie D. McInnis, *Slaves Waiting for Sale: Abolitionist Art and the American Slave Trade* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2011).
- 74 We know that Daniel Maclise saw Théodore Géricault's *The Raft of the Medusa* (1819) on his first visit to France in 1830. Leon Litvack, "Continental Art and the 'Cockneyfied Corkonian': German and French Influences on Daniel Maclise", in *Daniel Maclise 1806-1870: Romancing the Past*, ed. Peter Murray (Cork: Crawford Art Gallery and Gandon Editions, 2008), 200.
- 75 My thanks to Anthea Callen for drawing my attention to this detail.
- 76 In Daniel Maclise's *The Death of Nelson Supported by Captain Hardy on the Victory at Battle of Trafalgar*, a second Black figure also wears an earring, as do several white sailors. My thanks to Grace Saull, Assistant Curator, Parliamentary Art Collection, for confirming these details. In contrast to the strength and nobility embodied in the central Black figure, a second Black figure to the left of the scene is depicted as more feminised. This figure is positioned near to two women. He bends over to give succour (brandy, perhaps) to a wounded sailor and, in so doing, appears more hunched over, with rounded shoulders, protruding neck, and furrowed brow.
- 77 "Boxing, or—as it was called at that time—pugilism, emerged as a popular form of entertainment in England in the second half of the eighteenth century"; Ruti Ungar and Michael Berkowitz, "From Daniel Mendoza to Amir Khan: Minority Boxers in Britain", in *Fighting Back? Jewish and Black Boxers in Britain*, ed. Michael Berkowitz and Ruti Ungar (London: University College London, 2007), 4. Richmond was born in New York, the son of former slaves. Molineaux was an ex-slave from Virginia, who found asylum in Britain.
- 78 Ungar and Berkowitz, "From Daniel Mendoza to Amir Khan", 4.
- 79 Adam Chill, "The Performance and Marketing of Minority Identity in Late Georgian Boxing", in *Fighting Back? Jewish and Black Boxers in Britain*, ed. Michael Berkowitz and Ruti Ungar (London: University College London, 2007), 44. See also Callen's discussion of "Contested Anatomies: Gerdy, Géricault, Etty, Bellows and the Mixed-Race Fight", in Callen, *Looking at Men*, 85–91.
- 80 Kasia Boddy, *Boxing: A Cultural History* (London: Reaktion Books, 2008), 72.
- 81 Writes Boddy, "In Géricault's lithograph, he [the Black boxer/Molineaux] is not only complementary but absolutely equal to his opponent; here, it seems possible that he might win"; Boddy, *Boxing*, 73. In the mid-1880s, the "mulatto" pugilist, Ben Bailey, was photographed by Eadweard Muybridge for *Animal Locomotion*. He appears in front of an anthropometric grid performing various actions, including punching the air; see Elspeth H. Brown, "Racialising the Virile Body: Eadweard Muybridge's Locomotion Studies 1883–1887", *Gender and History* 17, no. 3 (November 2005): 627–656.
- 82 Thomas Day, *The Dying Negro: A Poem*, 3rd edn (London: printed for W. Flexney, opposite Gray's-Inn-Gate, Holborn; J. Wilkie, in St. Paul's Church-Yard; and J. Robson, in New Bond Street, 1775).
- 83 Thank you to Robert Wellington for this point. See Vinzenz Brinkmann, Renée Dreyfus, and Ulrike Koch-Brinkmann, eds., *Gods in Color: Polychromy in the Ancient World* (San Francisco, CA: Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco, Legion of Honour, 2017). The fact that we continue to view antique statues, including the *Apollo Belvedere*, as white, despite the fact that they were originally polychrome, is discussed by Sarah E. Bond in her op-editorials for *Forbes* and *Hyperallergic*: "Whitewashing Ancient Statues: Whiteness, Racism and Color in the Ancient World", *Forbes*, 27 April 2017, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/drsarahbond/2017/04/27/whitewashing-ancient-statues-whiteness-racism-and-color-in-the-ancient-world/#72a5c33175ad>; and "Why We Need to Start Seeing the Classical World in Color", *Hyperallergic*, 7 June 2017, <https://hyperallergic.com/383776/why-we-need-to-start-seeing-the-classical-world-in-color/>.

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Mr Joseph Maclise and the Epistemology of the Anatomical Closet

Michael Sappol

Abstract

This article takes up the case of Joseph Maclise (1815–1891), a talented and truculent surgeon, anatomist, and medical illustrator of mid-nineteenth-century Britain. Maclise left behind a corpus of brilliant, idiosyncratic anatomical images, and opinionated commentaries, but almost no evidence of his social interactions or affective relations. Homoerotic desire was heavily policed in Maclise's time. Given the conditions under which the archive was created (or suppressed, or lost, or shamed into reticence), we can never know with certainty what he intended or felt, or what his readers received—but we do have a rich evidentiary base of visual materials. Using narrative history, close readings of images and texts, detailed comparisons with other illustrated anatomies, and open-ended theoretical and methodological approaches (a mash-up of queer theory, Foucault, gaze theory, genre analysis, and contextualization)—an argument is joined: a book can be a closet and a queer space. Maclise's drawings, ostensibly designed to contribute to the improvement of medical knowledge, theory, and practice, show good-looking young men and cadaveric bodies in various states of dissection. Penises, testicles, anuses, faces, sensuous hands on skin are crisply rendered in illusionistic perspective, with a highly cultivated aestheticism—often without any relevance to the anatomical topic discussed—and little attention is paid to the female body. In historical context, and from our twenty-first-century vantage point, the hypothesis of homoerotic investment leads to productive interpretations. This article poses more questions than answers but comes to rest with this: it is plausible and meaningful to take Maclise's anatomical illustrations, and the figures depicted therein, as queer objects of queer desire.

Authors

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The Mystery of Mr Joseph Maclise

The closet: a condition of smothered homosexuality, suppressed desire, longing. A claustrophobic space of isolation, where shameful feelings are incarcerated, expression is secret, or entirely thwarted.¹ But the closet can also be a hothouse where desire comes to grow, intensify, and know itself. Until a crisis of self-emancipation: a coming out (as the story is commonly told). Or in more repressive circumstances, say mid-nineteenth-century London, maybe just a coded disclosure that only closeted persons of similar interests will detect and decrypt. Or maybe not even that, just an ongoing interior discussion among the closeted person's divided selves, entirely private, self-contained.

Even though the metaphor of “the closet” came into common usage in the middle decades of the twentieth century, the condition of being closeted undoubtedly came long before. In this article, I suggest that in Victorian Britain a certain kind of anatomical illustration might be a place where “the love that dare not speak its name” could show itself, even flaunt itself, in an image in the pages of a book or a folio of prints, all the while remaining undercover. A closet of sorts. In this construction, repression is an intensifier which creates and proliferates the very categories it aims to forbid and extinguish (as Michel Foucault famously argued).² The closet is not a grave where desire comes to die, but a private and provisionally safe queer space—shielded from public spectatorship and policing—where desire is imaginatively free to take shape, can be self-nurtured and articulated, in reverie as in linguistic and visual and gestural code, and in meaning-laden silence, arousal, and “the telling secret”.³

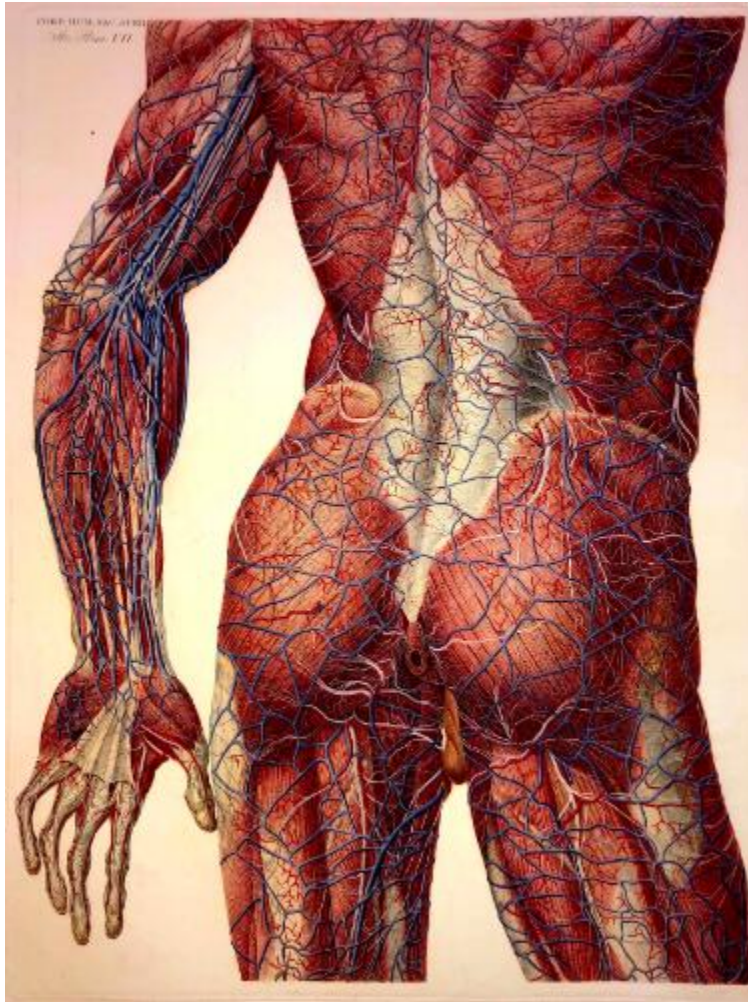
But when same-sex desire and its objects are unavowed, and evidence is limited, how should we proceed? What can we know when “closeted-ness itself is a performance initiated ... by the speech act of a silence”?⁴ This is the paradox so cogently addressed in Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick's *Epistemology of the Closet* (1990). Sedgwick acknowledges that there can be no epistemological certainty when it comes to a system of meaning that is covered over. But, she argues, if we only limit ourselves to what is epistemologically secure, we miss everything important.

Joseph Maclise (1815–1891), a brilliant anatomist and gifted artist of mid-nineteenth-century Britain, and also a loquacious and opinionated writer, was entirely reticent about his affective life and erotic attachments. Maclise never married, had no children (that we know of), left behind no diaries, letters, self-portraits—almost no puzzle pieces—only a thin trail of circumstantial crumbs, mostly left behind by his brother, the famous painter and illustrator Daniel Maclise. But Joseph Maclise did leave us a large number of

extraordinary anatomical illustrations, which he insisted enter “the understanding straight-forward in a direct passage” as words cannot. “A picture of form”, he asserted, “is a proposition which solves itself.” In those axioms, Maclise was arguing that his true-to-nature renderings of anatomical dissections and subjects irrefutably instantiated the forms and principles of “transcendental anatomy”.⁵ But, leaving those specific claims aside, and following Sedgwick’s lead, let’s entertain the possibility that Maclise’s renderings, in some queer and occluded fashion—maybe not even fully apparent to Maclise himself—instantiated other principles. Maybe they were a space in which he unveiled himself, sent out flares of homoerotic desire.

To our twenty-first-century eyes, Maclise’s “pictures of form” are open-ended, offer many propositions from which many possible solutions can be derived. But they do have tendencies: a deeply felt mimetic sensuality, an overabundant pleasure in bodies, line, and texture, an argumentative assertion of principles and positions, and a queer intensity. And so we’ll take the case of Maclise and his images in three contrapuntal registers: the historical method (chronological, biographical, contextual, narrative); close reading and analysis of images (and some texts); and the comparative method (comparing Maclise’s pictures to those of his predecessors and contemporaries). (Which is only fitting: Maclise was a passionate exponent of the comparative method.)

Over its long history, anatomical illustration has often been a multivalent conveyor of meanings, open to idiosyncratic clowning, horror shows, allegorical play-acting, *memento mori*, and erotic expression. And often enough—given the centrality of the figure of Man as the emblem of the universal anatomical human—homoerotic expression. So, to set the scene before Maclise enters stage left, let’s entertain the possibility that this spectacular life-size colored engraving from Paolo Mascagni’s *Anatomia universa* (or *Grande anatomia del corpo umano*) (1823–1830) performs something that exceeds the instrumental purpose of demonstrating the anatomy of the back of the arm, lower back, buttocks, and rectum (Fig. 1).⁶ Maybe it was meant to be a flaunting cruising figure, a flirt. If so, was the affective power of that flirtation perversely intensified by the fact that anatomists had, over the previous century, mostly rejected the flirty poses and winking gestures of early modern anatomy as untrue to nature and unbefitting serious scientific study? Was its gaudy coloration a rejection of anatomical sobriety, a displaced expression of anatomical dandyism?⁷



[View this illustration online](#)

Figure 1.

Antonio Serrantoni, Back, Stratum Primum, from Paolo Mascagni, *Anatomia universale ... rappresentata con tavole ... ridotte a minori forme di quelle della grande edizione pisana per Antonio Serrantoni* (Firenze: V. Batelli, 1833), Plate 2, 1833, hand-coloured copper-plate engraving. Collection of Hagströmer Library. Digital image courtesy of Hagströmer Library (public domain).

The erotics of anatomical illustration went mostly unmentioned in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century medical discourse. (Anatomists William Hunter and John Bell never explicitly discussed flirtation or sensuality in the essays that prefaced their anatomical atlases, but signaled their disdain for all forms of representational play.)⁸ And, again, that's a problem for historians: should we bracket erotic valences as a kind of unknowable semiological dark matter—disqualify ourselves on the grounds that we will be tempted to fill up the epistemological void with our own *aisthesis* and erotics? Or take interpretive liberties? In this essay, following Sedgwick, I will take liberties, because efforts to police and punish open expressions of

same-sex desire nearly always produce queer results: representations disguised, encoded, contorted (even unconscious, given that we aren't transparent to ourselves). If so, scholars can and should undertake open-ended investigation and reasonably speculate, as long as evidentiary limits are respected. This won't be an open-and-shut case. Our remit here is to ask questions and to imaginatively reconstruct Joseph Maclise and his image-work through close and contextual reading and looking—the historian's gaze—and credit the possibility of coded expressions and erotic valences. The anatomical closet.

Sharing Medical Eyes and Hands: Jacob and Bourgerie's *Traité complet*

The middle and upper social and intellectual registers of surgery grew markedly in the latter half of the eighteenth century and first half of the nineteenth century, as did the number of trained surgeons. And so did the production of objects and experiences for sharing among those medical men and their cultured fellow travelers—experiences that were aesthetic as well as scientific and practical. This fellowship took place between men in overlapping but stratified circles of professional knowledge and experience, a kind of *bonhomie* nurtured by shared connoisseurship and collecting interests. *Between Men* also happens to be the title of another seminal work by Sedgwick, an extended riff on masculine sociality and its troubled ramifications.⁹ Sedgwick argues that the sex-segregated social arrangements of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe and America fostered the development of intense “homosocial” attachments between men. Those attachments were forged and renewed by the sharing and exchange of, and competition over, books, opinions, paintings, meals, drinks, money (gambling!), and so on—and by the shared connoisseurship of beautiful, artfully made, and collectable things, as much as the shared *viewing* and owning of those things. Anatomical objects occupied a place of privilege among the collectables: beautifully wrought sculptures, paintings, drawings, and prints of beautiful nude and semi-nude men and women; and authoritative, expensive, artfully illustrated and printed, often large-sized, books dealing with the *subject* of anatomy, atlases which stood atop the hierarchy of medical publication.¹⁰

So it makes sense that a reviewer of the first two installments of Richard Quain's lithographic “imperial” folio, *Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body* (inaugurated in 1840, completed in 1844), praises the “delineations of Mr. Maclise”, for evincing “artistical talent of the very highest order”, and makes a connoisseurial assessment: Maclise's plates “will bear comparison with any of those splendid specimens of anatomical drawing, so abundant on the continent, but heretofore so very rare in our own country ...”.¹¹ There was, it seems, something *Continental*, and “so very rare”, about Maclise's

images. This perhaps wasn't merely a euphemism for sexy (or effeminate, as some writers of the time would have it), but points to a hard-to-describe quality which a connoisseurial eye would discern as aesthetically distinct from, and pleasurably superior to, the fine British illustrated anatomies extant at the time, works by William Hunter, John and Charles Bell, Astley Cooper, John Lizars, and others. The reviewer doesn't go beyond this suggestive remark but could have been thinking of plates then issuing in installments of the *Traité complet de l'anatomie de l'homme* (1832-1854) of surgeon-anatomist Jean-Baptiste-Marc Bourgery (1797-1849) and his gifted collaborator, "professor-draughtsman-anatomist" Nicolas Henri Jacob (1781-1871).¹²

Take, for example, this lithographic demonstration of an operation for the surgical removal of a breast cancer, which shows disembodied masculine hands working on the body of a supine and beautiful woman (Fig. 2). The scene is a brilliant composition brilliantly executed. Jacob was a skilled practitioner of Jacques-Louis David's "corporal aestheticism" (Jacob studied under David)—but was just as much under the influence of Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, who famously used color and shading to show body volume, mass, texture, and silky, creamy, perfect skin.¹³ So, a sumptuous, perfectly polished illustration of a desirable young woman with a fashionable hairdo, undergoing a terrible operation (before anesthesia comes into common usage) without any expression of terror. Like many other images in the *Traité complet*, it is offered as a how-to guide to a difficult surgical operation, a horror, and also a visual delight, an incitement.



[View this illustration online](#)

Figure 2.

Nicolas Henri Jacob, Removal of the Breast, from J.B.M. Bourguery and Claude Bernard, *Traité Complet de l'Anatomie de l'Homme* (Paris: 1832–1854), Vol. 7 (1866–1871), Plate 27, coloured lithograph. Wellcome Collection. Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

Two sets of almost identical hands share the surgical work, mimetically evoking both the haptic experience of surgery and the touch-sensation of masculine hands on the naked flesh of a female beauty and her anatomical subsurface.¹⁴ A shared set of touchings, which in turn are offered for sharing among those with privileged access to the plate in a fine medical library, or who can afford to subscribe to the installments (expensive), or purchase volumes as they were completed (very expensive), or purchase (from 1854 onward) the full set of eight volumes (obscenely expensive).¹⁵ The *Traité complet* outdid all of its competitors: its illustrations were more comprehensive, brightly colored, precise, demonstrative, pedagogical,

horrific, provocative, numerous, illusionistically perspectival, more beautiful. Extravagant. And, in the aggregate: oddly playful, theatrical, voyeuristic. We gaze upon the patient, who, within the depiction, can't return the gaze. The surgeon receives representation synecdochically, as a disembodied hand and multiples thereof. Apart from that, he only exists inferentially, outside the picture plane. And in the *Traité complet*, that asymmetrical relation, between undepicted gazer and depicted object of the gaze, inscribes a hierarchical relation—between spirit (the sight-unseen surgeon and reader/viewer, the subject) and matter (the pictured patient and cadaver, the object).

A kind of transgression is thereby initiated. Elizabeth Stephens, in her essay “Touching Bodies: Tact/ility in 19th-Century Medical Photographs and Models”, argues that the “erotics of touch” is “a relation of mutuality and reciprocity between two bodies ... a point of contact in which to touch is always also simultaneously to be touched”: “[T]ouch is foundational to the relationship between subjects ... the point of intersection between ethics and erotics”.¹⁶ If so, the touching depicted in Jacob's illustration violates that mutuality and reciprocity. The scene pairs the opportunity to see (what modesty shouldn't consent to) with an opportunity to touch (what virtue shouldn't consent to). All imaginary: this is just representation of touch, not touch itself. But from those double representational transgressions, committed upon an object of desire, an erotic frisson is constituted. Stephens speaks of “the sexualization inherent in the construction of medical knowledge itself”.¹⁷ But, as we shall see, some constructions are more sexualized than others.

The Parisian medical establishment never rewarded Bourguery with any high position, but his atlas became a standard reference work—a top-shelf medical publication that every good medical library had to have—and helped to inspire a growing corpus of lithographic illustrations that used high artistry and brilliant color to convey the sensual experience, the feel, of surgery (and pathology, obstetrics, dermatology, histology, and anatomical dissection). Much of the focus in the *Traité complet* was on dissected bodies and body parts. But the showstoppers were the atlas's nude and semi-nude figures, some female, but most male (Fig. 3). Beautiful faces and bodies—objects of desire—subjected to horrific or just peculiar scenes of surgical-anatomical intervention, in a work that was itself an object of desire, arrayed in libraries alongside other works of bibliophilic desire. (And not far away: collections of desired specimens, models, instruments, *objets d'art*.)

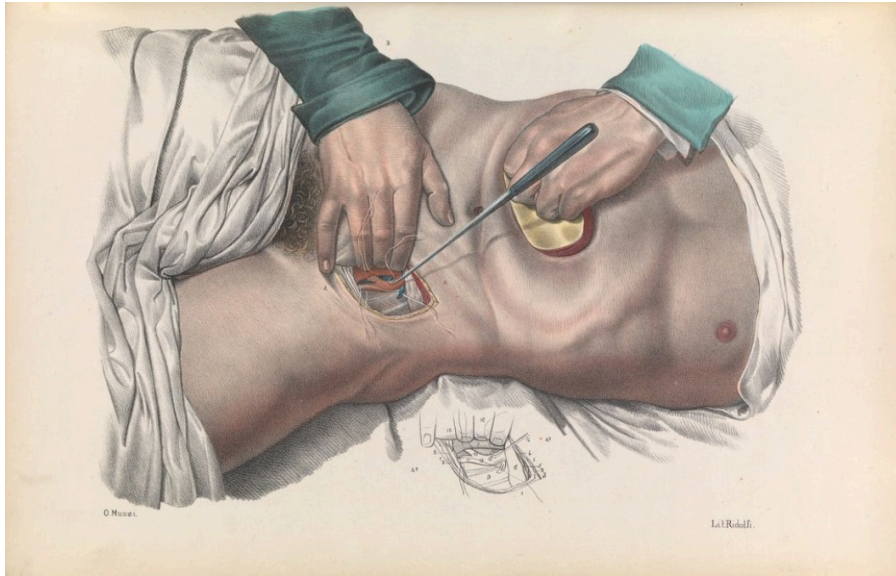


Figure 3.

Nicolas Henri Jacob, Ligature des arteres iliaque primitive, externe et interne, from *Traité complet anatomie de l'homme*, 8 vols. (Paris: 1832–1854), Vol. 6 (1841), Plate 48, coloured lithograph. Wellcome Collection. Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

Jacob and Bourguery were acclaimed for the sheer plenitude of materials covered, especially their detailed representation of hands on and in bodies, step-by-step depictions of surgical operations—a genre of illustration that went way beyond anything non-medical artists might attempt in depicting gory scenes of the martyrdom of the saints and historical atrocities, or sexy scenes of nude heroes and woodland nymphs from Greco-Roman antiquity. Their atlas was intended for a specialized readership of medical men who were trained and licensed to look upon difficult subjects, to exercise a privileged gaze. And, by virtue of class and gender, socialized to exercise that privileged gaze upon erotic subjects. Wealthy bibliophilic physicians and surgeons built large libraries of books and, of course, also socialized with non-medical collectors—collectorship and connoisseurship were famously fraternal (but also exclusive). One can easily imagine those non-medical men of privilege, hungry for sensation and novelty, acquiring the atlas of Jacob and Bourguery, eager to peek behind the professional curtain, or merely browsing through volumes in the libraries of medical friends. (The same class of gentlemen used their pull to observe surgeries and dissections, and tour the Parisian morgue.)¹⁸

But even Jacob had to negotiate boundaries. Compare his preparatory drawing of the ligature of the iliac arteries with the finished 1841 print. The preparatory drawing shows a hand inside a surgical cut made in the body of a well-proportioned, almost classical, masculine torso (Fig. 4). The image fades out above the right nipple (leaving space for an undrawn left hand that

will hold the surgeon's probe). Below the cut, Jacob artfully renders the penis, with an almost independently sensate pinky not far away (slightly apart from the other fingers), right at the border where pubic hair leaves off. The lithographic version covers up: it wraps both ends of the anatomical subject in cloth, a framing device that protects the modesty of the reader (and anonymous patient/cadaver?) and hides the penis. Yet, upon closer inspection, the penis remains discernable beneath the artfully rendered folds of cloth. Is Jacob dancing on the line, enjoying himself, teasing his audience?

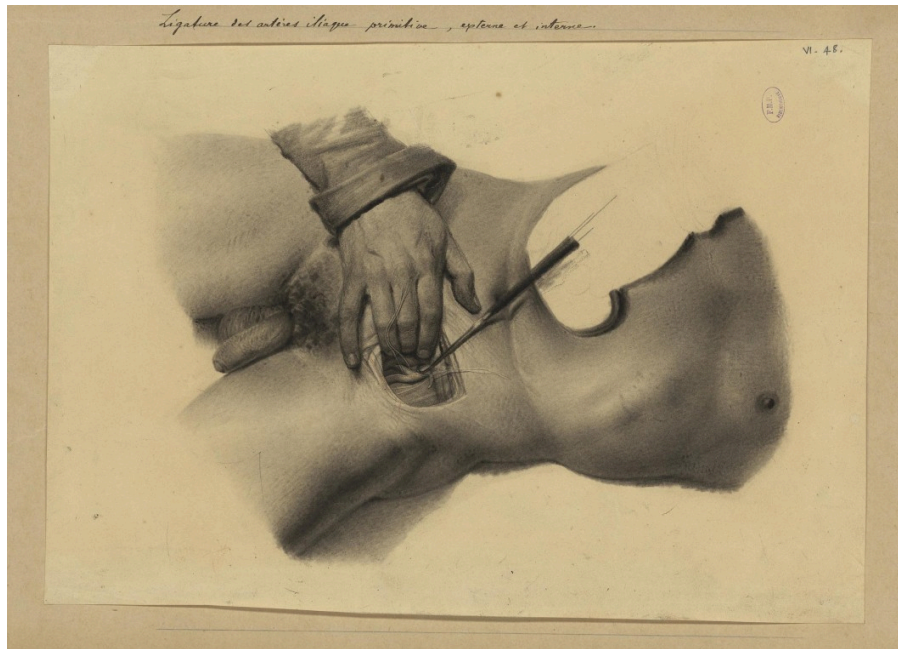


Figure 4.

Nicolas Henri Jacob, Study for Ligature des artères iliaque primitive, externe et interne, prepared for *Traité complet anatomie de l'homme*, 8 vols. (Paris: 1832–1854), Vol. 6 (1841), Plate 48, drawing. Collection of Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Digital image courtesy of gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque Nationale de France (all rights reserved).

Maybe Bourgery or publisher C.A. Delaunay asked the artist to make the change, but Jacob probably didn't need prompting. The standard practice in mid-nineteenth-century illustrated medical publication was to omit or minimize things that were irrelevant or distracting, especially if that thing was a penis. For a formally trained artist like Jacob, the preparatory drawing was a stage in a process, a place to show figures in the nude, fully undressed, to get a better sense of the underlying structure of the bodies, but then overlay clothes or drapery in the finished version. Embedded in this method was a hierarchy of structure—skeleton > *écorché* > nude > dressed—that was a foundational part of the curriculum of drawing pedagogy.¹⁹ And the nude stage of that hierarchy (often connected to the

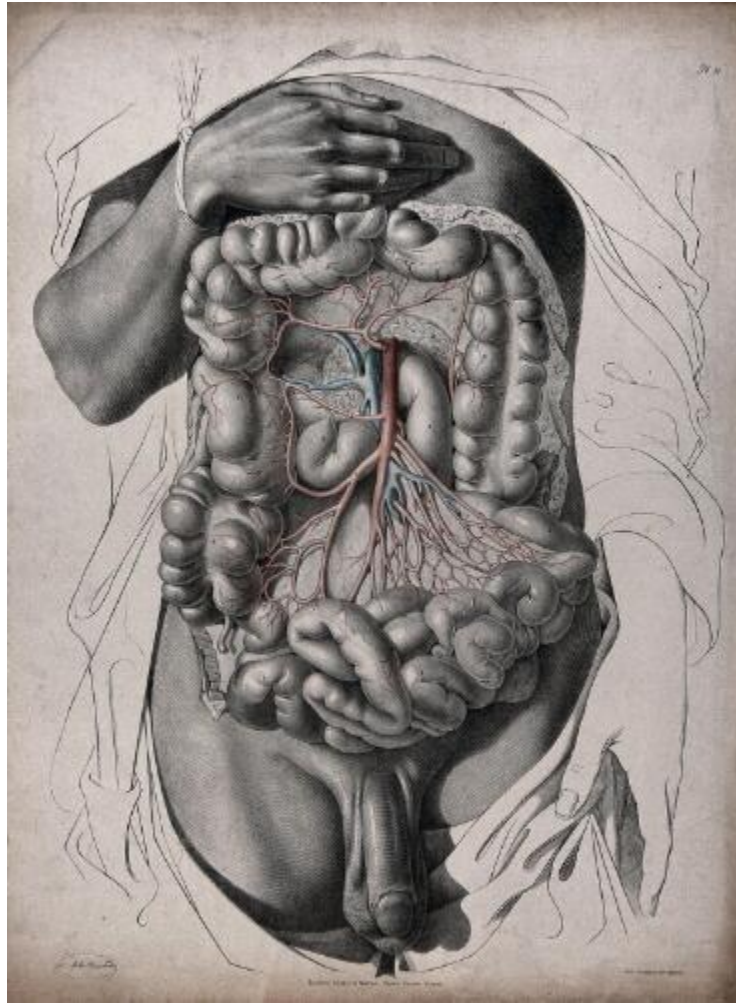
study of live nude models) provided the opportunity for a certain kind of private erotic pleasuring, followed by a more modest covered public presentation.²⁰

What makes all of this germane to our discussion is that Joseph Maclise—who followed in the footsteps of Bourguery and Jacob, and situated himself in the tradition of perfectionist, sensual, volumetric figure drawing—departed from the conventions of medical illustration and, in his finished publications, didn’t cover up his irrelevant penises ...

A Bit of Puppetry: Maclise’s Superior Mesenteric Artery

If anatomical dissection and representation can activate a certain kind of queerness (and vice versa), then queer theory offers us a useful descriptive vocabulary for the tactics and settings of anatomical performance. Such as “the closet”, “queer space”, “camp”, “flagging”, “passing”, “flaunting”, “clubbing”, “panic’ ... Another favored term is “the gaze”, a keyword in visual culture studies, feminist theory, and the writings of Michel Foucault. In those settings, the gaze—especially “the medical gaze”—is mostly figured as an oppressive, coercive thing. The person or body part gazed upon is “constituted” as an object by the gaze (and its technologies), and so fixed, and robbed of agency. (Foucault says “cadaverized”.)²¹ But not so fast. The gaze is dynamic, complex, multidirectional. It turns back on itself, has recursive properties: the object being gazed upon, even a cadaver or a picture of a cadaver, seems to look back, talk back, stages a return of sorts. “The object stares back”, proclaims art historian James Elkins (echoing Lacan): the initiator of the gaze is divided by the gazing act, invests the object of the gaze with agency, or a simulation thereof, and in so doing makes a divided self, divided subjectivity.²²

Consider, then, this plate, from Richard Quain’s *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body* (1844), featuring “drawings from nature and on stone”—Joseph Maclise’s first major publication as medical illustrator (Fig. 5).²³ Upright, as if alive, the cadaveric figure demonstrates the anatomy of the superior mesenteric artery—and gives Maclise the opportunity to indulge in a bit of puppetry. A cord keeps the right hand suspended at the breast, so that the fingers appear to be pointing to, touching, the heart. It is a signing sensate hand; the gesture is “heartfelt”. Somehow, that hand—the cadaver in its entirety—is the artist’s proxy. But it also appears to have a will of its own, seems to signal to Maclise and, looking over Maclise’s shoulder, to the reader.



[View this illustration online](#)

Figure 5.

Joseph Maclise, Superior Mesenteric Artery, from Richard Quain, *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body* (London: Taylor & Walton, 1841–1844), Plate 51, c. 1841–1844, coloured lithograph, 67.5 x 55 cm. Wellcome Collection. Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

The wealth of extraneous detail adds to the verisimilitude of the scene, attests to Maclise's commitment to truth telling, his skill at staging a persuasive view, what Roland Barthes famously termed "the reality effect".²⁴ There is the neatly arranged rupture of the cut ... Those subtle shadows and contours ... The undissected skin surfaces which border the rococo intestines as they nearly spill over the finely rendered penis and testicles ... Maclise could have covered over the genitals with a sheet or left them out of the picture. Like the dangling hand, the penis is entirely irrelevant to the subject under demonstration. Yet, Maclise still contrives to show it hanging front and center: a provocation, when we consider that it goes against the convention in medical publication, to cover up or crop out the male genitals

(unless the illustration is demonstrating a uro-genital topic). And even more provocative if we consider the convention in classical and neoclassical art (the art which saturates Maclise's approach to illustration), where penises were expected to be discreetly small (if not obscured by a fig leaf or some other device).

Maclise's aphorism speaks of the "picture of form", but what of the form of this picture? ²⁵ The mesenteric artery is framed by intestines, which are framed by the anatomist's cut, which is framed by the skin of the cadaver, which is framed by the *non finito* outline drawing of the sheet with the left hand completing the circle, and then framed by the negative space around the whole. Frames around frames. Almost a rosette. The plate demonstrates a bravura dissection no doubt, flaunts the anatomist's erudition and skill with the scalpel. ²⁶ But does so with a special aesthetic dimension: Maclise the artist flaunts his bravura draughtsmanship, command of line and shadow and space, compositional gifts—and command of lithography (this is "drawing on stone"). Flaunting in multiples. Is Maclise "queering" the picture, flaunting something of himself? (His signature is bold, expressive.) Is this the sort of thing that queer theory provokes us to think about? Can "importing queer notions into the world of critical theory", as Caroline Evans and Lorraine Gamman advocate, help us to comprehend, reconstruct, and take pleasure in "perverse but enjoyable relations of looking" in nineteenth-century anatomy? ²⁷

Maclise was the artist. Richard Quain (1800–1887) was the folio's author. A wealthy "professor of descriptive anatomy" at the University of London (a prestigious post) and a Fellow of both the Royal Society and the Royal College of Surgeons, Quain was born in County Cork, Ireland, into one of the lower echelons of the upper crust (his father was a "retired gentleman living upon a small estate"). Well-connected medically via Jones Quain, his half-brother (who preceded him as professor of medicine at the University of London), Quain became one of Britain's most eminent surgeons, a status ratified by his ascension to the office of President of the Royal College of Surgeons and appointment as Surgeon Extraordinary to Queen Victoria. ²⁸ Said to be "strictly conservative", and an advocate for education in the liberal arts for the public and medical profession (as he contended in his Hunterian Oration of 1869), Quain argued that a surgeon should be a man of culture and discrimination, a gentleman and not just a crude mechanic of the body. ²⁹

His "friend and former pupil" Joseph Maclise came from humbler stock. ³⁰ Also born in County Cork and fifteen years Quain's junior, Maclise was the son of a Presbyterian Scottish regimental soldier turned tanner and shoemaker. After study in both medical anatomy and "the Anatomy of

Painting” under John Woodroffe in County Cork, and further medical study at the University of London and in Paris, he attracted notice as a radical adherent of “transformism” in debates over evolutionary theory (before Darwin entered the fray).³¹ And established himself as a working surgeon and medical illustrator of uncommon ability. Early on, Quain was his mentor and protector, a bond likely forged from their County Cork connection. After the accolades accorded *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body*, Maclise was raised up from Member to Fellow at the Royal College of Surgeons. From there, he went on to produce his own atlases, most notably *Surgical Anatomy* (1st ed.: London: John Churchill, 1851; 2nd ed.: London: John Churchill, 1856; also in large format, though smaller than Quain’s atlas) (Fig. 6). While *Surgical Anatomy* was a critical and commercial success, and perhaps earned him some income (we have no records of book sales, finances, or arrangements with publishers), it failed to win him a hospital or university appointment. His career ambitions, and likely his social aspirations, were thwarted.

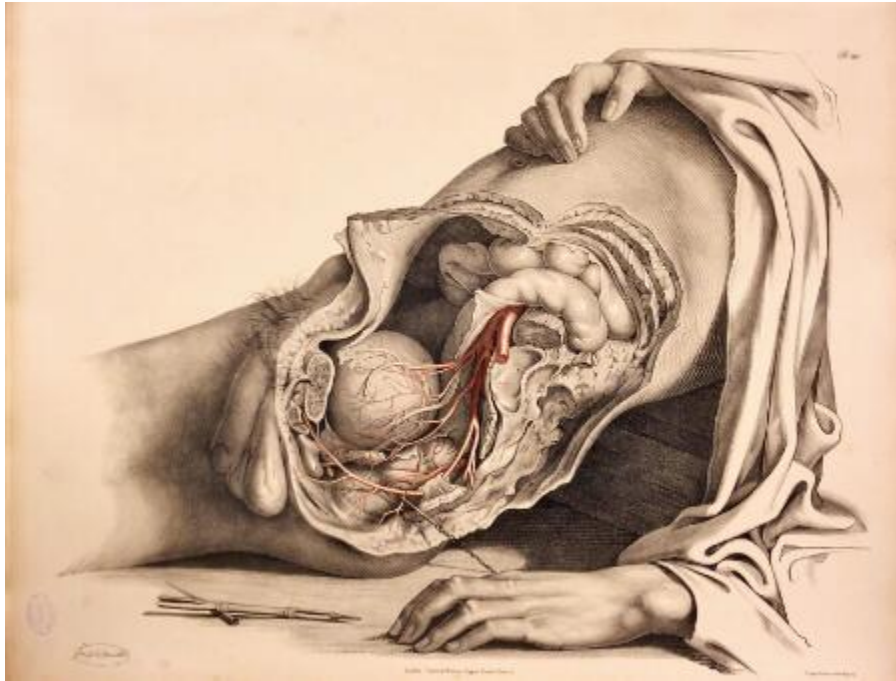
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Figure 6.

Joseph Maclise, *Surgical Anatomy*, (London: John Churchill, 1851), Plate XVIII. Wellcome Collection. Digital image courtesy of Internet Archive (CC BY 4.0).

Queer Scenes: Maclise and the Bells Compared

Plate 60 of *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body* is a *tour de force*, a cascade of visual rhymes in deep-focus, high-definition, illusionistic perspective (Fig. 7). The layered folds of fabric, pulled back like a curtain, rhyme with the deep and disruptive layered dissection. The curvature of the anatomical cut, and folded intestines, rhyme with the penis (in the shadows) and testicles (curving the other way). The cadaver’s left hand seems to be crawling toward the pen (doubling as a scalpel and overlaying what may be a scalpel) as the right hand emerges from the folds, crawling toward the anatomical opening, feeling its own torso. Does this dissected body “stare” back? ³² Not with eyes (it has none). With hands? There is no haptic equivalent for staring back, yet Maclise’s cadaver seems to feel back ... touch ... grope ...



[View this illustration online](#)

Figure 7.

Joseph Maclise, The Arteries of the Pelvis of the Male, from Richard Quain, *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body* (London: Taylor & Walton, 1841-1844), Plate 60, c. 1841-1844, coloured lithograph, 67.5 x 55 cm. Wellcome Collection. Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

Maclise keeps his hands to himself. Unlike Bourguery and Jacob's *Traité complet*, surgical/anatomical hands never appear in the Quain and Maclise atlas or in Maclise's later atlases. The disembodied hands on display in Jacob's illustrations are sensual, but also pedagogical: they model surgical technique (solo and team), show where the surgeon's hand or fingers should go, how to hold the surgical instrument and make the incision, how to open, hold, and close the wound, how to sew things back up. And they have an indexical function (in the service of pedagogy and showmanship): Jacob uses them to direct the reader's attention.³³ But the hands in Maclise's Plate 60 (and Plate 51) do nothing of the sort. They are irrelevant, unpedagogical, unindexical. If anything, they distract from surgical and anatomical business (and go unmentioned in captions and commentaries).

Distraction, of course, is a key technique of stage magic and mesmerism. Hypnotists rely on our habit of following the indexical hand to induce a trance that allows them to take over the consciousness of a hypnotized subject. Are Maclise's cadaveric hands doing something similar? Is he entrancing us? Or indulging in a bit of auto-suggestion? If the hands in Plate 60 aren't a proxy for the surgical hand, then for what? The desirous self? The

scene of Plate 60 is oddly private, personal. Recruited to empathically feel the feeling hands of an anatomical subject, the reader is ushered into a space where Maclise's flashing desire can, momentarily, become palpable.

This is not just gimmickry, but stylized realism, accomplished visual rhetoric, trained, and redolent of the academy and the atelier. Three or four registers of beauty converge: the beauty of the subject's hands (and genitals); the beauty of the arrangement of the scene; the beauty of the dissection itself (which also has aesthetic dimensions, as any anatomist could tell you); and the beauty of the drawing and lithography. Together, those aesthetic attributes have a rhetorical valence. They do something more than persuade the viewer that the scene is true. The sharp focus and crisp details—the penis, testicles, and scraggly pubic hair that lie outside the margins of the dissected region, the folds of cloth—show off Maclise's anatomical *and* artistic powers, which are not entirely separate matters. The beauty, precision, and detail of the artist's rendering are distinguishing marks of *anatomical* excellence, as they had been for the grand productions of Maclise's eminent anatomical forerunners: Govard Bidloo, Albrecht von Haller, Antonio Scarpa, William Hunter, Friedrich Tiedemann (all cited in Quain's preface to the folio), and the *Traité complet* of Bourguery and Jacob (uncited, but arguably a lurking contextual presence). Remember also the super-size format: *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body* is an "imperial" folio, life-size, 1:1 scale, printed on expensive paper—of a measure and quality that bespeaks the aspiration to create a masterpiece. ³⁴

All of which redounded to the credit of author Richard Quain (who occupied the professorial chair once held by the venerated Charles Bell), credit shared to some degree by his protégé Maclise. *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body* performed their command of anatomy and surgery, their slashing skill with the dissecting knife, their privileged access to prodigious quantities of the best quality cadaveric "material" (recently dead, relatively undamaged bodies, with good musculature and proportions, and nice facial features—not always readily available). And let's not overlook the large amount of money Quain had the resources to invest, in the preparation and printing of his deluxe atlas (including payment to Maclise?). By such measures, Quain affirmed his authorial filiation with predecessor luminaries, his place in the grand anatomical tradition: the canon.

But Maclise also performed authority—mastery—in another register. The composition of the scene and its constituent parts and devices, the play of light and shadow, the big gestures and small flourishes, attest to the caressing brilliance and authority of Maclise's drawing hand and eye—and mark his filiation with the grand tradition of figure drawing invented in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the genre of figure study so prized by connoisseurs ([Fig. 8](#)). Art! Which, given the centrality of the male nude in

figure drawing, was full of homoerotic potentials. Maclise aimed to satisfy the highest scientific standards of medical publication *and* the highest aesthetic, connoisseurial standards so prized by formally trained fine artists and collectors. If Maclise displayed his ability to perform beautiful dissections, and skillfully render beautiful men, beautiful bodies, beautiful body parts, he also displayed his gift for making beautiful *pictures*.



Figure 8.

Annibale Carracci, *Nude Study of a Young Man Lying on his Back with his Head Thrown Back, Eyes Closed*, circa 1584, red chalk on cream paper, 35.5 × 39.7 cm. Collection of National Museum Sweden (NMH 769/1863). Digital image courtesy of Cecilia Heisser / National Museum Sweden (all rights reserved).

To get a fuller sense of Maclise's aesthetic maximalism, consider Plate 62, depicting the operation for lithotomy ([Fig. 9](#)). It's all a bit much. Ostentatious virtuosity. Provocative, fulsome representation of skin surfaces. An approach, which Maclise justifies, in later writings, with a surgical rationale: "The surface of the living body is [...] a map explanatory of the relative position of the organs beneath ..." The depiction of skin surfaces—even those that aren't adjacent to his dissections—is "an aid", which furnishes "the memory with as clear an account of the structures" as if they were "perfectly translucent". ³⁵



Figure 9.

Joseph Maclise, A Deeper Dissection of the Perineum, the Pudic Artery and the Artery of the Bulb are Shown, from Richard Quain, *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body* (London: Taylor & Walton, 1841–1844), Plate 62, circa 1841–1844, coloured lithograph, 67.5 × 55 cm. Wellcome Collection. Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

That principle furnishes Maclise with something else: an opportunity for erotic frissonerie. Plate 62 is a queer anatomical bedroom scene, featuring a supine masculine body, beneath the sheets, with exposed genitalia and open rectum (the imperial folio format encourages Maclise to make horizontal compositions). It is an arresting image, an arresting pose, simultaneously intimate and theatrical. The cadaver, a handsome young man, is placed in a female subject position—a pose that frequently appears in obstetrical illustration.³⁶ A corpse obviously cannot resist, but the body in death becomes noncompliant (“dead weight”, *rigor mortis*). And so to arrange the corpse in a position favorable to both dissection and the artist’s view, the cadaver’s arms are tied to his ankles. To our eyes, the tying-up suggests coercion, but also may signal consent, as in consensual sexual bondage: the hand that holds the ankle seems to cooperate. At the same time, the figure itself appears to be asleep or lying in wait. If the man is dead, why tie the hands? Is that necessary?

But the logic of the pose becomes apparent when you consider the illustration’s iconographical origins and purpose—to show the anatomical structures and positioning that a surgeon would need to know to “cut for stone”. Maclise’s plate is perhaps inspired by, or in dialogue with, the “posture for lithotomy” illustration in John Bell’s *Principles of Surgery*

(1801-1808), an awkward engraving of a living patient subjected to the cutting for stone operation (Fig. 10).³⁷ Lithotomy was a difficult procedure: only the unremitting agony of a blockage could make someone so desperate as to consent to the risky and painful operation. The surgeon had to keep the patient's legs parted and fixed to suppress flinching, shuddering, and other involuntary movements. Hence, the tying of hands and feet. Maclise's plates rehearse the operation on a cadaver; Bell's on an (unhappy, reluctant) patient whose penis is tied off and bagged, as it would have to be during surgery. Bell's illustration, probably drawn by his brother Charles, makes no attempt at graceful rendering. The visual argument is straightforward, if a bit cartoonish. Undignified, slightly off in proportions and perspective, not one of Charles's or John's best. Certainly not beautiful—a useful image, nothing more.



Figure 10.

Charles Bell, *Posture for Lithotomy*, from John Bell, *Principles of Surgery*, 3 Vols. (Edinburgh: Cadel & Davies & Longman, 1801-1808), Vol. 2, Fig. 1, 1801, etching. Wellcome Collection. Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

That fits with John Bell's persona as a gruff enemy of medical gentility and prettification. In his 1794 *Engravings of the Bones, Muscles and Joints*, Bell makes ostentatiously ugly etchings that show severed heads, mangled bodies abjectly plopped onto the dissecting table or hanging carelessly from a hook. (The etching technique encourages quick, sketchy lines.) Like Maclise, John Bell is both the anatomist and the artist—I think a brilliant artist—but Bell never pretends to make works of Art. (We may, of course, regard his 1794 *Engravings of the Bones, Muscles and Joints*, as just that.) If the “posture for lithotomy” in *Principles of Surgery* is klutzy, slightly

ridiculous, his earlier darkly gothic dissection-table etchings are powerful, disturbing, deadly serious. And among them is a deliberately harsh depiction of a very dead, and entirely unanimated, cadaver trussed up and placed in the posture for lithotomy, underneath an unpretty diaphragm nailed to the wall, next to a dissected torso hanging from a rope—anatomical objects for an entirely different lesson (Fig. 11).³⁸ In the preface to his *Engravings of the Bones, Muscles, and Joints*, John Bell deplores the fact that most anatomists have to depend on professional artists whose “striving for elegance of form” introduces inaccuracies, falsifies the image.³⁹



Figure 11.

John Bell, *Engravings of the Bones, Muscles and Joints*, (London: Printed for Longman and Rees, 1804), Plate 11, 1804, etching. Wellcome Collection. Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

Yet, Maclise’s lithotomy images, contravening Bell, combine great “elegance of form” with meticulous rendering, verisimilitude. The plates of *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body* counterpoint anatomical rupture, violation, and destruction with sensuality and beauty, and make it look *real*, which is to say true. But they also perform a bit of magic: make the cadavers seem subtly alive.

The contrast between Bell’s 1794 engraving and the work of Maclise is even more pronounced in Maclise’s Plate 61, the first of the pair dealing with the anatomy of the perineum and rectum (Fig. 12). It doesn’t show the cadaver’s face, but instead frames the genitals and dissected area with a proscenium

of drapery. From the carefully rendered folds of cloth—echoed by the folds of the testicular sac—to the fine grain of the wood table, it is abundantly evident that Maclise aspires to make Art—even in the depiction of this unlikely subject. Using lithography to produce subtle gradations of crayon and pencil, Maclise orchestrates the contrast between surface textures, cloth, skin, and the anatomical rupture—the flesh neatly scalloped away to reveal the “superficial dissection”. (Other plates show “deep structures”.)⁴⁰ The feeling, again, is both intimate and grand—the artist’s immersive private view (Maclise’s view) is also a printed monument. Maclise aims for a heedless transcendence, entirely sequestered from the growing debate over whether beauty was antagonistic to the goal of accuracy in science (an issue he never broached in his commentaries).⁴¹



Figure 12.

Joseph Maclise, The Anatomy of the Perineum and Rectum, from Richard Quain, *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body* (London: Taylor & Walton, 1841-1844), Plate 61, circa 1841-1844, coloured lithograph, 67.5 × 55 cm. Collection of Hagströmer Library. Digital image courtesy of Hagströmer Library (public domain).

A “technique of echoing bodily forms in drapery and upholstery”, art historian Mechthild Fend notes, was “often used in 18th-century erotic art, in paintings by Fragonard” and in “Boucher’s 1745 *Odalisque* where the forms of the reclining nude [...] are multiplied in the plush fabrics”.⁴² In both his dissection and his arrangement of reclining nudes (in Plates 61 and 62), Maclise plays with the difference between surface and underlying layers. Hardness, in the hardness of bone and muscle and the wooden table.

Softness, in the smooth textures of skin and cloth. The approach is sculptural and tactile.⁴³ Maclise exquisitely renders skin contours and surfaces, especially around the area of the anatomical opening, which softens (feminizes?) the undressed masculine subject. His pencil is a caress, almost an invitation to touch (what cannot be touched). (And what of his scalpel?) It's as though "the alluring surface ... 'solicits touch ... as it prohibits it'".⁴⁴ If, as Fend suggests, anatomy is an unveiling and the skin a veil, "the symbolic removal of which results in the revelation of an 'inner truth' or essence", Maclise reverses that. His anatomy is an opportunity to dress the body in sumptuous, silky, hairless skin and display its utter nakedness.⁴⁵ Dissection gives the anatomist (and reader) access to what is usually hidden beneath clothes. Maclise sets up a queer scenario. The deliberate stripping of skin could be taken to be an echo of the stripping of clothing that precedes sexual intercourse. And the revelation of "inner truth", anatomical unveiling, stands in for the revelation of hidden desire, an unmasking. Or a masked revelation.

Irrelevant Penises (a Gallery)

Maclise drew a fair number of hands and faces in his atlases, but uniquely specialized in a different area: the male nether regions. Is there another nineteenth-century artist, inside or outside of medical illustration, who so lovingly and persuasively renders the scrotum, testicles, and penis? Even within medical illustration, Maclise's penchant for drawing male genitalia (foreskin retracted and unretracted) is exceptional. And not only in Plates 61 and 62: his atlases are full of figure studies of masculine nude subjects, with penises fully exposed, in a fashion not permitted to academicians, and only exercised in a constrained way by other medical illustrators. An uncovered penis appears 27 times in *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body*, often in scenes where it is irrelevant to the anatomical region demonstrated. Maclise and Quain focus almost entirely on male bodies and body parts (Figs. 13-20). Only one dissected female body appears among the folio's 87 plates: Plate 59, which resembles Plate 60 in every particular, with one signal difference: Maclise covers the undissected female genital region with cloth. Was that because representational conventions concerning female genital modesty were more powerful than those that regulated the male? Or because Maclise took special pleasure in representing the male genitals? Or all of the above?

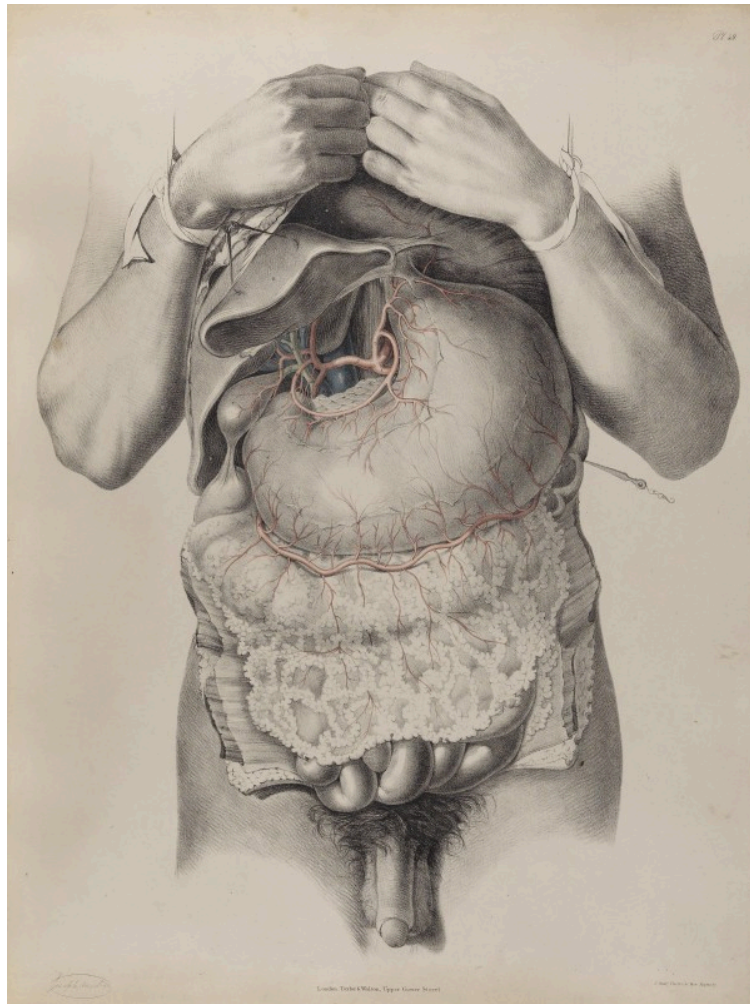


Figure 13.

Joseph Maclise, Plate 49 from Richard Quain, *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body*, (London: Taylor & Walton, 1841-1844), circa 1841-1844, coloured lithograph, 67.5 × 55 cm. Wellcome Collection. Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

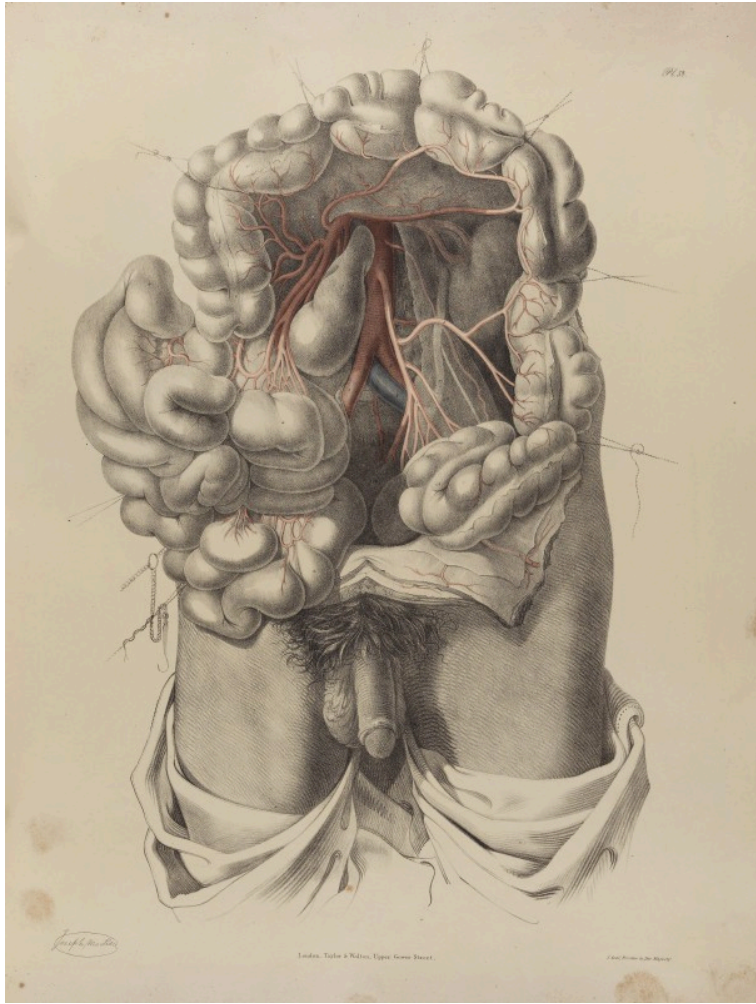


Figure 14.

Joseph MacLise, Plate 52 from Richard Quain, *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body*, (London: Taylor & Walton, 1841-1844), circa 1841-1844, coloured lithograph, 67.5 × 55 cm. Wellcome Collection. Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

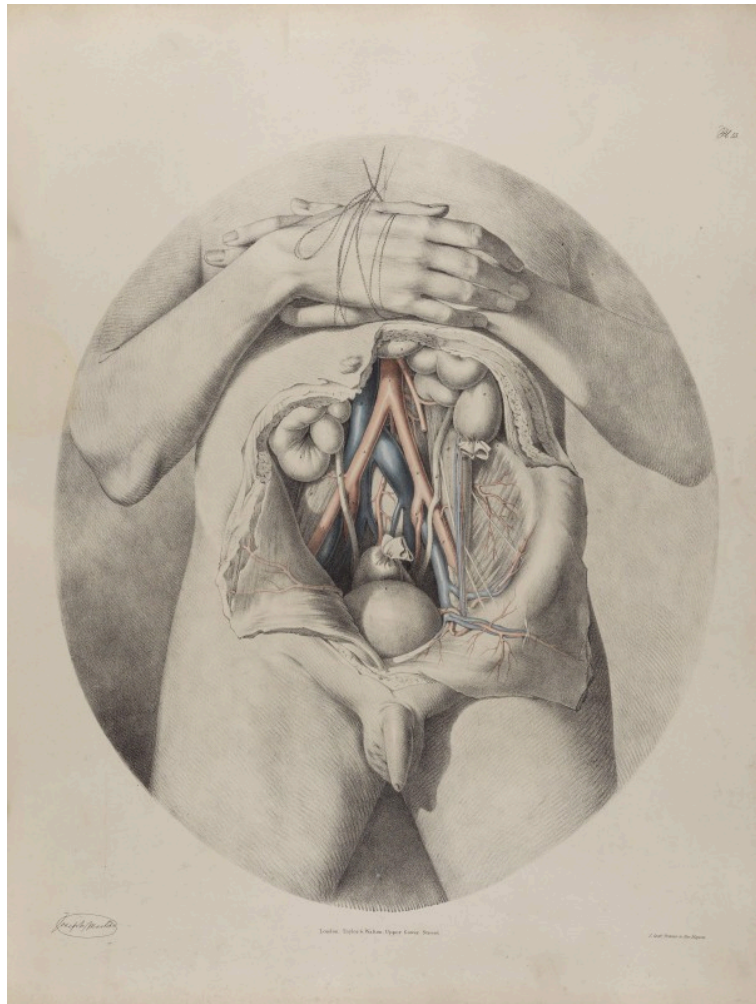


Figure 15.

Joseph Maclise, Plate 55 from Richard Quain, *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body*, (London: Taylor & Walton, 1841-1844), circa 1841-1844, coloured lithograph, 67.5 × 55 cm. Wellcome Collection. Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

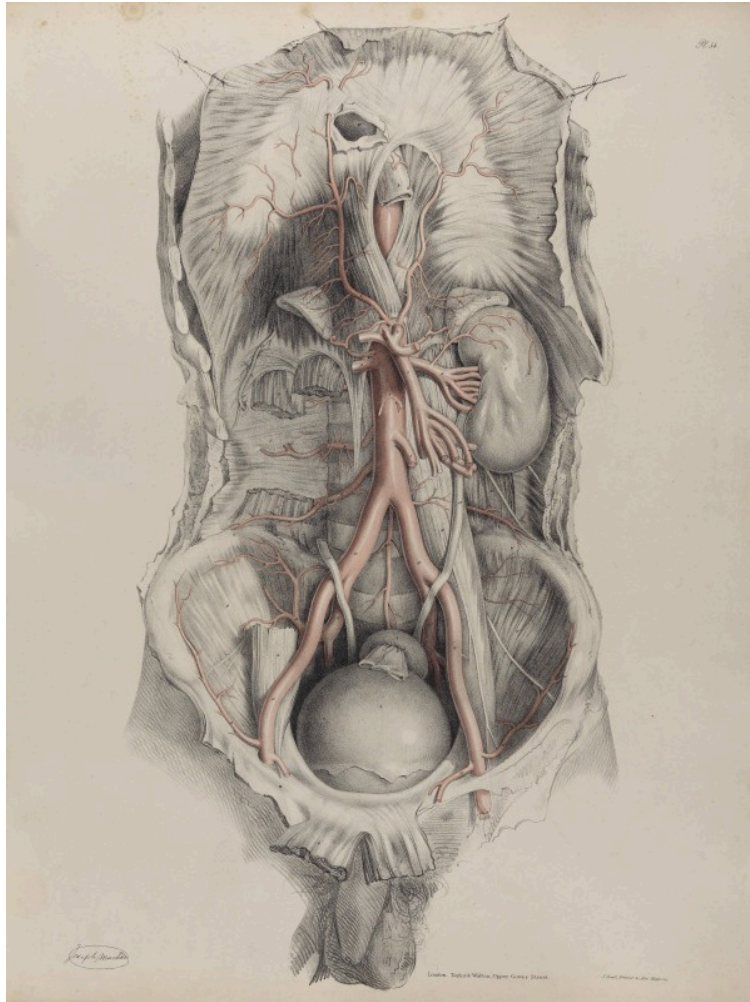


Figure 16.

Joseph Maclise, Plate 54 from Richard Quain, *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body*, (London: Taylor & Walton, 1841-1844), circa 1841-1844, coloured lithograph, 67.5 × 55 cm. Wellcome Collection. Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

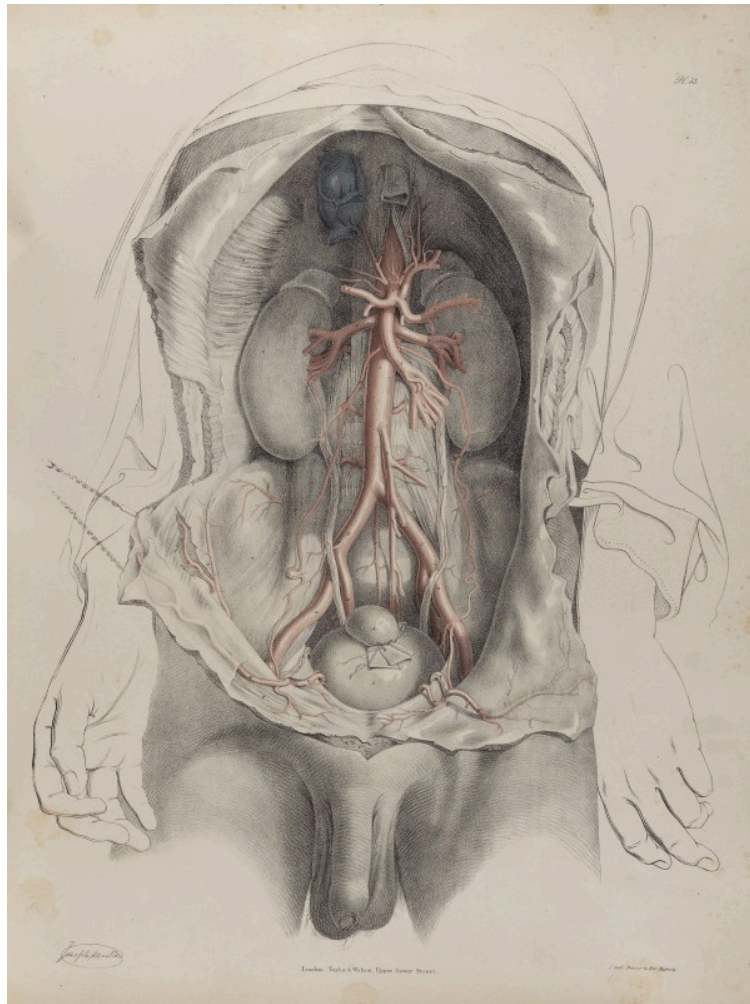


Figure 17.

Joseph Maclise, Plate 53 from Richard Quain, *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body*, (London: Taylor & Walton, 1841-1844), circa 1841-1844, coloured lithograph, 67.5 × 55 cm. Wellcome Collection. Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).



Figure 18.

Joseph Maclise, Plate 52 (detail) from Richard Quain, *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body*, (London: Taylor & Walton, 1841-1844), circa 1841-1844, coloured lithograph, 67.5 × 55 cm. Wellcome Collection. Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).



Figure 19.

Joseph Maclise, Plate 55 (detail) from Richard Quain, *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body*, London: Taylor & Walton, 1841–1844), circa 1841–1844, coloured lithograph, 67.5 × 55 cm. Wellcome Collection. Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

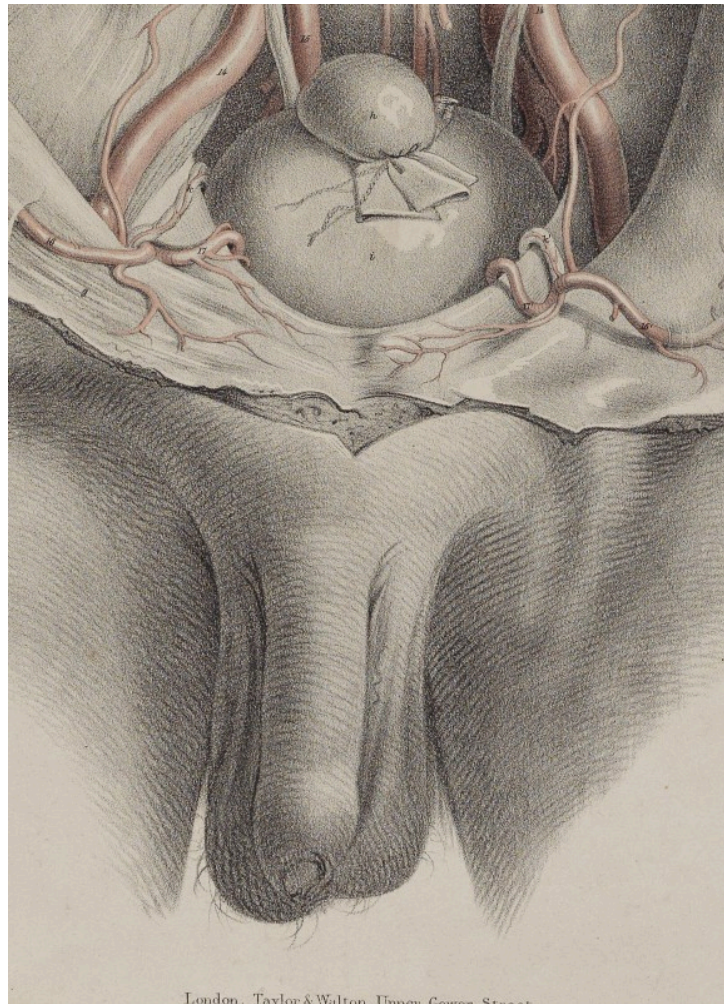


Figure 20.

Joseph Maclise, Plate 53 (detail) from Richard Quain, *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body*, (London: Taylor & Walton, 1841-1844), circa 1841-1844, coloured lithograph, 67.5 × 55 cm. Wellcome Collection. Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

That special interest didn't wane in Maclise's subsequent work. The 1856 edition of *Surgical Anatomy* shows the penis 43 times in 52 plates, sometimes at the margins, but often front and center. That undoubtedly reflects not only Maclise's interest as a practicing surgeon in regions where hernias, stones, and fistulas often manifest, but also perhaps a special interest in young men, masculine bodies, and male genitalia. Women, of course, also get hernias, stones, and fistulas. But Maclise only shows female genitals twice in *Surgical Anatomy* and only briefly discusses operations on women.

Other contemporary British anatomies—the large format chromolithographic atlases of George Viner Ellis (a former student of Quain) (Fig. 21) and Francis Sibson (Fig. 22), and the smaller chromolithographic manuals of Thomas

Morton (another former student of Quain) (Fig. 23)—demonstrate aesthetic virtues, but lack the intimacy, grace, perspectival depth, and erotic valences of Maclise's atlases. Sibson and Viner Ellis avoid the groin (while confining themselves to mostly male cadavers). Morton, who specializes in the surgery of hernias, stones, and fistulas, shows plenty of male groins (and a fair number of female groins), but with little sensuality. There's nothing comparable to Maclise's fixation on male genitalia.

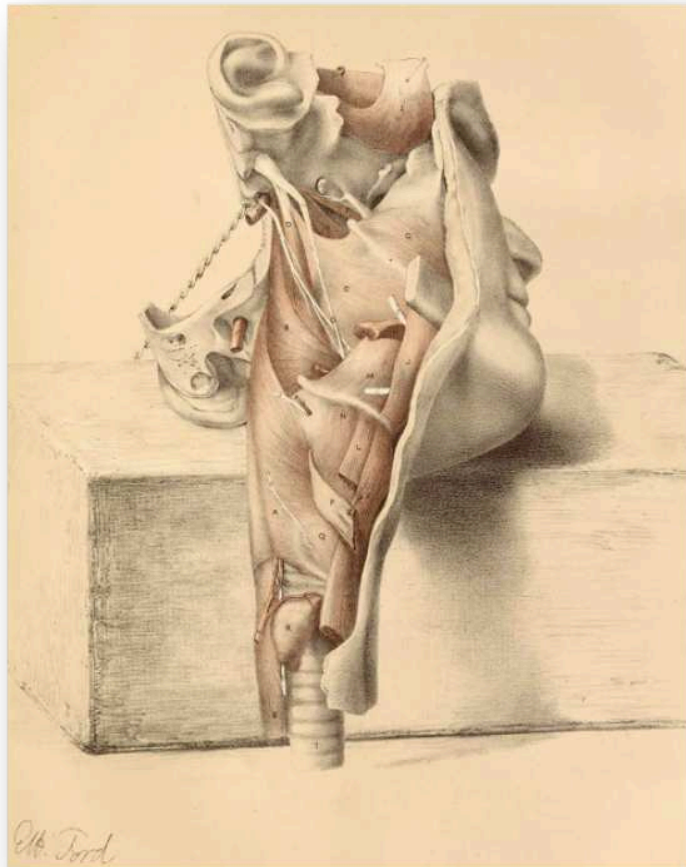


Figure 21.

George Henry Ford, Dissection of a Portion of the Face and Neck, with the Muscles, Blood Vessels and Trachea Indicated: Shown Resting on a Block, from George Viner Ellis, *Illustrations of Dissections in a Series of Original Coloured Plates, the Size of Life, Representing the Dissection of the Human Body* (London, 1865), Plate 25, 1865, coloured lithograph. Wellcome Collection. Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

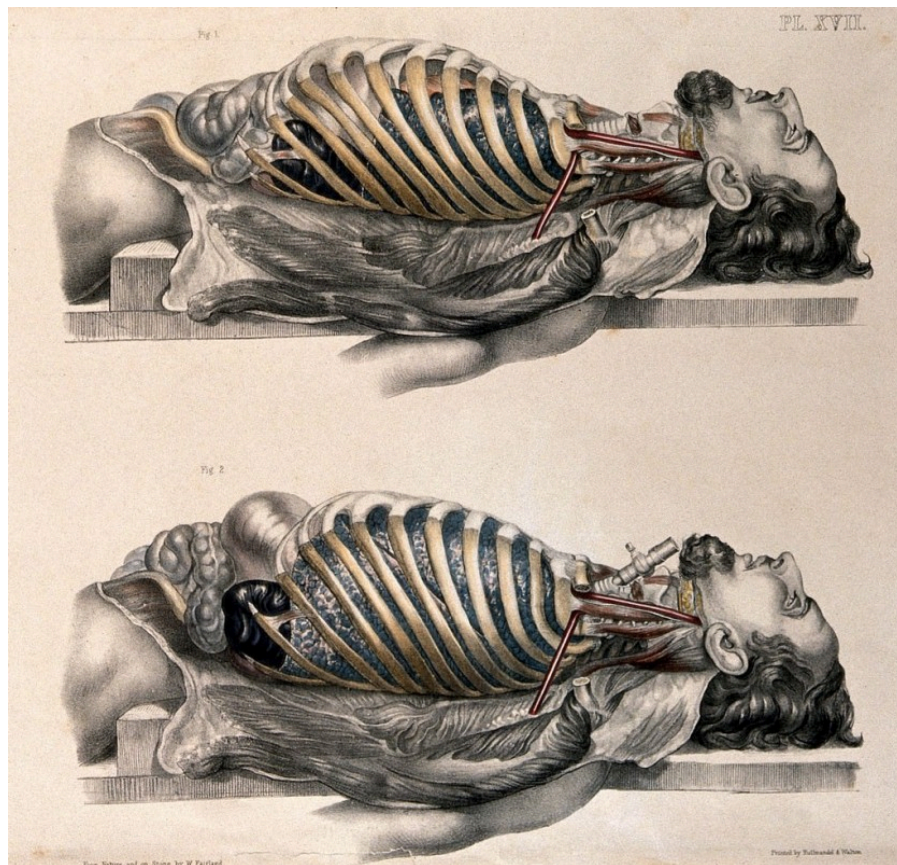


Figure 22.

William Fairland, The body of a man lying down with the trunk dissected: two figures showing the lungs after breathing out (above) and after breathing in (below, simulated by inflating the lungs), from Francis Sibson, *Medical Anatomy* (London, John Churchill, 1869): Plate 17, 1866, coloured lithograph. Wellcome Collection (no. 642390i). Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

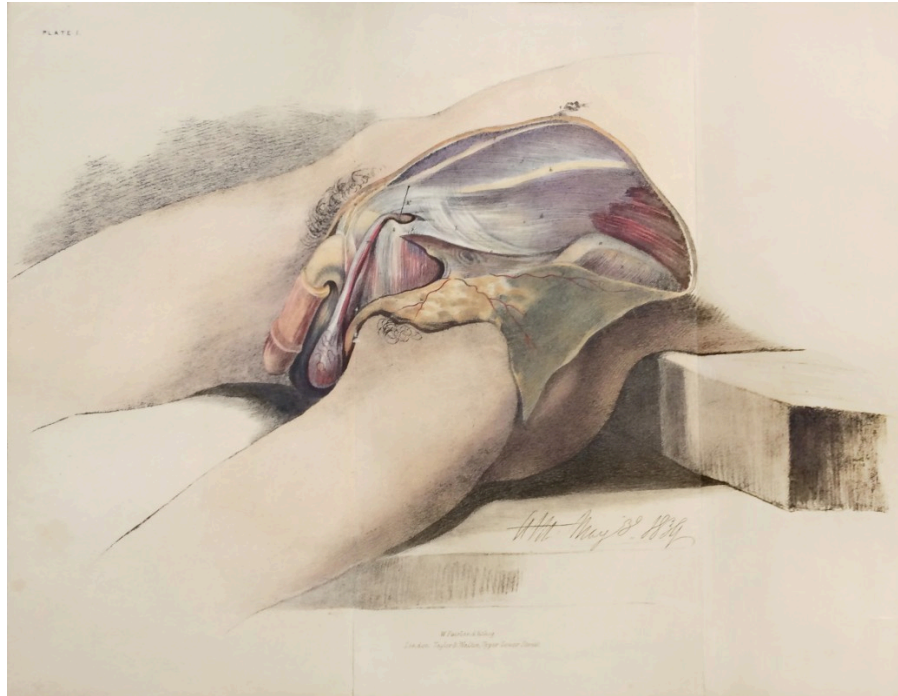


Figure 23.

Andrew Morton, Plate 1 from Thomas Morton, *The Surgical Anatomy of Inguinal Hernia, the Testis and its Coverings*, (London: Taylor, Walton, & Moberly, 1844), 1844, coloured lithograph. Collection of Hagströmer Library. Digital image courtesy of Hagströmer Library (public domain).

“Transcendental Anatomy” and the Semblance of a Crucifixion

We’ve looked at headless cadavers, with sensate hands and exposed genitals. Now consider Plate 47 of *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body*, another figure study and another queer scene: the nearly bodiless head of a handsome young man with flawless skin, flowing hair—but no hands, no arms, no genitalia (Fig. 24). Seemingly asleep, his head rests on a horizontal block of wood, artfully lit (slightly from below, the left side). But that beautiful face is irrelevant (unnecessary, like the penises) to the demonstration of “the thoracic or descending aorta with the intercostal arteries”.⁴⁶ As in so many of his eye-catching illustrations, Maclise’s hunger to depict masculine beauty (or just Beauty) converges with his eagerness to flaunt his artistic gifts and aesthetic sensibility.

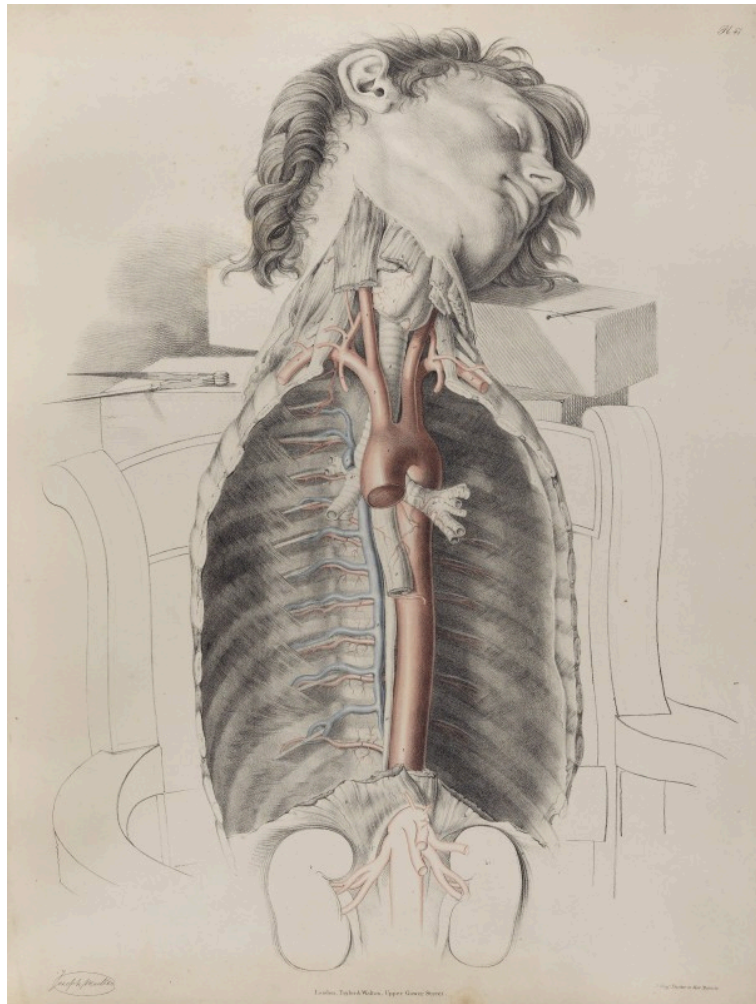


Figure 24.

Joseph Maclise, The Thoracic Aorta and the Intercostal Arteries, with the Intercostal Veins, Vena Azygos, the Thoracic Duct, Seen in Connexion with the Parietes of the Thorax, from Richard Quain, *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body* (London: Taylor & Walton, 1841-1844), Plate 47, circa 1841-1844, coloured lithograph, 67.5 x 55 cm. Wellcome Collection. Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

There is, of course, also anatomy to attend to: an inverted V-cut incision at the neck leads down to the heavily dissected aortic cavity. Maclise leaves off at the bottom with a *non finito* sketch of the kidneys. What's left of the body, after the radical paring away of parts, is framed by a *non finito* wooden armchair, the staves of the chair echoing the ribs of the thoracic cage and their architectural/structural function. Maclise is doubling and redoubling, embellishing his image with a kind of platonic ghost, in step with the dualism that was then coursing through British and Continental fiction, philosophy, and fine art, with its elevation of capital "B" Beauty and refined abstraction *and* getting-it-right detail. (Think of the dualism of real and ideal beauty in

the art criticism of William Hazlitt and John Ruskin.) That open-ended, ramifying aesthetic, in turn, neatly connects Maclise's love of beauty in realistic depiction to French naturalist Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire's preachings on the organic "unity of plan". ⁴⁷

Quain did all the talking in the text of *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human*, but Maclise in his own atlases wrote at length on transcendental anatomy, "unity", "symmetry", "homology", and against laboratory science and new empirical research. According to historian Philip Rehbock, the central idea behind transcendental anatomy was that "a single Ideal Plan or Type ... lay behind the great multiplicity of visible structures of the animal and plant kingdoms", a simple symmetrical Plan that "acted as a force for the maintenance of anatomical uniformity, in opposition to the diversity-inducing" or "degenerating ... forces of the physical environment". ⁴⁸ In the prefaces and commentaries to *Comparative Osteology* (1847), *Surgical Anatomy* (1851 and 1856), and *On Dislocations and Fractures* (London: John Churchill, 1859), Maclise dwells on the principle of anatomical and aesthetic unity—and searches for symmetry and other geometrical patterns. He argues that the dissections and skeletal specimens reveal how the organic body instantiates geometrical forms, and has a shadowy mathematical Beauty, which can be discerned by comparing different species, sexes, and stages of development. The comparative method is crucial. For Maclise, "Comparison [is] ... the nurse of reason"; "Contrast is our pioneer to truth". ⁴⁹

Quain's commentary for Plate 47 states simply that "[t]he body was in the sitting posture", probably in a wooden armchair, "while the drawing was being made". ⁵⁰ But Maclise takes the liberty here (and elsewhere) to play with aesthetic elements and visually encode "transcendental anatomical" principles that Quain might not have fully endorsed, maybe wasn't even fully cognizant of. One reviewer commented that "Mr. Quain has allowed himself to be completely overshadowed by the artist". ⁵¹ You get the feeling that Maclise hijacked the project. While from Maclise's later account, the two men agreed on "the Law of a 'unity of organization'" (Quain appears on a list of the scientific men Maclise says he learned it from), Quain's text abstains from discussion of transcendental anatomy. ⁵² If that disappointed Maclise, maybe he compensated by speaking loudly through the artwork.

One wonders: how did Quain and Maclise get on? What was the character and trajectory of their relationship? Was it strictly business or a friendship? Neither man was married. (Quain married late, some years after the time of their collaboration, to a viscount's widow, and had no children. Maclise never did.) We have no sources on Maclise's character apart from his anatomical publications, but we do on Quain. They mock him as short and fat, an "unamiable colleague", prone to grudges, "constantly involved in disputes",

and risibly cautious in undertaking surgical operations. Obituaries mention his feud with the charismatic, incautious Robert Liston (also Maclise's teacher) and with other members of the medical faculty.⁵³ Maclise dedicated *Surgical Anatomy* to Liston. (Quain's name only appears in a few passing references.)⁵⁴ Quain can't have liked that. Did the two have a falling out? Was Quain jealous, Maclise resentful? From the peevish tone of his writings on matters anatomical, it's evident that Maclise carried a sizeable chip on his shoulder. It's not hard to imagine the two men clashing on philosophy, money, deference, or something else.

In Plate 47, Maclise performs the principle of symmetry by positioning the body in the center of the page, as an axis, framed by the symmetrical ribs and arms of the chair, the kidneys (a symmetrical pair of organs). On the anatomical subject's right shoulder, he places a compass, a symmetrical instrument used by artists, anatomists, mariners, mathematicians, architects to plot distance and figure symmetry—an emblem of symmetry and aesthetic unity (and, along with the square rule, an emblem of Scottish Rite Freemasonry). (Was Maclise a freemason?) To the left, the compass is balanced by a pin, an implement used in the dissecting room to hold open flaps of cadaveric skin and tissue. In the preface to *Surgical Anatomy* (1851 and 1856), Maclise asserts that there are two kinds of facts, "ideal and real", which he takes to be elements of a visual dialogue.⁵⁵ The placement of tools then could be signaling his double commitment: to the truthful depiction of "real facts" (the pin); and to "ideal facts" (the compass); the anatomized body as actually dissected; larger anatomical principles as thereby revealed.

At the center of the composition is the young man's head. Maclise's pleasure in the portrayal of the cadaver's face, with all of its homoerotic valences, overlaps his pleasure in rendering the image in his own bravura aesthetic style, showing off. The figure could almost be taken as a preparatory drawing for the passion of Christ. The tilt of the head, the horizontal bar, the vertical aortic tube, combine to echo the form of a crucifixion. One imagines Maclise—living in the shadow of his famous older brother (perhaps a bit jealous) and eager to show artistic abilities that go beyond mere medical illustration.⁵⁶

This packing of signals, gestures, allusions, metaphors, details into what-the-eye-sees anatomical representation wasn't unprecedented—historians of anatomy will be reminded of Gerard de Lairese's drawings for Govard Bidloo's *Anatomia humani corporis* (1685). However, over 150 years separate Lairese from Maclise. The plates of *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body* and the two London editions of *Surgical Anatomy* are utterly unlike anything to be found in the atlases of Maclise's Victorian medical contemporaries and immediate predecessors.

To fully get the nature of *that* difference, compare *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body* with the canonical work Quain aims to supersede, Friedrich Tiedemann's *Tabulae arteriarum corporis humani* (1822) (Figs. 25–27).⁵⁷ Tiedemann doesn't bring readers into the anatomy room. There are no "bedroom scenes", echolalic crucifixions, or *non finito* chairs: no scenes or settings whatsoever. (Contrast Tiedemann's pared-down take on the aorta and intercostal arteries, or his mesenteric artery, with Maclise's.) Genitals appear only when absolutely necessary, and then only in a dissected state. And there are no undissected faces (except for an introductory plate that greets the reader). Artist Jakob Wilhelm Christian Roux poses figures, mostly torsos or fully detached parts, to stand vertically against the white of the page, as if carved in stone (vaguely echoing the fragmentary torsos of antiquity). Roux's plates objectify—the anatomist's gaze on the dissected subject is isolated from competing webs of meaning as if frozen, separated from the scene of dissection and the viewer. Maclise's plates subjectify—we're looking at an anatomical scene through Maclise's eyes, gazing upon an anatomical subject alive with meaning and affective agency.

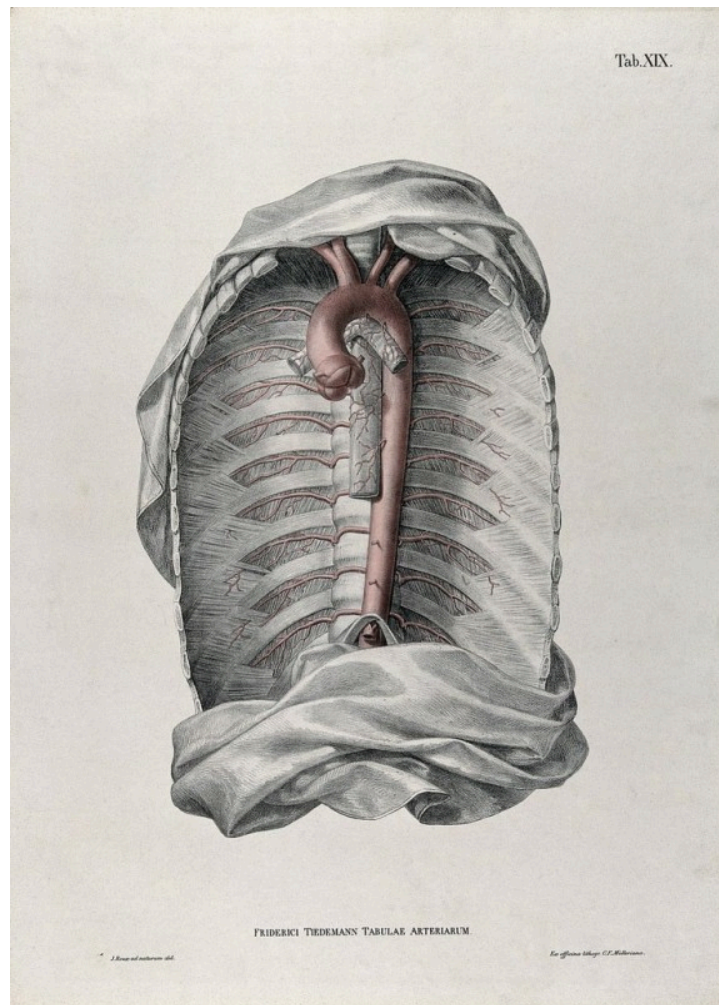


Figure 25.

Jakob Christian Wilhelm Roux, The Thoracic Aorta and the Intercostal Arteries, from Friedrich Tiedemann, *Tabulae arteriarum corporis humani* (Karlsruhe: Christiani Frederici, 1822), Plate 19, 1822, lithograph. Wellcome Collection. Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

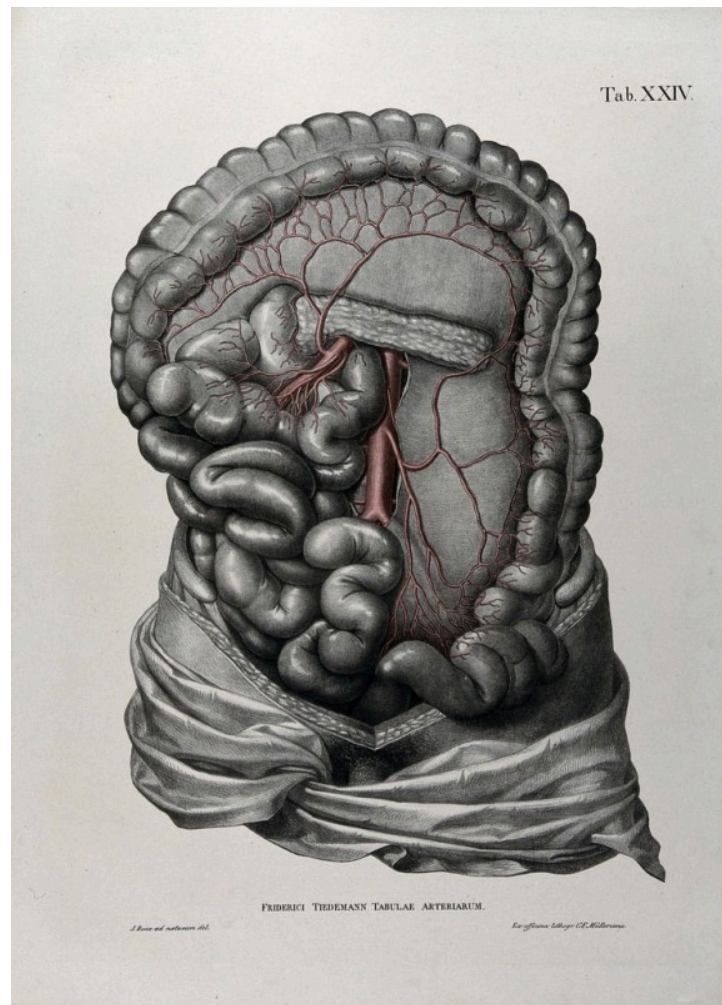


Figure 26.

Jakob Christian Wilhelm Roux, The Thoracic Aorta and the Intercostal Arteries, from Friedrich Tiedemann, *Tabulae arteriarum corporis humani* (Karlsruhe: Christiani Frederici, 1822), Plate 24, 1822, lithograph. Wellcome Collection. Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

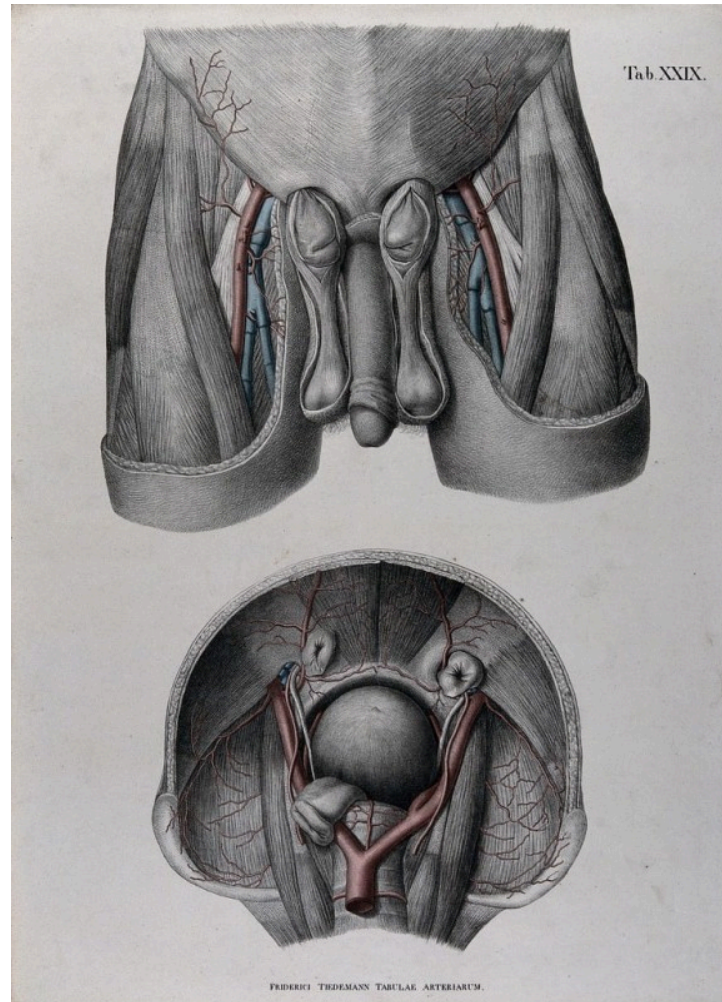


Figure 27.

Jakob Christian Wilhelm Roux, The Thoracic Aorta and the Intercostal Arteries, from Friedrich Tiedemann, *Tabulae arteriarum corporis humani* (Karlsruhe: Christiani Frederici, 1822), Plate 29, 1822, lithograph. Wellcome Collection. Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

Touching Hands

But gaze doesn't capture the intensity of Maclise's immersive representational tactics. For that, we need to return to touch, and the representation of hands on skin and skin-to-skin contact. In Plate 26, the sensual hand that gently grazes the thigh (Fig. 28) ... Is that caress merely another cadaveric proxy for the surgeon-artist's desirous touch, special feelings for his beautifully proportioned anatomical subject? Or does it also double for the artist's *touche* with crayon, pencil, and brush? ⁵⁸ In the 1851 first edition, Maclise shows a bit more (Fig. 29). Below the genital region, the subject's left leg appears to be touching the right leg, just in back of the knee, as if scratching an itch or performing a Scottish country dance or

balletic *cou-de-pied*. See also Plate 27, which initiates a small series of side-by-side dissections (Fig. 30). The penis on the right appears to brush the thigh of the figure on the left. It's rare to see two cadavers touch in anatomical illustration. This kind of touching is rarer still.

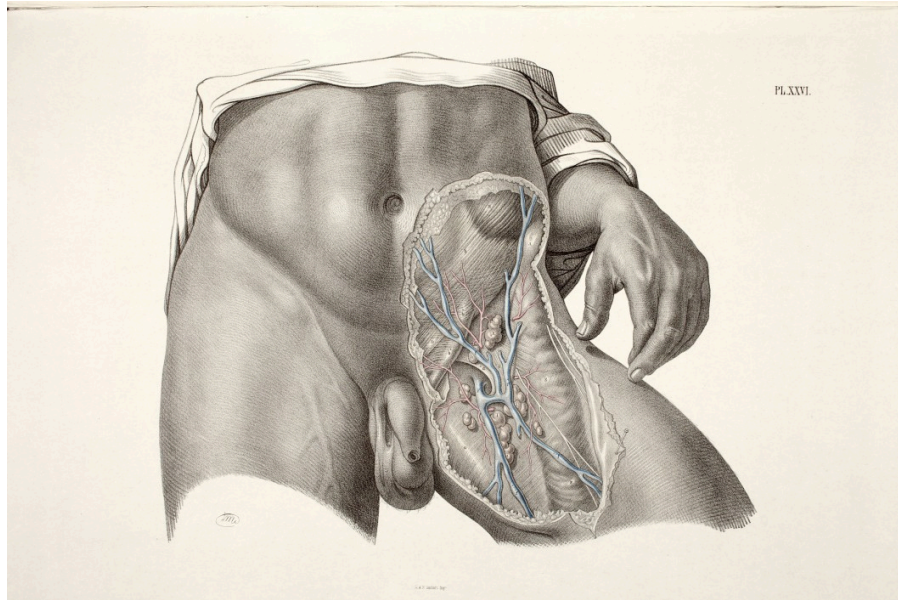


Figure 28.

Joseph Maclise, The Surgical Dissection of the Superficial and Deep Structures of the Inguino-Femoral Region, from Joseph Maclise, *Surgical Anatomy* (London: John Churchill, 1856), Plate 26, 1856, coloured lithograph. Wellcome Collection. Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

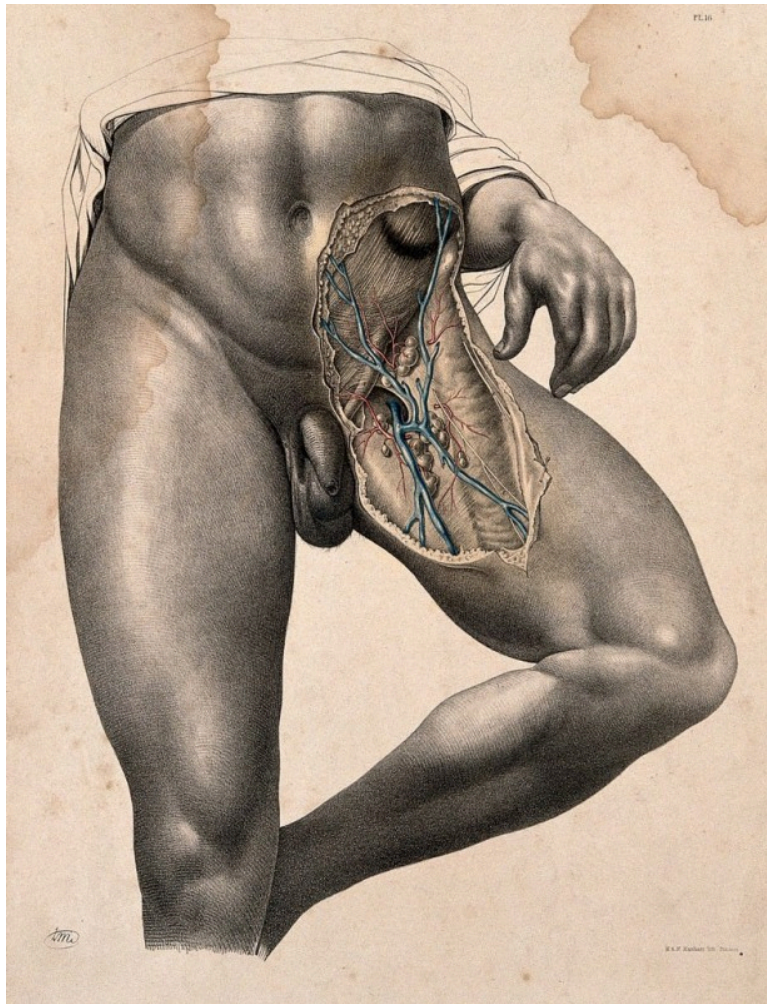


Figure 29.

Joseph Maclise, The Surgical Dissection of the Superficial and Deep Structures of the Inguino-Femoral Region, from Joseph Maclise, *Surgical Anatomy* (London: John Churchill, 1851), Plate 16, 1851, coloured lithograph. Wellcome Collection. Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

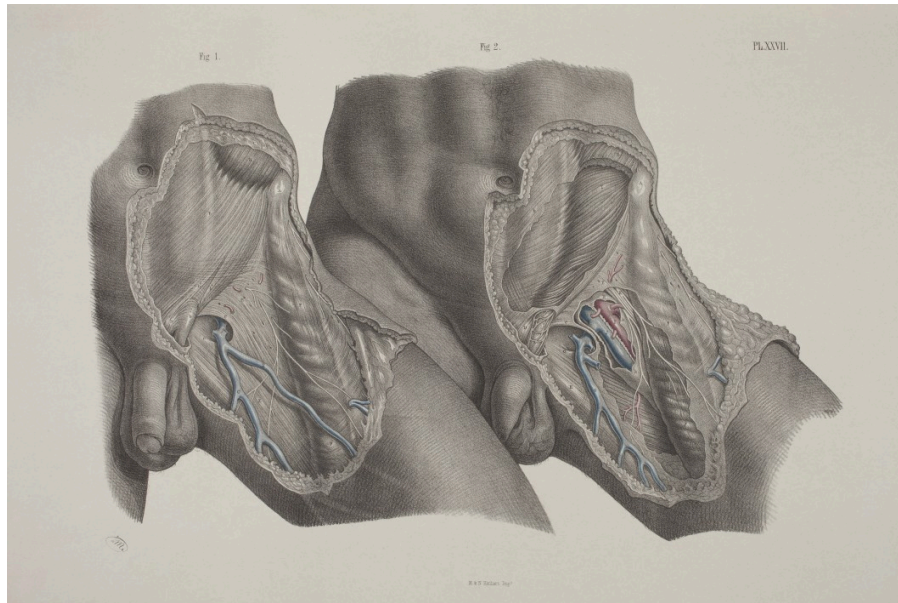


Figure 30.

Joseph Maclise, The Surgical Dissection of the Superficial and Deep Structures of the Inguino-Femoral Region, Hernial Protrusions are Very Liable to Occur at the Groin, from Joseph Maclise, *Surgical Anatomy* (London: John Churchill, 1856), Plate 27, 1856, coloured lithograph. Wellcome Collection. Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).



Figure 31.

Joseph Maclise, *The Surgical Dissection of the Superficial and Deep Structures of the Inguino-Femoral Region* (detail), from Joseph Maclise, *Surgical Anatomy* (London: John Churchill, 1856), Plate 26, 1856, coloured lithograph. Wellcome Collection. Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

“Images of skin”, Mechthild Fend comments, “recall a double sensation of touching and being touched.”⁵⁹ That happens in the positioning of figures, but touching can also be discerned in the textures of the illusionistic rendering: light, shadow, and surfaces created by line drawing. The fine cross-hatching itself records the caressing movement of Maclise’s hand with pencil and pen on paper and then crayon on stone—and mimetically suggests the caressing movement of the hand of Maclise on the bodies of his subjects. Another echo: look closely at Maclise’s Plate 26; the index finger seems to caress the middle finger (Fig. 31). A caress within a caress. Exquisite sensation. Reference to the visible brush stroke, as the record of a caress of the surface of the paper or canvas—and, by analogy, a caress of

the body of the subject—was a part of the rhetoric of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century art discourse.⁶⁰ The erotic valence of Maclise's plates is even more manifest in his representation of skin and touch, than in his drawings of male genitalia. In his commentary on the anatomy of the hand, Maclise invests the hand with agency and powers, praises its "perfect ... prehensile and tactile functions": this "beautiful and valuable member" is "the material symbol of the immaterial spirit", "has a language of its own", is "the autograph of mind".⁶¹ Maclise orchestrates a haptic imaginary in words, image, and line. (And if hand is "autograph of mind", what is on Maclise's mind when he autographs with *his* hand?)

Critics mostly loved *Surgical Anatomy*. A reviewer in the *Edinburgh Medical & Surgical Journal*, commenting on the first three installments, singled out Maclise's "anatomical knowledge", "talents as a draughtsman", "great fidelity and accuracy", his "very correct and beautiful view" and arrangement of dissected subjects in "the best and most effective positions ... before the eye of the beholder" so as to stage them in an "impressive light".⁶² But images like Plate 27 push the limits. One reviewer deplored "the crowding of two anatomical figures on the same page". Was that a displaced expression of discomfort with the erotic implications of such "crowding"? With less space on the page, the smaller format 1851 Philadelphia edition places the figures on separate pages.⁶³ In a larger format, it's easier to put more than one figure on the same page, and perhaps more pedagogically effective: the proximity of the two figures makes the comparison easier for readers to see. But it also provides an opportunity for Maclise to stage a teasing contact between anatomical bodies.

The convergence of artist's *touche* and anatomist's touch was an oft-recited topos of art criticism and commentary. According to Fend, the eighteenth-century French portraitist Louis Tocqué, in an essay on painting, described how "the brush penetrates the body like an anatomist's knife":

Rummaging through the inner parts while painting, the artist seems to feel his way with his brush, gaining insight into anatomical knowledge. This sensible brush leads the painter to "discover the muscles neatly", to organise the amorphous flesh, and enables him to represent the body with ease and precision simultaneously.⁶⁴

Maclise works the same analogy in reverse. Like a pen, the scalpel makes a composition out of the body, turns the body into a sketch, uses the body to discover lines on paper and composition. And, if we're not piling on metaphors, carves the body into a sculpture, the sketching of classical and

Planche 6.

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100. Le Mante.

Atelier. 1811.

Bay. 1811.

Jean-Galbert Salvage, *Anatomie du gladiateur combattant, applicable aux beaux arts*, (Paris: Jean-Galbert Salvage, 1812), Plate 6, 1812, two-layer colour copperplate engraving. Collection of US National Library of Medicine. Digital image courtesy of US National Library of Medicine (public domain).

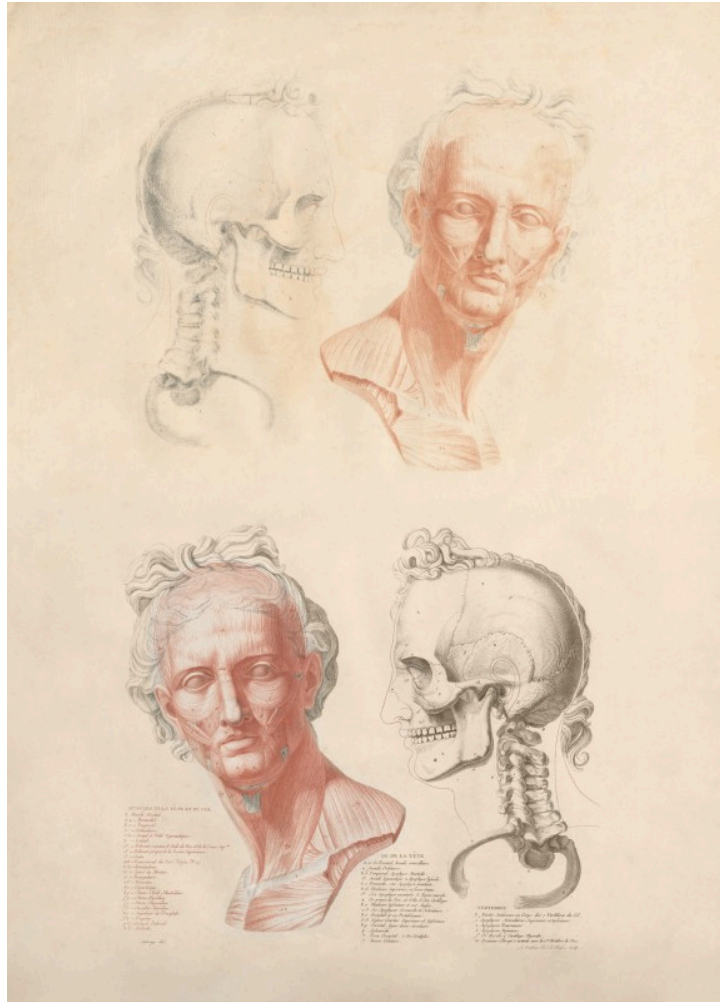
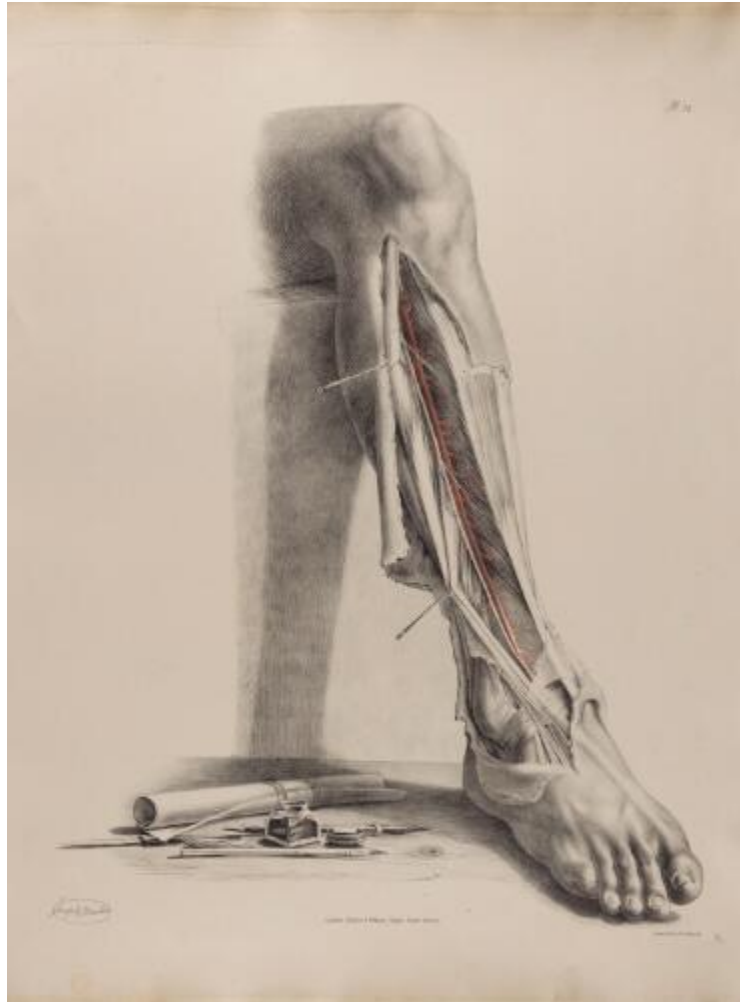


Figure 33.

Jean-Galbert Salvage, *Anatomie du gladiateur combattant, applicable aux beaux arts*, (Paris: Jean-Galbert Salvage, 1812), 1812, two-layer colour copperplate engraving. Collection of US National Library of Medicine. Digital image courtesy of US National Library of Medicine (public domain).



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Figure 34.

Joseph Maclise, The Anterior Tibial Artery, the Circulatory System: Dissection of the Front of the Lower Leg and the Ankle, with Arteries Indicated in Red and Blue, from Richard Quain, *The Anatomy of the Arteries* (London: Taylor & Walton, 1844), Plate 82, 1841-1844, coloured lithograph, 64.2 x 49.1 cm. Wellcome Collection (no. 579465i). Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

Maclise's Men, an Imaginary Confraternity?

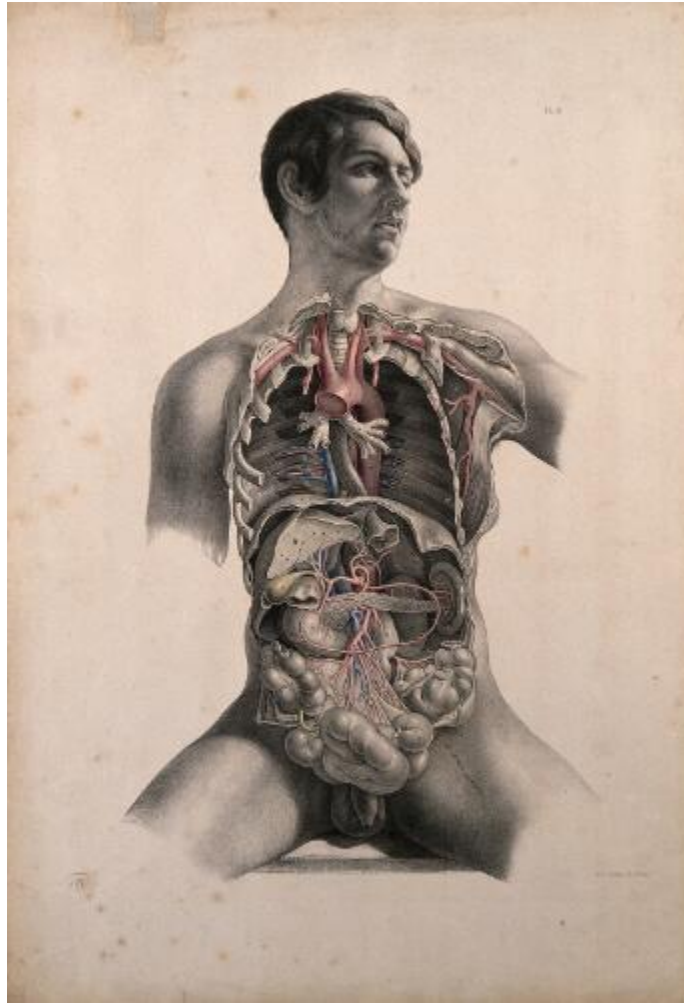
Maclise's focus on the male genitalia and rectum, and the erotics of skin and touch are not the whole story. While he largely refrained from classicizing gestures and conventions, Maclise paid heed to contemporary ideals of masculine beauty in the selection of his cadavers. And seems to have had, at some junctures, a large pool of specimens to choose from. According to Quain, for the plates of *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body*, "the bodies ... received during a series of years for the study of anatomy into the School of Medicine in University College" amounted to 1,040 or 930. (Quain's

two prefaces differ on the exact number; either way, it's a lot.)⁶⁶ For the plates of *Surgical Anatomy*, Maclise doesn't total up his cadavers, but states, "in guarantee of their anatomical accuracy":

they have been made by myself, from my own dissections, first planned at the London University College [some of the same specimens used in his collaboration with Quain?] and afterwards realized at the École Pratique and School of Anatomy, adjoining the Hospital La Pitié, Paris, a few years since. Those representing pathological conditions of parts, I have made from *natural specimens* [Maclise's emphasis], recent and preserved, which I had the opportunity of examining at the Hospitals and Museums in Paris, London, and elsewhere.⁶⁷

Paris was famous for its prodigious supplies of cadavers available to dissectors in this period. The bodies came, with little regulatory interference or popular protest, mostly from the large, state-run charity hospitals, where many poor people sought treatment and died. London was less well endowed with large hospitals and deceased patients, but North London Hospital (later, University College Hospital, London), seems to have had numbers adequate to supply Quain's needs, perhaps supplemented with deceased inmates from other charity hospitals, jails, and poorhouses. After finishing his work with Quain, Maclise never obtained a position that could guarantee him a supply of "anatomical subjects". Hence, his reliance on drawings made years earlier—"planned" during his time as a student in London and "realized" in Paris.⁶⁸

Even there, his choices of cadavers to illustrate were undoubtedly limited: some plates feature older men; others are likely composites (incorporating those "natural specimens"). But, whether true-to-nature or composites, one doesn't have to search hard to assemble a gallery of handsome young men from Maclise's drawings. In fact, Maclise himself assembled such a gallery in *Surgical Anatomy* (Plates 11–15, 1851 edition; Plates 21–25, 1856 edition) (Figs. 35–39). Would it be out of place to mention that the faces, musculature, and poses have an oddly familiar look? Some faint resemblance to the figures that appear on the covers of gay pornographic paperbacks of the 1950s and 1960s? Maybe that's a stretch. But, leaving that aside, we can still place Maclise's men in the same frame as the soft-core homoeroticism of contemporary and predecessor artworks, all broadly situated in (and licensed by) the grand aesthetic tradition of masculine nudity.



[View this illustration online](#)

Figure 35.

Joseph Maclise, The Relations of the Principal Blood Vessels to the Viscera of the Thoracico-Abdominal Cavity, from Joseph Maclise, *Surgical Anatomy* (London: John Churchill, 1851), Plate 13, 1851, coloured lithograph. Wellcome Collection. Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

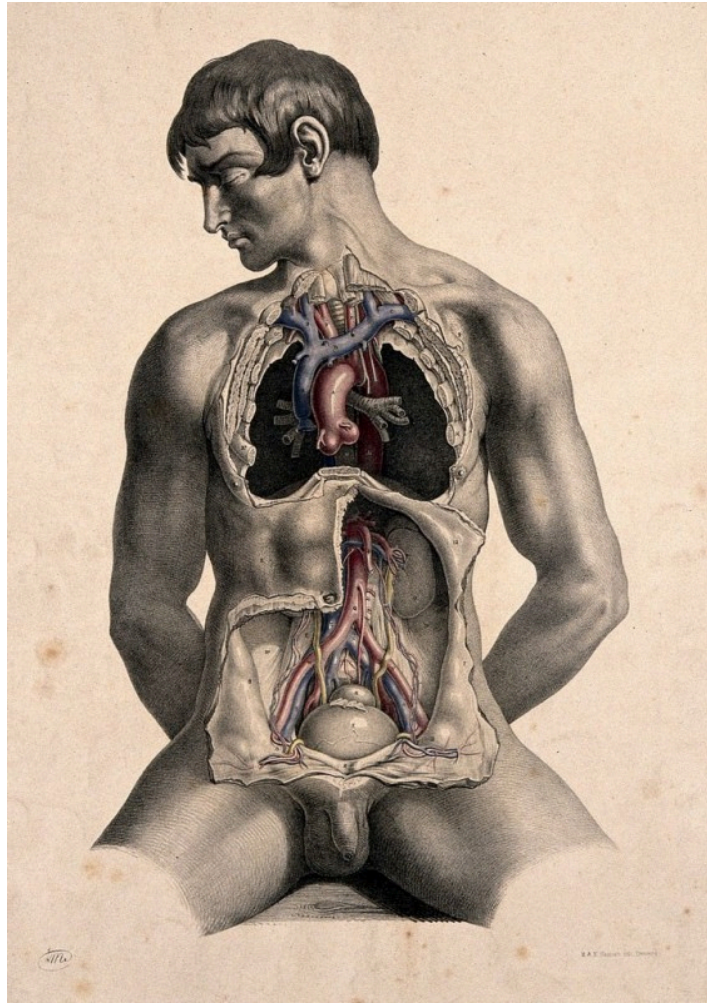


Figure 36.

Joseph Maclise, The Relation of the Internal Parts to the External Surface of the Body, from Joseph Maclise, *Surgical Anatomy* (London: John Churchill, 1851), Plate 15, 1851, coloured lithograph. Wellcome Collection. Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

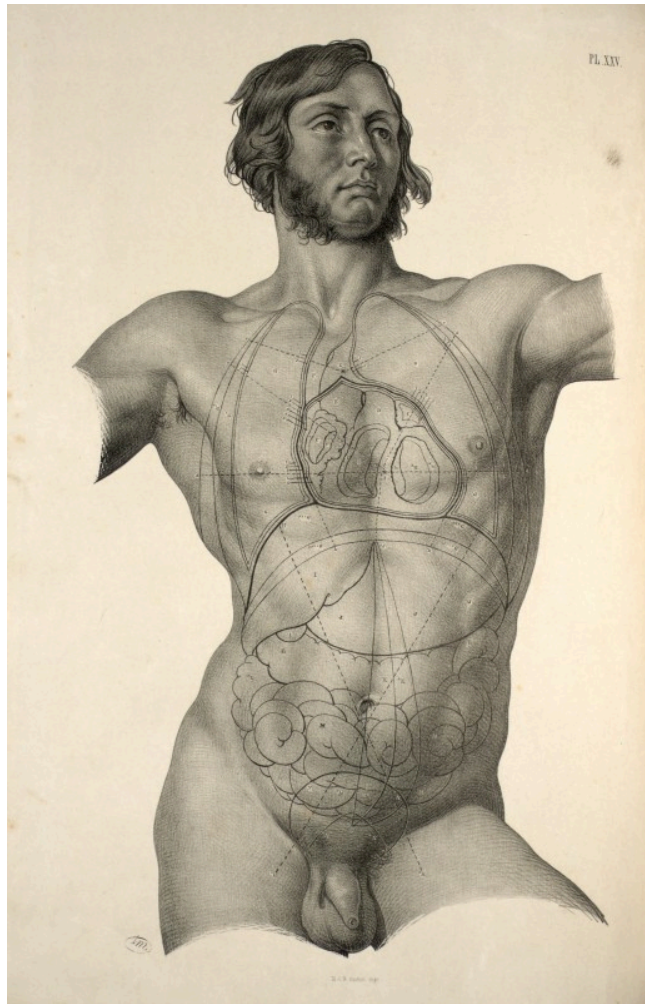


Figure 37.

Joseph Maclise, Illustrating the Action of the Thoracico-Abdominal Apparatus as Effecting the Motions of the Contained Viscera, from Joseph Maclise, *Surgical Anatomy* (London: John Churchill, 1856), Plate 25, 1856, lithograph. Wellcome Collection. Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).



Figure 38.

Joseph Maclise, The Form of the Abdomen and the Relative Position of its Contained Organs in Health and in Sickness, from Joseph Maclise, *Surgical Anatomy* (London: John Churchill, 1851), Plate 11, 1851, coloured lithograph. Wellcome Collection. Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

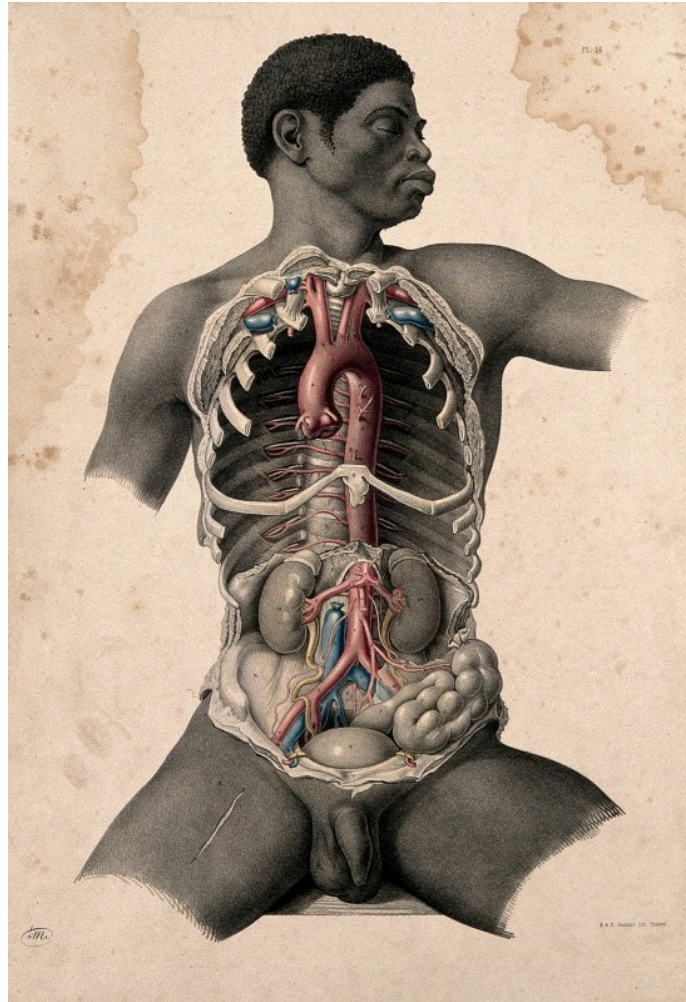


Figure 39.

Joseph Maclise, *The Relation of the Internal Parts to the External Surface of the Body*, from Joseph Maclise, *Surgical Anatomy* (London: John Churchill, 1851), Plate 14, 1851, coloured lithograph. Wellcome Collection. Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

Maclise's nudes were, of course, anatomized corpses. Was he thereby participating in the mid-century Romantic valorization and eroticization of the dead body? The kind of thing that Paul Hippolyte Delaroche was performing in his over-the-top painting, *The Wife of the Artist, Louise Vernet, on her Deathbed* (1845/46) and that Edgar Allan Poe adverted to in his famous remark: "The death of a beautiful woman is, unquestionably, the most poetical topic in the world" (also from 1846).⁶⁹ The timing's right—the cult of morbid sentimentality was cresting in the 1840s and 1850s—but Maclise's men don't fit the mold. That cult mostly scripts the cadaver as an intensely desirable woman, naked or shrouded, cold like marble, impassive but intact, without any decomposition or rupture. The dead body lacks expressiveness, doesn't answer back, maintains a chaste feminine modesty,

even as the occasion of death utterly exposes it to male contemplation. In contrast, the men in Maclise's gallery stand upright before the reader. They may be cadaveric objects of desire—anatomical narratives of dissectors and body-snatchers played with that necrophilic potential since the early modern era—but with their sensate hands and eyes, they somehow seem alive on the printed page.⁷⁰

Maclise lived in a social environment that disapproved of, punished, homoerotic expression and relations. If his erotic attachments were principally directed to men, as we have some reason to suspect, perhaps he took his gallery of men as an imaginary confraternity. Not exactly pin-ups, but a playful projection of desired objects of affection, imaginary friends. A representational consolation for relations and attachments never realized, or (another possibility) figurations of the affective life he did enjoy. Maybe Maclise imagined them as he sketched: transported from the dissecting tables back to life, congregating in student rooms, the medical school lecture hall, or pub ...

Coda: Maclise's Fate and the Queer Anatomical Figure Study

The tradition of figure drawing, founded in the fifteenth century—and reformulated and redefined in centuries of connoisseurial discourse, most notably in the writings of eighteenth-century art historian Johann Joachim Winckelmann—was full of sensuality and infused with its own pleasure in Greco-Roman pleasure in, and desire for, idealized hairless, white-marbled, masculine beauty. As Whitney Davis and others have argued, queerness was at the center, not the periphery.⁷¹ Unspeakable yet obvious. Those erotic valences were never entirely extinguished by the religious and secular policiers of the intervening centuries. Fine art and the figure study remained a place where the artist could show and play with objects of desire. Yet, certain conventions of modesty governed even sexy Italian and French neoclassical paintings and sculptures. Sensuality received ample expression, but always licensed by some underlying or attached moral frame, a mythological or historical or religious or philosophical reference, or just classicism. Until the provocations of Gustave Courbet and the decadents, artists most often obscured the genitalia by a pose, fig leaf, or some other tactic. In paintings and sculptures where male genitalia did receive representation, the penis could receive no special focus and, following classical precedents, was rendered as small—often disproportionately small. Even so, the male body, and especially the male nude, carried an erotic charge. According to art historian Abigail Solomon-Godeau, in European classicist and neoclassicist art, while the female body, nude and clothed, was one focus of erotic representation, and the Herculean muscle man another, they were matched, even overmatched, by the “ephebic” (peri-adolescent, androgynous) male nude. And that's where things stood, up until sometime

in the middle of the nineteenth century (Maclise's period), when a "crisis in representation" closed down the space for erotic depiction of the ephebic male body, and the female body, pre-eminently the nude, became the privileged signifier of erotic desire.⁷²

Yet Maclise, uniquely licensed and committed to illustrating the male genitalia—with a sense of himself as an artist in the grand tradition, but located in the domain of medicine, not gallery art—was able to make figure studies of what was scanted in the genre of illusionistic perspectival figure study. And what was scanted in British anatomical and surgical illustration: naturalistic, sensual, proportionate renderings of nude and semi-nude men with genitalia. Images which could be privately archived between the covers of the anatomical book, on the shelves of a medical library, or displayed on the walls of a dissecting room or classroom or lecture hall, openly exhibited to groups of privileged viewers. Shared among men in the homosocial clubs of professional medicine. While hidden from view. The anatomical closet.

Maclise was in, or adjacent to, those clubs. If we can't say anything definite about his social networks or relations, here's what we do know. In the 1840s and most of the 1850s, he receives laudatory mentions in the *Lancet* (then still an oppositional journal, a champion of political and medical radicalism), and attracts notice as a firebrand in the transformism debates.⁷³ As he settles into a career as a practicing surgeon, medical author, and illustrator, his atlases are acclaimed and he is made a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons.

But, in spring 1852, he is passed over for an appointment at a London hospital. A less distinguished man is named. (*The Lancet* protests on Maclise's behalf.)⁷⁴ Then, in 1858, at the height of his authorial success, Maclise enters into a pointless two-year-long controversy, which he brings upon himself by penning an off-kilter diatribe against William Harvey's account of the action of the heart, oddly inserted into *On Dislocations and Fractures*, a book on an entirely different topic. It was a peculiar provocation—Harvey was a beloved, celebrated icon of British medical science. The convoluted literary tone of Maclise's diatribe, and convoluted defense of his position in letters to the *Lancet*, work to discredit him.⁷⁵ (Was he losing his mind?) In 1861, Maclise turns up as candidate for the position of conservator at the Hunterian Museum. The five applicants are ranked by the committee; Maclise comes in last among them.⁷⁶ As the 1860s unfold, he produces no new book or article and drops out of the pages of the *Lancet* and every other medical journal. This turn of events might be a sign that Maclise had lost interest, or Quain didn't use his pull for Maclise, or didn't have much pull, or that Maclise was regarded as unserviceable (and worked

to make himself so). (A lot was at stake in these matters: Thomas Morton, also Quain's student, committed suicide when he failed to get a hospital appointment.) What was happening?

During this period, at some intervals, Joseph lives with brother Daniel in Bloomsbury and Chelsea—the two men were said to be close. (An unmarried sister, Isabella, “keeps house” for them until her untimely death in 1865.)⁷⁷ Perhaps Maclise decides to concentrate on his surgical practice. Or retires to live off his savings and royalties (if they amounted to anything) or his brother's fortune (we don't know anything about the size or disposition of Daniel's estate). Or takes ill. Or becomes morbidly despondent over the loss of his beloved siblings: Daniel dies in 1870.

Or stakes a place as a defiant outsider. Maclise was on the far edge and losing side of the debates on evolution, an evolutionist but not a Darwinian. He also courted disfavor by condemning empirical research—in an age of progress, when research programs were abundantly productive, new findings were piling up and receiving acclaim in scientific journals and the press. In the preface to *Surgical Anatomy*, Maclise fulminates:

All the sum of facts are long since gathered, sown, and known. We have been seekers after those from the days of Aristotle. And what is ... now remaining to be done, if it be not to arrange the facts in hand, with a view to their proper interpretation? Are we to put off the day of attempting this interpretation for three thousand years more, in order to allow these dissectors time for knife-grinding, for hair-splitting, for sawing, chopping, and hammering this pauper *corpus mortuum* ...? How long are they to lead us on this dull road, weed-gathering, tracking out bloodvessels, tricking out nerves, and slicing the brain into still more delicate atoms ... in order to coin new names and swell the dictionary?⁷⁸

No subtleties there. It's not the only passage in which Maclise bludgeons the opposition, lays out grievances, and expounds on disagreements amounting almost to hatred. If he lays it on thick in his drawings, he lays it on thicker in his prose. To reviewers who called him on his textual excesses, he replies in the “Notice to The Second Edition” of *Surgical Anatomy*: “I have at times left the beaten march but to seek recreation”, then obscurely breaks off into four not very revelatory sentences on science and nature, in Latin, from Bacon's *Novum Organum*. And finishes with this: “I have throughout ... recorded ideal

and real facts ... for the seemingly exhausted subject of Anthropotomy [human anatomy] which have not hitherto been either written, spoken, or known ...” ⁷⁹

Even with the brilliance of his illustrations, rhetoric like that could derail a career. (One imagines readers skipping the introduction and going directly to the plates.) But let’s also entertain the possibility that Maclise might be alluding (consciously or unconsciously) to other things when musing over recreation-seeking off “the beaten march” and “facts ... not hitherto ... written, spoken, or known ...”.

Was there anything? We know that Maclise was in Paris in the 1830s and later traveled with Daniel “over the continent” (Paris, Lyon, Florence, Munich, Naples, Milan, Rome). It is tempting to speculate about what went on in those places: the “continent” was notoriously an occluded zone where British men, especially artists, went to let their hair down, explore aspects of hetero- and homosexuality that were more rigorously policed in their native habitat.

⁸⁰ If that was the case with the brothers Maclise, we might have gotten clues from Daniel’s letters to Charles Dickens. But Dickens, who delivered the eulogy at Daniel’s funeral, destroyed that “immense correspondence, ... because I could not answer for its privacy being respected when I should be dead”. ⁸¹ No letters from Joseph to Daniel or anyone else have thus far turned up, and no letters to Joseph either. Likely also destroyed, as so often happened in nineteenth-century Britain. So a blind spot.

Then darkness. Quain dies in 1887 and receives chatty (though not entirely laudatory) obituaries in the *Lancet* and the *British Medical Journal*. ⁸² In contrast, Maclise, once the *Lancet*’s pet, receives no obituary, not in the *Lancet* or any other journal. So what happened? We haven’t a clue. His name drops out of the *Medical Directory* in 1879 (the year most catalogs and references give as his death date). Maybe he retired in 1879, but there was no announcement. And no announcement or remembrance upon his death from “bronchitis” and “syncope” in 1891. Which also seems odd, considering his distinguished record of publication and distinguished brother. ⁸³ The death certificate describes him as a “retired army surgeon”. (That was likely mistaken, but if he did at some point enter the service, that would add another twist to Maclise’s life story.)

* * *

By the century’s end—a generation after Maclise’s zenith—the old medical order was coming undone. Works like *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body* and *Surgical Anatomy*, while still valued by collectors, no longer seemed modern, and the arty bibliophilic super-sized folio no longer stood

securely atop the hierarchy of medical publications. Improvements in surgical techniques and photography bypassed Maclise's illustrated plates. As enthusiasm shifted to embryology, microbiology, and neuroanatomy, *Gray's Anatomy* and similar works rationalized and democratized anatomical publication for a new generation (Fig. 40).

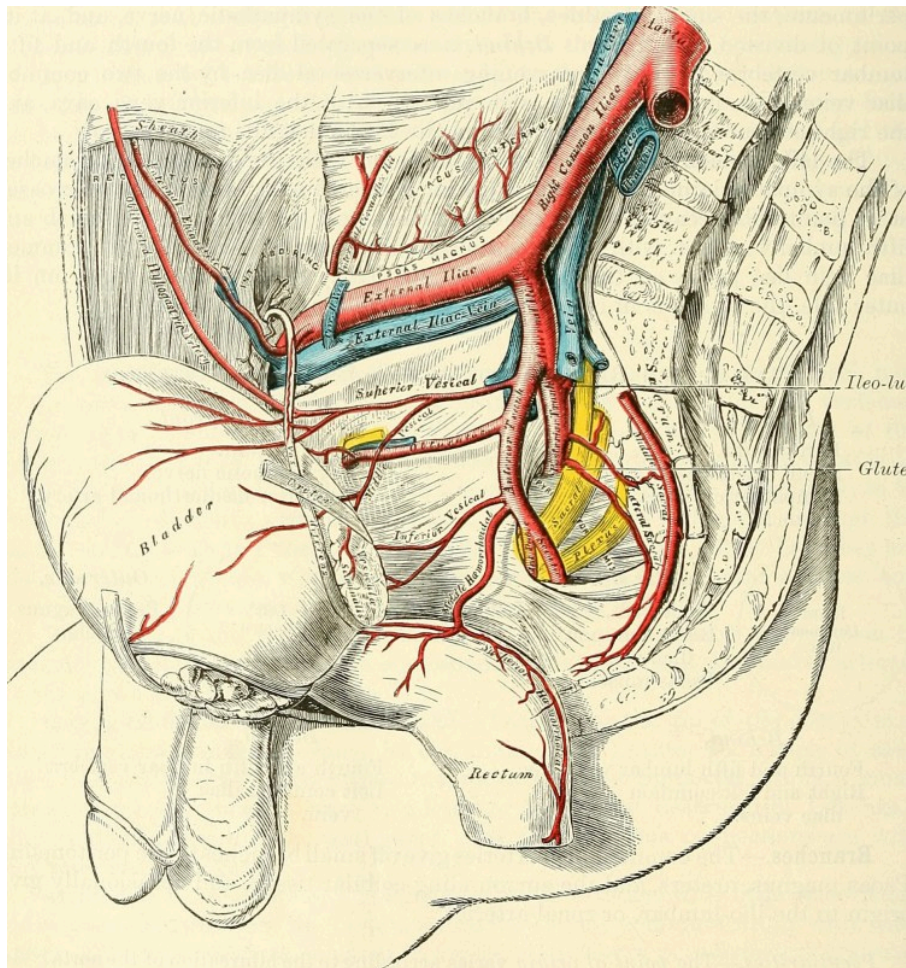


Figure 40.

Henry Gray, detail from page 632,, Henry Gray, *Anatomy Descriptive and Surgical* (London: Longmans, 1897), 1897, coloured lithograph. Collection of Francis A. Countway Library of Medicine, Harvard University. Digital image courtesy of Open Knowledge Commons and Harvard Medical School (public domain).

Even if *Surgical Anatomy* retained some usefulness as a practical guide, its visual holism, high aesthetics, cranky politics, and glowing sensuality began to look deficient, old fashioned—maybe a little *queer*. The *tour de force* plates, the extraordinary sensitivity to touch, the provocative commentaries had an over-the-top intensity. What did they encode? Thwarted desire for recognition as an artist? Thwarted desire for recognition as a master surgeon

and dissector? Thwarted desire for recognition as a misunderstood theorist of transcendental anatomy? Or thwarted desire to openly touch and be touched? Some, or all, of the above.

There was an increasing sense that modern times needed modern texts and modern approaches. Greater specialization brought a new focus on parts. Irrelevant material was even more rigorously excised from the anatomical image, expressive style tamped down, deemed unscientific, behind the times. Heading into the twentieth century, “Art” and “Science” were taken to be antithetical categories. In the new age, as Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison show, the beautiful was repositioned to stand as the enemy of objectivity.⁸⁴ And if beauty was an enemy, sexy beauty was even more so.

In this new world, fine art’s truth claims were increasingly siphoned off from some order of independently verifiable objectivity (realist aesthetics and reportage) to a hodgepodge of hard-to-define oppositional essences (symbolism, impressionism, primitivism, cubism, etc.).⁸⁵ As anatomist *and* artist, Maclise worked hard to conjure up both kinds of truth telling. But, by the 1890s, that commingling of truths had lost rhetorical salience. In a world that consigned art and science to separate spheres, the twin peaks of scientific illustration were disinterested legibility and objective depiction. Maclise’s coded, sensuous, and multivalent aestheticization—his idiosyncratic style and uniquely personal stamp—queered that. Maclise insisted: “An anatomical illustration enters the understanding straightforward in a direct passage, and is almost independent of written language.”⁸⁶ Did he ever pause to consider how his own drawings might complicate that precept?

Footnotes

- 1 This article is taken and adapted from a book-length work-in-progress by the author: *Queer Anatomies: Aesthetics and Perverse Desire in 18th- and 19th-century Medical Illustration; or The Epistemology of the Anatomical Closet*.
- 2 Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, Vol. 1, *An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage, 1990), Parts I and II, especially 44–49.
- 3 “The closet is not a grave” is an off-hand allusion to Leo Bersani, “Is the Rectum a Grave?” *October* 43 (Winter 1987): 197–222. “The telling secret” is from Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2008 [1990]), 67.
- 4 Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet*, 3.
- 5 Joseph Maclise, Preface to *Surgical Anatomy*, 2nd ed. (London: John Churchill, 1856).
- 6 Paolo Mascagni, *Anatomia universa or Grande anatomia del corpo umano* (Pisa: Presso Niccolò Capurro, 1823–1830), Plate 2. Art: Antonio Serrantoni; 98.5 x 71.5 cm.
- 7 Michael Sappol, *Dream Anatomy* (Washington, DC: GPO, 2003). For an influential late eighteenth-century art anatomy full of fantastical macabre scenes, see Jacques Gamelin, *Nouveau recueil d’ostéologie et de myologie, dessin, d’après nature ... pour l’utilité, des sciences et des arts* (Toulouse: J.F. Desclassan, 1779). But over the course of the nineteenth century, art anatomy pedagogy was also winnowed down to basics: figures posed in the nude, *écorché*, or as skeleton, without grand gesture, affect, or scenography.
- 8 William Hunter, *The Anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus* (Birmingham: John Baskerville, 1774); and John Bell, *Engravings of the Bones, Muscles, and Joints, Illustrating the First Volume of the Anatomy of the Human Body*, 2nd ed. (London: Printed for Longman and Rees, 1804 [1794]). Yet, despite their endorsement of anatomical sobriety, Hunter and Bell choreographed and orchestrated provocative image play.

- 9 Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985). For erotics as the boundary of aesthetic pleasure, see also Abigail Zitin, "Wantonness: Milton, Hogarth, and *The Analysis of Beauty*", *Differences* 27, no. 1 (2016): 25–46.
- 10 For the social aims of high medical publication, and the way in which knowledge production affirmed claims of authority and the search for patronage and prestige, see Carin Berkowitz, "The Illustrious Anatomist: Authorship, Patronage and Illustrative Style in Anatomy Folios, 1700–1840", *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* (2015): 171–208.
- 11 Richard Quain, *Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body, with its Applications to Pathology and Operative Surgery: In Lithographic Drawings with Practical Commentaries* ["drawings from nature and on stone by Joseph Maclise"] (London: Printed for Taylor and Walton, 1844); "imperial folio"; 67 cm. Quote from "Review of New Books: *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body, with its Applications to Pathology and Operative Surgery, in Lithographic Drawings, with Practical Commentaries*. By Richard Quain, &c. &c. *The Delineations* by Joseph Maclise, Esq. Surgeon. Parts I and II. London: Taylor and Walton. 1840", *Provincial Medical & Surgical Journal* 1–1, no. 12 (19 December 1840), 203, doi:10.1136/bmj.s1-1.12.203.
- 12 Jean-Baptiste-Marc Bourgery and Nicholas Henri Jacob, *Traité complet de l'anatomie de l'homme: Comprenant la médecine opératoire, avec planches lithographiées d'après nature*, 8 vols (Paris: C.A. Delaunay, 1831–1854; 2nd ed., 1866–1871), 44 cm; art: Nicolas Henri Jacob. Later volumes also list Claude Bernard as co-author. Jacob was the primary artist, but some plates are by his students or associates: Ludovic Hirschfeld, Gerbe, Lévêillé, Rousson, Leroux, Dumoutier, and others.
- 13 The phrase comes from Dorothy Johnson, *Jacques-Louis David: The Art of Metamorphosis* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993). See also Melissa Lo, "The Wounded Ideal Goes Anatomical", in *Hidden Treasure*, ed. Michael Sappol (New York: Blast Books, 2011), 44–49.
- 14 For the trope of disembodied medical hands on a passive subject, indexicality, elided tactility, and their accompanying erotic frisson, see Elizabeth Stephens, "Touching Bodies: Tact/ility in 19th-Century Medical Photographs and Models", in *Bodies, Sex and Desire from the Renaissance to the Present*, ed. Kate Fisher and Sarah Toulalan (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 87–101. Stephens discusses the use of disembodied medical hands to exhibit living subjects in pathological photographs, illustrations, and live demonstrations. She doesn't discuss the atlases of Maclise or Bourgery and Jacob, but much of her study is also relevant to surgical anatomies and handbooks. See also Kathryn Hoffmann, "Sleeping Beauties in the Fairground: The Spitzner, Pedley, and Chemisé Exhibits", *Early Popular Visual Culture* 4, no. 2 (July 2006): 139–159.
- 15 Bourgery and Jacob's *Traité complet* was initially sold to subscribers in installments. From 1831 to 1840, seventy installments were issued, "each containing eight panels of illustrations and eight sheets accompanying the text". A monochrome set of installments cost about 800 francs, a color set 1600 francs, and the "high price obviously was an obstacle for the spread of the work"; quoted from "Jean-Baptiste Marc Bourgery", *Wikipedia*, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jean-Baptiste_Marc_Bourgery. See also Naomi Slipp, "International Anatomies: Teaching Visual Literacy in the Harvard Lecture Hall", in *Bodies Beyond Borders: Moving Anatomies, 1750–1950*, ed. Kaat Wils, Raf de Bont, and Sokhieng Au (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2017), 228, n. 40.
- 16 Stephens, "Touching Bodies", 89, 96, and 98–99.
- 17 Stephens, "Touching Bodies", 89.
- 18 Vanessa R. Schwartz, *Spectacular Realities: Early Mass Culture in Fin-de-Siècle Paris* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999), 45–88; and John Edmondson, "Death and the Tourist: Dark Encounters in Mid-Nineteenth-Century London via the Paris Morgue", in *The Palgrave Handbook of Dark Tourism Studies*, ed. Philip R. Stone, Rudi Hartmann, Tony Seaton, Richard Sharpley, and Leanne White (London: Palgrave, 2017), 77–101.
- 19 See, for example, Helen McCormack, *William Hunter and his Eighteenth-Century Cultural Worlds: The Anatomist and the Fine Arts* (London: Routledge, 2017), 146–149.
- 20 There were, of course, erotically pleasurable scenes, lots of nudity, in painting and sculpture, sometimes even uncovered male genitalia (but never female), all legitimated by ostensibly religious, historical, moral, purposes.
- 21 Michel Foucault, *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception*, trans. Alan M. Sheridan Smith (1973) (New York: Routledge, 2003 [1963]), 204. Smith, translating Foucault's *le regard* as "the gaze" (*le regard médicale* = the medical gaze), thereby bequeathed the stronger word to Anglophone scholarship.
- 22 James Elkins, *The Object Stares Back: On the Nature of Seeing* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1996). Walter Benjamin's notion of "aura", in "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction" (1935–1939), also describes investment in objects and the effects such objects have on the viewer, not just in viewing but in structuring perception and making hierarchies; see Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction", trans. Harry Zohn, in *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt (New York: Schocken/Random House, 1969), <https://www.marxists.org/reference/subject/philosophy/works/ge/benjamin.htm>. See also John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London: Penguin, 1973).
- 23 Richard Quain, *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body* (London: Taylor & Walton, 1844); originally published in installments, starting in 1840; 50 x 66 cm.
- 24 Roland Barthes, "The Reality Effect" (1969), trans. Richard Howard, in *The Rustle of Language*, ed. François Wahl (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989), 141–148. Mary Hunter discusses competing versions of realism circulating in art and medicine, mainly in the 1870s and 1880s, in *The Face of Medicine: Visualizing Medical Masculinities in Late 19th-Century Paris* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016). For reasons of length, I bracket that question here.
- 25 Under the influence of Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, Maclise held that organisms and species instantiate archetypal forms.
- 26 It's unclear as to who performed the dissections: Quain, Maclise, and/or someone else. Richard Quain's cousin—also named Richard Quain (and a physician, not a surgeon)—is said to have assisted in the organization and writing of the text.

- 27 Caroline Evans and Lorraine Gamman, "The Gaze Revisited, or Reviewing Queer Viewing", in *A Queer Romance: Lesbians, Gay Men and Popular Culture*, ed. Paul Burston and Colin Richardson (London: Routledge, 1995), 13–56.
- 28 W.F. Bynum, "Quain, Richard (1800–1887), Anatomist and Surgeon", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (23 September 2004), <https://doi-org/10.1093/ref:odnb/22940>; Royal College of Surgeons of England, "Quain, Richard (1800–1887)", *Plarr's Lives of the Fellows*, [https://livesonline.rcseng.ac.uk/client/en_GB/lives/search/detailnonmodal/ent:\\$002f\\$002fSD_ASSET\\$002f0\\$002fSD_ASSET:372381/one](https://livesonline.rcseng.ac.uk/client/en_GB/lives/search/detailnonmodal/ent:$002f$002fSD_ASSET$002f0$002fSD_ASSET:372381/one); [Obituary for Richard Quain], George David Pollock, *Address of George David Pollock, F.R.C.S., President of the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society of London at the Annual Meeting, March 1st, 1888* (London, 1888), 20–22, <https://wellcomecollection.org/works/yv6vfvs7>; [Obituary], "Richard Quain", *British Medical Journal* 2, no. 1395 (24 September 1887): 694–695; and J.F. Clarke, *Autobiographical Recollections of the Medical Profession* (London: J. & A. Churchill, 1874), 145–146.
- 29 Richard Quain, *On Some Defects in General Education: Being the Hunterian Oration of the Royal College of Surgeons for 1869* (London: Macmillan, 1870).
- 30 Quain, Preface to *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body*, vi.
- 31 Adrian Desmond, *The Politics of Evolution: Morphology, Medicine, and Reform in Radical London* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 360–364, 368–371, 376, and 425. "Transformism" was not only a term for what became "evolution"; it included adaptation, embryological and postnatal development, and the field of comparative anatomy.
- 32 Referring to James Elkins, *The Object Stares Back*.
- 33 For the trope of disembodied medical hands, see again, Stephens, "Touching Bodies"; and Hoffmann, "Sleeping Beauties in the Fairground".
- 34 For extra grandness, the firm of Taylor & Walton puts the legend "lithographic printer to her Majesty" in small letters at the bottom of each plate. For performative aspects of grand atlas-making, see Carin Berkowitz, "Systems of Display: The Making of Anatomical Knowledge in Enlightenment Britain", *British Journal for the History of Science* 46, no. 3 (2013): 359–387, which faults Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity* (New York: Zone Books, 2007), for decontextualizing the anatomical atlas and misunderstanding its place in the ensemble of materials mobilized in medical knowledge production and pedagogy.
- 35 Maclise, Preface to *Surgical Anatomy*, 1st ed. (1851).
- 36 In the mid-nineteenth century, the "lithotomy position" became the obstetrical term for a frequently used position for pelvic examination of women in pregnancy and childbirth, and is still used in obstetrics and gynecology.
- 37 John Bell, *Principles of Surgery*, 3 vols. (Edinburgh: Cadel & Davies & Longman, 1801–1808), Vol. 2, Fig. 1, facing page, 200. Charles Bell assisted his older brother and is said to have made all of the illustrations for the last two volumes of *Principles of Surgery*. Bell's figure is perhaps based on an earlier illustrated work, François Tolet, *A Treatise of Lithotomy: or, of the Extraction of the Stone Out of the Bladder ... Written in French ... Translated into English by A. Lovell* (London: Printed by H.H. for William Cademan, 1683), which, in several plates, shows the tying of hands to feet. But the Bells were men of great surgical experience: their knowledge of the pose more likely derived from teachers or colleagues, and then their own considerable experience. Likewise, Maclise's knowledge of the pose, and desire to show it, may have derived from his study of the Bell images, but also practical training and direct experience. Maclise may also have known other contemporary images of the operation, which were depicted in German and French surgical atlases.
- 38 John Bell, *Engravings of the Bones, Muscles, and Joints*, 2nd ed. (1804). Bell's dedication to etching and sketchiness is an implicit rebuke to the polish of artful but inaccurate anatomical illustrations. But in the preface to *Engravings of the Bones, Muscles, and Joints*, he avows his admiration for the highly polished naturalist accuracy of Hunter's and Haller's anatomical engravings (and to a lesser extent those of Bidloo, who he says is true but disorganized). As for "taste", he makes no critique of it; rather he aspires to a "higher taste", and admires the dedication of artists who study anatomy for art's sake, especially Leonardo and Michelangelo, who he says know more about anatomy than some anatomists. The hanging diaphragm on the wall in Bell's etching is a visual quotation from Vesalius's "muscle-man" series.
- 39 John Bell, *Engravings of the Bones, Muscles, and Joints* (1804), vi. See Carin Berkowitz, "Systems of Display".
- 40 Quoted words are taken from Maclise, *Surgical Anatomy*, 2nd ed. (1856), Plate 26.
- 41 Daston and Galison, *Objectivity*. According to Carolyn Hannaway and Ann La Berge, "Paris Medicine: Perspectives Past and Present", in *Constructing Paris Medicine [Clio Medica 50]*, ed. Carolyn Hannaway and Ann La Berge (Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi, 1998), 23, in the mid-1860s, Charles Daremberg contrasted realism in pathological anatomical illustration *against* beautifying art. For Daremberg, pathological anatomy was the hardest case for "brutal exactitude" in medical illustration, as the field made its passage into the age of photography. But similar issues arose in gross and surgical anatomy. See C. Charles Daremberg, *La médecine: Histoire et doctrines* (Paris: Didier et cie, 1865), 290–304; Jacalyn Duffin, "Imaging Disease: The Illustration and Non-Illustration of Medical Texts, 1650–1850", in "Muse and Reason: The Relation of Arts and Sciences, 1650–1850", ed. B. Castel, J.A. Leith, and A.W. Riley, *Queens Quarterly* (1994): 79–108; Michael Sappol, "Anatomy's Photography: Objectivity, Showmanship & the Reinvention of the Anatomical Image, 1860–1950", *REMEDIA*, January 2017 (rev. 2018), https://www.academia.edu/31049714/Anatomy_s_photography_Objectivity_showmanship_and_the_reinvention_of_the_anatomical_image_1860_1950_Introduction.
- 42 Mechthild Fend, *Fleshing Out Surfaces: Skin in French Art and Medicine 1650–1850* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 2017), 250–251.
- 43 But Maclise never turns his anatomical subjects into hardened, stiff statues; on the contrary, they seem to live on the page (though sometimes posed as if resting or asleep). The issues at stake in Maclise's lithographs of anatomized male nudes are similar to those in mid-nineteenth-century sculpture. See Michael Hatt, "Near and Far: Homoeroticism, Labour, and Hamo Thornycroft's *Mower*", *Art History* 26, no. 1 (2003): 45–50.

- 44 Michael Hatt, "Space, Surface, Self: Homosexuality and the Aesthetic Interior", *Visual Culture in Britain* 8, no. 1 (2007): 105-128, quoted on 113.
- 45 Fend, *Fleshing Out Surfaces*, 5.
- 46 Quain, *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body* [text for the folio plates] (1844), 338.
- 47 Joseph MacLise, *Comparative Osteology: Being Morphological Studies to Demonstrate the Archetype Skeleton of Vertebrated Animals* (London: Taylor & Walton, 1847). For Geoffroy, see Toby A. Appel, *The Cuvier-Geoffroy Debate: French Biology in the Decades before Darwin* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987); Adrian Desmond, *The Politics of Evolution*; and Valerie Racine, "Etienne Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire (1772-1844)", *Embryo Project Encyclopedia* (5 August 2013), <http://embryo.asu.edu/handle/10776/6045>. Most of the literature on idealism (and Platonism) in Victorian Britain focuses on the late nineteenth century. The literature on the mid-century is thinner, but see Richard Thomas Eldridge, "Idealism in 19th-Century British and American Literature", *Aesthetics and Literature* 3 (2013): 121-144; and Rachel Kravetz, "The Art of Cognition: British Empiricism and Victorian Aesthetics", PhD dissertation, City University of New York, 2017.
- 48 Philip F. Rehbock, "Transcendental Anatomy", in *Romanticism and the Sciences*, ed. Andrew Cunningham and Nicholas Jardine (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 144-145.
- 49 MacLise, Preface to *Surgical Anatomy* (1856).
- 50 Quain is listed as the sole author of *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body*. Bourguery gave Jacob equal billing on the title pages of their collaborative atlas. Quain didn't extend the same courtesy to MacLise, but did give him ample credit. (Some sources say that Quain was assisted in the writing of the text by his cousin, also named Richard Quain.)
- 51 Anon., "Review of New Books: *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body*", 203.
- 52 According to MacLise, *Comparative Osteology*, iv: "While believing ... that the subject of Anatomical Unity forms the goal of all comparative research, I sought also the opinions of ... Cuvier, Goethe, Geoffroy, Oken, Spix, Carus and ... Dr. Sharpey, Mr. Quain, and Mr. Owen ... and from these I learned that the Law of a 'unity of organization' ... admitted now-a-day of as little dispute as a mathematical axiom." From which we can gather that, during the years of their collaboration, MacLise took Quain for a philosophical ally. One telling indicator of their divergence: variations on the keyword "symmetry" appear three times in Quain's *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body*; but 37 times in MacLise's *Surgical Anatomy* (1856).
- 53 Quotes are from obituary, "Richard Quain", *British Medical Journal* 2, no. 1395 (24 September 1887): 694-695; see also obituary, "Richard Quain", *The Lancet* (1 October 1887): 687-688. MacLise received mention in Quain's *British Medical Journal* obituary: "Without exaggeration, it may be said that Richard Quain's life would have been well spent had he lived only to produce the *Anatomy of the Arteries*." The obituary goes on to credit "the artistic powers of Mr. Joseph MacLise, F.R.C.S., author of a *Surgical Anatomy*, and an almost forgotten work on the homologies of the skeleton" [*Comparative Osteology*].
- 54 Liston was deceased; the other dedicatee, Samuel Cooper, was also one of MacLise's deceased teachers.
- 55 MacLise, "Notice to the Second Edition", *Surgical Anatomy* (1856).
- 56 According to Plarr's *Lives of the Fellows of the Royal College of Surgeons*, following conventional wisdom, "The whole interest [of Joseph's oeuvre] ... is the relation of Joseph's drawings to those of Daniel, as to how far the two brothers may be said to have viewed the human figure from the same point of view." See Royal College of Surgeons of England, "MacLise, Joseph (1815-1880)", *Plarr's Lives of the Fellows* (London, 1912-1940), <http://livesonline.rcseng.ac.uk/biogs/E002613b.htm>.
- 57 Quain, *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body*, vii, cites Friedrich Tiedemann, *Tabulae arteriarum corporis humani* (Karlsruhe: C.F. Müller, 1822); the atlas also circulated in inferior British editions, Friedrich Tiedemann, *Plates of the Arteries of the Human Body*, ed. Thomas Wharton Jones and Robert Knox (Edinburgh: Printed for MacLachlan & Stewart, 1829-1836). Quain also cites Albrecht von Haller, *Icones anatomicae quibus praecipuae aliquae partes corporis humani delineatae proponuntur et arteriarum potissimum historia continetur*, 7 fascicles (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1743-1756; many editions thereafter); and Antonio Scarpa, *Sull'aneurisma riflessione ed osservazioni anatomico-chirurgiche* (Pavia, 1804)—all venerated works. MacLise, in the preface to *Surgical Anatomy* (London, 1851, 1856), namedrops Haller, Hunter (not specifying John or William), Astley Cooper, Robert Liston, Charles Bell, Scarpa, Cowper, Soemmerring, Cruveilhier, Magendie, Burdach, Carus, Meckel, and Camper, who we can take as members of MacLise's pantheon of anatomical, physiological, and surgical greats. MacLise also praises anatomists who brilliantly illustrated their own works: Charles Bell, Petrus Camper, and Antonio Scarpa, a pantheon within a pantheon.
- 58 For the dialogics of touch (in relation to Victorian sculpture), see Hatt, "Near and Far", 45-50; for touch in painting, see Fend, *Fleshing Out Surfaces*, 7, 74-75, and 77.
- 59 Fend, *Fleshing Out Surfaces*, 7.
- 60 The discussion here is heavily indebted to Fend, *Fleshing Out Surfaces*, 42, 65-66, 74-75, and 77, which discusses the caressing brushstrokes in Fragonard's *portraits de fantasie*, and eighteenth- and nineteenth-century commentary on the expressive, sensual *touche* of the painter's hand. See also Rebecca Messbarger, *The Lady Anatomist: The Work of Anna Morandi Manzolini* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 128-133, which discusses the evocation of touch in the work of anatomist/wax-modeler Anna Morandi Manzolini.
- 61 MacLise, "Commentary on Plate IX: The Surgical Dissection of the Wrist and Hand", *Surgical Anatomy*, 1st ed. (1851); "Commentary on Plates XII & XIII", *Surgical Anatomy*, 2nd ed. (1856). MacLise here is in dialogue with Charles Bell's Bridgewater Treatise, *The Hand, Its Mechanism and Vital Endowments as Evincing Design* (London: William Pickering, 1833).

- 62 Anon., review of "*Surgical Anatomy*. By Joseph Maclise, Surgeon. Fasciculus I. II. III. London, 1849. Twelve Lithograph Coloured Engravings", *Edinburgh Medical & Surgical Journal* 71, no. 180 (1849): 224-226.
- 63 Review of Joseph Maclise, *Surgical Anatomy*, fasc. 9 (1851) in *British & Foreign Medico-Chirurgical Review, Or, Quarterly of Practical Medicine & Surgery* 8 (July-October 1851): 529-530. We unfortunately don't know much about the production of the Philadelphia *Surgical Anatomy* ("T. Sinclair's lith. 101 Chestnut St Phila", 1851).
- 64 Fend, *Fleshing Out Surfaces*, 42 and 60, quoting and citing Louis Tocqué, "Reflexions sur la peinture et particulièrement sur le genre du portrait" [1750], in *Le discours de Tocqué sur le genre du portrait*, ed. Arnauld Doria (Paris: Jean Schemit, 1930), 22; see also Fend, *Fleshing Out Surfaces*, 193-195.
- 65 Anthea Callen, *Looking at Men: Art, Anatomy and the Modern Male Body* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2018), 16.
- 66 Richard Quain, Preface to *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body* (1844), v [the book of captions, printed separately from the lithographic folio], gives the number of bodies as 1,010. The preface published with the lithographic folio gives the figure of 930 bodies.
- 67 Maclise, preface to *Surgical Anatomy*, in all London editions (1851, 1856).
- 68 While we have some of Jacob's preparatory drawings, no drawings by Maclise, preparatory or otherwise, have ever surfaced.
- 69 Edgar Allan Poe, "The Philosophy of Composition", *Graham's American Monthly Magazine of Literature and Art* (Philadelphia), April 1846.
- 70 The literature on the erotics of anatomy mostly focuses on the female body. For erotic elements and tropes in anatomical narrative, see Ludmilla Jordanova, *Sexual Visions: Images of Gender in Science and Medicine from the 18th to the 20th Century* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989); Jonathan Sawday, *The Body Emblazon'd: Dissection and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture* (London: Routledge, 1995); and Michael Sappol, *A Traffic of Dead Bodies: Anatomy and Embodied Social Identity in 19th-Century America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002).
- 71 Whitney Davis, *Queer Beauty: Sexuality and Aesthetics from Winckelmann to Freud and Beyond* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010).
- 72 Abigail Solomon-Godeau, *Male Trouble: A Crisis in Representation* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1997), see especially, 177-185.
- 73 See Desmond, *The Politics of Evolution*, 360-363, 368-371, 376, 425, and 453.
- 74 *The Lancet* (London) 25 March 1852: 347; and 1 May 1852: 426-428.
- 75 Maclise, *On Dislocations and Fractures*, dedication: "I have founded my Thoracic Theory of Circulation [on] ... Animal Mechanics. Modern Science is constrained to acknowledge that the doctrine of Harvey does not answer all important Anatomical facts and Physiological and Pathological phenomena." The argument against Harvey is mounted in "Commentary on Plates 5, 6, 7 and 8, The Form and Mechanism of the Thorax as an Ingestive Apparatus—Fractures and Dislocations of the Ribs, Sternum, and Clavicle": "In the beginning, when Harvey and originality (imitating that immortal fiat in Genesis which made Harvey 'after its own image') looked upon the Chaos of Animal Physiology, and saw that it was without form and void ..." Maclise connected his critique of Harvey to a defense of "philosophical", "transcendental", and "comparative" anatomy and analysis of "homologies". Critics in turn mocked him for "eccentric flights"; fancy philosophizing and overblown speechifying. *The Lancet*: 20 March 1858: 292; 5 May 1858: 470; 29 May 1858: 534; 4 September 1858: 258; 28 July 1860: 95-96; 4 August 1860: 120-122; 11 August 1860: 146; and 18 August 1860: 172.
- 76 Jessie Dobson, *Conservators of the Hunterian Museum* (London: Jackson, Ruston & Keeton, 1975), 25-26.
- 77 Joseph and Daniel may have also lived together at times in the 1850s at Russell Square, London. K.B. Roberts and J.D.W. Tomlinson, *The Fabric of the Body: European Traditions of Anatomical Illustration* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), 56-65; and John Turpin, "Daniel Maclise and Cork Society", *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* 85 (1985): 66-88. Daniel was said to have been deeply distressed by Isabella's death. A third brother, William, was an army surgeon, whose health is said to have been destroyed in the Crimean War and who died upon his return to England or Ireland. So another sibling to mourn? There were two other siblings: Anna, who married, and Alexander, "a leather sales-man" (*London Gazette*, 1836, Pt. 2, 2204), who is listed as residing at 14 Russell Place, Fitzroy Square, the same address as Daniel (and, in the 1850s, Joseph).
- 78 Maclise, Preface to *Surgical Anatomy* (1856).
- 79 Maclise, *Surgical Anatomy* (1856), from "Notice to the Second Edition". The term *anthropotomy* was mostly associated with naturalist/anatomist Richard Owen.
- 80 Solomon-Godeau, *Male Trouble*, 93.
- 81 Dickens died a year after writing that explanation. W. Justin O'Donnell, *A Memoir of Daniel Maclise, R.A.* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1871), vi. Daniel Maclise illustrated a number of Dickens's books and the two men were for many years close friends, although eventually they became somewhat estranged. Some of Dickens's letters to Maclise survive; see John Turpin, "Daniel Maclise and Charles Dickens: A Study of their Friendship", *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 73, no. 289 (Spring 1984): 47-66.
- 82 Obituary, "Richard Quain", *The Lancet*, 1 October 1887, 687-688; and Obituary, "Richard Quain", *British Medical Journal* 2, no. 1395 (24 September 1887): 694-695: "Without exaggeration, it may be said that Richard Quain's life would have been well spent had he lived only to produce the *Anatomy of the Arteries*." The *British Medical Journal* obituary also credits "the artistic powers of Mr. Joseph Maclise, F.R.C.S, author of a *Surgical Anatomy*, and an almost forgotten work on the homologies of the skeleton" [*Comparative Osteology*].

- 83 O'Donnell, *A Memoir of Daniel Maclise*, 117–120.
- 84 Daston and Galison, *Objectivity*. The beginnings of the binary opposition of course go back much earlier. See Lyle Massey, "Against the 'Statue Anatomized': The 'Art' of 18th-Century Anatomy on Trial", *Art History* 40, no. 1 (2017): 68–103.
- 85 For the rhetorical opposition between truth and beauty in medical illustration and depiction of medical figures, see Mary Hunter, *The Face of Medicine*, 12, 16, 19–20, 24, 123, et passim.
- 86 Preface to *Surgical Anatomy*, 1st ed. (1851).

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Joseph Maclise, Taylor & Walton, and Publishing on Gower Street in the 1840s

William Schupbach

Abstract

The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body (1840–1844), with text by Richard Quain (1800–1887) and lithographs by Joseph Maclise (1815–1880), was Maclise's first publication, his largest work, and in some ways his most ambitious. How then, could it feature the work of a debutant author? Who were the people involved in its production? What professional skills were required to produce such a work? What factors enabled them to carry it to a successful conclusion? The answer suggested is that much of the burden of production fell upon the publisher, John Taylor (1781–1864), whose previous and current career provided him with the experience required for such a task. Taylor had little experience in lithographic publishing, but his three lithographic publications before *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body* proved a good practice ground for the much larger and more accomplished work by Maclise. Taylor was involved not only in his role as the official publisher of University College, London, where Maclise's work was carried out, but also in the sale of the finished work, and the storage of the lithographic stones. *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body* can therefore be understood as a team production, produced in a manner comparable to earlier illustrated anatomy books by Andreas Vesalius and William Hunter.

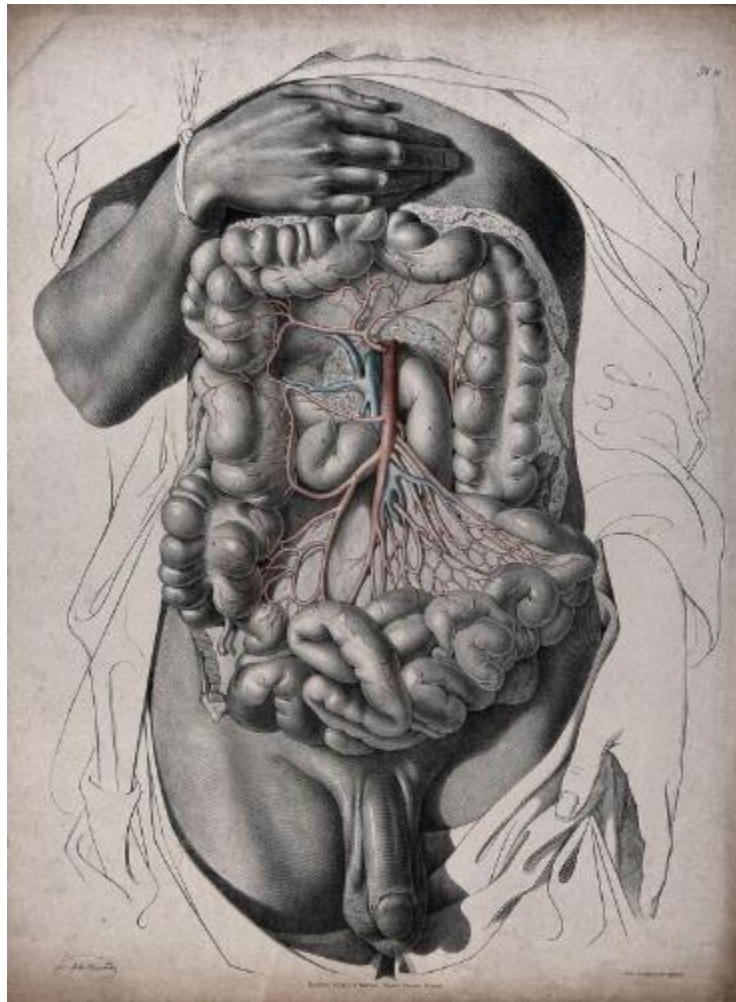
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Introduction

Anyone looking at the large and impressive lithographs issued with the title *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body* at the time of its publication in 1840–1844, must have been astonished and impressed (Fig. 1). The lithographs are large and numerous, drawn in a dashing but careful style; the dissections are sophisticated in technique; detailed studies of arteries are combined with portraits of dead patients; and the suffering human figures are imbued with pathos. Most people at the time would have seen nothing like it.



[View this illustration online](#)

Figure 1.

Joseph Maclise, Dissection of the Abdomen Showing the Large Intestine, with the Arteries and Veins Indicated in Red and Blue, from Richard Quain, *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body* (London: Taylor & Walton, 1841–1844), c. 1841–1844, lithograph, with watercolour, 64.2 x 49 cm. Wellcome Collection (no. 579361i). Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

It would be natural to ask who was responsible for this impressive work. The most spectacular contribution is that of Joseph Maclise (1815–1880), however, he was not “the” creator, or the sole creator, of the work. Despite his eye-catching and indeed emotionally charged lithographs, he could be considered the junior contributor, in that this was his *début* publication. When the lithographs were first issued in 1840–1842, the advertisements contained no mention of Maclise: the artist was ignored.¹ A title page, printed in 1844 after the work had already been issued in fascicules (parts) from 1840 onwards, proclaims in bold characters that it is “by Richard Quain F.R.S.”. A lower credit line in smaller and more compressed characters adds “the drawings from nature and on stone by Joseph Maclise, surgeon”, and the imprint at the bottom of the page, in middling-sized characters, identifies the publisher with the words “Printed for Taylor and Walton, booksellers and publishers to University College, Upper Gower Street” (Fig. 2). The five names—Quain, Maclise, Taylor, Walton, and University College—are all significant. Richard Quain (1800–1887) was an experienced author, surgeon, and academic, a fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons of England (1843) and a fellow of the Royal Society (1844). Taylor and Walton had been publishing for nearly twenty years. University College was the institution, which brought all four men together in the Bloomsbury and Fitzrovia districts of London. Behind and alongside the four named contributors were many other artisans, businesspeople, and academics, who shaped the publication behind the scenes. There were also vectors, such as geographical co-location and communities of interest, that brought these players together and enabled them to generate the finished product.

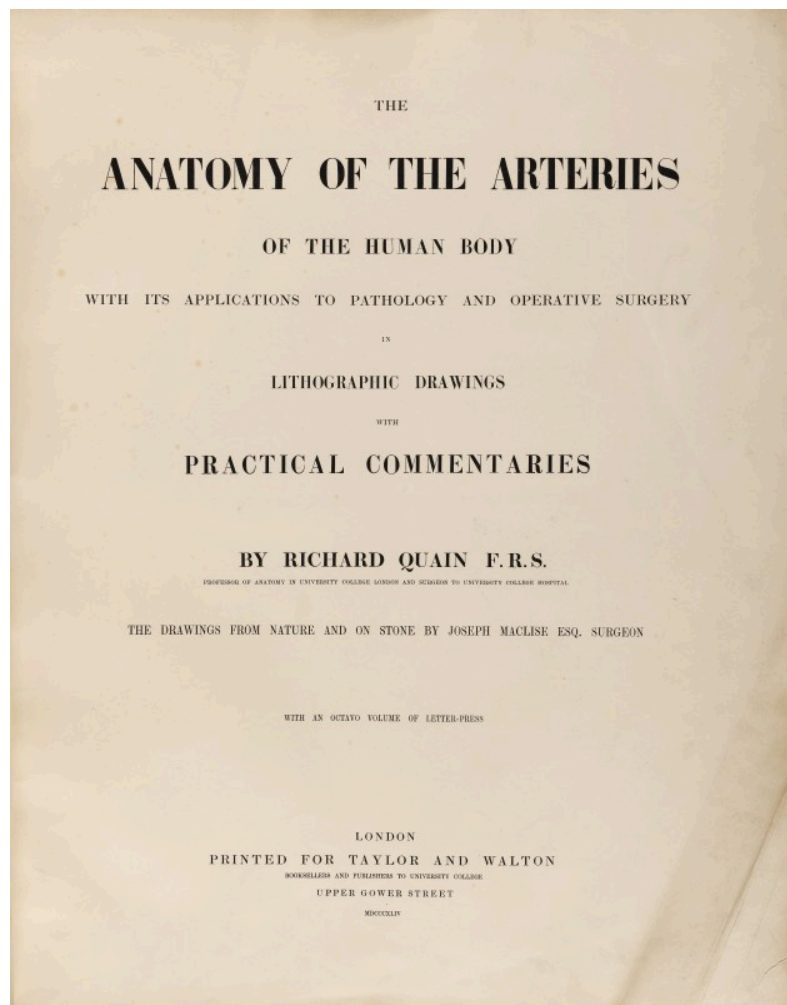


Figure 2.

Richard Quain, *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body*, (London: Taylor & Walton, 1841–1844), title-page, 1844, 64.2 x 49 cm. Wellcome Collection (no. b12657621). Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

If we could gather the detailed evidence for a network of actors of which Joseph Maclise was a member, its intention would not be to “decentre” Maclise, for he has not hitherto been regarded as at the centre of anything. Instead, it would be to place him in the context in which he worked. The extent to which large illustrated books are produced by a team, not by a single individual, has been described in other cases, such as the botanical *magnum opus* of Leonhart Fuchs *De historia stirpium*, published in Basel in 1542; the *De humani corporis fabrica* authored by Andreas Vesalius in 1543; and the work on the human gravid uterus written by William Hunter and published in 1774, which brought together in Westminster artists from the Netherlands, engravers from France, an obstetrician from Glasgow, and a printer in Birmingham, as well as anatomical subjects (women and babies) in London.² Outside the anatomical and botanical fields, the *Nuremberg*

Chronicle of Hartmann Schedel, printed in Nuremberg in 1493, has been the subject of many studies synthesising its sources and contributors.³ The names of Vesalius, Fuchs, Hunter, and Schedel attached to these works in catalogues can cast into shadow the teams supporting them.

A balance can be struck between the inspirations of individuals and the effectiveness of the teams. As a model, one can point to the exhibition and its accompanying publication *Printing and the Mind of Man*, from 1963, which marked five hundred years of printing with moveable type.⁴ The entry for an edition of Virgil's works published in Paris in 1767 places the printer's name in the headline (Joseph-Gérard Barbou), but describes the roles of no fewer than nine people in the production of the work, including illustrators, engravers, publishers, a typographer and a bookseller.⁵ Is it possible to carry out a similar exercise for *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body*?

Joseph Maclise and John Taylor

Let us start by looking at Joseph Maclise's circle. He and his brother, the painter Daniel Maclise (1806–1870) ([Fig. 3](#)), formed one of two pairs of brothers who migrated from Cork in Ireland in the 1820s and 1830s and found a home in the same area of London. The other pair were the Quains: Jones Quain (1796–1865) and Richard Quain (1800–1887) ([Figs. 4 and 5](#)). The quartet of Quains and Maclises gravitated to Bloomsbury and Fitzrovia, and the institution to which three of the brothers were attached was University College, London (UCL): Jones Quain as professor of general anatomy, Richard Quain as senior demonstrator and lecturer on descriptive anatomy, and Joseph Maclise as a student and junior colleague of Richard Quain. UCL had opened in Bloomsbury in 1828 and was transforming the whole area ([Fig. 6](#)).

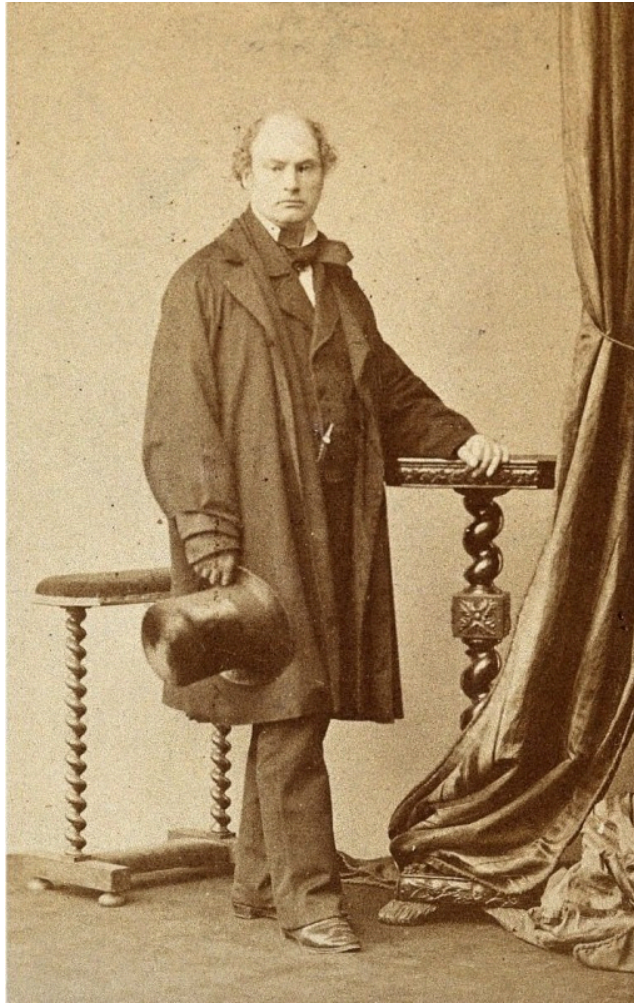


Figure 3.

Caldesi, Blanford & Co., Daniel Maclise (1806-1870), brother of Joseph Maclise, circa 1856, albumen print (carte de visite). Wellcome Collection (no. 15212i). Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).



Figure 4.

Barraud, Jones Quain (1796–1865), *author of Elements of Anatomy and professor of anatomy at University College, London (1831–1835)*, circa 1874, albumen print (carte de visite) from an earlier negative. Wellcome Collection (no. 15079i). Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).



Figure 5.

George Richmond, Richard Quain, circa 1860, oil on wood, 90 × 70 cm. Collection of The Royal College of Surgeons of England, London (no. RCSSC/P 196). Digital image courtesy of The Royal College of Surgeons of England, London (All rights reserved).



Figure 6.

Unknown artist, University College London, founded 1826, Opened in Gower Street in 1828, circa 1820s, engraving with watercolour, 8.4 × 14.2 cm. Wellcome Collection (no. 38735i). Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

Soon after its foundation in 1826, UCL appointed an official publisher and bookseller. Although UCL strove to differentiate itself from the ancient universities of Oxford and Cambridge, it was in this respect emulating them. The person appointed to this role was John Taylor (1781–1864) (Figs. 7 and 8). Taylor was born into a bookish family in East Retford, Nottinghamshire: his father was a bookseller and printer there, and John Taylor's working life started in his father's shop.⁶ He left for London in 1803 and worked for the publisher-bookseller James Lackington (1746–1815) in Finsbury Square (Fig. 9). There, he learned about the balance between the public demand for books and what authors wanted to supply, the value of copyrights, and the management of a large book-based business. In 1804, he moved on to another firm of publishers, Vernor & Hood: their list included recreational verse and romances, but also—significantly for Taylor's later career—more practical literature, such as books on manures, brewing, and the management of plantations. Works of popular science that Vernor & Hood published in Taylor's time included *A Treatise on the Art of Bread-Making* (1805) and an inexpensive edition of Lavater's *Essays on Physiognomy* (1806).⁷



Figure 7.

John Taylor, circa 1820, photograph of drawing. Collection of Keats House, City of London. Digital image courtesy of Keats House, City of London (all rights reserved).



Figure 8.

Unknown artist, John Taylor, circa 1840, wax medallion, 9.2 cm diameter. Collection of the National Portrait Gallery, London (1808a). Digital image courtesy of ational Portrait Gallery, London (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0).



Figure 9.

John Walker, An Interior View of the Extensive Library of Lackington, Allen & Co, Finsbury Square, London, circa 1800, engraving, 12.9 x 18.2 cm. Collection of The British Museum (Heal, 17.86). Digital image courtesy of Trustees of the British Museum (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

In 1806, Taylor formed his own publishing and bookselling partnership by joining James Augustus Hessey (1785–1870) in the new firm of Taylor & Hessey. Taylor was the publisher and Hessey the bookseller. Both sides of the operation were run from 93 Fleet Street until 1823, when Taylor moved the publishing business to Waterloo Place in the West End. The partnership continued until 1825.⁸

One of the lessons of Taylor's earlier career was the volatile nature of the publishing business. Some authors would need a lot of help, encouragement, editing, and money before delivering their copy; many publications would hardly sell at all; and the poisonous rivalries among influential reviewers could destroy an author's reputation. The writers whom Taylor published in the earlier half of his career, and who are best known today, were the poets John Keats (1795–1821) and John Clare (1793–1864): they were also among his most labour-intensive and least rewarding financially. Taylor found himself begging the editor of a review journal not to give an unfavourable review for Keats's early work (in vain).⁹ In verse offered up for publication, John Clare

insulted the wealthy while he himself was being supported by a wealthy patron.¹⁰ Clare also required prolonged financial support, which he received from Taylor and others, to maintain him in his years of mental illness.¹¹

Publishing was a far from stable business. Taylor & Hessey nearly went under in 1817, as profits in the publishing arm were exceeded by losses in bookselling. In 1826, a crash destroyed much of the industry, with well-established firms such as Hurst, Robinson & Co. going out of business. Taylor's firm often had to be bailed out by his brother James, a banker in Nottinghamshire.¹²

In an attempt to cover themselves, firms such as Vernor & Hood hedged their bets by diversification: losses from risky early works by unknown young poets such as Keats could be offset by steady sales of standard fare. This balancing act was the central story of Taylor's professional life, and of his subsequent reputation. Exciting works by brilliant writers such as Keats, Clare, Charles Lamb, Thomas De Quincey, and Samuel Taylor Coleridge aroused the interest of literary critics and subsequently historians, and contributed to Taylor's renown. However, it was not those authors who saved the firm in the crises of 1817 and 1826. What saved it was the continuing level of sales in popular literature: spelling books, history cribs, simplified science, teach-yourself manuals, moralistic tracts on early rising, and catechisms.¹³ Contrasting the two types of product, Tim Chilcott in his biography of Taylor calls the latter "the publishing of uninspired mediocrity".¹⁴

Despite his later fame as a literary publisher, in the first phases of his career, Taylor had a personal predilection for factual knowledge. Though he had received an education in Lincoln and Retford grammar schools, his academic knowledge of the world was self-acquired. It became extensive: among other subjects, he published works on the metric system, on the relation between money and value, on arithmology, and on the authorship of the *Letters of Junius*. In his later career as a publisher in Bloomsbury, his journey away from romances, epic poems, and light essays continued, but the range of "serious subjects" that he published would be vastly increased through his contacts in University College, London, including the Quains and Joseph Maclise.¹⁵

John Taylor and UCL

Taylor and Hessey split up in 1825.¹⁶ For Taylor, the ending of the partnership turned out well, as it enabled him to start a new career in association with University College, London, founded in 1826 and opened on Gower Street in 1828. On his appointment as the official publisher and bookseller to the new university, Taylor set up in business, initially at 30

Upper Gower Street (circa 1828–1830). He then changed his publishing address to 28 Upper Gower Street, the house next door but one to the north, while continuing to occupy no. 30 as well. No. 28 Upper Gower Street, on the corner of Upper Gower Street and University Street, became his publishing address: it was directly across Upper Gower Street from UCL to the east, and was directly across University Street from the North London Hospital (renamed from 1837 University College Hospital) to the north. The sites of both houses (28 and 30) were later occupied by the UCL medical school library. Today, they form the site of UCL’s Grant Museum, appropriately, since one of the first books that Taylor published from 30 Upper Gower Street was Robert Edmond Grant’s inaugural lecture at UCL, *An Essay on the Study of the Animal Kingdom* (1828) (Fig. 10).¹⁷ Here Taylor was easily accessible to UCL professors, students, and habitués, many of whom lived or worked nearby.¹⁸



Figure 10.

The Gower Street Frontage of the Grant Museum, 2020, photograph. Digital image courtesy of Ethan Doyle White (CC BY-SA 4.0).

Around 1836, the firm John Taylor changed its name to Taylor & Walton: “Walton” has never been identified.¹⁹ No. 28 Upper Gower Street continued as the address of Taylor and Walton throughout its existence, and remained so after Taylor’s retirement in 1853. For nearly forty years, the house on the corner of University Street and Gower Street was the powerhouse of academic publishing in Bloomsbury. Joseph Maclise and the Quains must have spent a good deal of time there preparing their major anatomical works published by Taylor & Walton in the early 1840s.

The tenor of the publishing list to which *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body* belonged can be reconstructed from library catalogues and from the advertisements bound in at the ends of many of Taylor's publications (Fig. 11). The books published by Taylor were overwhelmingly educational, academic, and professional, not recreational. His subjects included not only natural and medical sciences but also antiquities, maps, music, "educational models for the use of schools, mechanics' institutions, and for private instruction", grammars, literature (Greek, Latin, and Italian), and "works of general interest". Singing manuals and drawing instruments (including models, pencils, chalks, and *porte-crayons*) were advertised alongside anatomical volumes and monographs on chemistry. Taylor was a prolific advertiser of technical charts by his neighbour Carlo Minasi (1817–1891), who resided and taught music at various addresses around Euston Grove: "Minasi's mechanical diagrams" remained in his stock for years.²⁰ Taylor published sixteen works by or associated with the new applied chemistry of Justus von Liebig (1803–1873) between 1840 and 1851, and a lithograph of Liebig's laboratory (Fig. 12). Among the literary classics available from Taylor and Walton in 1842 was even "Keats's poetical works, with portrait by Hilton": the poet whom Taylor & Hessey had nursed into print thirty years before was now being republished posthumously by Taylor as a classical author for educational use in schools.²¹ Taylor & Walton books which today are still in their original bindings were modestly bound in brown, black, or dark green cloth by the firm of Remnant and Edmonds, founded in 1837 and one of the largest binderies in London.²²

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Apparatus for Magnetism. Price 18s. in a box.

A Train of Spur Wheels, mounted on a mahogany stand, with weights. Price 21s. in a box.

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Diagrams in Wood, to Illustrate Dr. Lardner's *Euclid. Solid Geometry, Book I.* Price 7s. 6d.

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For the Use of Lecturers, and Schools. Complete in Five Numbers, each containing Three Sheets of Diagrams, price 3s. each Number, coloured, illustrating the following subjects:—1 & 2. Composition of Forces.—3. Equilibrium.—4 & 5. Levers.—6. Steelyard, Brady Balance, and Danish Balance.—7. Wheel and Axle.—8. Inclined plane.—9, 10, 11, Pulleys.—12. Hunter's Screw.—13 & 14. Toothed Wheels.—15. Combination of the Mechanical Powers.

The Diagrams are printed on large sheets of paper, measuring 2 feet 11 inches by 2 feet. This size will be found suited for large lecture rooms.

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Regular Solids.—1. Tetrahedron; 2. Octahedron; 3. Icosahedron; 4. Hexahedron; 5. Pentagonal Dodecahedron; 6. Rhomboidal Dodecahedron; 7. Bipyramidal Dodecahedron; 8. Trapezohedron. PYRAMIDS.—9. Triangular; 10. Quadrilateral; 11. Hexagonal; 12. Octagonal. PRISMS.—13. Triangular; 14. Quadrilateral; 15. Hexagonal; 16. Octagonal.—17. Sphere; 18. Cylinder; 19. Cone. The Set in a box, 9s.

Another Set, containing the Conic Sections. Price 16s.

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An Instrument for Teaching Geometry; convertible into a Theodolite, Spirit Level, Hadley's Sextant, and Wollaston's Goniometer. Price 2l. 12s. 6d. in a box.

A Pair of Large Dividers, for making Diagrams on a black board. Price 4s.

Figure 11.

Taylor and Walton's advertisements for educational models and Carlo Minasi's publications, from William Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*, Vol. 3 (London: Taylor & Walton, 1844-1849). Wellcome Collection. Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

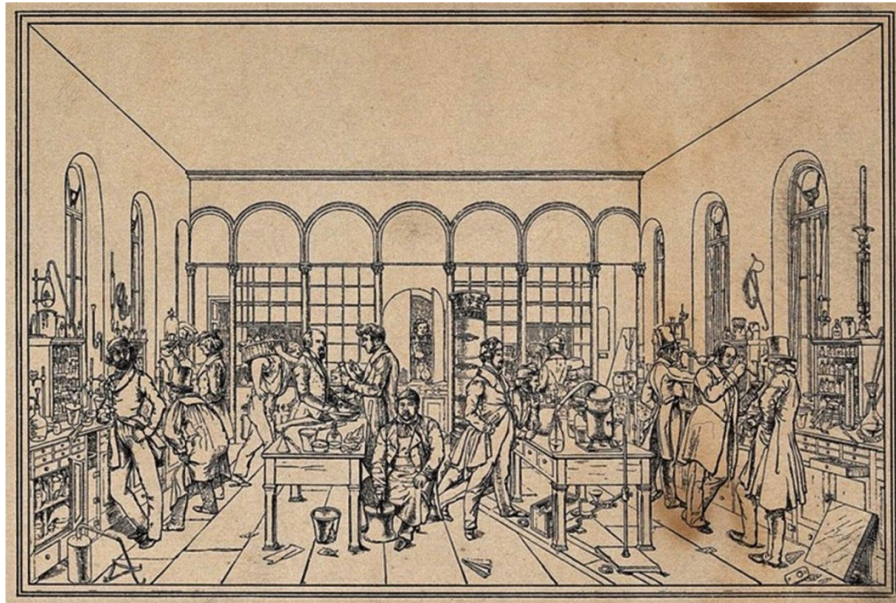


Figure 12.

Carl Friedrich Wilhelm Adolph Trautschold, Justus von Liebig's Laboratory at Giessen, distributed by Taylor & Walton, circa 1840, lithograph, 10.1 x 15.2 cm. Wellcome Collection (568857i). Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

The Use of Lithography by Taylor & Walton

There is a conspicuous contrast between the anatomical lithographic publications by Taylor and the rest of his output. Most of the books published by his firm were of modest size and cheaply printed by a range of commercial letterpress printers.²³ As the publisher of Taylor & Hessey, he had published books that were entirely or mainly unillustrated. As the publisher to UCL after 1828, he started in the same manner: most of his books consisted of small (octavo) volumes, printed in a routine manner and, if illustrated at all, for instance to show chemical apparatus, the book would have small wood engravings on the same pages as the text.²⁴

If wood engravings would not suffice, for example, if tone was required as well as line, the next resort would be steel engravings printed on their own sheets separately from the text and bound in as a frontispiece or as separate pages of plates. Both the wood engravings and the steel engravings were on a small scale, suitable for inclusion in an octavo volume (around 20 cm in height). The volumes could be bought and sold relatively cheaply.²⁵

However, these techniques, while suitable for small illustrations of such subjects as antiquities, histology, or botany, would not scale up for detailed illustrations of larger subjects such as anatomy and surgery. For that purpose, lithography was required: lithographs were easier and cheaper to

make on a large scale; they could successfully simulate drawings, and their soft tone (compared with steel engravings) made them easier to colour by hand. They could not easily be printed on the same page as letterpress, but there were ways around that: the letterpress could be printed in a companion volume, or on separate sheets bound with the lithographs.²⁶

Taylor was confronted with the need to scale up to lithography early in his career with UCL, when he was still publishing as a lone operator at 30 Upper Gower Street (before the partnership Taylor and Walton came into existence at 28 Upper Gower Street). In 1832, he issued *The Principles and Practice of Obstetric Medicine*, by David Daniel Davis, which required large scale, and therefore lithographic, illustration. To realise the obstetric lithographs for Davis, Taylor approached the lithographic specialist Charles Joseph Hullmandel (1789–1850), whose lithographic press and office was in Great Marlborough Street, south of Oxford Street.²⁷ The lithographs for Davis' publication were drawn on stone by artists who frequently worked for Hullmandel.²⁸ The finished work, consisting of two volumes of letterpress and one volume of lithographs, was produced between 1832 and 1836.

The production of Davis' work on obstetrics required of Taylor (and of Taylor & Walton) resources far in excess of their usual letterpress output, in the form of draughtsmen, lithographers, lithographic printers, and storage of the lithographic stones, over a period of at least four years. However, it provided good experience for a series of increasingly ambitious anatomical and medical lithographic publications, which culminated in *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body*. The most ambitious of these lithographic publications before Quain-Maclise was a multi-volume work with text by Jones Quain. Like the later Maclise volume, it was the work of many hands. Issued in five large but not thick volumes between 1836 and 1842, it had the generic title *Anatomical Plates*, with subtitles referring to the vessels, nerves, viscera, bones, and ligaments. In artistic virtuosity, the artists (J. Walsh and William Bagg) fall far below the standard that would be set later by Maclise. The dominant figure on the publication was William James Erasmus Wilson (1809–1884), in later years Sir Erasmus Wilson.²⁹ Most of the lithographs in *Anatomical Plates* have the credit line "W.J.E. Wilson direxit", a role with no equivalent in the Quain-Maclise *Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body*.

Between the publications of the Quain brothers (Jones Quain with Erasmus Wilson and Richard Quain with Joseph Maclise) had come a smaller work with folding lithographic plates by another set of brothers: Thomas Morton the anatomist (1813–1849) and Andrew Morton the artist (1802–1845). Like the Quain-Wilson volumes, the Mortons' slim volumes had a generic title, *The Surgical Anatomy of the Principal Regions of the Human Body*, followed by a subtitle for each volume referring to the region concerned. The volumes started to appear in 1838, with lithographs by Fairland after Andrew Morton.

There is a possible link between Morton and Maclise: Andrew Morton's signature or AM monogram, as artist, appears prominently written on the stone on each plate, surrounded by a circle, just as Maclise's would appear in his plates. The Morton series, focusing on surgical anatomy like the Maclise series, was Taylor's last work in lithography before attempting the much larger Maclise production.

The importance, for Maclise, of Taylor's willingness to scale up from letterpress publishing to lithography, is shown by a remark by Robert Harrison (1796–1858). Harrison, professor of anatomy at Trinity College Dublin, had written a detailed book titled *The Surgical Anatomy of the Arteries*, which went through at least four editions between 1824 and 1839, indicating its value as a dissecting aid. But it assumed that readers had the actual arteries laid out before them. As Harrison commented,

At the time I commenced this work I contemplated having coloured plates explanatory of the relative anatomy in those situations where operations on the arteries may be required; on reflection, however, I abandoned the idea, as the number of drawings that were required must have added considerably to the size and expense of a work designed for the student in the dissecting room ³⁰

The drawings and coloured lithographs did indeed add considerably to the complexity of Maclise's production, but it was a challenge that, by 1840, John Taylor was prepared and equipped to take on.

Taylor, Maclise, and *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body*

With Taylor successfully expanding his repertoire from small-scale letterpress to large-scale lithography, what was the finished product? The lithographs of *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body* were issued in fascicules between late 1840 and 1844. The full title was *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body: With Its Applications to Pathology and Operative Surgery. In Lithographic Drawings, with Practical Commentaries*. Richard Quain was the author of a small (octavo) letterpress volume, while Maclise was the author of the large lithographs, Taylor was the publisher, and Jeremiah Graf is named on some of the plates as printer of the lithographs.

Maclise portrayed the dissected corpses as tragic heroes and heroines, struggling or having given up the struggle for life, with the scissors and other tools of the anatomist included in the picture as instruments of their passion. Together with the fine portraits of the heroic victims, there are detailed

sheets of technical diagrams showing how arteries relate to viscera, bones, and veins, for the benefit of surgery students: these also have a sense of movement produced by strong diagonals and broken lines (Figs. 13 and 14).

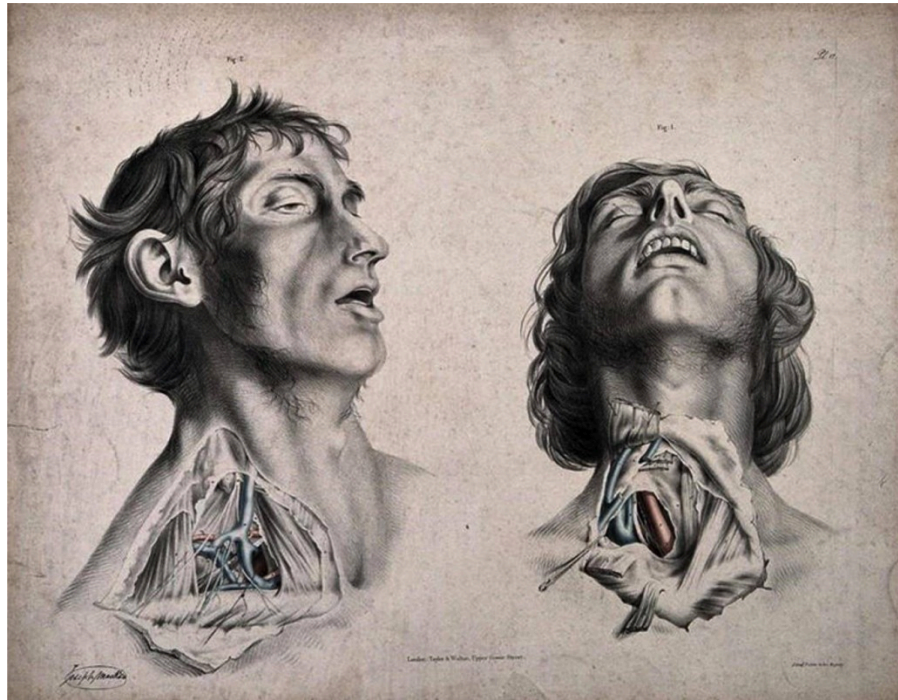


Figure 13.

Joseph Maclise, Heroic Victims: The Muscles and Blood Vessels of the Neck and Jaw, from Richard Quain, *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body* (London: Taylor & Walton, 1844), Plate 17, 1841-1844, coloured lithograph, 45.7 × 58.1 cm. Wellcome Collection (579553i). Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

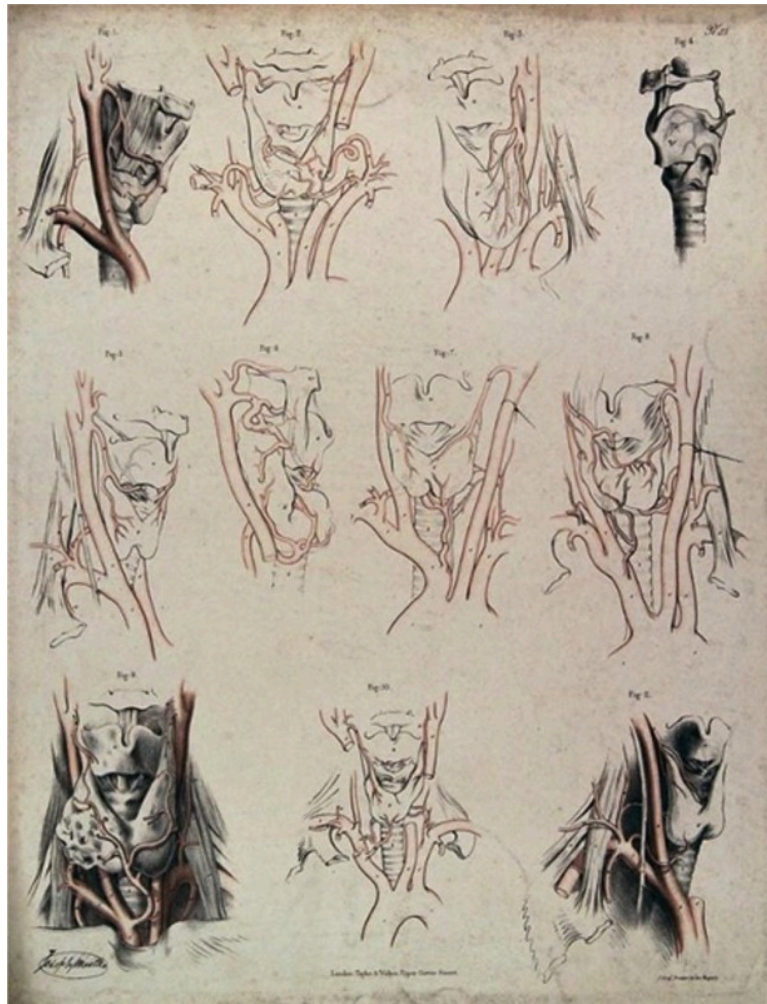


Figure 14.

Joseph Maclise, Arteries of the Neck of a Man, from Richard Quain, *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body* (London: Taylor & Walton, 1844), Plate 23, 1841-1844, coloured lithograph, 58 × 45.4 cm. Wellcome Collection (579565i). Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

Advertisements for Quain and Maclise's work started to appear in 1840, stating that it will be "above 13 parts Imperial folio and an octavo volume of letterpress. A part containing five plates with its accompanying letterpress will appear on the 1st of every month" (Fig. 15).³¹ Imperial Folio measured 27 by 21½ inches (68.5 x 54.6 cm). Normally, Quain was mentioned in Taylor's advertisements but Maclise was not, since the name Quain was known in anatomical circles (even when, as in this case, it was normally the other Quain brother, Jones, who was the well-known one).

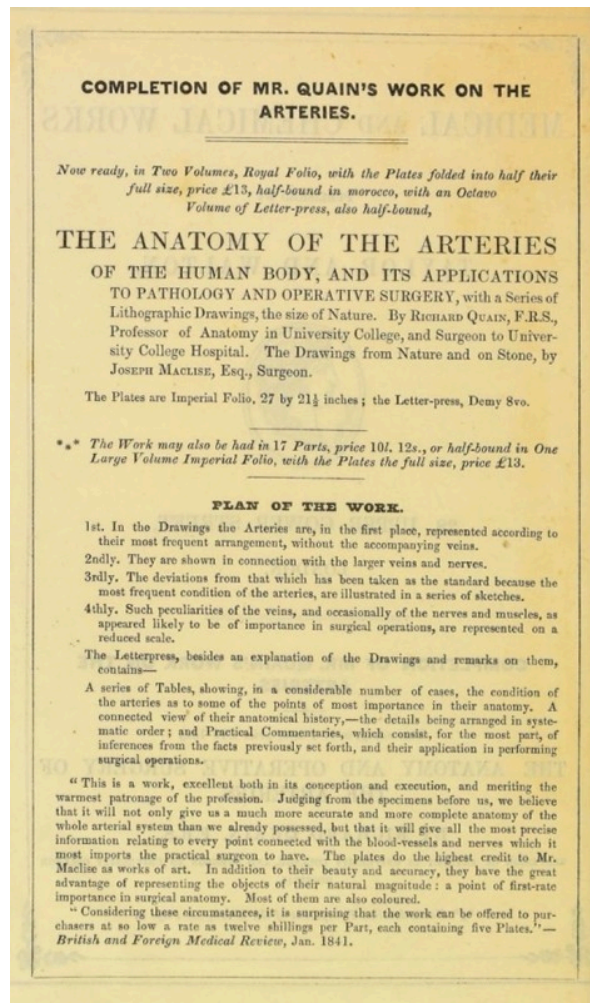


Figure 15.

Advertisements for Richard Quain and Joseph Maclise's "The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body", from Thomas Morton, *The Surgical Anatomy of the Perinaeum* (London: Taylor & Walton, 1838, probably bound in 1844). Wellcome Collection. Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

However, Taylor & Walton did quote the reviewer in the *British and Foreign Medical Review* in 1841, as saying: "The plates do the highest credit to Mr Maclise as works of art". That anonymous reviewer went on to say: "In addition to their beauty and accuracy, they have the great advantage of representing the objects of their actual magnitude, a point of first-rate importance in surgical anatomy. Most of them are also coloured." ³²

The genesis of the work was described in the preface by Richard Quain. He had compiled notes on the arteries in 930 cadavers, which he had dissected at UCL medical school. On examining them with a view to publication,

[I]t became obvious that their utility would be very limited, unless as a part of a full history of the arteries with adequate delineations. ... To carry out my views as to the delineations, I obtained the assistance of my friend and former pupil Mr Joseph Maclise. In reference to that gentleman's labours, it may be allowed me to say, that while I have had the cooperation of an anatomist and surgeon, obviously a great advantage, the drawings will, I believe, be found not to have lost in spirit or effect. It affords me much gratification to render my acknowledgments to Mr Maclise, for the readiness with which he acceded to my wishes, and undertook so arduous a task, and the zeal with which he has devoted himself to it in the intervals of application to the duties of his profession. ³³

Quain explains that the work differs from three earlier illustrated works on the arteries (by Albrecht von Haller, Antonio Scarpa, and Friedrich Tiedemann), in showing the variations which the main arteries can demonstrate from person to person, and by showing them in relation to veins, nerves, and viscera. He did not need to say, but it may be worth emphasising today that, during the speedy operations conducted without anaesthesia, it would be easy for a hasty surgeon to cut a major artery by mistake, with fatal consequences, if the surgeon encountered an unexpected variation in the course of an artery. Maclise helped to give this lesson mnemonic force by including drop-shadows under the arteries, which gives them a three-dimensional appearance.

In marketing the work, Taylor employed a range of options. Although the fascicules of plates were issued between late 1840 and 1844, already in 1842 Taylor and Walton were offering purchasers the option of having them bound in one huge volume of enormous weight with the plates folded in the gutter of the book, or in two lighter volumes with the plates not folded. ³⁴ Also, in 1842, Taylor and Walton were announcing that Parts I to XIV were now available, priced at 12 shillings each. ³⁵ In 1843, they were adding that Part XVII (the last) "will shortly be published". ³⁶ In the meantime, the first seven parts could be bought bound in one volume for five guineas, folded or unfolded. The more substantial single volumes were offered sturdily bound in cloth, while the lighter two-volume set was available from the publishers in a more elegant form with the spine and corners bound in leather. Purchasers of the individual fascicules could have them bound any way they liked, or not at all, and could keep them in a portfolio instead.

A new title page dated 1844 replaces the earlier “delineations” acknowledgment: “The drawings from nature and on stone by Joseph Maclise”. Perhaps this reflects the publishers’ growing realisation of quite what would be involved in producing such a massive corpus of lithographs. It tells us that Maclise had not only carried out the original drawings, presumably in pencil or chalk and watercolour, but was also recreating them, no doubt with amendments, on lithographic stones. Unusually, Taylor and Walton were not employing a professional lithographer on this publication. They had done so when publishing Jones Quain’s series of volumes *Anatomical Plates* (1834–1840), but in *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body*, Maclise, having created the composition and the drawing, was now carrying out a third role, that of lithographer.

In 1844, Maclise celebrated the conclusion of the massive work with a return visit to Paris with his brother, the painter Daniel Maclise (they had both studied there in the 1830s). The purpose of Daniel’s visit was to study French mural paintings, in preparation for his submissions to paint the murals in the new British Houses of Parliament. We do not know what Joseph did there. Meanwhile, back in London, Taylor continued to sell copies of *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body*, though the unwieldiness of the publication caused him some problems. In October 1846, Taylor and Walton’s advertisement states that “The plates will be contained in a portfolio, superseding the necessity of binding”. They added that, owing to the difficulty of storing the stones, they were proposing to print up to five hundred copies and then wipe the stones. The five hundred copies would, they imply, be additional to copies already sold.³⁷ The offer to sell the plates in a portfolio would not only relieve purchasers of binding, but would also permit them to hang up individual plates in the dissecting room or study, to distribute individual lithographs of specialist subjects to those who wanted them, and to discard those that were of less or no interest. The storage of the eighty-seven massive stones must have been a major problem for the publisher, whether they were with the printer (Jeremiah Graf) or cluttering up one of Taylor’s two Gower Street houses. The offer worked for, by November 1847, Taylor was announcing that four hundred and fifty of the five hundred copies had been subscribed for, of which four hundred had been delivered. By 1 March 1848, “460 out of the 500 copies have been subscribed for and delivered”.³⁸

In July 1849, Taylor (by then publishing as Taylor, Walton and Maberly) announced:

Mr Quain’s work on the arteries. The publishers beg to inform subscribers to this work, that the drawings on the stones have been destroyed. It is, therefore, not possible to increase the

number already printed. About fifty copies remain unsold, for which early application is requested. They will, for the present, be supplied at the subscription price, 6l 6s [six guineas]. ³⁹

This price was roughly half the price asked for the original bound volumes of the entire set, but if Taylor had already recouped his expenses on the earlier edition, the income from these 460 extra copies would have been clear profit.

After The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body

After the publication of *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body*, Taylor and Walton published Maclise's next work, *Comparative Osteology*, in 1847. This time, Taylor and Walton advertised the work extensively, naming Maclise as the author. By 1846, Joseph Maclise was a name worth mentioning. ⁴⁰ However, *Comparative Osteology* was Joseph Maclise's last work with Taylor and Walton. Although he continued to practise medicine nearby in Fitzrovia, he placed his subsequent works *Surgical Anatomy* (1851) and *On Dislocations and Fractures* (1859) with the firm of John Churchill. Churchill was a specialist medical publisher, well capitalised, and also well connected with the affluent medical world of the West End. ⁴¹

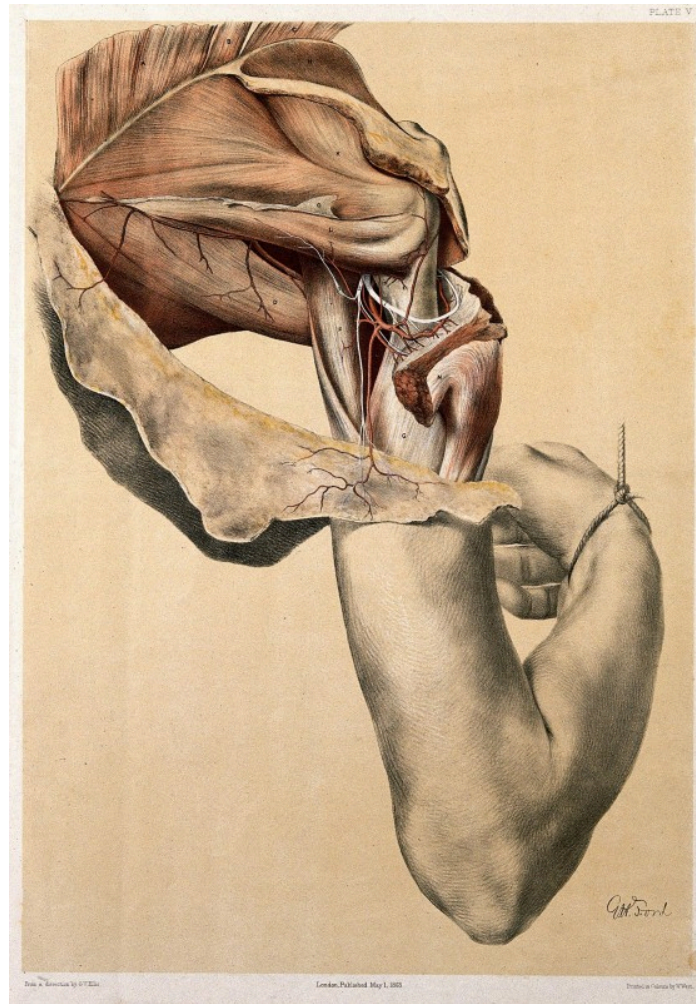


Figure 16.

G.H. Ford, Dissection of the Shoulder, from George Viner Ellis, *Illustrations of Dissections, in a Series of Original Coloured Plates, the Size of Life* (London: James Walton, 1867), part 3, plate V, 1863, chromolithograph, 56.1 × 38.4 cm. Wellcome Collection (568688i). Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

After that, Joseph Maclise disappears into medical practice and his artistic talent is no longer in evidence. *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body* had made sufficient impact on Taylor and Walton to encourage them to produce one further major set of anatomical lithographs: this was *Illustrations of Dissections, in a Series of Original Coloured Plates, the Size of Life* (1867), for which George Viner Ellis (an assistant and then the successor to Richard Quain as professor of anatomy at UCL) reprised his predecessor's role as the anatomist, while George Henry Ford (1812–1900) sat metaphorically in Joseph Maclise's chair, making the drawings from nature and then copying them on to stone (Fig. 16). Compared with *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body* from twenty years earlier, Viner Ellis and Ford's publication is an updated work in the same genre: it was published

from Taylor and Walton's house in Gower Street, by James Walton, after Taylor had retired, and used the new technique of chromolithography instead of the hand colouring employed in Maclise's day (red for arteries and blue for veins being a vital distinction). Despite the technical differences, the work of Viner Ellis and Ford could not have been published by Walton without the precedent of Quain-Maclise.

Conclusion

As behind-the-scenes enabler, John Taylor was a major contributor to *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body*. Behind Taylor were UCL and the Bloomsbury-Fitzrovia professoriat, especially in the UCL medical school. In anatomy, the leading figure at UCL was Richard Quain. It was UCL which brought together John Taylor, Joseph Maclise, and Richard Quain: the team that produced *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body*.

The work could only be produced because Taylor was willing to learn and adopt large-scale publication of lithography—a step outside his previous publishing experience. Before Maclise, he was introduced to it through Davis, Erasmus Wilson, and the Morton brothers. After Maclise, his firm was able to publish Viner Ellis, applying new chromolithographic printmaking methods to an existing genre. As much can be learned about a work, or corpus of works, by studying the context in which the publisher published it, as by studying the lives of the artists or writers who are more typically associated with its production.

Footnotes

- 1 George Viner Ellis, *Demonstrations of Anatomy: Being a Guide to the Dissection of the Human Body* (London: Printed for Taylor and Walton, 1840), advertisements at end in some copies; and H. Bence Jones, *On Gravel, Calculus & Gout: Chiefly an Application of Professor Liebig's Physiology to the Prevention and Cure of these Diseases* (London: Printed for Taylor and Walton, 1842), advertisements at end in some copies.
- 2 Sachiko Kusakawa, *Picturing the Book of Nature: Image, Text, and Argument in Sixteenth-Century Human Anatomy and Medical Botany* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2012); C.D. O'Malley, *Andreas Vesalius of Brussels* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1964); and W.F. Bynum and Roy Porter, eds., *William Hunter and the Eighteenth-Century Medical World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).
- 3 Christoph Reske, *Die Produktion der Schedelschen Weltchronik in Nürnberg* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000) (Mainzer Studien zur Buchwissenschaft, 10); and Stephan Füßel, *Hartmann Schedel, Chronicle of the World: The Complete and Annotated Nuremberg Chronicle of 1493* (Cologne: Taschen, 2001).
- 4 *Printing and the Mind of Man; Catalogue of Exhibitions at the British Museum and at Earls Court, London* (London: F.W. Bridges & Sons, 1963).
- 5 *Printing and the Mind of Man* Part II, "An Exhibition of Fine Printing in the King's Library of the British Museum, July–September 1963", 38, no. 113.
- 6 Tim Chilcott, *A Publisher and His Circle: The Life and Work of John Taylor, Keats's Publisher* (London: Routledge, 1972).
- 7 Richard Kirwan, *The Manures Most Advantageously Applicable to the Various Sorts of Soils, and the Causes of Their Beneficial Effect in Each Particular Instance* (London: Vernor & Hood, 1796 [three editions], 1801, 1802, 1806, and 1808); Michael Combrune, *The Theory and Practice of Brewing* (London: Vernor & Hood, 1804); Dr Collins, *Practical Rules for the Management and Medical Treatment of Negro Slaves, in the Sugar Colonies, by a Professional Planter* (London: Vernor & Hood, 1803. Related works later published by Taylor, after he left Vernor and Hood, include: Justus Liebig, *On Artificial Manures* (London: Taylor & Walton, 1845); and George Darling, *Instructions for Making Unfermented Bread: With Observations on Its Properties, Medicinal and Economic* (London: Taylor & Walton, 1847).

- 8 Chilcott, *A Publisher and His Circle*, 23-85 and 177-179.
- 9 Chilcott, *A Publisher and His Circle*. Once this source is accessible after the current COVID-19 restrictions pass, references to this source throughout the article will be updated with the page numbers.
- 10 Chilcott, *A Publisher and His Circle*.
- 11 Chilcott, *A Publisher and His Circle*.
- 12 Chilcott, *A Publisher and His Circle*, 63-64 and 183-185.
- 13 Chilcott, *A Publisher and His Circle*, 187-188.
- 14 Chilcott, *A Publisher and His Circle*, 67.
- 15 John Taylor (1781-1864), the founder of the publishing firm Taylor and Walton, is not to be confused with another man who had a similar career, Richard Taylor (1781-1858), the founder of the publishing firm Taylor and Francis. Both specialised in scientific publishing in London in the same period. John was from Nottinghamshire and his scientific publishing business was based in Bloomsbury, while Richard was from Norfolk and his publishing house was located in Red Lion Court, Fleet Street.
- 16 Chilcott, *A Publisher and His Circle*, 177-179.
- 17 Taylor gives the address as no. 30 as late as 1836 (title page to Augustus De Morgan, *The Connexion of Number and Magnitude: An Attempt to Explain the Fifth Book of Euclid* (London: Printed for Taylor and Walton, booksellers and publishers to the University of London, 30 Upper Gower Street, 1836). Thereafter, he uses 28 as his publishing address. Post Office Directories (e.g. for 1841, page 264) show him at both addresses: "28 Taylor & Walton booksellers, &c. ... 30. Taylor, John, esq".
- 18 For example, Edward Turner, professor of chemistry at UCL, was at 38 Upper Gower Street; the anatomist G.W. Hind was at 66 Gower Street; and the mathematician Augustus De Morgan was at 60 Gower Street. (Charles Darwin was even nearer, at 12 Upper Gower Street, but unfortunately was not publishing monographs at the time and had no position in the university.) The professor of pathology at UCL, Walter Hayle Walshe, was in Upper Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square, while to the north, another of his authors, Samuel Kidd, professor of Chinese at UCL, was in Camden Town. David Daniel Davis, professor of midwifery at UCL and obstetric physician to the North London Hospital (the future University College Hospital) lived at 4 Fitzroy Street, Fitzroy Square, and subsequently at 17 Russell Place, Fitzroy Square, near Joseph Maclise, who was at 14 Russell Place. Russell Place was the stretch of Charlotte Street between Howland and Maple Streets: after 1867, it became the southern part of Fitzroy Street. "Fitzroy Street", in *Survey of London: Volume 21, The Parish of St Pancras Part 3: Tottenham Court Road and Neighbourhood*, ed. J.R. Howard Roberts and Walter H. Godfrey (London, 1949), 44-46. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol21/pt3/pp44-46>. The addresses given here are found in Post Office directories and prefaces by these authors to works published by Taylor & Walton.
- 19 After Taylor's retirement, the firm traded as James Walton (circa 1867-1871?), at the same address as before (albeit renumbered by the Post Office from 28 Upper Gower Street to 137 Gower Street). Whether James was the original partner in Taylor and Walton, founded thirty years before, has not been ascertained. The firm predominantly called itself "Taylor & Walton" up to 1842, then predominantly used the form "Taylor and Walton" thereafter.
- 20 Randall C. Merris, "Carlo Minasi, Composer, Arranger and Teacher", *Papers of the International Concertina Association* 6 (2009): 17-45 (page 42, n. 9 list of Minasi's addresses in Camden).
- 21 Taylor & Walton's list dated August 1842, found at the end of Justus Freiherr von Liebig, *Animal Chemistry, or Organic Chemistry in its Applications to Physiology and Pathology* (London: Taylor and Walton, 1842). Keats is still listed in March 1847, in Taylor & Walton's list found at the end of Justus Freiherr von Liebig, *Researches on the Chemistry of Food* (London: Taylor and Walton, 1847).
- 22 Bindings so described are found among Taylor & Walton's publications in the Wellcome Collection, London. The label of Remnant and Edmonds is usually on the end pastedown. On the firm, see James Secord, *Victorian Sensation: The Extraordinary Publication, Reception, and Secret Authorship of Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 120.
- 23 His letterpress printers include: Mills and Son, Gough-Square, Fleet-Street; Mills, Jowett and Mills, Bolt-Court, Fleet-Street; James Moyes, Castle Street, Leicester Square; Samuel Bentley, Dorset Street, Fleet-Street; Samuel Bentley, Bangor House, Shoe Lane; Bradbury and Evans, Whitefriars; J.L. Cox and Sons, printers to the Honourable East India Company, 75, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's-Inn Fields; A. Spottiswoode, New-Street Square; S. & J. Bentley, Wilson and Fley, Bangor House, Shoe Lane; John Wertheimer & Co., Circus Place, Finsbury Circus; Mitchell, Heaton and Mitchell, printers, Liverpool; Neill and Company, Old Fishmarket, Edinburgh; and Schulze and Co., 13 Poland-Street, London.
- 24 Thomas Bagg (also called "Mr Bagg senior") was his usual wood engraver, cutting designs that William Bagg had drawn on the wood or on paper: both of them were based at 8 Hart Street (since the 1930s called Bloomsbury Way), leading westwards off the south-west corner of Bloomsbury Square. Jones Quain, *Elements of Anatomy*, 4th ed. (London: Taylor & Walton, 1837), vi ("The drawings are due to the pencil of Mr William Bagg ... the engraving has been conducted with great care by Mr Bagg sen." [i.e. Thomas Bagg]). They are listed at 8 Hart Street in the *Post Office London Street Directory* (1841), 119 and 633. On Hart Street, see F. Peter Woodford, ed., *Streets of Bloomsbury & Fitzrovia* (London: Camden History Society, 1997), 76 and 84.
- 25 For steel engravings, Taylor normally employed Henry Adlard, and occasionally Charles Wass. Work by both Adlard and Wass is found in Johannes Müller, *Elements of Physiology*, translated from the German, with notes, by William Baly (London: Taylor and Walton, 1838-1842) (and in many other publications).
- 26 Michael Twyman, *Lithography, 1800-1850: The Techniques of Drawing on Stone in England and France and Their Application in Works of Topography* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970).

- 27 Michael Twyman, "Charles Joseph Hullmandel: Lithographic Printer Extraordinary", in *Lasting Impressions: Lithography as Art*, ed. Pat Gilmour (London: Alexandria Press, 1988), 44-90 and 362-367.
- 28 These included George Johann Scharf, William Fairland, and W. Walton. Scharf was a Bavarian who resided in a side road off Gower Street and worked mainly for scientific publishers; see Twyman, "Charles Joseph Hullmandel", 64-65 and 86. William Fairland had illustrated, at the age of nineteen, a privately published work on artistic anatomy, George Simpson's *The Anatomy of the Bones and Muscles: Exhibiting the Parts as They Appear on Dissection, and More Particularly in the Living Figure; as Applicable to the Fine Arts. Designed for the Use of Artists, and Members of the Artist's Anatomical Society. ... Illustrated with Highly-Finished Lithographic Impressions* (London 1825). On Walton, both Taylor and Hullmandel employed an artist called W. Walton, who drew on stone drawings of Shropshire required by Hullmandel for publication as lithographs. Hullmandel also employed for the same purpose, and at the same period, an artist who signed as W.L. Walton: he was very prolific and drew many different types of lithographs. It is unknown whether these were the same or different people, and if they were they connected with Hullmandel's business partner, Joseph Fowell Walton of Saratt Hall, Rickmansworth, Hertfordshire. The preface to the first volume of *The Principles and Practice of Obstetric Medicine* credits Mr W. Fairland and "M. Rue of Mr Hullmandel's establishment", who presumably oversaw the printing of the lithographs.
- 29 At the age of sixteen, Wilson had met Jones Quain while Wilson was a student surgeon, and he became assistant to Jones Quain and later Richard Quain in the anatomy school at UCL. In 1836, he had briefly run his own anatomy school at 22 Sussex Street (behind University College Hospital), and in 1840 became lecturer in anatomy at the Middlesex Hospital in Fitzrovia. His residence in Fitzrovia was at 55 Upper Charlotte Street, near the Maclise brothers. D'Arcy Power and G.L. Asherson, "Wilson, Sir (William James) Erasmus (1809-1884), Dermatologist and Philanthropist", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004.
- 30 Robert Harrison, *The Surgical Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body*, 2nd ed. (Dublin: Hodges & Smith, 1829), xi-xii
- 31 George Viner Ellis, *Demonstrations of Anatomy*.
- 32 *British and Foreign Medical Review* 11, January 1841, 211.
- 33 Richard Quain, *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body*, octavo volume (London: Taylor & Walton, 1844), vi.
- 34 John Lindley, *Elements of Botany, Structural, Physiological, Systematical, and Medical* (London: Printed for Taylor and Walton, 1841), advertisements at the end in some copies, dated November 1842.
- 35 H. Bence Jones, *On Gravel, Calculus & Gout*.
- 36 Justus Freiherr von Liebig, *Animal Chemistry, or Chemistry in its Applications to Physiology and Pathology* (London: Printed for Taylor and Walton, 1843), advertisements at end in some copies.
- 37 Edward W. Murphy, *Lectures on Natural and Difficult Parturition* (London: Printed for Taylor and Walton, 1845), advertisements at the end of Wellcome Collection copy no. 38050/B/1, dated October 1846.
- 38 Edward W. Murphy, *Lectures on Natural and Difficult Parturition* (London: Printed for Taylor and Walton, 1845), advertisements at the end of Wellcome Collection copy no. 38050/B/2, dated November 1847.
- 39 William Senhouse Kirkes, *Hand-Book of Physiology* (London: Taylor, Walton & Maberly, 1848), advertisements at the end of some copies.
- 40 Edward Turner, *Elements of Chemistry, Including the Actual State and Prevalent Doctrines of the Science*, 8th ed. (London: Printed for Taylor and Walton, 1847), contains the publisher's advertisements for "New works printed for Taylor Walton & Maberly" including "Maclise's morphological studies in search of the archetype skeleton of vertebrated animals". William Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology* (London: Taylor & Walton and John Murray, 1844-1849) advertises on 1 March 1848 "New works printed for Taylor & Walton" including Maclise's *Comparative Osteology* and "Mr Quain's work on the arteries"—Maclise still receives no credit for his earlier work. The same advertisements were included in some copies of Justus Freiherr von Liebig, *Researches on the Motion of the Juices in the Animal Body* (London: Printed for Taylor and Walton, 1848).
- 41 P.W.J. Bartrip, "Churchill, John Spriggs Morss (1801-1875), Medical Publisher", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004.

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“It Should Be on Every Surgeon’s Table”: The Reception and Adoption of Joseph Maclise’s *Surgical Anatomy* (1851) in the United States

Naomi Slipp

Abstract

This article is part of the Objects in Motion series in British Art Studies, which is funded by the Terra Foundation for American Art. Projects in the series examine cross-cultural dialogues between Britain and the United States, and may focus on any aspect of visual and material culture produced before 1980. The aim of Objects in Motion is to explore the physical and material circumstances by which art is transmitted, displaced, and recontextualised, as well as the transatlantic processes that create new markets, audiences, and meanings.

This article traces the US reception of Joseph Maclise’s *Surgical Anatomy*, which was first published as fascicules in London starting in 1848, and in Philadelphia beginning in 1849 (the complete British and American volumes were each issued in 1851), and outlines its impact on American medicine. Through a consideration of the production of its American editions, US reviews, advertisements, and sales, and its accession into collections and adoption in the classroom, I argue that *Surgical Anatomy* played a role in the development of nineteenth-century American medical publishing, pedagogy, and practice. The text and its illustrations participated in a broader historical shift within American medical professionalization that occurred from the late 1840s into the 1880s and relied upon the international circulation of increasingly visualized anatomical and surgical knowledge. The article concludes by considering how the pictures themselves operated outside the bound volume. Pinned to the walls of dissecting rooms and replicated as large-scale painted teaching aids in the classroom, anatomical imagery—including illustrations from *Surgical Anatomy*—circulated in the United States and affected pedagogical and epistemic transformations, impacting the direction of the discipline.

Authors

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Introduction

This article presents an object biography of sorts, outlining how a British medical publication became “American”.¹ It has two aims: to trace the US reception of Joseph Maclise’s *Surgical Anatomy*, which was first published as fascicules in London starting in 1848 and in Philadelphia beginning in 1849 (the complete British and American volumes were each issued in 1851), and to outline its impact on American medicine (Fig. 1). There are no reception studies of this or comparable US medical publications. In light of that lacuna, I discuss the production of its American editions, survey US reviews from major medical journals, and identify the ways in which US editions were advertised, sold, accessioned into private and public libraries, and adopted in the classroom. By tracking Maclise through the archive, we uncover the language used to describe and market the volumes and ascertain what niche it filled for American audiences. What did US reviewers perceive as the values and benefits of this volume to their profession? How was the volume used in practice and in pedagogy? In what ways were the illustrations understood and adopted, and how were they described by period viewers?

[View this illustration online](#)

Figure 1.

Joseph Maclise, *Surgical Anatomy*, (Philadelphia, PA: Blanchard and Lea, 1851). Wellcome Collection. Digital image courtesy of Digital facsimile courtesy of the Wellcome Collection (CC BY 4.0).

By examining American editions of *Surgical Anatomy* as a single case study, I argue that it played a role in the development of nineteenth-century American medical publishing, pedagogy, and practice. Through this narrow lens, we are able to identify the aspirations of US medical publishers and professionals who undertook the contemporaneous printing of a British text for American audiences. *Surgical Anatomy* contributed to and participated in a broader historical shift within American medical professionalization that occurred from the late 1840s into the 1880s and relied upon the international circulation of increasingly visualized anatomical and surgical knowledge. In order to demonstrate the ways in which Maclise’s illustrations, in particular, had a part in this transformation, the article concludes by considering how the pictures themselves operated outside the bound volume. As Maclise noted, “The best substitute for Nature herself, upon which to teach the knowledge of her, is an exact representation of her form”.² Pinned to the walls of dissecting rooms and replicated as large-scale painted teaching aids in the classroom, anatomical imagery—including illustrations from *Surgical Anatomy*—circulated in the United States and affected pedagogical and epistemic transformations, impacting the direction of the discipline.

Illustrating Anatomy in the American Medical Context

In the 1840s and 1850s, professional medicine in the United States varied in focus and practice, from the more elite urban centers of the east coast to the French creole communities of New Orleans to the western boundaries of the nation in California and Oregon. While medical practice might have looked slightly different in each of these locales, overall, in the first half of the nineteenth century, the national professionalization of US medicine lagged far behind British and French models—and methods of practice were not unified or regulated. As John Harley Warner explains:

Professional identity was principally based upon practice, not, as it became to a large extent after the late nineteenth century, upon a claim to special knowledge ... A professionally respectable practitioner could remain ignorant of much of basic medical science.³

Therapeutic practice was divided between various methods and movements—including “regulars”, who practiced allopathy, and “irregulars”, who subscribed to homeopathy, eclecticism, reformism, botanical medicine, or quackery. Among medical practitioners, knowledge of surgery and anatomy was inconsistent, and systems of medical instruction varied; some followed eighteenth-century apprenticeship models, others enrolled in a short series of lectures, and a small percentage attained a full degree in medicine.⁴

As Michael Sappol has persuasively demonstrated, however, training in human anatomy increasingly became a distinguishing factor in medical professionalization in nineteenth-century America. As he frames it, “the history of American medicine” was “an anatomical narrative”.⁵ As such, anatomy developed into a cultural currency, and was popularized and politicized in everything from public performance and literature to the passage of anatomy acts. Individuals and legislative bodies increasingly litigated, licensed, and promoted anatomical study for medical gain and public entertainment, while at the same time promoting anatomy as an elite body of knowledge that defined, ordered, and materialized social and corporeal differences based upon cultural constructs, such as race, sex, ability, and health—among other “embodied” characteristics—and united medical professionals.⁶ Because of this cultural and disciplinary shift, knowledge of anatomy was increasingly central to a physician’s training and clinical practice—no matter their disciplinary specialization or therapeutic allegiances.

A significant move toward national professionalization and the unification of “scientific” medicine was the 1847 founding of the American Medical Association (AMA), which privileged allopathy and introduced rigorous standards for medical education and practice.⁷ The AMA lobbied for advanced qualifications and certification at the local and national levels, and enacted pedagogical reforms that placed an emphasis on surgical practice, clinical experience, and anatomical dissection.⁸ Due partly to the reform efforts of the AMA and to the demands for unification of the profession coincident with a national medical military response to the American Civil War (1861–1865), allopathic medicine attained hegemony in the United States by the 1880s.⁹

Adding to the challenges for pedagogical reform, American medical schools were operated piecemeal and led largely by physicians who taught individual classes and took payment directly from students. Courses of study ran for short sessions and hospital residencies, quality of instruction, and anatomical dissection varied widely depending on institutional affiliations, location, and laws regarding cadaver acquisition.¹⁰ As Warner has demonstrated, the French clinical tradition—which prized hands-on experience and dissection—slowly gained precedence in the 1840s within elite American medical schools, where the majority of professors had, themselves, trained in Paris.¹¹ These pedagogical emphases slowly disseminated outward to peer institutions that aimed to emulate their more elite competitors, although in regions without public hospitals or clinics and limited access to patients, such training was difficult to attain.¹² By the 1840s, elite medical instruction in Philadelphia, New York, and Boston was relatively consistent; however, enrollment was expensive and outside the scope of many would-be practitioners. In rural locales beyond the east coast, access to urban centers, medical education, and dissection was understandably more limited, including at the western boundaries of the United States. Without an established, universally instituted course of study, the education of American medical professionals was unpredictable.

Because of this, illustrations, publications, and other forms of visual instruction proved particularly useful for American medical students and physicians—no matter their approach. First and foremost, illustrated anatomy texts were didactic. They operated either in tandem with hands-on dissections or as a supplement to physical explorations; the latter was especially true in seasons when dissection was not practiced or during periods when cadavers were scarce. Such illustrations operated in concert with written commentaries and were often supplemented by other kinds of pedagogical objects, including models, blackboard drawing, and preserved specimens. As Eva Åhrén notes in relation to anatomical visualizations:

images were more than illustrative supplements to the written accounts they accompanied. Research in anatomy was a process of visualization, of making things visible to the eyes and minds of the scientists and artists themselves, as well as to an audience of peers or students. Images were therefore viewed as scientific results in and of themselves, and functioned as stand-ins for the objects they depicted.¹³

In this case, Maclise's illustrations enabled viewers to "conjur[e] up before his mental vision a distinct picture of his subject".¹⁴ He explains how "[w]e dissect the dead animal body in order to furnish the memory with as clear an account of the structure contained", indicating that the images served as an aide-memoire and represented an idealized form.¹⁵ Contrarily, however, such bodies were also individualized and specific, as Maclise reminds readers: "in guarantee of their anatomical accuracy, ... they have been made by myself from my own dissections".¹⁶ While the realist aspirations of the author and universal modalities of his project may seem to sit uneasily together, such tensions were commonplace in anatomical visual and material culture.

The Delivery of Anatomical Knowledge

In the preface to the 1851 US printing of *Surgical Anatomy*, Maclise describes how he intends "to present to the student of medicine and the practitioner removed from the schools, a series of dissections demonstrative of the relative anatomy of the principal regions of the human body".¹⁷ While he critiques the topographical or descriptive anatomist, who only identifies and names parts as unrelated to "the whole design of the form", he praises the surgeon—or practical anatomist—who requires a more holistic appreciation of the human body, its relative parts, their interrelationship, and their functions, and a comparative understanding of healthy versus diseased examples—repeatedly invoking the "normal". In these first few pages, Maclise outlines some of the primary challenges presented by anatomical study and its visualization: namely, the difficulty of rendering both part and whole, the comparative presentation of ideal and diseased examples which flatten difference and establish a binary or polarization between "normal" and "aberrant", and the complexities of relaying a temporal dissection or surgical procedure in singular images. In aiming to present an understanding of surgical anatomy that takes these traditional limitations into account, Maclise turns to visual representation, arguing that "an anatomical illustration enters the understanding straight-forward in a direct passage, and is almost independent of the aid of written language ... It is an axiom

encompassed in a frame-work of self-evident truth.” ¹⁸ While we should question the assertion that illustration is somehow unmediated, the emphasis on directness and the pre-eminence of visual over linguistic description indicates that Maclise, like many of his peers, increasingly understood medical pedagogy and practice as a visual domain, an episteme shaped by ocular and sensory engagement and experience.

In invoking “truth” as the primary goal of successful illustration, Maclise identifies the challenge of presenting specificity and universality simultaneously in representations of the anatomical body. Mid-nineteenth-century medical professionals prized didactic illustrations that were accurate, legible, and truthful. Significantly, visual accuracy in the strictest sense was often sacrificed in favor of representational legibility. Truthfulness was an ideal and an aspiration, and was also culturally defined and historically specific. As Martin Kemp reminds us:

The various permutations of intellectual, visual, economic, institutional, and political factors which bore in on the perceptual and representational processes involved in the making and reading of the illustrations varied greatly for different anatomists and illustrators working in different places at different times and on different projects. ¹⁹

Anatomical illustrators in Great Britain, France, and the United States sought to refine the human body to align with a mid-century ideal by condensing the actual viscera and multiple layers of a complex and specific bodily interior into a schematized, clean, carefully diagrammed, and universalized two-dimensional image. ²⁰

Contemporary methods for the visual delivery of medical and anatomical information were challenging and presented different kinds of information with variable efficacy. Dried or wet specimens served the straightforward function of preserving that which would decay. However, each had limitations: dried specimens lost dimensionality and color, while complex forms were hard to examine as wet specimens could degrade or become cloudy. Pamphlets with basic, woodcut illustrations disseminated medical information in a cheap, easily reproducible format, but any pictures were often rudimentary and, if colored at all, were garish. More elite modes of instruction included papier-mâché models, wax moulages, and illustrated anatomical atlases with engraved, hand-colored plates. Such models and treatises were expensive, luxury goods—most often produced abroad—and marketed to a privileged audience. Later in the century, chromolithographic charts, most often German-made, and photographs emerged as viable

documentary or pedagogical tools. Each representational format captured varying levels of detail, especially pertaining to dimensionality, color, or the interrelationship of parts to a whole. As didactic tools, all were also challenged, in some manner, by their material state: either unique or infinitely reproducible; either presented in two dimensions or three; and either cheap, and, therefore, somewhat inferior, but promising a wide distribution, or very expensive, indicating limited circulation and an elite audience. The illustrations in *Surgical Anatomy* straddled both of the latter categories; they were regarded as accurate, detailed, and artistically impressive two-dimensional images that were also, surprisingly, quite affordable. Because of this—as we will learn momentarily—they were in high demand among American medical professionals at all stages of their careers.

The pedagogical and practical limitations of a singular mode of anatomical visualization were often overcome through aggregation. In other words, multiple systems of representation were employed at once to demonstrate distinctions and difference, dimension, coloring, and the relative composition between parts and whole. As Carin Berkowitz explains of systems of display in British anatomical theaters and museums:

drawings of “normal bodies” were a part of a broader system. Visual displays were selected because, taken together, they acted as tools to allow the discipline to “see” a nature that was both finite and ordered in its variation and therefore displayable ... the system was only made meaningful by the anatomist himself, who provided the text and narration that brought the system together, situated its parts and showed the student what he was seeing.²¹

In the United States, Maclise’s *Surgical Anatomy* was one publication within a landscape of different representational ventures—both two-dimensional and three-dimensional—that aimed to visualize anatomical and surgical knowledge for an audience of aspiring and professional medical practitioners. Such objects of visual and material culture gained meaning through sensory translation via handling, visual study, or the linguistic contextualization provided by caption or oral lecture, and through the corresponding practical experiences of dissection and clinical practice.

French and British anatomical and surgical publications and atlases—and their US editions—were prized by American audiences. Some atlases had deluxe images and limited captions; other anatomy publications relied on a symbiotic relationship between text and image, wherein one enlivened and explicated the other. Some texts presented healthy, idealized anatomy, and others focused on visual diagnostics, the growing fields of pathology or microscopy, or surgical procedure.²² Surgical anatomy was an emerging

field in the 1840s, and linked with the growth of operative surgery (influenced by the discovery and adoption of surgical anesthesia) and opportunities for human dissection. The relationship between anatomy, disease, and injury, and the methods for diagnosis and surgical treatment were paramount. Deluxe illustrated volumes on surgical anatomy published between 1830 and 1850 that were in direct competition with Maclise included the four-volume *Anatomy of the Human Body* by John and Charles Bell, published between 1797 and 1804, Richard Quain's *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body and its Applications to Pathology and Operative Surgery*, which appeared in 1844, and volumes by British authors Thomas Morton and Thomas Wormald, and French authors Alfred Velpeau, Jean Cruveilhier, and Jacques Lebaudy.²³ The 1850s and 1860s saw a marked rise in illustrated medical publications in the United States, as well as a shift in style of illustration, best typified by *Gray's Anatomy*, first published in London in 1858. These surgical anatomy publications focused explicitly on presenting human anatomy for the aspiring or practicing surgeon and represent the leading illustrated volumes of the period published prior to and contemporaneous with *Surgical Anatomy*. Despite this competition, through at least the 1870s, Maclise's *Surgical Anatomy* seems to have been one of the most popular and comprehensive illustrated atlases focused on anatomy vis-à-vis operative practice available in the United States.

Publishing Joseph Maclise's *Surgical Anatomy* in America

Joseph Maclise (ca. 1815–1880) was an Irish-born surgeon and medical illustrator, who studied medicine at University College, London (UCL), and in Paris. Returning to London, Maclise established a busy medical practice and published anatomical illustrations—sometimes living with his brother Daniel (1806–1870), a renowned history painter. The two traveled in Paris together in 1844 and to Lyon and Naples in 1855.²⁴ Daniel attended artistic anatomy lectures at the Royal Cork Institution; his 1838 diploma piece for the Royal Academy, titled *The Woodranger*, demonstrates his mastery of human anatomy—a requirement for history painting (Fig. 2). It is tantalizing to imagine the exchanges between Daniel and Joseph, one an expert in a genre that relied upon accuracy and anatomical precision, the other a surgeon, skilled in anatomical illustration. One wonders if Maclise's abilities in illustration and lithography were influenced by his brother, who was a popular book illustrator trained in etching, and steel and wood engraving.



Figure 2.

Daniel Maclise, *The Woodranger*, 1838, oil on canvas, 214.2 x 91.4 cm. Collection of the Royal Academy of Arts, London (03/1298). Digital image courtesy of Royal Academy of Arts, London / Photo: John Hammond (all rights reserved).

Joseph Maclise's first foray into illustration was for Richard Quain's *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body*, published in 1844 by Taylor & Walton, London. Maclise met Quain (1800–1887) while studying medicine at UCL. Quain was affiliated with the University College and Hospital from 1834 through 1866, initially as first assistant surgeon and rising to professor of clinical surgery.²⁵ The eighty-seven imperial folio plates for Quain were drawn from life and on stone by Maclise. No doubt encouraged by this enterprise, Maclise undertook the execution of his own illustrated publications. *Comparative Osteology being Morphological Studies to Demonstrate the Archetype Skeleton of Vertebrated Animals* appeared in

1847, followed by *Surgical Anatomy* in 1851. The latter included thirty-five lithographic plates, which were revised and expanded in 1856 to fifty-two plates. The illustrations were widely praised for their accuracy and truthfulness. Maclise himself identified their source, writing in the preface:

Of the illustrations of this work I may state, in guarantee of their anatomical accuracy, that they have been made by myself from my own dissections, first planned at the London University College, and afterwards realized at the École Pratique, and School of Anatomy, adjoining the Hospital La Pitié, Paris, a few years since. ²⁶

Significantly, Maclise notes his training in London and Paris, direct connection to French clinical practices, and independent design and execution of the physical dissections and their expression as lithographic plates. The authority connoted by his distinguished pedigree and professional experiences is presumably conveyed to the reader via the direct translation of his dissections as observed by him and rendered by his own hand. In other words, Maclise here suggests that the illustrations might operate as a simulacrum or stand-in for the elite physical experience of training in London and Paris.

Maclise's anatomical illustrations circulated within the United States in a few ways. The primary method was within original publications. *Surgical Anatomy* was initially published in London as an imperial folio by John Churchill, with individual fascicules available beginning in 1848; a second, revised British edition was released in 1856. It proved so popular that it was licensed and issued in a US edition by the Philadelphia publishing house of Blanchard and Lea. Originally planned as a large folio comprising four parts with sixty-two plates, it was eventually realized in five fascicules with sixty-eight plates. These were released in November 1849, April and August 1850, and July and November 1851. ²⁷

As a two-page advertisement from the publisher explained, each fascicule contained twelve to sixteen colored plates and was priced at \$2.00 (Part V was offered at \$1.00) (Fig. 3). ²⁸ Together, they formed "one large imperial quarto volume, containing over sixty large plates, many the size of life/ Drawn in the best style, and beautifully colored/Together with about 150 pages of letterpress". ²⁹ The publisher emphasizes that some plates are "the size of life", highlighting the function of a good anatomical atlas, which aimed to replicate with exactitude—and, ideally, to scale—the human anatomy. Further, at sixty-eight plates to 150 pages of explanatory text, Maclise's volume was 45 percent illustrations—an impressive ratio.

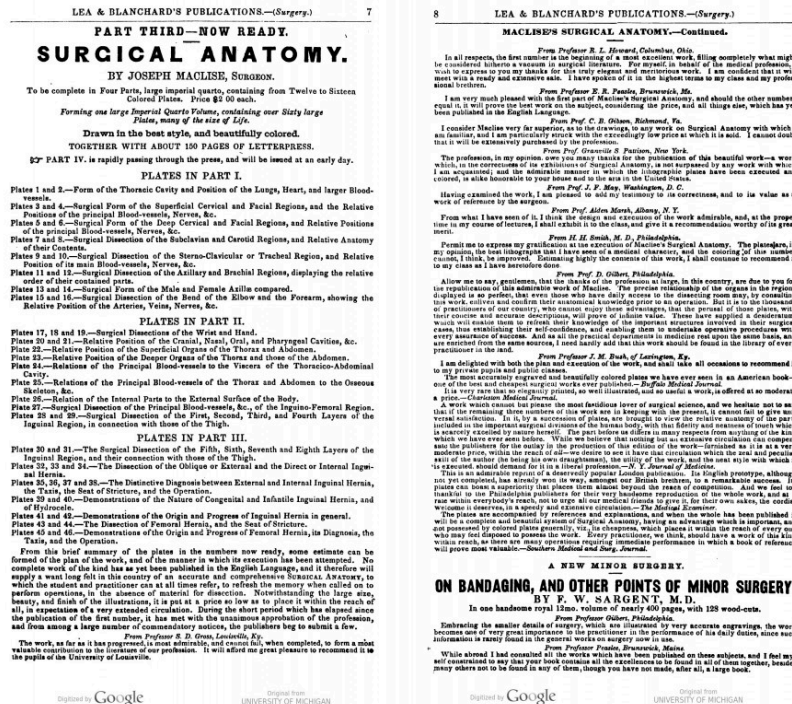


Figure 3. Two-page advertisement for Joseph Maclise, *Surgical Anatomy*, (Philadelphia, PA: Blanchard and Lea, 1851) from Archibald Billing, *First Principles of Medicine* (Philadelphia, PA: Blanchard and Lea, 1851), 264–265, 1851. Collection of the University of Michigan. Digital image courtesy of Hathi Trust Digital Library (public domain).

Alongside the description of the plates in the advertisement, Blanchard and Lea printed ten testimonials from a veritable who's who of American medicine. These individuals represent a survey of key US medical institutions in 1850 and include Henry Hollingsworth Smith (1815–1890), University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, who published his own popular anatomical atlas in 1844 with Lea and Blanchard; Charles Bell Gibson (1816–1865), Medical College of Richmond, Virginia, who served briefly as Surgeon General of Virginia under the Confederate States of America and was surgeon-in-charge of the C.S.A.'s General Hospital #1; and Dr Samuel D. Gross (1805–1884)—then of University of Louisville, Kentucky, later of Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia—who is enshrined as the subject of Thomas Eakins's monumental surgical painting *The Gross Clinic* (1875).³⁰ Many commented on its "valuable contribution" to the field and role in filling "a vacuum in surgical literature". They noted its low price and correctness,³¹ and the majority described its pedagogical utility, stating: "I shall continue to recommend it to my class"; "at the proper time in my course lectures, I shall exhibit it to the class"; and "it will afford me great pleasure to recommend it

to the pupils".³² In his effusive praise (longer by half than those of his colleagues), David Gilbert (1803–1868) of Pennsylvania College, Philadelphia, explained how:

even those who have daily access to the dissecting room may, by consulting this work, enliven and confirm their anatomical knowledge prior to an operation. But it is to the thousands of practitioners of our country, who cannot enjoy these advantages, that the perusal of those plates ... will prove of infinite value.³³

In invoking the variable training and resources of his peers, Gilbert identifies the urgent reference function that a volume like this would serve in the United States, allowing such individuals to “undertake operative procedures with every assurance of success”. Such testimonials echo what scholar Cindy Stelmackowich has identified as the twinned pedagogical function of French and English anatomical atlases: to operate as a stand-in for the physical body, and to create and confirm professional epistemologies.³⁴ Similarly, Maclise’s volume served both to confirm the knowledge of the learned and to instruct the student.

Significantly, a number of testimonials praised the execution and coloring of the lithographic plates, with Granville Pattison (1791–1851)—a Scottish anatomist and expatriate then at New York University—declaring that it honored the house of Blanchard and Lea and the fine arts of the United States. In ascribing a national character to the success of the lithographs, Pattison echoed the praise of other reviewers, who celebrated—in the same breath—its British origins and its American character. The ambivalent status of the volume as simultaneously a British text and an American publication—and the ways in which reviewers navigated its national identity—highlight the ambivalence regarding medical training abroad. It is as if reviewers wanted to cash in on the elitism and cultural capital of the publication’s British origins, and—at the same time—present their national aspirations to secure an American school of medicine, independent of France or Great Britain, by referencing its “American” identity.³⁵

Notably, the advertisement concluded with excerpts from reviews in the *Buffalo Medical Journal* (New York), *Charleston Medical Journal* (South Carolina), *New York Journal of Medicine* (New York), *Medical Examiner* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania), and *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal* (Augusta, Georgia).³⁶ All five reviews note its affordability, being “offered at so moderate a price” and “within the reach of *all*”. Such commentaries promote the acquisition of the text by practitioners at all professional stages and economic strata, and indicate a democratic aspiration for the field—that

all should attain knowledge of surgical anatomy—no matter their background or class. One reviewer emphasizes the superiority of this notable “American book”, while another highlights its London antecedent, popularity with British readers, and Philadelphia origins. The textual confusion over the nationality of the US edition of *Surgical Anatomy* in both individual testimonials and published reviews allowed the text to assume broad appeal as an affordable illustrated treatise that was both a “native” work and an international publication.³⁷

Blanchard and Lea summarize the benefits of the text and its import in their introductory paragraph (which appears in most advertisements), claiming:

As no complete work of the kind has hitherto fore been published in the English language, the present volume will supply a want long felt in this country of an accurate and comprehensive Atlas of Surgical Anatomy, to which the student and practitioner can at all times refer to ascertain the exact relative positions of the various portions of the human frame towards each other and to the surface, as well as their abnormal deviations. The importance of such a work to the student, in the absence of anatomical material, and to practitioners, either for consultation in emergencies or to refresh their recollections of the dissecting room, is evident. Notwithstanding the large size, beauty and finish of the very numerous illustrations, it will be observed that the price is so low as to place it within the reach of all members of the profession.³⁸

In this extensive quotation, the publishers recapitulate the individual assessments found in testimonials and reviews. They note its size, beauty, and low price; indispensability as an aide-memoire and teaching tool; function as a supplement to fresh dissections and reference during medical emergencies; and uniqueness within the English-language marketplace. They indicate that its primary benefit is coverage of both part and whole, surface and depth, and the corresponding relationships between these areas of the body, both in “normal” specimens and in “abnormal deviations”. This final observation—that Maclise was unusually comprehensive in his treatment of human anatomy—was echoed in the first review of Part I of the British edition, published in the *Lancet* in 1858. The reviewer explicitly distinguishes what sets Maclise apart from Blandin, Velpeau, Cooper, Lawrence, Morton, Tiedemann, Quain, and Dermott—contemporaries who had similarly published illustrated treatises on anatomy. Unlike those others, who—the reviewer claims—treated only parts of the human anatomy as discrete and separate entities without considering the inter-relationship of anatomical

parts, or surface and depth, Maclise fashions a holistic account of human anatomy.³⁹ As a piece of advertising, then, this one example does an extraordinary amount of work.

While this was the most common advertisement circulating for *Surgical Anatomy* and appeared in most mid-century Blanchard and Lea publications, an extended advertisement also circulated that spanned three full pages and quoted excerpts of fifteen personal testimonials and sixteen reviews from prominent medical journals, including international venues such as the *Dublin Medical Press* and the *Lancet*.⁴⁰ A condensed version included only abbreviated commentary from seventeen reviews.⁴¹ The latter examples were reviewing the British edition and not the American one; this presents a number of questions about the US edition and its American publisher, which we will return to momentarily.

Blanchard and Lea advertised *Surgical Anatomy* not only in specialist medical publications, but also in generalist periodicals, such as *The Literary World: A Journal of Society, Literature, Science, and Art* (New York). The notice appears surrounded by advertisements for *The Book of Home Beauty* by Mrs. Kirkland, which contained twelve portraits of American Ladies, *Putnam's Home Cyclopedia* in six volumes, and an advertisement for the public exhibition of Emmanuel Leutze's grand history painting *Washington Crossing the Delaware* (1851), then on view at the Stuyvesant Institute. Readers were urged to "complete their sets without delay, as the sale in numbers has been stopped".⁴² In another instance, an announcement appeared in *Norton's Literary Advertiser* (New York) among such riveting fare as *Lives of the Chief Justices of England* and *Latin Dictionary for Schools*.⁴³ These advertisements notified American audiences of all kinds—beyond the medical community—about this useful, beautifully illustrated, surgical anatomy volume. It indicates that, as scholars have argued elsewhere, anatomy was a popular concern in the United States, and anatomy texts found a ready readership with medical audiences and laypeople of diverse backgrounds and interests.

We must maintain a critical vantage point when considering the publisher's advertisements, which necessarily aim to make the case for the relevance of Maclise's volume within a competitive marketplace. These varied advertisements are careful constructions focused on increasing the marketability of *Surgical Anatomy* to as many groups as possible. Blanchard and Lea, a relatively new composition of a historic firm, intentionally highlight influential journals and individuals from across the United States, target different buyers by advertising in different kinds of venues, and praise the price, artistry, accuracy, and function of the volume.

Maclise's Publishers, Blanchard and Lea

The publishing house of Blanchard and Lea was well known in the United States. Founded in 1785 by Mathew Carey, the firm went through a number of partnerships, operating as Blanchard and Lea from around 1851 to 1865. By mid-century, the firm was known for their medical catalogue, notably publishing the *American Journal of the Medical Sciences*, established in 1820 as the second oldest US medical journal. As outlined in *The Literary History of Philadelphia*, the house “devoted itself principally to the publication of scientific, and particularly medical works ... to make the city a centre for the medical text-book trade, as it has long been a centre for medical education”.

⁴⁴ The distinctive printer’s mark—used only on their medical

imprints—directly speaks to these aspirations (Fig. 4). ⁴⁵ The caduceus, or winged staff of Hermes, stands vertically wrapped by two twisting snakes inside of a pointed escutcheon with a deep swooping top. The shield bears a border with the Latin inscription “*QUÆ PROSUNT OMNIBUS*”, which translates as “benefit to all”. This adapts the motto of the Royal College of Surgeons, London, which concludes with “*ARTES*” meaning “the arts which are of

service to all”. ⁴⁶ The adoption of the shield with caduceus and motto is also likely a direct reference to the printer’s mark of John Churchill (1801–1875), the pre-eminent London medical publisher for John Snow, Robert Liston,

Francis Sibson, and Joseph Maclise, among others (Fig. 5). ⁴⁷ The Churchill mark also depicts two snakes wrapped around the winged staff of Hermes within an almond-shaped shield. However, Churchill’s mark demonstrates a much finer level of execution. The bodies of two snakes contain the words “*MEDICINA*” and “*LITERIS*”, while “*IRRUPTA TENET COPULA*” appears in the border of the escutcheon. Translating to “unbreakable bond unites”, the motto indicates medicine (*medicina*) and literature (*literis*) bound—implying the dual meaning of unification and binding—within the volume. By borrowing the central motif from Churchill’s mark—signaling a British house known for excellence in medical publishing—Blanchard and Lea stake a comparable role in the future of American medical publishing.

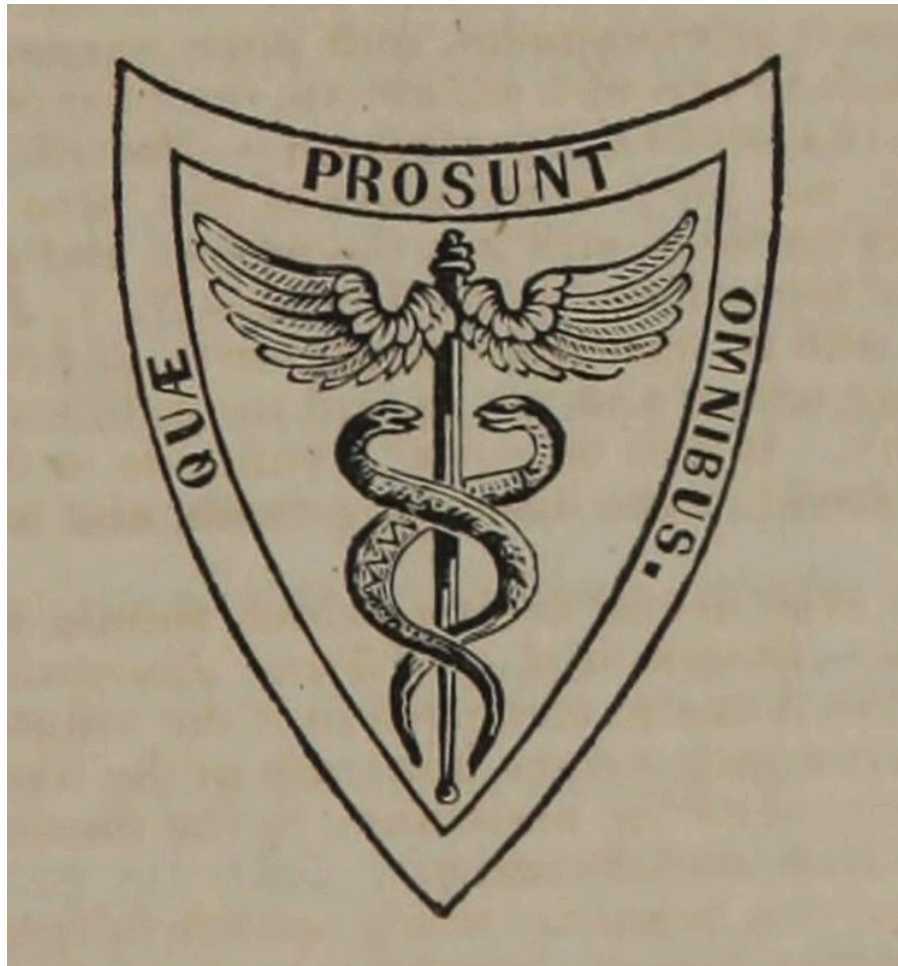


Figure 4.

Blanchard and Lea Printer's Mark, from William E. Horner, *Special Anatomy and Histology: In Two Volumes* (Philadelphia, PA: Blanchard and Lea, 1851), 1851, lithograph. Wellcome Collection. Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (public domain).

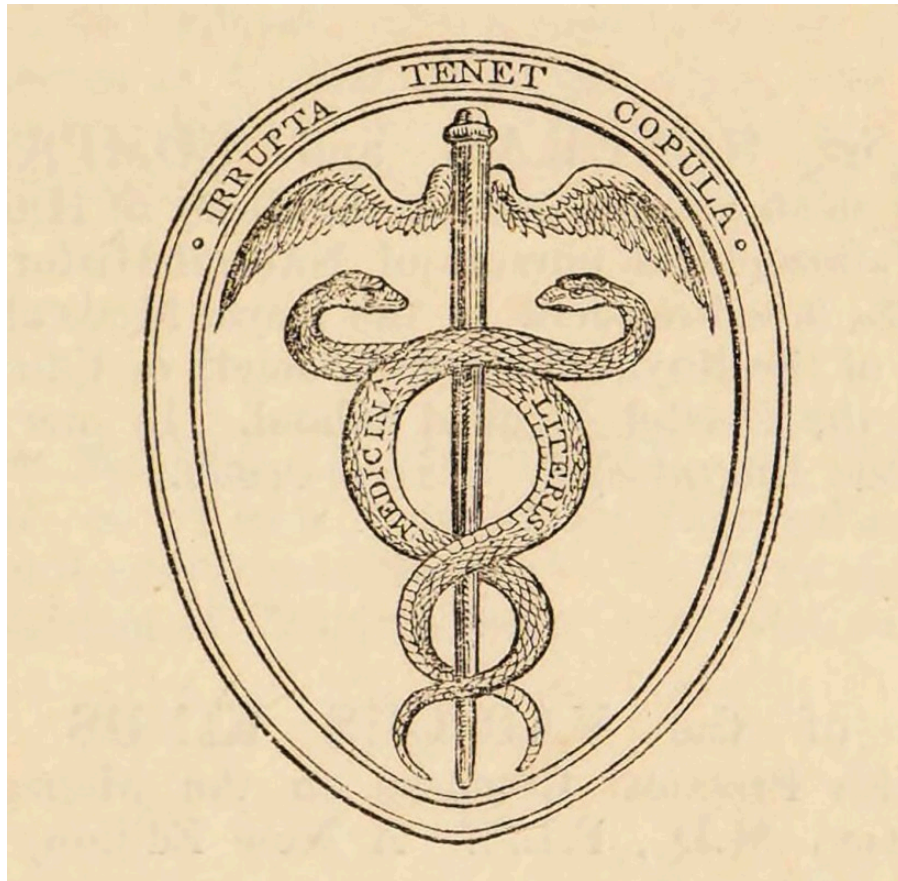


Figure 5.

John Churchill Printer's Mark, from Robert Liston, *Practical Surgery* (London: John Churchill: Renshaw, 1846), 1846, lithograph. Wellcome Collection. Digital image courtesy of Wellcome Collection (public domain).

Blanchard and Lea establish a similarly bold claim in their adaptation of Maclise's lithographs for the American edition. While lithographic printing was the leading method for illustrating books, texts, and printed pamphlets by mid-century, illustrated texts—especially lithographed works—still made up only a fraction of American publications.⁴⁸ Although lithographs could be reproduced quickly and cheaply, lithographic images could not be combined with professional type, thereby limiting their utility and making the printing process more complex. The lithographic process involved specially manufactured machinery, specialist materials, and numerous trained and untrained individuals, who contributed to the final product. Invented by German Alois Senefelder in 1798, lithography is the process of drawing directly on a flat, porous limestone surface with a grease pencil.⁴⁹ Two individuals were involved in printing: the artist (alternately referred to as lithographer), who either drew the image on transfer paper or directly on the stone; and the printer, who ran the stone through the press. Artisans, technicians, and laborers of varying ages, races, and genders worked in concert to facilitate the production of the lithograph—making it an expensive

and technically specific industry, distinctive in the 1850s from most book publishing houses. In this way, individuals at varying socio-economic levels contributed to the production of a lithograph.

Despite the complexities of lithographic production, Blanchard and Lea elected to reproduce the deluxe lithographic illustrations of Maclise's British edition, but with American materials and talent.⁵⁰ This was an audacious endeavor: by replicating contemporaneous English illustrations, Blanchard and Lea placed the fledgling field of American lithography in direct conversation with their British counterparts.⁵¹ Such a move made a bold statement: both about Blanchard and Lea's ambitions in the American medical publishing industry, and about the perceived American demand for US-produced deluxe anatomy folios. Indeed, as an American edition produced after a contemporaneous British work—one whose fascicules were still being released at the time of the US production—Blanchard and Lea set themselves up for a challenge. Whereas the British publication was sold internationally, the audience for the US edition was markedly limited and had to compete for US buyers with the British edition—a daring proposition, as imported folios carried extra resonance with elite buyers as a form of cultural capital.⁵²

The American Illustrations

The sixty-eight hand-colored plates in Maclise's *Surgical Anatomy* issued by Blanchard and Lea were lithographed by Thomas Sinclair (1807–1881), one of the premier lithographers in Philadelphia. Sinclair was a Scottish immigrant to the United States, who founded his own lithography firm in 1838. It was a leader in the production of hand-colored lithographic plates for publication. Alongside book illustrations, the firm also produced various lithographic materials, including advertisements, maps, and sheet music covers.⁵³ Sinclair's lithographs, drawn after Maclise's illustrations—instead of being inked from the original, imported British stones—admirably capture the graceful manner of the originals.⁵⁴ If we examine Plates 7 and 8 (Figs. 6 and 7), which demonstrate the surgical dissection of the subclavian and carotid regions, and contrast them with Plate VII of the British edition (Fig. 8), we see that—while the general tone appears lighter in the American printing—Sinclair's rendering conveys Maclise's lighting and unique chiaroscuro. On occasion, dimensionality, scale, and the realism of certain textures, especially the fatty tissue along the cut opening, appear lost in translation and, while Sinclair remains almost entirely faithful to the originals, certain aspects deviate. For example, in the figure at left, wispy strands of hair project outward from the bangs, and there is a slightly more pronounced point at the tip of the nose, an elongated ear, and a more visible

shape of the mouth and roundness of the chin. Despite such minor differences, Sinclair manages to capture the elegant linework and anatomical complexity of the original.

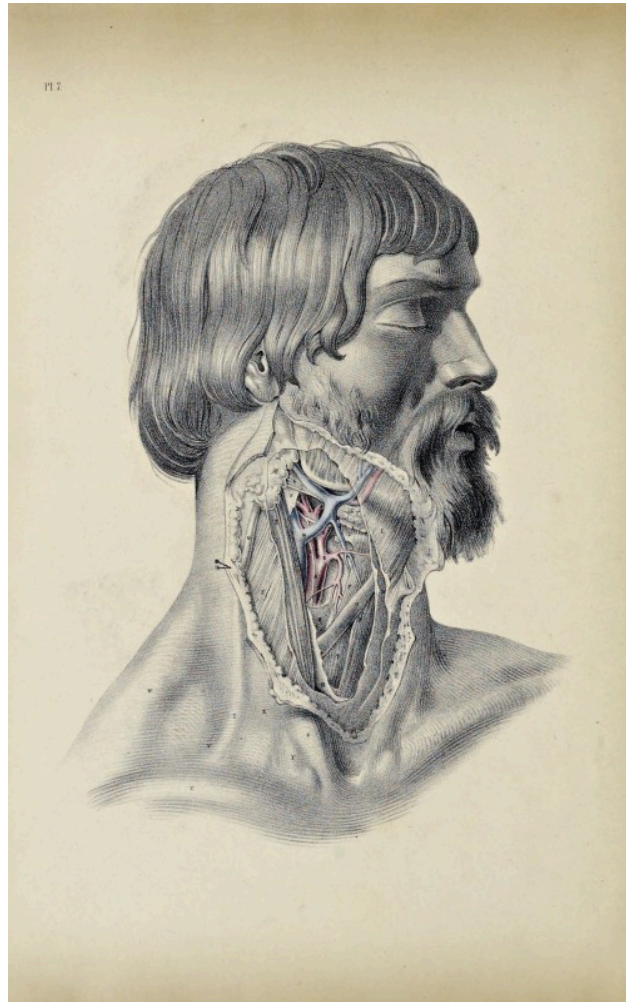


Figure 6.

Thomas Sinclair after Joseph Maclise, The Surgical Dissection of the Subclavian and Carotid Regions, from *Surgical Anatomy* (Philadelphia, PA: Blanchard and Lea, 1851), Plate 7, 1851, lithograph, 38 cm. Collection of the Getty Research Institute. Digital image courtesy of Getty Research Institute (Internet Archive).

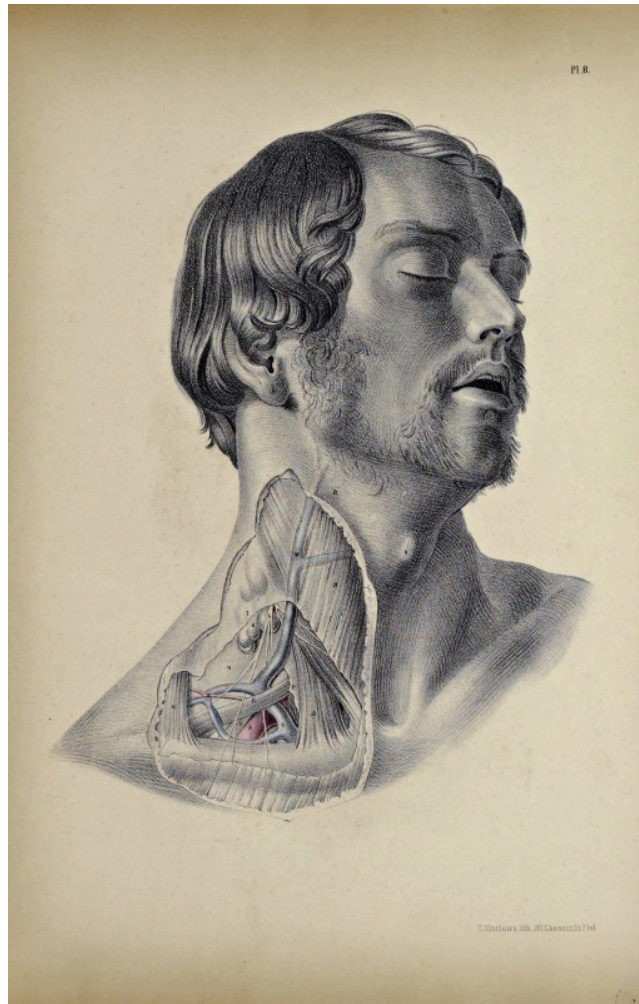


Figure 7.

Thomas Sinclair after Joseph Maclise, The Surgical Dissection of the Subclavian and Carotid Regions, from *Surgical Anatomy* (Philadelphia, PA: Blanchard and Lea, 1851), Plate 8, 1851, lithograph, 38 cm. Collection of the Getty Research Institute. Digital image courtesy of Getty Research Institute (Internet Archive).

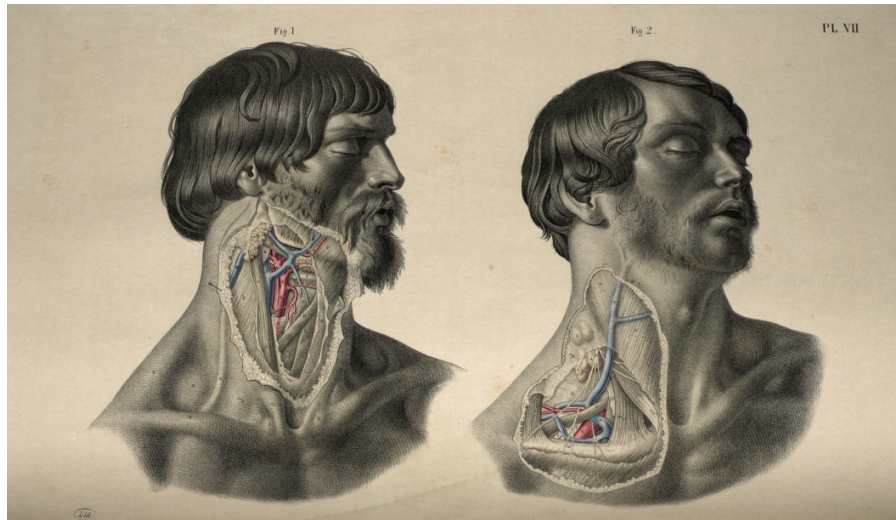


Figure 8.

Joseph Maclise, The Surgical Dissection of the Subclavian and Carotid Regions, from *Surgical Anatomy* (London: John Churchill, 1856), Plate 7, 1856, colored lithograph, 29 × 39 cm. Collection of the University of Toronto Anatomia Collection. Digital image courtesy of University of Toronto Anatomia Collection (public domain).

In contrast, considering Plates 9 and 10 (Figs. 9 and 10) of the surgical dissection of the sternoclavicular or tracheal region in comparison with Plate IV of the British edition (Fig. 11) reveals the linework, in the hair especially, has been softened. The individual almost spontaneous gesture of Maclise's crayon—which marks out the bristles of sideburn and wiry eyebrow—are smoothed in Sinclair's adaptation. Most notably, as Keren Hammerschlag explains, the American printing switched out the figure of a Black man for a mirror image of his white companion. This erasure establishes a normative anatomical ideal as white—despite the fact that anatomical study, especially in the United States, relied on the dissection of marginalized persons, including Black subjects.⁵⁵ Presumably, Sinclair accommodated this modification by making adjustments to the original material himself—and, by the looks of it, he struggled.⁵⁶ Despite the visual limitations of Sinclair's pictorial translations vis-à-vis Maclise's originals, the lithographs for Blanchard and Lea's edition of *Surgical Anatomy* are refined, relatively faithful adaptations that utilize subtle hand-coloring to draw the viewer's attention to relevant anatomical structures.

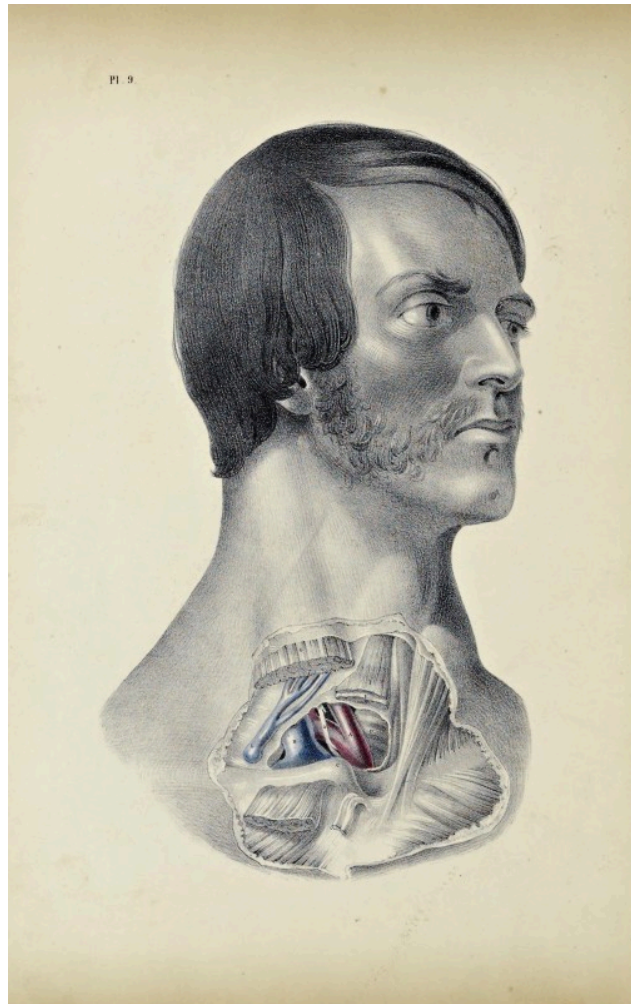


Figure 9.

Thomas Sinclair after Joseph Maclise, The Surgical Dissection of the Subclavian and Carotid Regions, from *Surgical Anatomy* (Philadelphia, PA: Blanchard and Lea, 1851), Plate 9, 1851, lithograph, 38 cm. Collection of the Getty Research Institute. Digital image courtesy of Getty Research Institute (Internet Archive).

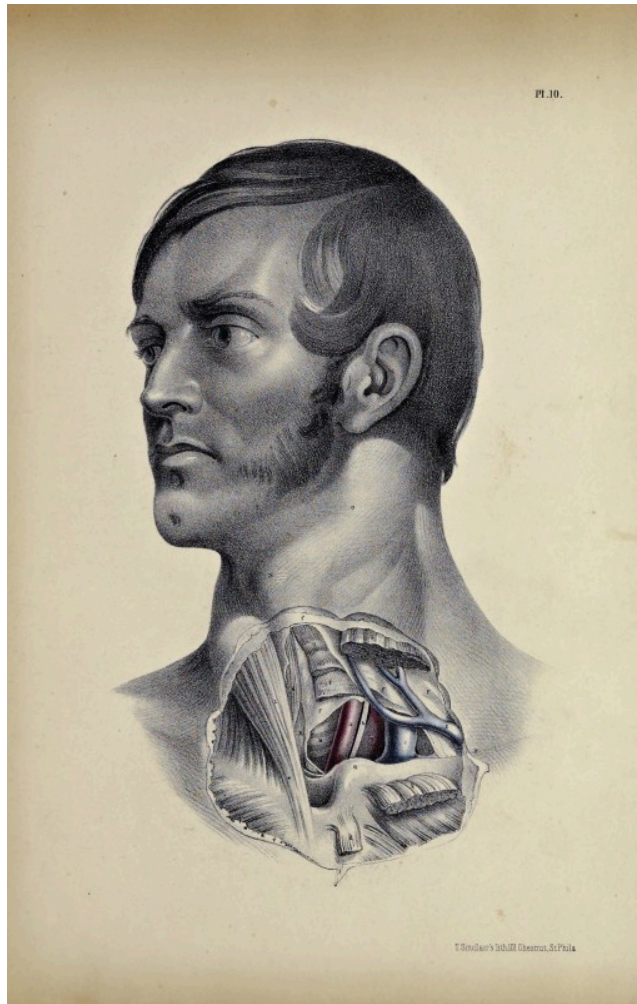


Figure 10.

Thomas Sinclair after Joseph Maclise, The Surgical Dissection of the Subclavian and Carotid Regions, from *Surgical Anatomy* (Philadelphia, PA: Blanchard and Lea, 1851), Plate 10, 1851, lithograph, 38 cm. Collection of the Getty Research Institute. Digital image courtesy of Getty Research Institute (Internet Archive).

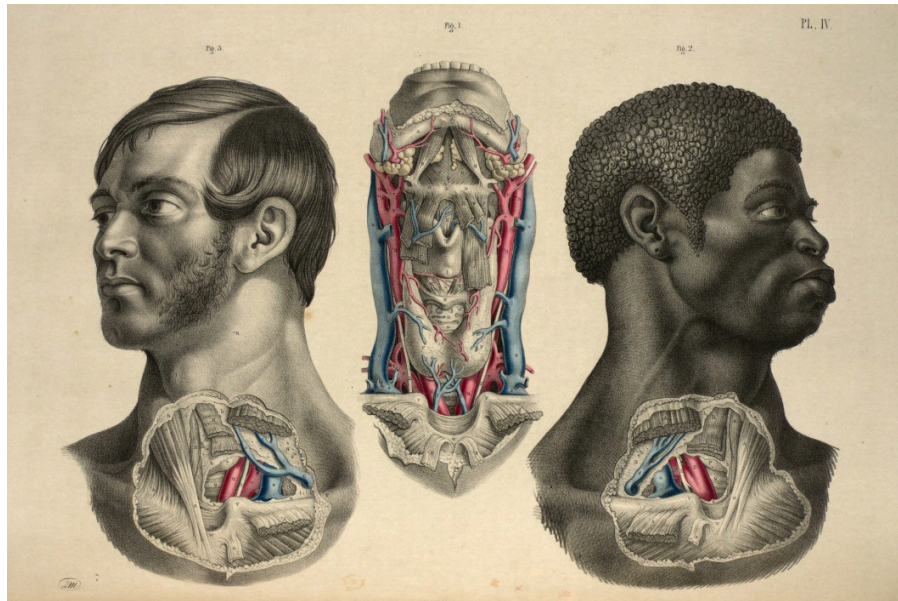


Figure 11.

Joseph Maclise, *The Surgical Dissection of the Sternoclavicular or Tracheal Region*, from *Surgical Anatomy* (London: John Churchill, 1856), Plate 4, 1856, colored lithograph, 29 × 39 cm. Collection of the University of Toronto Anatomia Collection. Digital image courtesy of University of Toronto Anatomia Collection (public domain).

The corresponding commentaries further distinguish *Surgical Anatomy* from comparable publications. Maclise includes surgical directions, such as for Plates 7 and 8, where he describes how if a hemorrhage upon opening the veins is so profuse that it prevents ligature, the surgeon can compress the parts as instructed. He elucidates the purpose of these illustrations, noting how they are intended to present “the superposition of parts contained in each region, as well as the plane relationship of organs which hold the same level in each layer”.⁵⁷ In other words, Maclise aims to illustrate the order of superimposition of each part relative to the next structure beneath, and to clarify the depth of the corresponding parts. In effect, the illustrations present an ideal arrangement, which Maclise clarifies in the text through sensorial and directional notations—beyond visual modes of apprehension, indicating at one point, for instance, that “points of relationship to the skeletal parts can be ascertained by touch ... even in the undissected body”.⁵⁸ This narrative highlights how such images struggle to visually demonstrate relationships between part and whole, reference non-visual epistemes, or communicate depth and surface structures simultaneously. Such problems relate to the obvious distinctions between a three-dimensional body and the two-dimensional drawing and lithograph; all anatomical illustrations are a mode of faulty or flattened translation. He also acknowledges the variability of aspects of the organs or vessels depicted and outlines the possible deviations that the surgeon may encounter, making a practical addition to this reference text and enhancing its pedagogical

function. In attending to “anomalies of form” in the commentaries at the same time that he aims to establish a universal anatomical model in the illustration, he underscores the communicative failures of many anatomical illustrations: they cannot simultaneously present ideality and aberrance. Instead, they render the anatomical body as a fictitious universal.

Maclise’s commentaries and their relationship to the illustrations were exceptional, because of his attempts to underscore both interrelationships and deviance from the norm. As a comparison, Henry Hollingsworth Smith’s *Anatomical Atlas* presented individual structures as discrete layers at differing scales and views (microscopic and cross-section) and without a relative sense of the interrelationship between parts or the whole human form.⁵⁹ There are no jagged cuts, ropes, or limp limbs, which visually situate us within the dead human body, as in Maclise. Instead, akin to Albinus and Vesalius, full body skeletons (Fig. 12) and écorché figures stand (Fig. 13), pose, cast shadows, and walk across the page, while cellular views (Fig. 14), cross-sections, and independent specimens (Figs. 15 and 16) are removed from their source and drastically magnified. In the organization of the volume, execution of plates, and treatment of anatomy as a system of parts rather than a cohesive, functioning entity, Smith’s anatomy atlas diverges in myriad ways from Maclise’s volume.

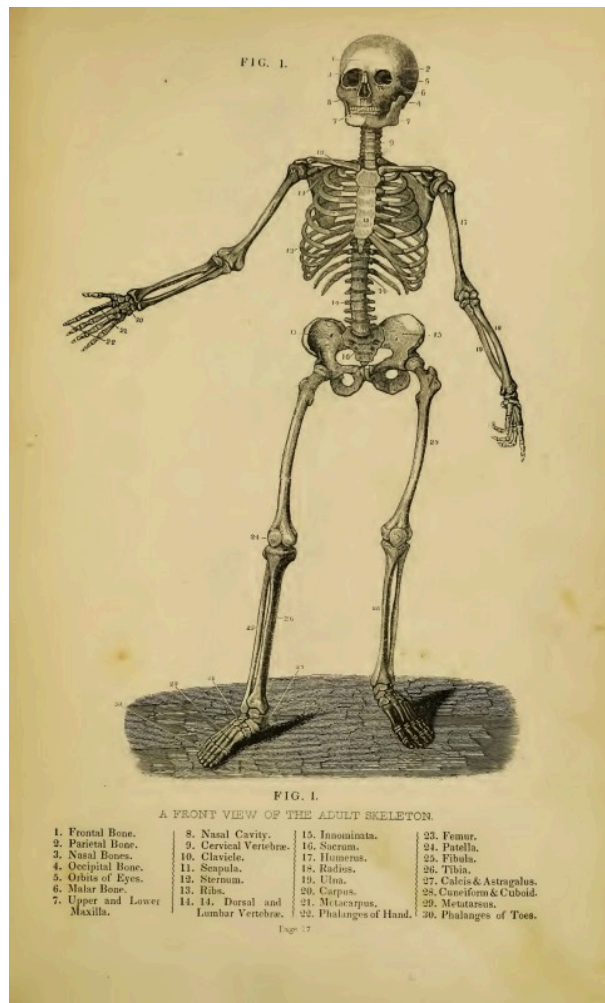


Figure 12.

Henry Hollingsworth Smith and William Edmonds Horner, *Anatomical Atlas: Illustrative of the Structure of the Human Body*, (Philadelphia, PA: Blanchard and Lea, 1845), Figure 1, 1845, lithograph. Collection of Emory University, Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library. Digital image courtesy of Internet Archive (public domain).



Figure 13.

Henry Hollingsworth Smith and William Edmonds Horner, *Anatomical Atlas: Illustrative of the Structure of the Human Body*, (Philadelphia, PA: Blanchard and Lea, 1845), Figure 120, 1845, lithograph. Collection of Emory University, Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library. Digital image courtesy of Internet Archive (public domain).

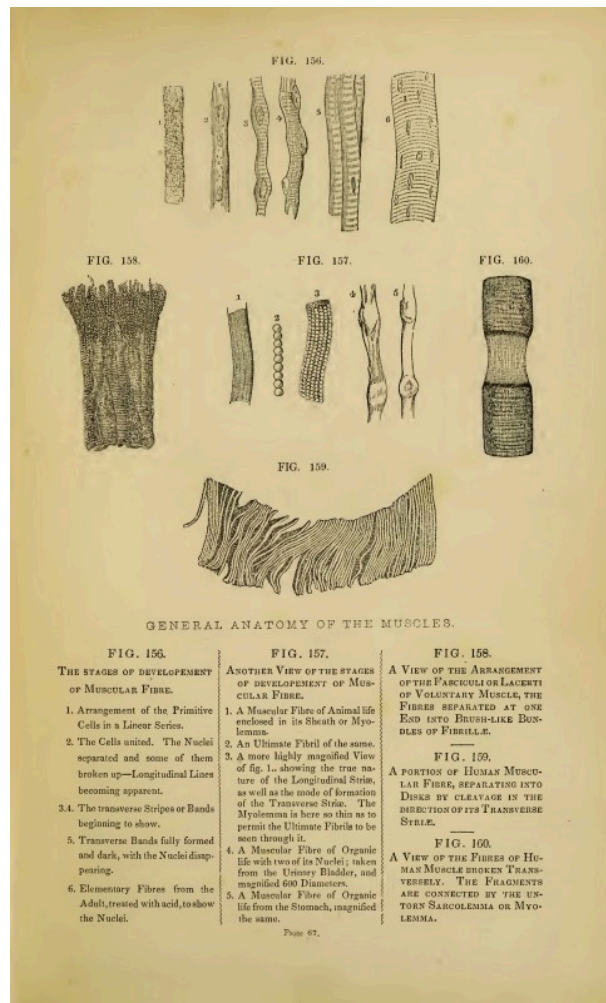


Figure 14.

Henry Hollingsworth Smith and William Edmonds Horner, *Anatomical Atlas: Illustrative of the Structure of the Human Body*, (Philadelphia, PA: Blanchard and Lea, 1845), Figure 156-160, 1845, lithograph. Collection of Emory University, Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library. Digital image courtesy of Internet Archive (public domain).

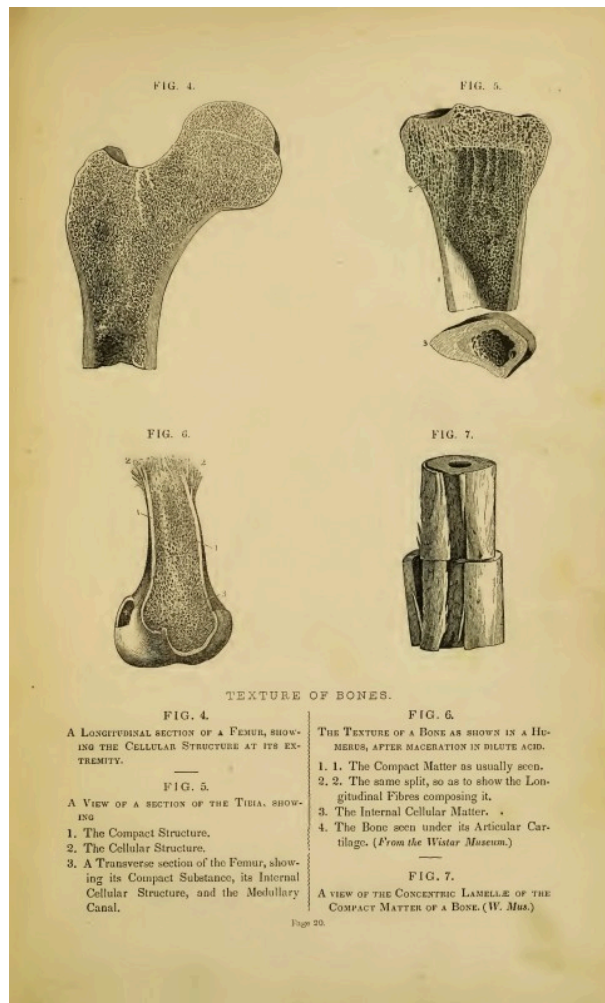


Figure 15.

Henry Hollingsworth Smith and William Edmonds Horner, *Anatomical Atlas: Illustrative of the Structure of the Human Body*, (Philadelphia, PA: Blanchard and Lea, 1845), Figure 4-7, 1845, lithograph. Collection of Emory University, Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library. Digital image courtesy of Internet Archive (public domain).

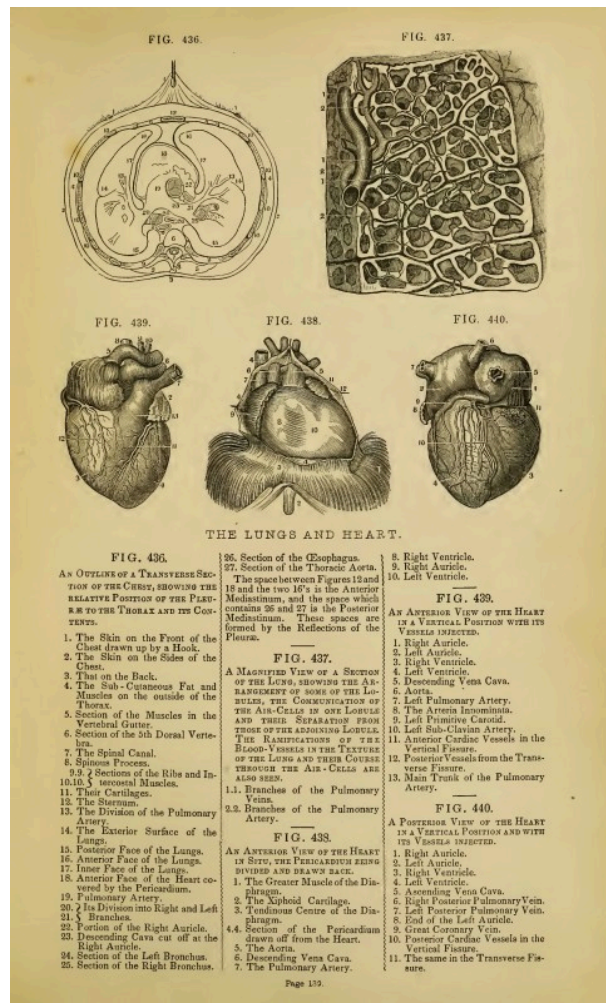


Figure 16.

Henry Hollingsworth Smith and William Edmonds Horner, *Anatomical Atlas: Illustrative of the Structure of the Human Body*, (Philadelphia, PA: Blanchard and Lea, 1845), Figure 436-440, 1845, lithograph. Collection of Emory University, Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library. Digital image courtesy of Internet Archive (public domain).

Blanchard and Lea were not the only US publishers to adapt Maclise's *Surgical Anatomy* for the American market. Interestingly, in 1853 and 1857, John P. Jewett, the Boston publisher known for *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), reprinted the original thirty-five plates of Maclise's *Surgical Anatomy* following the British arrangement and added one plate from Bourgery's *Traité complet de l'anatomie de l'homme* (Paris: 1839). Unusually, the plates were printed in oil colors "after Baxter's process". While other publishers utilized lithography, copper and steel plate engraving, or the woodblock, adding hand-coloring on demand, British printer George Baxter invented oil printing, a woodblock printing process wherein the print was created and inked in

separate blocks with an oil-based ink. It premiered at the 1851 Crystal Palace Great Exhibition, London, and in New York in 1853.⁶⁰ The process was quickly adopted and adapted by American printers like Jewett, who noted in the preface to their editions of *Surgical Anatomy* that “this is the first attempt, we believe, to give a series of scientific plates executed in this manner”.⁶¹ While the plates were created by Charles H. Crosby and approved by prominent Harvard professors, including George Haywood, Henry G. Bigelow, and Louis Agassiz, the pale illustrations are poor imitations of the originals. Consider Plate 4 (Fig. 17), which reproduces Maclise’s surgical dissection of the subclavian and carotid regions, and Plate 5 (Fig. 18), which demonstrates the surgical dissection of the episternal or tracheal regions. The primitively rendered figures are simple outlines in pale brown ink, and the detail and chiaroscuro of the original lithographs is gone. While Jewett may have followed the British arrangement, two white men are presented in Plate 5 instead of the white man and Black man, indicating that Jewett may have looked to the Blanchard and Lea edition for inspiration. The hand-colored dissections are replaced by an arrangement of flatly printed, almost technicolor, planes of color in maroon, tangerine, and cyan. While the anatomical interiors therefore draw attention, the figures themselves—head, face, and shoulders—are overtaken by the white of the page and absorbed into the background. In oil, the figures become clumsily flattened schematics. The rudimentary effect of the illustrations was amplified by the fact that Maclise’s detailed commentaries were excluded from this printing; instead, only the descriptions—alphanumeric lists identifying the corresponding parts from the illustration by name—were reproduced.

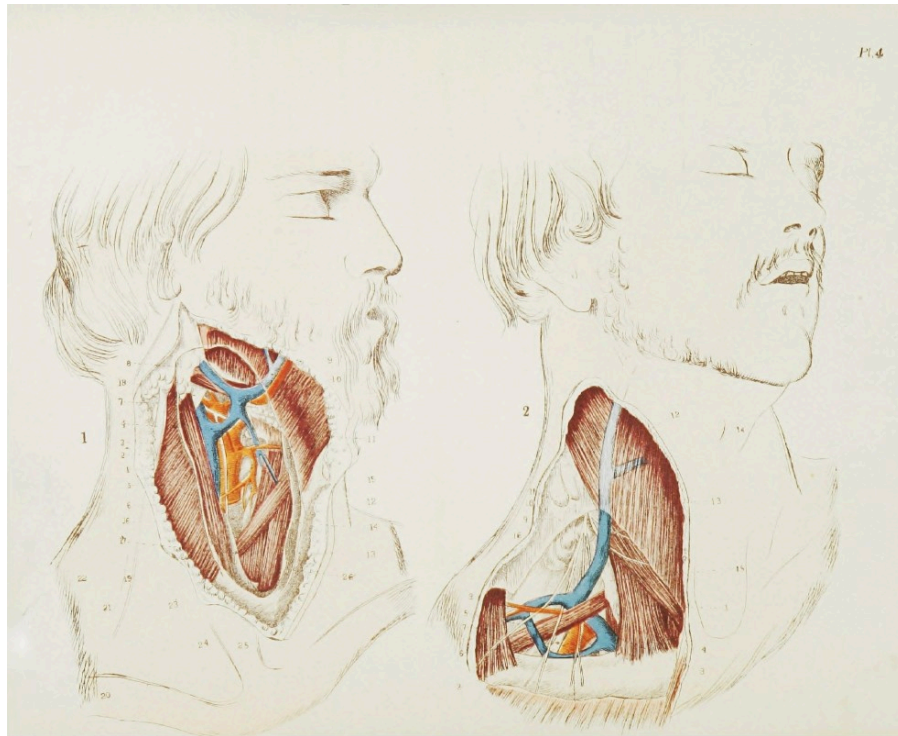


Figure 17.

Charles H. Crosby after Joseph Maclise, The Surgical Dissection of the Subclavian and Carotid Regions, from *Surgical Anatomy* (Boston, MA: Jewett, 1857), Plate 4, 1857, colored lithograph, 26 cm. Collection of Cornell University. Digital image courtesy of Hathi Trust Digital Library (public domain).

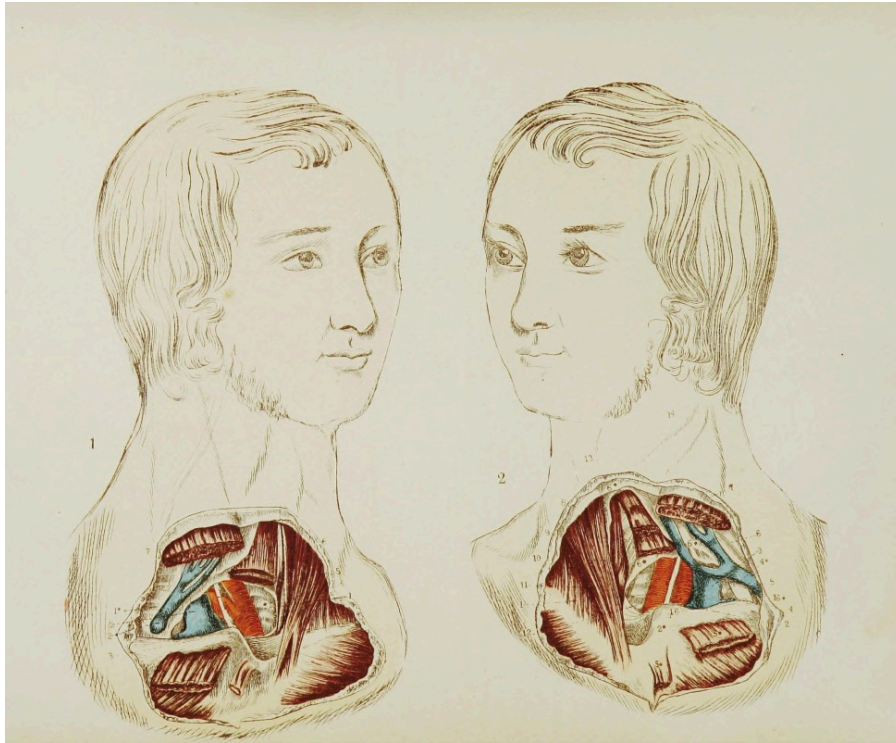


Figure 18.

Charles H. Crosby after Joseph Maclise, *The Surgical Dissection of the Subclavian and Carotid Regions*, from *Surgical Anatomy* (Boston, MA: Jewett, 1857), Plate 5, 1857, colored lithograph, 26 cm. Collection of Cornell University. Digital image courtesy of Hathi Trust Digital Library (public domain).

Finally, *Surgical Anatomy* was reprinted as a second edition by Henry C. Lea in 1866, a full fifteen years after the first American printing. By this time, Lea was operating independently at 706 and 708 Sansom Street in Philadelphia and advertising his *Catalogue of Medical and Surgical Publications* widely, including in the *Pacific Medical Journal*, touting a variety of anatomy texts.⁶² For example, Smith & Horner's *Anatomical Atlas* and Richard Hodges's *Practical Dissections*—both American authored—are listed alongside Gray's *Anatomy*, Sharpey & Quain's *Human Anatomy*, and Erasmus Wilson's *A System of Human Anatomy*. Lea lists Maclise's *Surgical Anatomy* and reproduces the publisher's paragraph from earlier advertisements, making a case for the continued relevance of Maclise's volume within a marketplace increasingly crowded by pedagogically focused volumes like Gray's and American-authored publications, like Smith & Horner's and Hodges's. By 1877, Lea was still advertising Maclise's *Surgical Anatomy* and offering it bound for \$14.00, indicating that there was a ready market for the volume over twenty-five years after its initial American printing.⁶³

American Reviews and Notices of Publication

Today, Maclise's *Surgical Anatomy* is in almost every major American medical library. But how did it get there? New medical publications were primarily marketed in the United States in two ways: through advertisements placed in other publications, as described above; and by sending review copies to medical journals direct from the publisher. The foremost American medical periodicals, from Boston, Philadelphia, and New York, to Louisville, Chicago, Cincinnati, Charleston, and New Orleans, printed notices of receipt of the various parts of the first American edition of Maclise between 1849 and 1852. ⁶⁴ These reviews varied in length but unanimously recommended it for its accuracy, illustrations, and facility to students, surgeons, and physicians. The *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* called it "the very best work on surgical anatomy that has been published in this country", ⁶⁵ while the *New York Journal of Medicine* described it as a "work which has no parallel in point of accuracy and cheapness in the English language", ⁶⁶ and the *Western Journal of Medicine and Surgery*, from Louisville, Kentucky, claimed that "no medical library, however large, can be complete without Maclise's *Surgical Anatomy*". ⁶⁷ Such reviews uniformly emphasized its affordability and importance, especially in relation to comparable volumes available in the United States.

Reviewers also praised the pedagogical utility of *Surgical Anatomy*, noting how Maclise's illustrations served as accurate visual references at an emergency surgery and during or in lieu of anatomical dissections. For example, the *Ohio Medical and Surgical Journal*, of Columbus, Ohio, claimed that for "the young surgeon, who cannot have frequent access to the dissecting room, these plates are a desideratum". ⁶⁸ The *American Medical Gazette and Journal of Health* of New York noted that:

country practitioners, whose opportunities of dissection may be rare, and who may nevertheless have need to revive their knowledge of human structure, by the necessity of performing surgical operations, and often at short notice, will find these plates of immense value as a preparation for the use of the scalpel. ⁶⁹

Finally, the *North-Western Medical and Surgical Journal*, of Chicago and Indianapolis, proclaimed that "it should be on every surgeon's table". ⁷⁰ Reviewers repeatedly and emphatically praise the pedagogical utility of the text and images for both students and practitioners.

In a lengthy American review of J.F. Malgaigne's *Treatise on Surgical Anatomy and Experimental Surgery* (1859) that appeared in the *North American Medico-Chirurgical Review*, the author outlines a bibliography on surgical anatomy, which they define as treating "the mutual relations of parts, or the relative position which one structure bears to another, considered in its application to surgical operations and accidents".⁷¹ While "the work of Malgaigne must be viewed as a prodigious failure", and "as a book to work by in the dissecting-room, detestable",⁷² they praise Thomas Morton, whose *Surgical Anatomy* is described as "the most valuable and important contribution to topographical anatomy yet made by any British surgeon", and conclude by noting that Maclise's "splendid volume ... possesses many excellencies" and is "an extremely valuable contribution to the science of topographical anatomy as taught in the schools of the present day".⁷³ Because the summary is geographically diverse, it demonstrates the American reception of *Surgical Anatomy* in comparison with peer publications from Europe and Great Britain. The author concludes by remarking that:

the physicians of this country have not been unmindful of the value and importance of a knowledge of surgical anatomy ... not having a good native work upon the subject ... for the purposes of the student; in other words, one that shall serve as a ready companion for the dissecting-room.⁷⁴

The implication is that Maclise's *Surgical Anatomy* fills the US demand for a "native" work.

The myriad reviews of Maclise's *Surgical Anatomy* in leading northeastern publications and regional journals targeted student audiences, elite readers, and rural practitioners located across the country, from the American south to its westernmost borders, and were overwhelmingly positive.⁷⁵ Collectively, they praise its affordability, illustrations, and use as a reference and teaching tool for students and rural practitioners. While some suggest that it may present errors of fact, the noted absence of any comparable text—especially a US printing—led reviewers to unanimously recommend readers purchase a copy straightaway. Reviews recirculated in publications like the *Eclectic Medical Journal*, a compendium of medical miscellany repackaged in one monthly format and marketed to irregulars.⁷⁶ We can therefore comfortably assume that by 1852 medical students and practitioners across the United States with varying degrees of training, specialization, and financial resources, were at least aware of Maclise's *Surgical Anatomy*.

Readers acquired *Surgical Anatomy* bound or in fascicules by mail or through their local booksellers.⁷⁷ Numerous reviews mention which bookseller in that city—be it New Orleans, Louisiana, or Salem, Oregon—was carrying Maclise, allowing the would-be buyer to place an order directly with their local bookseller.⁷⁸ However, stocking the early parts appeared problematic, as a notice in the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* demanded: “Why are there not copies of Maclise’s illustrated surgery for sale in Boston? Now is the time to sell them, if ever!”⁷⁹ By 1881, rural booksellers were listing used bound copies of *Surgical Anatomy* for sale for \$10.00. It does not appear to have depreciated much in value from its original unbound price of \$9.00, even though it had presumably been superseded by more recent texts.⁸⁰

Maclise in American Medical Schools: The Dissecting Room and the Classroom

Surgical Anatomy was adopted in numerous American medical classrooms. By 1867, Willamette University in Salem, Oregon, recommended Maclise for surgical anatomy and claimed that “students will find a good assortment of Medical Books in this city”.⁸¹ Likewise, in 1871, the Bellevue Hospital Medical College, New York, used it as a textbook in surgical anatomy classes along with the 1859 revised edition of *New Elements of Operative Surgery* by Alfred Velpeau and Valentine Mott.⁸² Starting in 1872, Maclise and Herting were consistently recommended for reference in surgical anatomy courses at the University of Chicago Medical School and Rush Medical College.⁸³ However, in 1881, Herting was replaced by Hyrtl and then Godlee by 1883.⁸⁴ This implies that while some texts were deemed dated or inferior, the College used Maclise into the 1880s. Interestingly, it was not just traditional programs focused on allopathy that employed Maclise; those who followed homeopathy, and the reform, eclectic, or American movements also adopted Maclise.⁸⁵ For example, in 1874, the College of American Medicine and Surgery in Macon, Georgia, which followed eclectic medicine and proudly declared themselves the “oldest medical institution in the United States opposed to Allopathy”, used Maclise and Bellamy.⁸⁶ Similarly, by 1869, Hahnemann’s Medical College, previously the Homeopathic Medical College of Pennsylvania, had a copy of *Surgical Anatomy* in its college library.⁸⁷

The adoption of Maclise’s *Surgical Anatomy* as a textbook in such disparate educational environments reveals that, despite deep practical divisions between therapeutic practitioners, anatomy united them all. Sappol explores how:

[r]egulars, homeopaths, neo-Thomsonians, and eclectics alike emphasized the importance of anatomical dissections in the education of physicians, using the same anatomy textbooks, making the same gestures and claims in the anatomical theater, and performing the same rituals at the dissecting table.⁸⁸

Beyond the anatomical fraternity that this created, surgery was also—practically speaking—a relatively consistent practice. If tonsils were always in the same place, removing them would be the same whether you were an eclectic practitioner or a regular surgeon.

One criticism about Maclise's own unorthodox medical views appeared in a review in the *Lancet* in 1849. The author critiques Maclise's "rather peculiar" language and deduces that it must be owing to his studies in transcendental anatomy. Transcendental or philosophical anatomy explicitly focused on morphology, and supported comparative anatomy in order to establish correspondences between patterns and structures created by divine design.⁸⁹ Rather than "censuring" him, the reviewer expresses an appreciation for the contrast it presents to the normal "dry and dusty details of descriptive and surgical anatomy".⁹⁰ This in turn affirms the widespread appreciation and adoption of Maclise's volume, even if transcendental anatomy was outside "the norm". It also suggests why Maclise's preface and commentaries focus on the importance of comparison and, indeed, why the entire volume—illustrations and text—is so careful to maintain overall morphological characteristics and an awareness of surface and depth, part and whole.

Maclise was further enshrined in the American classroom via the inclusion of plates from *Surgical Anatomy* within later US medical textbooks and publications, including *An American Text-Book of Surgery: For Practitioners and Students*, a volume edited by William Williams Keen (1837–1932) and J. William White (1850–1916), published in 1892.⁹¹ Dedicated to "the medical profession and medical students of America", the book reproduced nine of Maclise's illustrations in the chapter devoted to ligation of the arteries. Similarly, Charles Nancrede of University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, included plates in his 1894 *Essentials of Anatomy, and Manual of Practical Dissection*, noting that "the topographical features of each region are so beautifully illustrated, that the student can confirm his dissection at a glance, and can as quickly review his knowledge in preparing for examination".⁹² Joseph Raymond, of Long Island College Hospital, New York, included three plates in *Human Physiology, Prepared with Special Reference to Students of Medicine*,

published in 1901.⁹³ Over fifty years after the book was first published, Maclise's illustrations for *Surgical Anatomy* were still appearing in new medical textbooks in the United States.

Such examples make clear that *Surgical Anatomy* was utilized in American medical classrooms, and plates were reproduced in American textbooks decades after its publication. This indicates that, for students, it was an excellent visual supplement to hands-on dissections, which were limited by region and season. Second, its cheap cost, which reviewers repeatedly commented on (going so far as to question how Maclise or the publisher made money), made it financially accessible. Third, Maclise's instructive illustrations and corresponding commentaries, which served a wide audience, were considered accurate and truthful enough that, in America at least, they had a long life and were incorporated into other later publications.

Finally, the hand-colored lithographs were offered bound or loose as a portfolio. In this way, the plates from *Surgical Anatomy* circulated outside of the traditional book format and were used in the classroom or anatomy lab as a visual reference for lectures and dissections. As Tomlinson and Roberts described in *The Fabric of the Body*:

this format is a much more satisfactory form for ready consultation. A volume of this size is almost impossible to bind or to manage. The lithographic impressions were taken on to thin paper, which was then mounted on one of a heavier weight.⁹⁴

The illustrations were taken into the lecture hall or dissecting room and used as instructional aids during lessons or dissections. Unfortunately, their frequent use and fragility, along with their perceived disposability, means that few documented examples physically survive. Many were probably thrown away, left to deteriorate, or sit disused or uncatalogued in university archives, storage closets, and cabinets, and will perhaps emerge in the future. Despite this lacuna, archival evidence suggests that this practice was widespread, especially in the latter half of the nineteenth century, and occurred in Great Britain and across North America. For example, in 1859, Professor Campbell was using "Quain's large plates, Maclise, Dalrymple, &c", in Surgery lectures at McGill University in Montreal.⁹⁵

Archival photographs of medical school interiors suggest the ubiquity of this practice. Photographs of dissecting rooms in nineteenth-century America—including at Rush Medical College, Chicago; Women's Medical College of Pennsylvania; University of Pennsylvania; Yale University School of Medicine; University of Minnesota Medical School; University of Maryland School of Medicine; and Harvard Medical School—operate to, as Warner

explains, affirm “collective identity”: “These narratives of professional formation ... [draw] particular attention to the relationship of the students to one another, to the lay community they have in some ways left behind, and to the professional fraternity-sorority they are joining.”⁹⁶ These images also document the use of anatomical illustrations as visual referents. In some examples, institutional resources were obviously limited and only one or two illustrations are provided for student use. In an 1890 image of a University of Minnesota dissecting room, a single framed anatomical chart modeled after Vesalius is the only visible referent ([Fig. 20](#)). In contrast, well-lit anatomy labs at the University of Pennsylvania, Yale University School of Medicine, and Rush Medical College depict large, spacious interiors with numerous anatomical illustrations arranged for quick visual reference. The first is a cavernous space lit by a clerestory, with a variety of well-sized framed images of human anatomy hung along the wall at eye level ([Fig. 21](#)). Numerous cadavers in varying states of dissection are laid out on wooden tables, with a group of students in the middle ground. At Yale, a group of individuals cluster around one deeply dissected subject, a medical book propped in the foreground ([Fig. 22](#)). Behind them, similarly sized framed anatomical illustrations are presented in neatly organized rows, at least three high, forming a visual reference to the body below. A 1900 photograph of the anatomy lab at Rush Medical College, presumably taken at the start of term, shows rows of undissected bodies laid out on tables ([Fig. 23](#)). The dissecting room is immense, with enormous skylights that cast sunlight onto the work below. Various sized illustrations hang on the walls, along with two skeletons and cased specimens. In the majority of these photographs, it is impossible to determine exactly which images are used; therefore, there is no way to know how many US medical schools specifically had Maclise illustrations in their dissecting rooms. We can, however, consider why such illustrations were used in this way.

Content Notice

This gallery of images contains photographs of human remains being dissected.

Figure 19.

Content Notice, This gallery of images contains photographs of human remains being dissected.



Figure 20.

Dissecting Room, University of Minnesota Medical School, Minneapolis, circa 1890, photograph. Collection of the Minnesota Historical Society, Minneapolis. Digital image courtesy of Minnesota Historical Society, Minneapolis (all rights reserved).



Figure 21.

Anatomy Lab, University of Pennsylvania, circa 1885, photograph. Collection of the University of Pennsylvania Archives, Philadelphia, PA. Digital image courtesy of University of Pennsylvania Archives, Philadelphia, PA (all rights reserved).



Figure 22.

William Blackwood, Dissecting Room, Yale University School of Medicine, 1899, photograph. Collection of the Bicentennial Collection, Cushing / Whitney Medical Library, Yale University School of Medicine, New Haven. Digital image courtesy of Yale University (all rights reserved).



Figure 23.

Anatomy Lab, Rush Medical College, Chicago, 1900, photograph. Collection of the Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison. Digital image courtesy of Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison (all rights reserved).

Anatomical illustrations in the dissecting room were useful didactic tools for students as they cut open the body and explored parts within. Such imagery offered an organized, clean, and schematized rendering of an idealized or pathological example contrasted with the gory viscera on the table before them. Indeed, contrary to the physical body, the illustration was refined, often labeled, and sometimes showed multiple views of the same part from various vantage points. They also served as road maps or instruction manuals to a perfect dissection—visually demonstrating the proper way to make a particular cut. Having illustrations hung on the wall of the anatomy lab, rather than bound in a book, made this information more accessible for a number of reasons. First, hands were busy, occupied with dissection and unclean. A book was cumbersome; turning pages and peering at images was impractical. In contrast, large, vividly colored images were easy to consult. Buying loose folio plates was also cheaper than a bound volume and therefore more economical. As institutional property, illustrated books could “walk away” from an open anatomy lab or be damaged; in contrast, large illustrations, especially framed ones, were less likely to be stolen or damaged. Finally, a book could only be used by one student or group at a time, whereas large illustrations could be consulted by numerous individuals at once.

Anatomical illustrations were employed in American medical school classrooms as pedagogical tools. Lecturers used lithographic charts, preserved specimens, papier-mâché and live models, and blackboard drawing in combination with illustrated atlases in order to demonstrate particular points with one or more visual referents.⁹⁷ As Berkowitz explains:

books that were designed to be affordable for students and practising medical men ... were meant to be used in conjunction with dissection and other forms of display and might more accurately be termed “reference books”, rather than textbooks, as they were not meant to stand alone.⁹⁸

Archival photographs document this practice and make clear that nineteenth-century medical lectures were dynamic events, where lecturers took advantage of myriad methods of visual demonstration. For example, an image from about 1884 of a biology classroom at the University of Pennsylvania shows German chromolithographed wall charts, jarred wet specimens, articulated skeletons, and blackboard drawing (Fig. 24).⁹⁹ Meanwhile, an 1880 catalog for the Louisville Medical College in Kentucky describes how, along with a collection of European papier-mâché models “of the brain, heart, lungs, eye, ear, larynx, large joints, the abdominal and pelvic viscera, the gravid uterus in each month of gestation, with the foetus [*sic*], membranes, etc.”, they also had “a large number of enlarged colored drawings, anatomical, medical, obstetrical and surgical. For practical teaching, these preparations are of great value to the class.”¹⁰⁰ A 1906 photograph of Parkman Professor of Anatomy Thomas Dwight lecturing on anatomy at Harvard Medical School (Fig. 25) shows a wide array of materials, including anatomical specimens and models, a skeleton, a Beauchene skull—an exploded skull that is reassembled with moveable parts and can be opened and studied—mammoth paper-mâché sagittal skull, and seven large anatomical illustrations. On the blackboard, Dwight has drawn a skull. Students sit with pencils poised, ready to take notes.

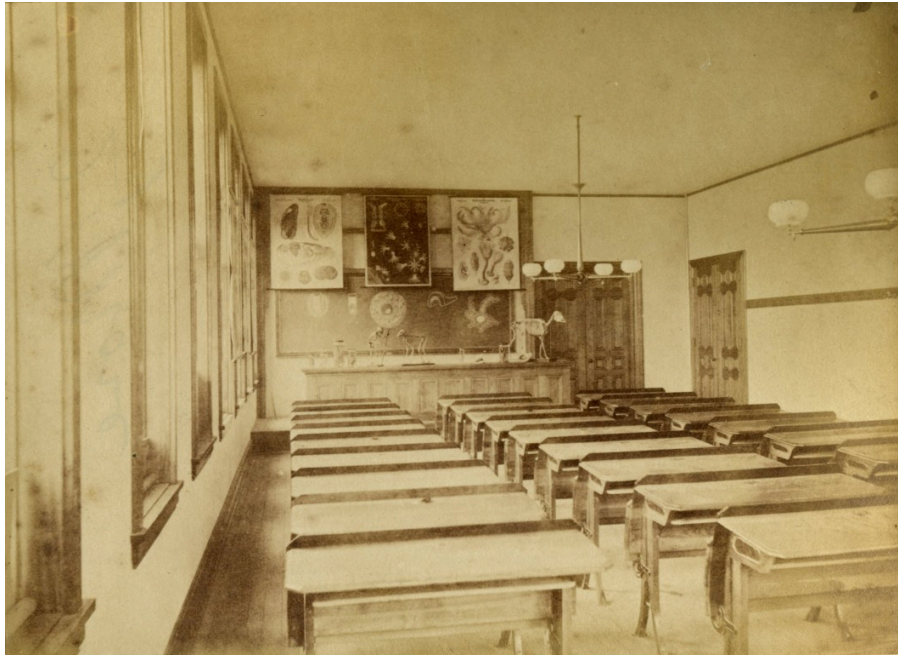


Figure 24.

Benjamin Sharp, Biological Hall, circa 1884, photograph. Collection of the University of Pennsylvania Archives, Philadelphia. Digital image courtesy of University of Pennsylvania Archives, Philadelphia (all rights reserved).



Figure 25.

Francis A. Countway, Timothy Dwight Lecturing Students, 1906, photograph. Collection of the Library of Medicine, Center for the History of Medicine, Boston. Digital image courtesy of Center for the History of Medicine, Boston (all rights reserved).

As these photographs demonstrate, across the country, from Kentucky and Pennsylvania to Massachusetts and Illinois, students were learning anatomy and surgical practice—at least in part—through visual aids, tactile models, and large-format pedagogical illustrations, including those by Maclise. For medical students, anatomical illustrations such as those taken from the folio editions of Maclise's *Surgical Anatomy* and then pinned on dissecting room walls or hung in lecture halls, echoed direct observational experiences and augmented the oral delivery of information during lecture. Such illustrations—made following similar dissections—operated as visual surrogates or mnemonic devices, or paralleled anatomical dissections and surgical demonstrations. Yet, they also added to such experiences by filling gaps, resolving queries, and operating as visual tools through which knowledge about surgical practice, human anatomy, and diagnosis was conveyed differently than through hands-on dissection or three-dimensional specimens and models. Such illustrations clarified information, isolated incisions, and highlighted techniques or injuries. Information was manipulated in a way that was impossible on a real human body—either alive or dead.

Paintings after Maclise: Visual Pedagogy in Surgical Anatomy at Harvard

One final example demonstrates the unusual manner in which anatomical illustrations, including those by Maclise, were deployed within American medical schools. In 1849, Harvard Medical School professor Henry Jacob Bigelow (1818–1890) commissioned Oscar Wallis to create teaching paintings for his clinical surgery course. Their collaboration lasted five years and produced a stunning amount of material, including almost 500 large pedagogical paintings and hundreds of small watercolor studies, sketches, lithographs, and case notes covering surgery, anatomy, and microscopic pathology.¹⁰¹ The paintings on large sheets of paper were mounted on canvas, edged with green fabric, and set on all four corners with grommets in order to hang vertically or horizontally. About fifty visually describe cases from Bigelow's practice, while the majority reproduce plates from popular French and British medical texts. Bigelow's selection of illustrations from recent international publications offered a global anatomical and surgical education to Harvard Medical School students, augmenting examples drawn from local practice. Bigelow used the paintings in the classroom until his retirement in 1882, gifting them to the school in 1890.¹⁰²

The Wallis–Bigelow paintings are one portion of a larger pedagogical landscape of instructional objects, illustrations, and publications used in the classroom and dissecting lab, which trained medical students and professionals in visual diagnosis, anatomical dissection, and surgical practice. Such illustrations were integral participants in the

professionalization of American medicine, a transformation that relied upon the international circulation of increasingly visualized anatomical and surgical knowledge. More than two-thirds of the paintings reproduce illustrations from at least twenty-one medical texts published roughly contemporaneous with the creation of the paintings, including those by British anatomists Richard Quain, Joseph Maclise, and Thomas Wormald.¹⁰³ Wallis, who trained as a lithographer in Germany, developed a specialized aesthetic vocabulary that emphasized bright pigments, illusionistic shading, and formal clarity. His consistent approach aesthetically unified diverse illustration styles. Wallis adopted a simple visual language that allowed students to read and understand the images, training them in diagnostics via the simultaneous presentation of multiple systems of information at once—normal and aberrant, surface and subcutaneous.

Bigelow selected at least one plate from Maclise's *Surgical Anatomy* (Fig. 26). In his translation, Wallis takes the tonal, lightly colored dissection of the hand and wrist and renders it in opaque washes of red, yellow, and peach (Fig. 27). The handwork of the lithographic print has been erased in favor of bold linework. Wallis removes close detail from the original and erases lettering that denotes parts and corresponded to a key. Unlike the light, delicate lithograph, this simple, brightly colored painting was easily read from afar when hung on the dissecting room or lecture hall wall. This is the only known example from Maclise's *Surgical Anatomy*, although there may have been others; less than half of the paintings are extant—a vivid illustration of the perceived disposability of such pedagogical tools.

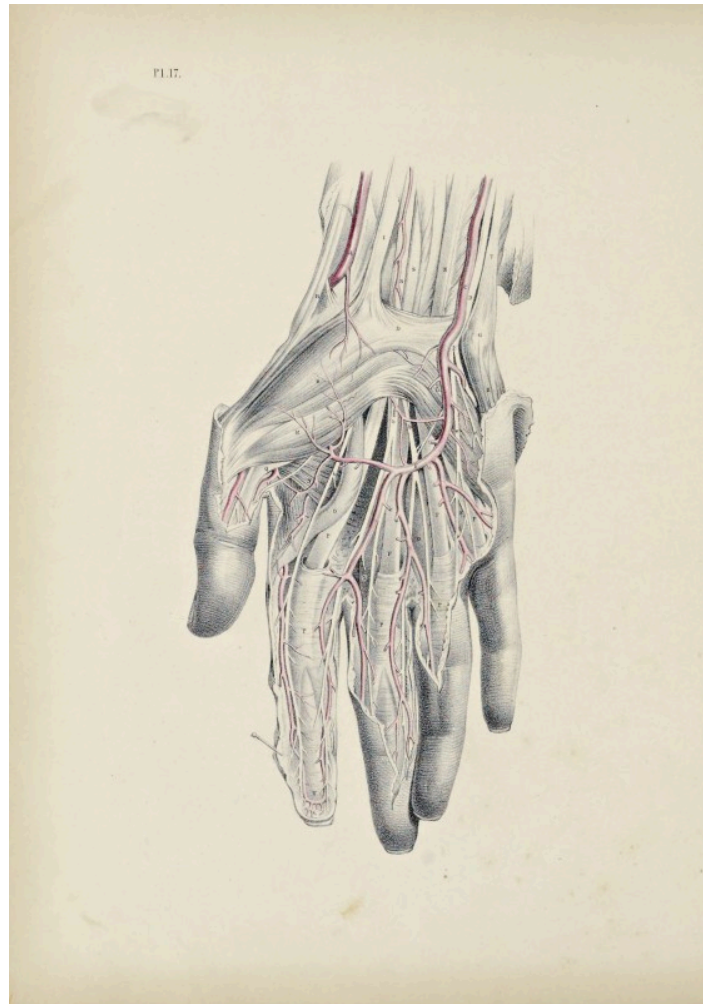


Figure 26.

Thomas Sinclair after Joseph Maclise, The Surgical Dissection of the Wrist and Hand, from *Surgical Anatomy* (Philadelphia, PA: Blanchard and Lea, 1851), Plate 17, 1851, lithograph, 38 cm. Collection of the Getty Research Institute. Digital image courtesy of Internet Archive (public domain).



Figure 27.

Oscar Wallis after Joseph Maclise, Teaching Watercolor of a Surgical Dissection of the Wrist and Palm, 1849–1854, watercolor on paper mounted on canvas, 100 × 69 cm. Collection of The Warren Anatomical Museum, Francis A. Countway Library of Medicine, Boston (WAM 21142.075). Digital image courtesy of The Warren Anatomical Museum, Francis A. Countway Library of Medicine, Boston (all rights reserved).

Maclise's illustrations shape other aspects of the teaching paintings. For example, surviving paintings replicate Plates 2, 3, 39, 17, 60, and 67 from Richard Quain's *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body* of 1844, illustrated by Maclise. In Plate 3, "The Muscles and Blood Vessels of the Neck and Jaw" (Fig. 28), Wallis simplifies the language of Maclise's original lithograph (Fig. 29) but retains the classicizing features and pose, and the sheet, which wraps around the shoulders of the subject, making him appear like a neoclassical marble bust seen in profile instead of a dissected cadaver. Maclise's work for Quain laid the foundation for later illustrations. Some hint at the romanticized, vivified, and beautiful figures in *Surgical Anatomy*.

Others, like Plate 17 showing the muscles of the neck and jaw ([Fig. 30](#)) or Plate 2 of arteries of the thorax and neck ([Fig. 31](#)), present obviously dead, desiccated, aged cadavers with hollow cheeks, sagging flesh, and sunken eyes. Maclise's graphic, palely colored lithographs enhance this effect, making them seem almost gruesome. In Plate 2, the subject is emaciated, their collarbone and ribcage protruding, the deep-set socket of the eye almost black. Is that a shadow from a hangman's noose wrapping their lower jaw or simply chiaroscuro? In contrast to the unsettling effects of Maclise's lithographs, Wallis's translations bring the subjects to life through color and rudimentary shading. In the first, split into two paintings, the gaunt gray cheeks become pinkened cheekbones, the sunken eyes simply sedated ([Figs. 32 and 33](#)). In the second, the cavern of the orbital socket houses a bright eye, while the open mouth seems to breathe air ([Fig. 34](#)). These subjects are somehow transformed and vivified.

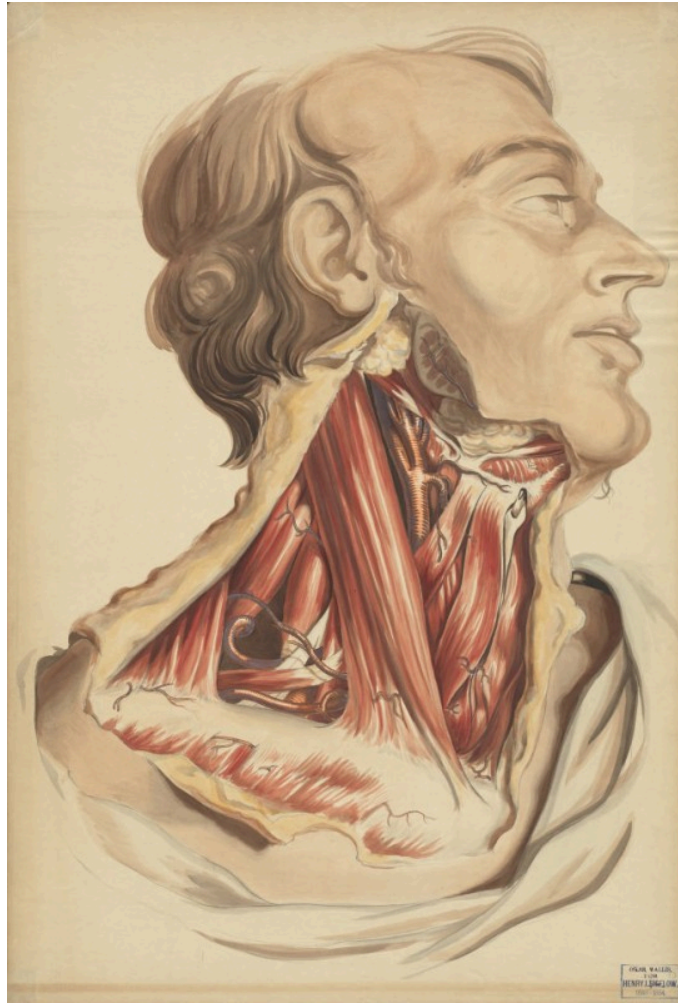


Figure 28.

Oscar Wallis after Joseph Maclise, Teaching Watercolor of the Muscles and Blood Vessels of the Neck and Jaw, 1849-1854, watercolor on paper mounted on canvas, 100 × 69 cm. Collection of The Warren Anatomical Museum, Francis A. Countway Library of Medicine, Boston (WAG 21142.401). Digital image courtesy of The Warren Anatomical Museum, Francis A. Countway Library of Medicine, Boston (all rights reserved).



Figure 29.

Joseph Maclise, The Muscles and Blood Vessels of the Neck and Jaw, from Richard Quain, *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body* (London: Taylor & Walton, 1844), Plate 3, 1844, colored lithograph. Collection of the US National Library of Medicine. Digital image courtesy of US National Library of Medicine (public domain).

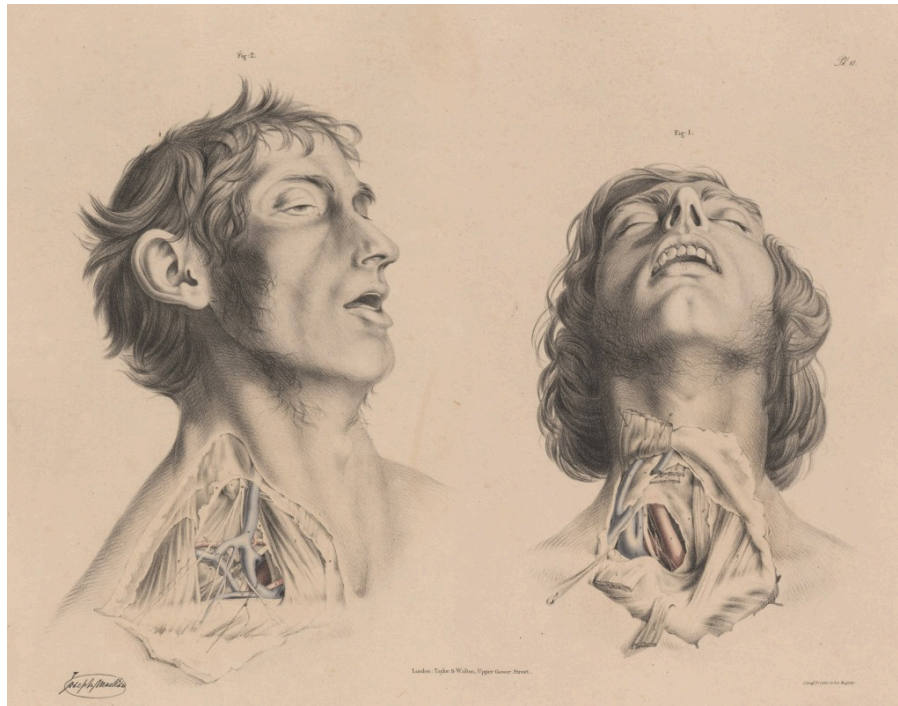


Figure 30.

Joseph Maclise, The Muscles and Blood Vessels of the Neck and Jaw, from Richard Quain, *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body* (London: Taylor & Walton, 1844), Plate 17, 1844, colored lithograph. Collection of the US National Library of Medicine. Digital image courtesy of US National Library of Medicine (public domain).

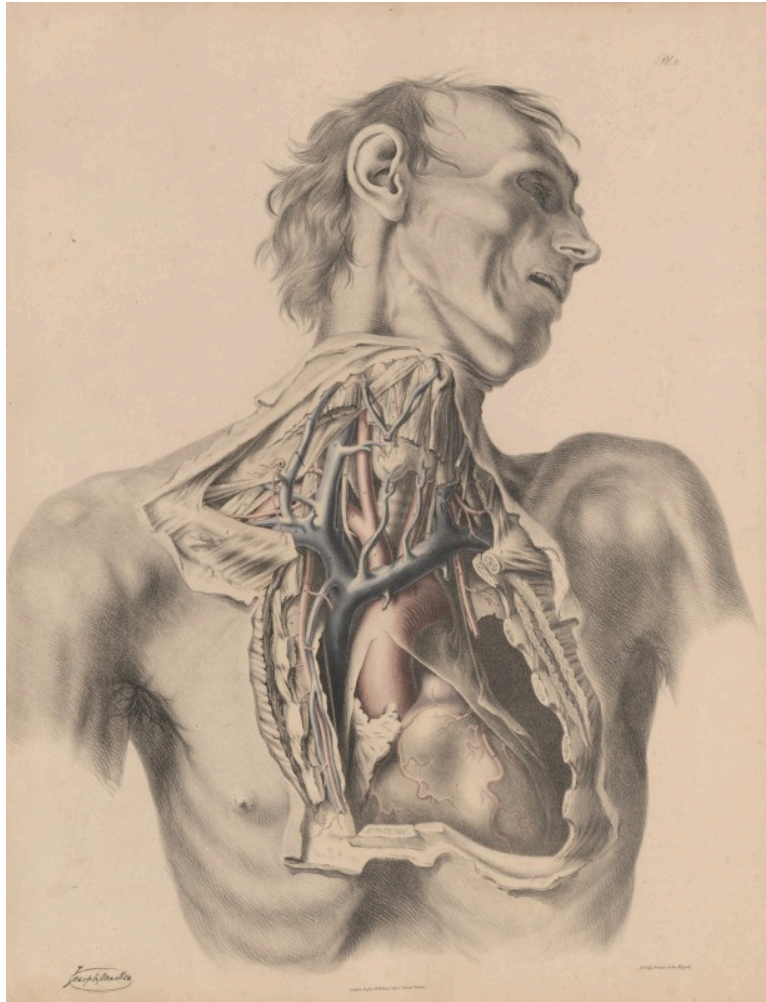


Figure 31.

Joseph Maclise, The Muscles and Blood Vessels of the Neck and Jaw, from Richard Quain, *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body* (London: Taylor & Walton, 1844), Plate 2, 1844, colored lithograph. Collection of the US National Library of Medicine. Digital image courtesy of US National Library of Medicine (public domain).

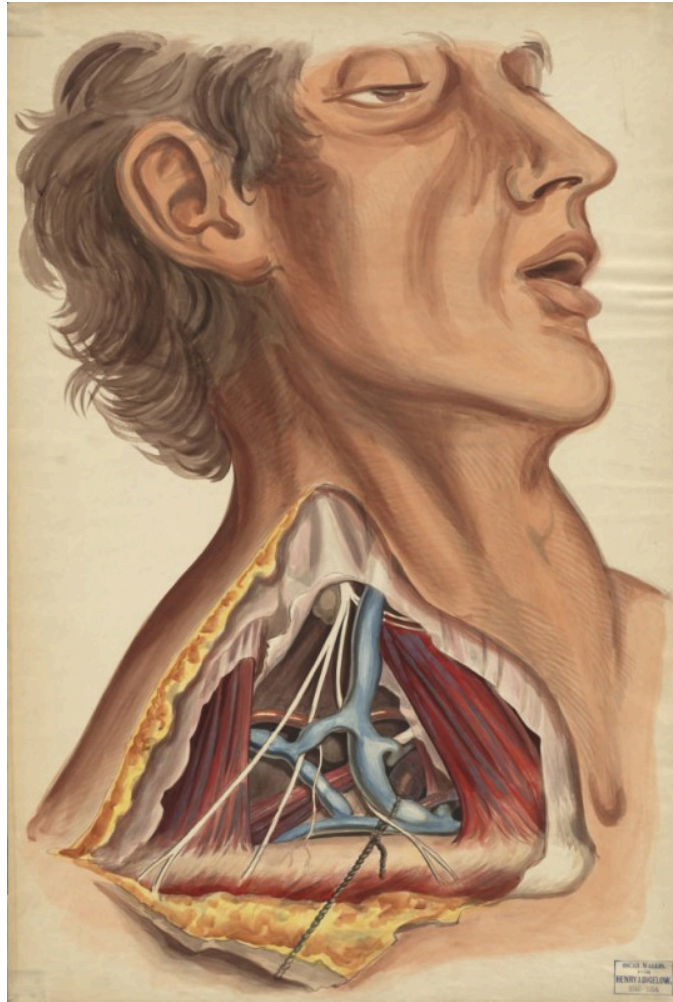


Figure 32.

Oscar Wallis after Joseph Maclise, Teaching Watercolor of the Muscles and Blood Vessels of the Neck and Jaw, 1849-1854, watercolor on paper mounted on canvas, 100 × 69 cm. Collection of The Warren Anatomical Museum, Francis A. Countway Library of Medicine, Boston (21142.391). Digital image courtesy of The Warren Anatomical Museum, Francis A. Countway Library of Medicine, Boston (all rights reserved).



Figure 33.

Oscar Wallis after Joseph Maclise, Teaching Watercolor of the Muscles and Blood Vessels of the Neck and Jaw, 1849-1854, watercolor on paper mounted on canvas, 100 × 69 cm. Collection of The Warren Anatomical Museum, Francis A. Countway Library of Medicine, Boston (21142.3890). Digital image courtesy of The Warren Anatomical Museum, Francis A. Countway Library of Medicine, Boston (all rights reserved).

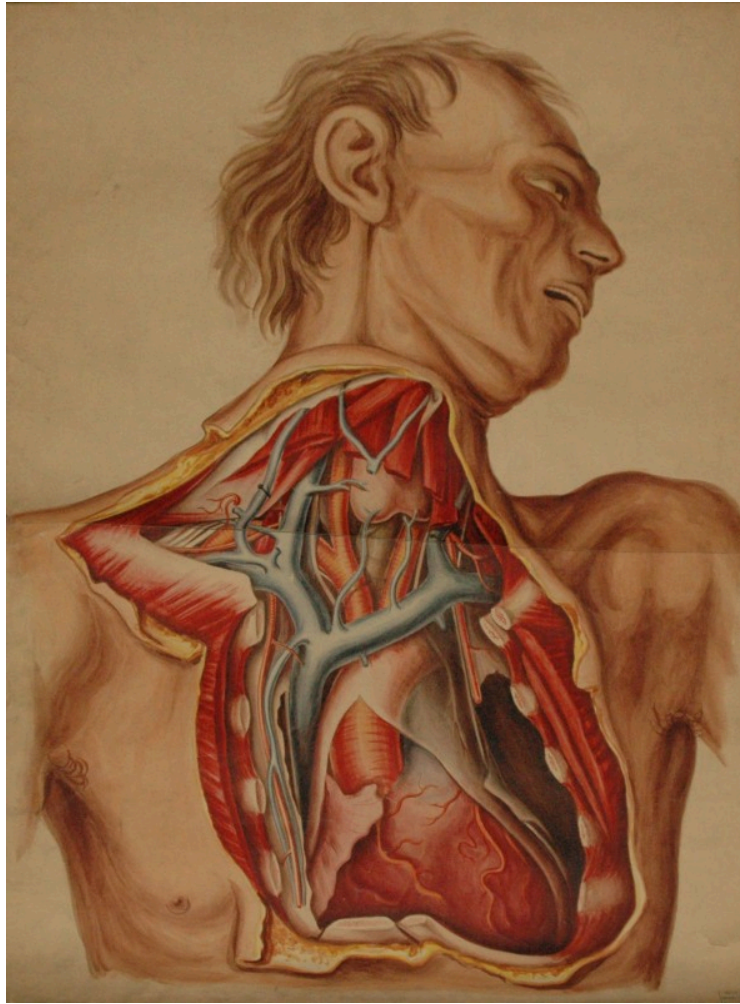


Figure 34.

Oscar Wallis after Joseph Maclise, Teaching Watercolor of the Muscles and Blood Vessels of the Neck and Jaw, 1849-1854, watercolor on paper mounted on canvas, 100 × 69 cm. Collection of The Warren Anatomical Museum, Francis A. Countway Library of Medicine, Boston (21142.410). Digital image courtesy of The Warren Anatomical Museum, Francis A. Countway Library of Medicine, Boston (all rights reserved).

Conclusion: Medical Illustration as Fine Art

What is the pedagogical and aesthetic function of anatomical illustration? Is it a fine art or a mode of scientific instruction? As scholars continue to demonstrate, it is unquestionably both. The adaptability of *Surgical Anatomy* and its broad pedagogical, professional, and aesthetic appeal is signaled by one final consideration. Institutional spaces that focused on the acquisition of high art and medicine both collected *Surgical Anatomy*. Following its publication, copies were quickly added to American medical libraries and professional or learned societies, including the Medical Society of South Carolina library by 1 February 1850, the Maine State Library by 1856, and

the Pennsylvania Hospital library by 1857.¹⁰⁴ By the 1870s, various editions are listed in the collections of the Mercantile Library Association of San Francisco, the St Louis Mercantile Library, and the Library of the US Surgeon General, which would develop into the National Library of Medicine.¹⁰⁵ And the Colorado Medical Library Association had an 1851 printing available for members by 1900.¹⁰⁶ By this account, Maclise's *Surgical Anatomy* appears in numerous geographically dispersed US libraries by 1900 and should therefore be understood as a central text for American medical professionals. Its early presence in these collections demonstrates its import to the profession and widespread adoption.

In addition, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, a veritable temple to “high” art, holds a bound copy of *Surgical Anatomy*, published by the Philadelphia firm of Blanchard and Lea in Philadelphia in 1851.¹⁰⁷ Gifted to the Museum by Lincoln Kirstein (1907–1996) in 1952, its presence in the collection represents the uneasy status of scientific illustration within the canon of fine art. Kirstein's ownership of this significant anatomy text was, in all probability, related to his foundational research on American artist and doctor William Rimmer (1816–1879), although his interest may equally have been indebted to his role as co-founder of the New York City Ballet.¹⁰⁸ Kirstein appreciated the beauty of the human body and its anatomical composition, not as a surgeon or student, but as someone deeply invested in the history of art and the morphological characteristics of the human figure. This serves as a reminder that beyond their function as didactic tools in medical schools and anatomy labs, Maclise's illustrations are elegantly rendered, highly skilled works of art. The book's collection by Kirstein and then acquisition by the Metropolitan Museum of Art solidifies Maclise's place within the canons of both American medicine and fine art.

This article has operated as a case study for tracing systems of knowledge transmission from Britain to the United States. Focusing solely on a single publication—Joseph Maclise's *Surgical Anatomy*—and charting its circulation and reception in mid-nineteenth-century America—from advertisements and reviews to libraries, dissecting rooms, and lecture halls—shows how British medical knowledge, especially of human anatomy and its practical applications for surgery, reached American audiences and aided in their struggles for professionalization. *Surgical Anatomy* was one publication within a sea of similar texts, objects, illustrations, and visual materials that, collectively, disseminated forms of medical knowledge and supported the professionalization of American medicine during a period of upheaval and transformation. It was a book that should “be on every surgeon's table”.

Footnotes

- 1 There is a lacuna in the field related to information on the publication of international editions in US medical publishing and no reception studies exist on any individual American medical publications. Therefore, one aim of this article is to answer basic questions about how and why a US publisher might edition a British publication and print and advertise it, and in what ways US audiences responded. This article also presents an archival account of the myriad reviews of Maclise in the United States; in aggregate, such reviews present a holistic reception history for said volume. By invoking object biographies, I reference the ways in which a full consideration of the lives and histories of scientific objects and artworks allows for a more complex understanding of their meanings and contextual resonances. Such a methodological approach is less common in bibliographic studies. Viewing a single publication in a similar fashion, I aim to outline the object biography of *Surgical Anatomy* in the United States. Such an approach allows us to gesture toward its reception, adoption, and impact in America. Samuel J.M.M. Alberti, "Objects and the Museum", *Isis* 96, no. 4 (2005): 559-571.
- 2 Joseph Maclise, *Surgical Anatomy* (Philadelphia, PA: Blanchard and Lea, 1851), vi-vii. There are small differences in phrasing and word choice between the prefaces for the 1851 London edition and the 1851 Philadelphia edition.
- 3 John Harley Warner, *The Therapeutic Perspective: Medical Practice, Knowledge, and Identity in America, 1820-1885* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986), 13.
- 4 "The supply of physicians in the early and mid-nineteenth century was unrestricted by significant institutional barriers to entry. Because of the proliferation of medical schools, offering easy terms and quick degrees, the cost of medical education, in both money and time, was kept relatively low. Nor was an education beyond an apprenticeship always necessary. In five New England counties during the period from 1790 to 1840, the proportion of medical school graduates among practicing physicians ranged from 20 to 35 percent ... And since neither licensing requirements nor a limit on the number of places in medical schools impeded entry into medicine, the supply of practitioners grew. Between 1790 and 1850 the number of physicians in the United States rose from five to forty thousand." Paul Starr, *The Social Transformation of American Medicine: The Rise of a Sovereign Profession and the Marking of a Vast Industry* (New York: Basic Books, 1982), 63-64.
- 5 Michael Sappol, *A Traffic of Dead Bodies* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002), 48.
- 6 Sappol, *A Traffic of Dead Bodies*, 58.
- 7 Starr, *The Social Transformation of American Medicine*, 90-92.
- 8 An 1849 national survey by the AMA uncovered the variable quality of American medical education and demonstrated that shockingly few US practitioners were degreed in the traditional sense. Robert Slawson, "Medical Training in the United States Prior to the Civil War", *Journal of Evidence-Based Complementary & Alternative Medicine* 17, no. 1 (2012): 11-27.
- 9 Shauna Devine, *Learning from the Wounded* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina, 2014). Devine outlines how the Civil War directly contributed to the dominance of allopathy in the post-bellum period.
- 10 In the United States, anatomy acts and laws regarding cadaveric dissection varied throughout the century and by region. The politics of cadaver sourcing often meant that individuals had to be resourceful, skirting social mores and breaking laws. Dissections tended to occur in the winter months, when it was cold and bodies were less susceptible to putrefaction. For more on anatomy and cadaver acquisition, see Sappol, *A Traffic of Dead Bodies*; Ruth Richardson, *Death, Dissection and the Destitute* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2000); and Helen MacDonald, *Human Remains: Dissection and its Histories* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005).
- 11 On the influence of the Paris Clinical school in the United States, see John Harley Warner, *Against the Spirit of System: The French Impulse in Nineteenth-Century American Medicine* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998).
- 12 On the history of American hospitals, see Diana Long and Janet Golden, eds., *The American General Hospital* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University, 1989); and Charles Rosenberg, *The Care of Strangers* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995).
- 13 Eva Åhrén, "Figuring Things Out: Visualizations in the Work of Swedish Anatomists Anders and Gustaf Retzius, 1829-1921", *Nuncius* 32, no. 1 (2017), 168.
- 14 Maclise, *Surgical Anatomy*, vii.
- 15 Maclise, *Surgical Anatomy*, vii.
- 16 Maclise, *Surgical Anatomy*, viii.
- 17 Maclise, *Surgical Anatomy*, v.
- 18 Maclise, *Surgical Anatomy*, vi.
- 19 Martin Kemp, "Style and Non-Style in Anatomical Illustration: From Renaissance Humanism to Henry Gray", *Journal of Anatomy* 216, no. 2 (February 2010), 207, doi:10.1111/j.1469-7580.2009.01181.x.
- 20 This process of refinement and its relationship to historically contingent categories such as truth, accuracy, and legibility center much of the scholarly discourse regarding the development and evolution of scientific illustration in Europe, Great Britain, and the United States. Often, the visual characteristics and function of nineteenth-century medical illustration is framed as an evolution toward scientific objectivity and reflective of a widespread epistemic shift that reframed the body as a visible and knowable entity. See Caroline Jones and Peter Galison, eds., *Picturing Science, Producing Art* (New York: Routledge, 1998); and Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990).

- 21 Carin Berkowitz, "Systems of Display: The Making of Anatomical Knowledge in Enlightenment Britain", *British Journal for the History of Science* 46, no. 3 (2013), 384.
- 22 An excellent example of idealized anatomy would be the 1849 edition of Julien Fau's *Plates Illustrating the Anatomy of the External Form of Man, Intended for the Use of Artists, Painters, and Sculptors*, which was translated, along with additions by infamous Scottish surgeon Robert Knox. The text included anatomical renderings mapped over classical Greek and Hellenistic statuary, such as the Laocöon. For more on anatomical illustration, see Cindy Stelmackowich, "The Instructive Corpse: Dissection, Anatomical Specimens, and Illustration in Early Nineteenth-Century Medical Education", *Spontaneous Generations: A Journal for the History and Philosophy of Science* 6, no. 1 (2012): 50–64, doi:10.4245/sponge.v6i1.17159; Cindy Stelmackowich, "Bodies of Knowledge: The Nineteenth Century Anatomical Atlas in the Spaces of Art and Science", *RACAR* 33 (2008): 75–86, doi:10.7202/1069549; Domenico Bertoloni Meli, *Visualizing Disease* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago, 2017); Richard Barnett, *Sick Rose: Disease and the Art of Medical Illustration* (New York: DAP, 2014); Deanna Petherbridge and Ludmilla Jordanova, *The Quick and the Dead: Artists and Anatomy* (Berkeley, CA: University of California, 1997); Carin Berkowitz, "The Illustrious Anatomist: Authorship, Patronage, and Illustrative Style in Anatomy Folios, 1700–1840", *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 89, no. 2 (Summer 2015): 171–208, 10.1353/bhm.2015.0028; Michael Sappol, *Dream Anatomy* (Bethesda, MD: US Dept. of Health and Human Services, National Institutes of Health, National Library of Medicine, 2006); Carin Berkowitz, "The Beauty of Anatomy: Visual Displays and Surgical Education in Early-Nineteenth-Century London", *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 85, no. 2 (Summer, 2011): 248–278, doi:10.1353/bhm.2011.0030.
- 23 These surgical anatomy publications are roughly contemporaneous with Maclise and represent the leading illustrated volumes of the period. I have intentionally not introduced comparable volumes published after Maclise's *Surgical Anatomy*, as the 1850s and 1860s saw a marked rise in illustrated medical publications as well as a shift in style of illustration, best typified by *Gray's Anatomy*. The four-volume *Anatomy of the Human Body* by John and Charles Bell, published between 1797 and 1804 (Edinburgh: Cadell and Mudie, 1797–1804), is considered one of the first texts devoted to surgical anatomy. It is followed by Jean Cruveilhier, *Anatomie pathologique du corps humain* (Paris: Baillière, 1829–1842); Alfred Velpeau, *Traité complet d'anatomie chirurgicale, générale et topographique du corps humain* (Brussels: Dumont, 1834); Jacques D. Lebaudy, *The Anatomy of the Regions Interested in the Surgical Operations Performed Upon the Human Body* (London, Baillière, 1835); Thomas Wormald, *A Series of Anatomical Sketches and Diagrams* (London: S. Highley, 1838–1839); Sir Charles Bell, *Practical Essays* (Edinburgh: Maclachlan, Stewart & Co, 1841); Richard Quain, *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body and its Applications to Pathology and Operative Surgery* (London: Taylor & Walton, 1844); Thomas George Morton et al., *The Surgical Anatomy of the Principal Regions of the Human Body* (London: Taylor, Walton, & Maberly, 1850). See Ruth Richardson, *The Making of Mr. Gray's Anatomy: Bodies, Books, Fortune, Fame* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); Carin Berkowitz, "Charles Bell's Seeing Hand: Teaching Anatomy to the Senses in Britain, 1750–1840", *History of Science* 52, no. 4 (2004): 377–400, doi:10.1177/0073275314559334; Henry Gray, *Anatomy: Descriptive and Surgical* (London: John W. Parker and Sons, 1858).
- 24 John Turpin, "Daniel Maclise", *Ireland Illustrated, 1680–1860*, NUI Galway, https://ttce.nuigalway.ie/irelandillustrated/?ttce_function=5&object_type=person&id=ii_person_1345567325.
- 25 Sidney Lee, ed., "Quain, Richard", *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 47 Puckle–Reidfurd (New York: Macmillan, 1896), 90–91, <https://archive.org/details/dictionaryofnati47stepuoft>; and Anon., "Obituary: Richard Quain, F.R.S.", *British Medical Journal* 2 (24 September 1887): 694–695.
- 26 Maclise, *Surgical Anatomy*, viii.
- 27 The release dates of the individual parts are approximated based upon the first published reviews of each part. Instead of waiting to review the entire publication as one unit, most major US medical journals published individual reviews of the separate parts, as they were issued.
- 28 Part V was unexpected. Lea & Billings had initially offered *Surgical Anatomy* for subscription as four parts. However, they could not finish the complete publication as anticipated. Their advertisements indicate that readers and subscribers were getting a price break on Part V. For comparison, the London edition published by John Churchill was offered as "Sets in numbers", for £2 5s. each. "1851 Publications", *Medical Times and Gazette Advertiser*, 3 January 1852, n.p.
- 29 Archibald Billing, *First Principles of Medicine* (Philadelphia, PA: Blanchard and Lea, 1851), n.p. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015045573592&view=1up&seq=25&skin=2021>.
- 30 The ten professors of surgery or anatomy were Dr Samuel D. Gross (1805–1884), then of University of Louisville, Kentucky, later of Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia—and enshrined as the subject of monumental surgical painting Thomas Eakins's *The Gross Clinic* (1875; Philadelphia Museum of Art and Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts); James M. Bush (1808–1875), Transylvania University, Lexington, Kentucky; Richard L. Howard (1809–1854), Starling Medical College, Columbus, Ohio; Edmund R. Peaslee (1814–1878), Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine; Charles Bell Gibson (1816–1865), Medical College of Richmond, Virginia; Granville Pattison (1791–1851), New York University; Dr John F. May (1812–1891), Columbian College, Washington, DC; Alden Marsh (1796–1869), Albany Medical College, New York; Henry H. Smith (1815–1890), University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; and David Gilbert (1803–1868) of Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania.

- 31 Was this really affordable? House carpenters and stonemasons in the United States earned, on average, \$2.50 per day. "Prices and Wages by Decade: 1850-1859", Libraries: University of Missouri, <https://libraryguides.missouri.edu/pricesandwages/1850-1859>. As a further comparison, in 1843 the discounted price of delivery by subscribing to the seven-volume set of Jean-Baptiste Marc Bourgery's *Traité complet de l'anatomie de l'homme comprenant la médecine opératoire*, published in Paris in 1840, was £8 per volume, with black and white illustrations, and £16 for color. Purchasing the total set by subscription allowed for a small discount, making the total for eight volumes with color plates £112. *Bulletin bibliographique des science médicales* (Paris: Chez J.-B. Baillière, 1843), 16. Based upon the historical conversion of silver weights, in 1850 a British pound was worth approximately \$4.35. This would mean that a single volume of the colored plate version of Bourgery's text cost almost \$70 and almost \$500 for the entire eight-volume set. For historical currency conversion, see "How Much was the English Pound Worth in American Dollars in 1850?" *CoinSite*, <http://coinsite.com/how-much-was-the-english-pound-worth-in-american-dollars-in-1850>.
- 32 Advertisement, *American Journal of the Medical Sciences* 21 (1851): 7-8.
- 33 Advertisement, *American Journal of the Medical Sciences* 21 (1851): 7-8.
- 34 Stelmackowich, "The Instructive Corpse", 54. "Their [medical publications] function was to teach those who had not performed a dissection nor had yet seen the interior of the body. Furthermore, they enable physicians to talk about the body and dissection, not in terms concerned with what the untrained had the opportunity to witness, but in terms uniquely their own, representing relationships, techniques and tools not readily available to the lay observer."
- 35 For a discussion of the American perception of British versus French medical practice during this period, see Warner, *The Therapeutic Perspective*, especially "Attitudes toward Foreign Knowledge", 185-206.
- 36 Scientific periodicals constructed professional networks and were integral to the dissemination of scientific knowledge, the construction of globalized communities, and the acceptance of various disciplinary specializations in the nineteenth century. Gowan Dawson, Bernard Lightman, Sally Shuttleworth, and Jonathan R. Topham, *Science Periodicals in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Constructing Scientific Communities* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2020). For more on the culture of scientific journals and their role in knowledge transmission and international exchange, see Alex Csiszar, *Scientific Journal* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago, 2018).
- 37 By this, I don't intend to indicate that there was actual confusion over the origins of this publication. Instead, I mean to highlight that reviewers made mention that this volume was both American and British, demonstrating a desire both to link the field to British practice and precedent, and to develop and distinguish an American school of medicine and medical publishing. It seems that John Churchill's advertisements for *Surgical Anatomy* were significantly shorter and did not include a publisher's introduction. However, they do include testimonials and reviews that highlight its cheapness and national character, with the *British and Foreign Medico-Chirurgical Review* noting: "This work bids fair to redeem our country from the stigma of possessing no original work on surgical anatomy." See, for example, "Mr. Churchill's Publications", in the backmatter to Charles Bland Radcliffe, *The Philosophy of Vital Motion* (London: John Churchill, 1851), n.p. By August 1852, he advertised a second edition, noting that "[t]he singular success of this work has exhausted the Edition of 1000 copies within six months of its completion". See, for example, "Mr. Churchill's Publications", in the backmatter to Henry A. George, *Compendious History of Small-Pox*, 2nd ed. (London: J. Churchill, 1852), n.p.
- 38 "Henry C. Lea's Classified Catalogue", *Pacific Medical Journal* 11, nos. 2-4 (July-September 1868), backmatter, 7.
- 39 "[H]e would still be deficient in that information which an examination of the parts of the body, as constituting the elements of a continuous whole, could convey; and still more deficient would his knowledge be, if the relation of the deeper-seated parts to the surface had been overlooked, as has too often been the case. Mr. Maclise has been very successful in surmounting this difficulty." Thomas Wakley, ed., *The Lancet*, Vol. 2 (London: George Churchill, 1848), 610.
- 40 "Blanchard & Lea's Publications", in the backmatter of William E. Horner, *Special Anatomy and Histology*, Vol. 1 (Philadelphia, PA: Blanchard and Lea, 1851), 9. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc2.ark:/13960/t1zc7tb9z&view=1up&seq=1&skin=2021>.
- 41 *Catalogue of Blanchard & Lea's Medical and Surgical Publications* (Philadelphia, PA: Blanchard & Lea, 1855), 22.
- 42 "Maclise's Anatomy Complete", *The Literary World: A Journal of Society, Literature, Science, and Art* 9 (November 1851): 373-374.
- 43 "New Books: Blanchard & Lea", *Norton's Literary Gazette and Publishers' Circular* (September 1851), 50.
- 44 Ellis Paxton Oberholtzer, *The Literary History of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, PA: George W. Jacobs, 1906), 342.
- 45 A survey of their publications indicates that this printer's mark was only used for medical publications. See, for example, Leonard Schmitz, *A Manual of Ancient History* (Philadelphia, PA: Blanchard and Lea, 1855), or any of the firm's Dickens imprints, none of which bear this mark. See survey results for "Blanchard & Lea", in the Open Library, https://openlibrary.org/publishers/Blanchard_&_Lea. In contrast, every medical imprint—including those issued under later iterations of the firm, such as Lea Brothers & Co.—continued to utilize this mark for most of their medical publications. It appears to have been implemented as early as 1844, under Lea and Blanchard, as determined by a search of the US National Library of Medicine digital archives. It is unclear if there is rhyme or reason to when it may or may not be employed. Curiously, medical volumes distinguished as French or London editions are less apt to have the mark. Therefore, I conjecture that the printers only used their distinctive mark on licensed American publications of English and French editions or works for which they held copyright.
- 46 Thomas Robson, *The British Herald* (Sunderland: Turner & Marwood, 1830), 179 and 183.
- 47 Walter Friedlander, *The Golden Wand: A History of the Caduceus Symbol in Medicine* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1992), see especially "Caduceus as a Printer's Mark", 109-126.

- 48 As noted by Erika Piola in *Philadelphia on Stone*, "In 1850 lithographers made up 12 percent of the printing and publishing establishments reported in the US Census of Manufacturers." Erika Piola, *Philadelphia on Stone: Commercial Lithography in Philadelphia, 1828-1878* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University, 2012), 12.
- 49 The drawing is fixed with gum arabic and acid, which etches the unmarked parts of the drawing; a water-wash clings to the raw stone but not the greasy lines. The stone is then inked; the ink clings to the grease but is repelled by water. Damp printing paper is laid over the stone and run through a hand-cranked or steam-driven press. The resultant image is a reverse of the original drawing. The artist could also draw the image on paper and transfer it onto the stone, thereby creating an unreversed image. Sally Pierce and Catharina Slautterback, *Boston Lithography, 1825-1880: The Boston Athenæum Collection* (Boston, MA: Boston Athenæum, 1991); and Harry Twyford Peters, *America on Stone: The Other Printmakers to the American People* (New York: Arno Press, 1976).
- 50 Consider, for example, that Americans had to manufacture or import their lithographic hand or steam printing presses and tools, produce papers and inks, and also cultivate talent.
- 51 Peter C. Marzio, "Lithography as a Democratic Art: A Reappraisal", *Leonardo* 4, no. 1 (Winter 1971): 37-48.
- 52 American editions were distinguished from British editions through subtle changes, including revised texts (although not to the extreme) and a different order of contents and plates. One significant question emerges almost immediately: why release a US edition at all? It likely had to do with cost and copyright protections. Nineteenth-century international copyright law is beyond the scope of this article. However, it is worth noting that while British authors enjoyed significant copyright protections within the United Kingdom, the only way they could curtail infringement by US publishers was to print American editions almost simultaneously with the British release. For a brief summary on this, see Philip Allingham, "Nineteenth-Century British and American Copyright Law", <http://www.victorianweb.org/authors/dickens/pva/pva74.html>. In 1862, Blanchard and Lea would repeat this within the field of surgical anatomy, by purchasing the full American rights to *Gray's Anatomy*; they would publish the first of twenty-five distinct American editions. They also released an American publication of the English edition in 1859.
- 53 "Sinclair, Thomas", *Philadelphia on Stone Biographical Dictionary of Lithographers*, The Library Company of Philadelphia, <https://digital.librarycompany.org/islandora/object/digitool%3A79775>; and Piola, *Philadelphia on Stone*, 145-148.
- 54 Detailed visual analysis comparing the British plates to American versions indicate minute compositional differences and variations of scale between them, leading the author to conclude that Sinclair drew his own stones, after the British illustrations. It is unclear exactly how Sinclair made his copies after Maclise's illustrations, since the British fascicules were still being released when Blanchard and Lea commissioned Sinclair to begin. Perhaps the licensing agreement included access to plate proofs or Maclise's own drawings. In either case, models would have been shipped from London across the Atlantic to Philadelphia, where Sinclair would use them as referents for his lithographic drawings. In thinking about the trans-Atlantic direction of material transportation and then visual translation, I look to the work of Jennifer Roberts, whose studies on Copley and Audubon in particular are equally attuned to networks of circulation. *Transporting Visions: The Movement of Images in Early America* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2014).
- 55 Rana Hogarth, *Medicalizing Blackness: Making Racial Difference in the Atlantic World, 1780-1840* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 2017); see also Antoine S. Johnson, Elise A. Mitchell, and Ayah Nuriddin, "Syllabus: A History of Anti-Black Racism in Medicine," for further reading.
- 56 Keren Rosa Hammerschlag, "Black Apollo: Aesthetics, Dissection, and Race in Joseph Maclise's *Surgical Anatomy*", *British Art Studies* 20 (July 2021), doi:10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-20/khammerschlag; see also Keren Rosa Hammerschlag, "Drawing Racial Comparisons in Nineteenth-Century British and American Anatomical Atlases", in *Victorian Science and Imagery: Representation and Knowledge in Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture*, ed. Nancy Rose Marshall (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, forthcoming).
- 57 Maclise, *Surgical Anatomy*, 21.
- 58 Maclise, *Surgical Anatomy*, 22.
- 59 Henry Hollingsworth Smith, *Anatomical Atlas: Illustrative of the Structure of the Human Body* (Philadelphia, PA: Lea and Blanchard, 1844).
- 60 Morris Martin, "George Baxter and his Oil Color Prints: Painting by Printing", *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 40, no. 2 (Winter 1979): 155-170.
- 61 Editor's Preface, *Plates of Maclise's Surgical Anatomy, with the Descriptions from the English Edition with an Additional Plate from Bougery*, edited by R.U. Piper (Boston, MA: John P. Jewett, 1857), n.p.
- 62 "Henry C. Lea's Classified Catalogue of Medical and Surgical Publications", *Pacific Medical and Surgical Journal* (July 1868): 6-7.
- 63 John Cleland, *A Directory for the Dissection of the Human Body* (Philadelphia, PA: Henry C. Lea, 1877), backmatter, n.p.
- 64 "Maclise's Surgical Anatomy", *American Journal of Medical Sciences* (Philadelphia, PA: Lea & Blanchard, 1850), 151-154, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=umn.31951p01139569h&view=1up&seq=1&skin=2021>; and "Surgical Anatomy", *Transylvania Medical Journal* (Lexington, KY: The Observer and Reporter, 1849), 471, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.32044102963550&view=1up&seq=475&skin=2021>. The *Medical Examiner and Record of Medical Science*, published in Philadelphia, stated: "we desire to express our conviction of its excellence, as regards both plates and commentary. That it is without fault, we do not pretend to say; but they are so few in comparison with its merits, that they can be readily forgiven." "Biographical Notices: Joseph Maclise", *Medical Examiner and Record of Medical Science* 7 (1851), 723, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015022404464&view=1up&seq=1&skin=2021>.
- 65 "Medical Intelligence: Surgical Anatomy", *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* 42 (1850), 207.

- 66 "Critical Biographical Notices: Surgical Anatomy", *New York Journal of Medicine and the Collateral Sciences* 8 (1852): 131-132. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015067139132&view=1up&seq=15&skin=2021>.
- 67 "Maclise on Surgical Anatomy", *Western Journal of Medicine and Surgery*, series 3, vols. 5-6 (1850): 525-526, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015062206506&view=1up&seq=1&skin=2021>.
- 68 "Biographical Notices and Reviews: Surgical Anatomy", *Ohio Medical and Surgical Journal* 4 (1851): 159-160, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015076675407&view=1up&seq=1&skin=2021>. The *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal* declared: "With these plates before him ... the student of surgical anatomy can easily triumph over all the tedious details of anatomy and make himself master of human anatomy." "Surgical Anatomy", *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal* (New Orleans: Weld & Co., 1850), 359. The *Charleston Medical Journal and Review* recommended it for diagnostic purposes. "Biographical Notices: Surgical Anatomy", *Charleston Medical Journal and Review* 7 (1852): 107-108, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015062238111&view=1up&seq=1&skin=2021>.
- 69 "New Publications: Surgical Anatomy", *American (New-York) Medical Gazette and Journal of Health* 1 (1850), 268, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015058518575&view=1up&seq=1&skin=2021>.
- 70 "Article III, Surgical Anatomy", *North-Western Medical and Surgical Journal* 3 (1851), 229, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015062274827&view=1up&seq=1&skin=2021>.
- 71 Anon., "Malgaigne's *Treatise on Surgical Anatomy and Experimental Surgery*", *North American Medico-Chirurgical Review* (Philadelphia, PA: Lippincott, 1860), 823.
- 72 Anon., "Malgaigne's *Treatise on Surgical Anatomy and Experimental Surgery*", 824.
- 73 Anon., "Malgaigne's *Treatise on Surgical Anatomy and Experimental Surgery*", 827.
- 74 Anon., "Malgaigne's *Treatise on Surgical Anatomy and Experimental Surgery*".
- 75 From the more limited British reviews that I have read, I get the impression that the US reception of Maclise was uniformly more positive. A particularly critical review of Maclise's *Surgical Anatomy* appeared in 1851 in the *British and Foreign Medico-Chirurgical Review*. The reviewer took Maclise to task for crowding his figures on the plates, critiqued his commentaries including claims that the spleen was a correspondent part to the liver and that physical formation can cause bladder stones, and noted that the work is so cheap Maclise cannot have been adequately remunerated for his efforts. They conclude by saying: "the best advice we can now give him, is, that he should steadily pursue the subjects in which he has shown himself so well fitted to succeed, leaving transcendental anatomy and physiology to those whose genius lies more decidedly in that direction ... therefore we are consulting his interests in every way, in tendering him, ... our hope to meet again, ere long, in some other department of the same field". One wonders at the viciousness of this British reviewer, who couches their criticism as a favor to Maclise. Anon., "Bibliographical Notices", [October 1851] in *British and Foreign Medico-Chirurgical Review* (London: John Churchill, 1851), 529-531.
- 76 "Surgical Anatomy—Reprint from *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*", *Eclectic Medical Journal* 8-9 (1849-1850), 361, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.32044103053880&view=1up&seq=947&skin=2021>.
- 77 The publisher advised: "The books ... will be sent by mail, post-paid, to any Post Office in the United States, on receipt of the printed prices. No risks of the mail, however, are assumed, either on money or books. Gentlemen will therefore, in most cases, find it more convenient to deal with the nearest bookseller." Cleland, *A Directory for the Dissection of the Human Body*, backmatter, n.p.
- 78 "Surgical Anatomy," *The New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal*, vol. VII (1851), 76.
- 79 "Medical Miscellany", *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* 41 (1849), 427.
- 80 "Books for Sale", *Publisher's Weekly* 20 (1881), 246.
- 81 "Willamette University, Annual Announcement for 1867-8", *Pacific Medical and Surgical Journal* 10, no. 6 (November 1867), advertisement, n.p.
- 82 "List of Textbooks", *Bellevue Hospital Medical College Annual Circular and Catalogue, 1871-1872*, n.p.; and Alfred Velpeau and Valentine Mott, *New Elements of Operative Surgery*, 3rd ed. (New York, S.S. & W. Wood, 1859).
- 83 *Thirtieth Annual Announcement of Rush Medical College* (Chicago, IL: Fergus, 1872), 46; and *Sixteenth Annual Catalogue of the University of Chicago* (Chicago, IL: Birney Hand, 1875), 46. "Old" University of Chicago operated between 1856 and 1886. Damaged in the Chicago Fire of 1871, it was foreclosed and reopened in 1890 as the University of Chicago. Rush Medical College was chartered in 1837, affiliated with the University of Chicago from 1898 to 1941, and closed in 1942.
- 84 "Text-Books", *Thirty-Ninth Annual Announcement of Rush Medical College, Chicago* (Chicago, IL: Tucker, Newell, 1881), 15; and "Text-Books", *Forty-First Annual Announcement of Rush Medical College, Chicago* (Chicago, IL: Newell, 1883), 16.
- 85 As mentioned earlier, medical practice in the United States was deeply divided between those who practiced allopathy, or "regulars", and "irregulars", who followed homeopathy or the reform, eclectic, or American movements—among other alternatives. Eclectic medicine, alternately known as the American or Reform movement, used botanical remedies and physical therapies, while homeopathy argued that small doses of medication that produced symptoms similar to an illness in a healthy patient would cure the afflicted. Allopathy diminished the popularity of these alternative modes of therapeutic practice, especially through the actions of the AMA and other modes of professionalization. A code of ethics, educational requirements, standards for practice, and later licensing, all helped promote allopathy over alternative forms of practice.

- 86 *Annual Announcement of the College of American Medicine and Surgery, Session of 1874-5* (Macon, GA: Lines & Wing, 1874), 8. Formerly the Reform Medical College of Georgia, it became the Georgia College of Eclectic Medicine and Surgery in 1877 and closed in 1916.
- 87 C.M. Thomas, *Catalogue of the Museum and Library of The Hahnemann Medical College* (Philadelphia, PA: Kildare, 1869), 44. Hahnemann operated as the Homeopathic Medical College of Pennsylvania from 1848 to 1869, when it became Hahnemann Medical College. In 1993, it merged with the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania, founded in 1850, and then was absorbed by Drexel University in 2003.
- 88 Sappol, *A Traffic of Dead Bodies*, 137; see especially "'Indebted to the Dissecting Knife': Alternative Medicine and Anatomical Consensus in Antebellum America", 136-167.
- 89 For more on transcendental or therapeutic anatomy, its adoption in the United States, and its relationship to Darwinian theory, see Toby A. Appel, "Jeffries Wyman, Philosophical Anatomy, and the Scientific Reception of Darwin in America", *Journal of the History of Biology* 21 (1988): 69-94, doi:[10.1007/BF00125794](https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00125794).
- 90 Thomas Wakley, editor, *The Lancet*, Vol. 2 (London: George Churchill, 1849), 74.
- 91 William W. Keen and J. William White, eds., *An American Text-Book of Surgery: For Practitioners and Students* (Philadelphia, PA: W.B. Saunders and Co., 1892), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015076965907&view=1up&seq=5&skin=2021>.
- 92 "Preface to Third Edition", in Charles B. Nancrede, *Essentials of Anatomy and Manual of Practical Dissection: Together with the Anatomy of the Viscera* (Philadelphia, PA: W.B. Saunders Co., 1894), n.p.
- 93 Joseph Howard Raymond, *Human Physiology: Prepared with Special Reference to Students of Medicine* (Philadelphia, PA: W.B. Saunders and Co., 1901), Plates II, III, and IV.
- 94 J.D.W. Tomlinson and K.B. Roberts, *The Fabric of the Body: European Traditions in Anatomical Illustrations* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 562.
- 95 "Course of Study: Surgery", *Annual Announcement of the University of McGill College 1859-60* (Montreal: Becket, 1859), 5.
- 96 For more examples of photographs of American dissection room, see John Harley Warner, *Dissection: Photographs of a Rite of Passage in American Medicine, 1880-1930* (New York: Blast Books, 2009), 165.
- 97 For other examples, see Martin Kemp and Marina Wallace, *Spectacular Bodies: The Art and Science of the Human Body from Leonardo to Now* (London: Hayward Gallery; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000). In addition to printed material, the works of numerous European anatomical model makers entered medical museums and collections from the eighteenth through the twentieth centuries. These makers include Dr Felix Thibert and Dr Louis Auzoux. For more on Dr Auzoux, see Mark Dreyfuss, "The Anatomical Models of Dr. Auzoux", *Medical Heritage* 2, no. 1 (1986): 60-62; B.W.J. Grob, *The Anatomical Models of Dr. Louis Auzoux* (Leiden: Museum Boerhaave, 2004); and Anna Maerker, "Dr. Auzoux's Papier-Mâché Models", *Explore Whipple Collections*, Whipple Museum of the History of Science, University of Cambridge, 2008, <http://www.hps.cam.ac.uk/whipple/explore/models/drauzouxmodels>.
- 98 Berkowitz, "Systems of Display", 375.
- 99 Painted charts were increasingly replaced by printed wall charts that rose to prominence between 1870 and 1920, blossoming through what visual culture historian Luc Pauwels outlines as "a result of technical developments (lithographic technology), educational reform (resulting in a dramatic increase in pupil populations), and the changing view of the pivotal role of visualization in education (the need to see and handle an object)". This shift in printing technologies allowed for the creation of more wall charts, which corresponded to "a more visual pedagogy in science [that] not only embodied a general idea that visuals are essential devices in any type of knowledge transfer, but also signified a shift with regard to theory"; Luc Pauwels, "Introduction", in *Visual Cultures of Science: Rethinking Representational Practices in Knowledge Building and Science Communication*, ed. Luc Pauwels (Dartmouth: Dartmouth College Press, 2006), xiv. Large chromolithographed and hand-colored lithographed scientific wall charts range in subject, from botanical to anatomical. Most were produced in Germany and exported throughout the world during the "Golden Age" of scientific wall charts, identified by Massimiano Bucchi as between 1870 and 1920. See Massimiano Bucchi, "Images of Science in the Classroom Wall Charts and Science Education, 1850-1920", in *Visual Cultures of Science: Rethinking Representational Practices in Knowledge Building and Science Communication*, ed. Luc Pauwels (Dartmouth: Dartmouth College Press, 2006), 90-119. A suspicion toward scientific illustration, felt in some scientific circles, is examined in Anne Secord, "Botany on a Plate: Pleasure and the Power of Pictures in Promoting Early Nineteenth-Century Scientific Knowledge", *Isis* 93, no. 1 (March 2002): 28-57.
- 100 *Annual Announcement of the Louisville Medical College, Session of 1880-81* (Louisville, KY: Brewers' Printing House, 1880), 2.
- 101 Over 200 of the paintings are extant. Naomi Slipp, "International Anatomies: Teaching Visual Literacy in the Harvard Lecture Hall", in *Bodies Beyond Borders: Moving Anatomies, 1750-1950*, ed. Kaat Wils, et al. (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2017), 197-229.
- 102 Justin Winsor, ed., "From the Record of the Corporation", *Harvard University Bulletin* 45 (January 1890): 4.
- 103 British works reproduced in the extant series include, in chronological order: John Shaw, *A Work on the Nature and Treatment of the Distortions to Which the Spine and the Bones of the Chest are Subject* (1824); Astley Cooper, *A Treatise on Dislocations and Fractures of the Joints* (1829); James Syme, *The Principles of Surgery* (1832); Thomas Wormald, *A Series of Anatomical Sketches and Diagrams* (1838); Thomas George Morton, *The Surgical Anatomy of the Principal Regions of the Human Body* (1838); Richard Quain, *The Anatomy of the Arteries of the Human Body* (1840); Charles Bell, *Practical Essays* (1841); Samuel Solly, *Remarks on the Pathology of Mollities Ossium* (1844); Robert Druitt, *The Principles and Practice of Modern Surgery* (1844); Edward Stanley, *Treatise on Diseases of the Bone* (1849); Joseph Maclise, *Surgical Anatomy* (1851); and George W. Hind, *Fractures of the Bones of the Extremities* (1853).

- 104** In 1800, there were only eight medical libraries in the United States; by 1876, there were sixty. Wyndham Miles, *A History of the National Library of Medicine* (Bethesda, MD: National Library of Medicine, 1982), 11, n. 27. Significant US medical libraries included the three oldest—Pennsylvania Hospital (f. 1763), College of Physicians in Philadelphia (f. 1788), and New York Hospital (f. 1796)—and the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty of Maryland (f. 1799), Philadelphia Almshouse (f. 1732), Boston Medical Library (f. 1805), and those of private collectors including John Redman Coxe (1773–1864) and John B. Beck (1794–1851). Although an American library might now contain an early edition of Maclise's *Surgical Anatomy*, it is difficult to ascertain exactly when they may have acquired it since period catalogues and accession records are scarce. Edition not specified. *Constitution and By-Laws of the Medical Society of South Carolina* (Charleston, SC: Walker and James, 1850), 44; Edition not specified, but with 68 colored plates. *Catalogue of the Maine State Library* (August, ME: Fuller & Fuller, 1856), 69; this was the London 1851 edition. Emil Fischer, *Catalogue Raisonné of the Medical Library of the Pennsylvania Hospital* (Philadelphia, PA: Collins, 1857), 32.
- 105** This was the 1859 Philadelphia printing. *Catalogue of the Library of the Surgeon General's Office, United States Army* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1872), 236; Edition not specified. *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Mercantile Library Association of San Francisco* (San Francisco, CA: Turnbull & Smith, 1872), 44; London 1856 Folio edition. *Supplement to the Classified Library of the Saint Louis Mercantile Library* (St. Louis, MO: McKittrick, 1876), 37.
- 106** This was the 1851 edition. "Books on Medicine: Property of the Public Library", *Denver Medical Times* 16 (1896–1897), 271.
- 107** Joseph Maclise, *Surgical Anatomy* (Philadelphia, PA: Blanchard and Lea, 1851). Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Lincoln Kirstein, 1952, 52.623.
- 108** Lincoln Kirstein, *William Rimmer: 1816–1879* (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1946); and "Lincoln Kirstein", www.lincolnkirstein.org.

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- Anon. *Bulletin bibliographique des science médicales*. Paris: Chez J.-B. Baillière, 1843, 16.
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- Anon. "Maclise on Surgical Anatomy". *Western Journal of Medicine and Surgery*, third series, vol. 5 (Louisville: Prentice & Weissinger, 1850): 525–526. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015062206506&view=1up&seq=1&skin=2021>.
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