

CARICATURE AS THE RECORD OF MEDICAL HISTORY
IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY LONDON

A THESIS IN
Art History

Presented to the Faculty of the University
of Missouri-Kansas City in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree

MASTER OF ARTS

by
Barbara Brooks

B.A., University of Missouri-Kansas City, 2010

Kansas City, Missouri
2013

CARICATURE AS THE RECORD OF MEDICAL HISTORY
IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY LONDON

Barbara Brooks, Candidate for the Master of Arts Degree

University of Missouri-Kansas City, 2013

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines two disparate developments that began in sixteenth-century Renaissance Italy and converged in almost inconceivable ways in eighteenth-century London. One of these developments was the public study of human anatomy through dissection. The other development was the satirical art of caricature. This thesis explores the point in time where the study of anatomy and the art of caricature converge by examining eighteenth-century texts as well as contemporary scholarly writing on the subjects of medicine, anatomy and caricature. This thesis argues that caricature was the medium best suited to visually record this unusual time in medical history and to expose the social responses to these medical advances.

In order to narrow the scope of the two broad topics of art and medicine, this thesis looks at two of London's most notable Georgian era anatomists, Dr. William Hunter and his brother John, a surgeon. It examines how they, and anatomists in general, were depicted by their contemporaries and acquaintances, Thomas Rowlandson and William Hogarth. This thesis explores the clandestine activities involved in running an

anatomy school in Georgian England by examining the written record as well as the visual record found in the prints of Hogarth and Rowlandson. This thesis briefly examines the religious and legal ramifications of the procurement of bodies for dissection.

APPROVAL PAGE

The faculty listed below, appointed by the Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences have examined a thesis titled “Caricature as the Record of Medical History in Eighteenth-Century London,” presented by Barbara Brooks, candidate for the Master of Arts degree, and certify that in their opinion it is worthy of acceptance.

Supervisory Committee

Frances Connelly, PhD., Committee Chair
Department of Art History

Burton Dunbar, PhD.
Department of Art History

Lynda Payne, PhD.
Department of History

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	iii
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.....	viii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	x
Chapter	
1. INTRODUCTION	1
<i>Caricature</i>	3
2. DEPICTIONS OF ANATOMY	8
<i>Vesalius' Frontispiece</i>	10
<i>The Idle Prentise Executed at Tyburn</i>	15
Prejudice in Punishment	19
<i>The Reward of Cruelty</i>	23
3. A NECESSARY INHUMANITY	27
<i>The Amputation</i>	28
<i>The Dissecting Room</i>	31
4. THE ANATOMY SCHOOL	35
<i>Resurrection Men</i>	35
<i>The Dissection Room</i>	37
5. THE BONE COLLECTOR	39
<i>The Irish Giant</i>	40
6. CONCLUSION.....	44

ILLUSTRATIONS	46
BIBLIOGRAPHY	57
VITA.....	61

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure Page		
1.	<i>Caricature of Pope Innocent XI</i> . Gianlorenzo Bernini. c. 1676. Pen and ink, 11.4 x 18.2 cm.....	45
2.	Frontispiece, <i>De humani corporis fabrica</i> , 1543. Woodcut, Basel.....	46
3.	<i>The Idle 'Prentice Executed at Tyburn</i> William Hogarth. 1747. Etching and Engraving. 28.5 x 42.3 cm.....	47
4.	William Hogarth <i>The Reward of Cruelty</i> 1751. Engraving. 28.5 x 42.3 cm.....	48
5.	<i>Amputation</i> , Thomas Rowlandson, 1793. Coloured Aquatint. Wellcome Library, London. 27.8 x 40.3 cm.....	49
6.	Detail, <i>The Idle 'Prentice Executed at Tyburn</i> , William Hogarth, 1747. Etching and Engraving, British Museum.....	50
7.	<i>The Dissecting Room</i> , Thomas Rowlandson. c.1775. Graphite on paper. 26.2 x 37.5.....	51
8.	Thomas Rowlandson, <i>Resurrection Men</i> , 1783. Watercolor on paper. Wellcome Library, London. 26.2 x 21.1 cm.....	52
9.	Thomas Rowlandson, <i>Death in the Dissecting Room</i> , 1815 From <i>The English Dance of Death</i> , vol i.....	53
10.	Thomas Rowlandson, <i>The Surprising Irish Giant of St. James's Street</i> , 1785. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Hand Colored Etching	54
11.	Sir Joshua Reynolds <i>Portrait of John Hunter</i> , 1789. Royal College of Surgeons, 50" x 45" Oil on canvas.....	55

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This thesis is a culmination of my research into two very different disciplines. To add to this recent research, I culled knowledge from my twenty year long career in surgery. This thesis reflects my love for both art and science, and I do not see the two as necessarily separate entities.

I would like to thank Dr. Lynda Payne for being a guiding force behind this thesis. Her knowledge and insight drove me to dig deeper and never settle for presenting a shallow argument. I would also like to thank Dr. Frances Connelly for her patience and guidance, her expert editing and her words of wisdom. My work is better in every way because of her.

Special thanks to Dawn McInnis, rare book librarian at Clendening History of Medicine Library in Kansas City for allowing me to read the fragile, old books for hours on end, for taking a genuine interest in my research and for choosing something pertinent and exciting for me to peruse each time I visited.

I would also like to acknowledge the helpful staff at the Royal College of Surgeons and the Hunterian Museum in London.

Last but not least, I would like to thank my partner Christi Baron for her unwavering support. It is not an exaggeration to say that none of this would have been possible without her.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Two disparate developments in sixteenth-century Renaissance Italy converged in almost inconceivable ways in eighteenth-century London. One of these developments was the public study of human anatomy through dissection. The other development is the satirical art of caricature. This thesis explores the point in time where the study of anatomy and the art of caricature converged.

The Enlightenment witnessed great advances in science and especially in medicine. Eighteenth-century London was a center of medical learning and hospitals as well as private anatomy schools sprang up in vast numbers. One visiting American medical student called London “the metropolis of the whole world for practical medicine.”¹ In these days before London had a university, private medical lecture courses were offered to anyone willing to pay the class fees. Many of these lecturers began schools where hands-on learning accompanied the lecture material.²

Dr. William Hunter, one of the most famous anatomists of eighteenth-century England, also taught that a ‘necessary inhumanity’ or a certain degree of

¹ Quoted in Roy Porter, “Medical Lecturing in Georgian England,” *British Journal for the History of Science*, vol 28, no.1, (March, 1995), 94. See also Roy Porter, “Medical Education in England Before the Teaching Hospital: Some Recent Revisions”, in *The Professional Teacher*. Edited by John Wilkes (Leicester: History of Education Society, 1986), 29-44.

² Porter, 95.

callousness was needed in order to perform the act of taking a knife and slicing into another human being, whether for the purpose of anatomical study on a cadaver or surgical intervention on the living.³

This thesis will show that the perceived inhumanity of the anatomist was the very trait that made him an attractive subject for the caricaturists. One aspect of particular fascination involved the various ways in which bodies were procured for anatomical study. The details of body procurement - from the use of the bodies of criminals hung at the gallows at Tyburn Square to the clandestine means of body snatching and grave robbing- provided excellent fodder for the caricaturist's pen. This thesis argues that caricature was the medium best suited to visually record this unusual time in medical history and to expose the anatomists at their work. Fine art, such as portrait painting, was typically work for hire, and would only represent the better aspects of the sitter, in most instances an idealized portrayal following established conventions. An anatomist or surgeon of the Georgian era would not be portrayed performing a dissection or surgical procedure. Yet, caricature could record the gruesome spectacle, allude to the clandestine procurement of the body, and present the enthusiasm of the anatomist in an almost ghoulish fashion - all in one whimsical image. The graceful lines and seemingly light-hearted compositions of the caricatured drawing created a mental juxtaposition between the ominous

³ Dr. William Hunter, *Two Introductory Lectures* (London: J. Johnson, 1784) quoted in Ruth Richardson, *Death, Dissection, and the Destitute* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 31.

gravity of the scene and the overt playfulness of the depiction. Caricature could also shed light on the darker side of medical practices in Georgian England by challenging the social roles and hierarchies of the day in a visual satire. By subverting the rules and conventions of portrayal, caricature could expose social concerns pertaining to the anatomists' work and the commodification of the bodies of the poor and the religious fears of denial of resurrection of an innocent person whose body had been dissected. Caricature was the medium that allowed visual commentary on the absurdities and contradictions of the era, including the rapidly evolving medical profession.

Caricature

The skill of the caricaturist is the same as that of the satirical writer: they observe society and “distill the eccentricities of human behavior.”⁴ Most scholars agree that caricature or *caricatura*⁵ as an art form began when Italian artists Annibale and Agostino Carracci and others such as Gianlorenzo Bernini played a type of game in which they attempted to portray a known person with just a few strokes in order to display their artistic virtuosity (Figure 1). Comparing fine art

⁴ James Mundy in Patricia Phagan, *Thomas Rowlandson Pleasures and Pursuits in Georgian England* (London: Giles Limited, 2011), 9.

⁵ Giovanni Antonio Massini (Mosini) first introduced the term caricature ("ritratti carichi"). The word "carichi" indicated that the forms were "heavy" or "loaded" with meaning. Denis Mahon, *Studies in Seicento Art and Theory* (London: Warburg Institute, 1947), 259.

and caricature, Annibale Carracci argued: “Is not the caricaturist’s task exactly the same as that of the classical artist? Both see the lasting truth beneath the surface of mere outward appearance. Both try to help nature accomplish its plan. A good caricature, like every work of art, is more true to life than reality itself.”⁶

The two artists examined here, William Hogarth (1697-1764) and Thomas Rowlandson (1756-1827), were geniuses in capturing the truth beneath the surface, each in his own way. William Hogarth is often called the father of English caricature, although he would have preferred the title of character artist, insisting that he was creating a type and not a specific person.⁷ He created his “comic histories” for the rising middle class of London, an audience already primed for such satirical images having read the works of Jonathan Swift, Alexander Pope and Henry Fielding. Using scenes from his own life experience and observations, Hogarth created prints that held up a mirror to London society with the dual aim of chastising and educating. Hogarth took a grim view of the vices of Londoners and sought to teach ethics through his Modern Moral Subjects series of prints. In each series, moral failings always carry a heavy consequence. Among the punishments that awaited those who practiced vice was the dissection by the anatomists.

⁶ Quoted in Ernst Gombrich and Ernst Kris, *Caricature* (London: King Penguin Books, 1940), 11-12.

⁷ Amelia Faye Rause, *Caricature Unmasked: Irony, Authenticity, and Individualism in Eighteenth Century English Prints* (Newark : University of Delaware Press, 2008), 44.

Thomas Rowlandson followed Hogarth's lead, but his prints took at once a more playful and more damning view of London society in general, and doctors in particular. The anatomists in his drawings are grave-robbing ghouls obsessed with dissection. Whereas Hogarth intended to send the message that those of immoral character would end up in the hands of the anatomists, Rowlandson questioned the morals of the anatomists themselves.

This thesis will look at two of London's most notable Georgian era anatomists, Dr. William Hunter and his brother John, a surgeon. It will examine how the Hunters, and anatomists in general, were depicted by their contemporaries, William Hogarth and Thomas Rowlandson.⁸ Indeed, the questionable ethics of anatomist John Hunter have been exposed in several scholarly works. Medical Historian Lynda Payne states that John "was chiefly responsible for procuring corpses for his brother's school," and she quotes Drew Ottley who wrote that "in the course of which employment he became a great favorite with that certainly not

⁸ Hogarth was a neighbor of William Hunter and was often invited to see and draw the anatomical specimens. Rowlandson would have known of and possibly met Hunter while attending the Royal Academy of Arts during Hunter's appointment as professor of anatomy from 1769 -1772. Rowlandson attended from 1772 and exhibited there into the 1780s. He made at least one sketch that has been widely claimed to depict William Hunter lecturing, *An Anatomical Lecture*. The print can be seen at Minneapolis Institute of Art or online at <http://www.artsmia.org/viewer/detail.php?v=4&id=14109> (accessed February 12, 2013) Also See Martin Hopkinson, "William Hunter, William Hogarth and 'The Anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus'". *Burlington Magazine*, 116 (March 1984), 156-9.

too respectable class of persons the resurrection men.”⁹ Wendy Moore stated that “(f)rom the day he started work in William’s anatomy school, John Hunter embarked on a long and fruitful relationship with the grave robbers that would plunge him deep into London’s criminal underground.”¹⁰ Art historian Fiona Haslam has examined the “views of medicine portrayed by eighteenth-century British graphic and literary artists” including some of the drawings of both Hogarth and Rowlandson, and she states that “(H)istorians, in general, have tended to neglect the iconography of medicine within a large number of satirical engravings”.¹¹ Payne, Haslam and Moore connect the work of Hogarth and Rowlandson with the Hunters, and all employ the works to illustrate the attitudes held towards members of the medical profession during the eighteenth century.

This thesis ventures an interdisciplinary approach to the works, and attempts to situate the art in the context of medical history. It will narrow the broad scope of both the medical field and the satirical art of caricature by focusing on the works dealing with anatomical dissection. The first part of this thesis examines the beginnings of formal anatomical study through dissection by analyzing the frontispiece to the book by Andrew Vesalius, *De Humani Corporis Fabrica* (On

⁹ Lynda Payne, *With Words and Knives Learning Medical Dispassion in Early Modern England* (Aldershot, U.K.: Ashgate, 2007), 132.

¹⁰ Wendy Moore, *The Knife Man: The Extraordinary Life and Times of John Hunter, Father of Modern Surgery* (London: Bantam, 2005), 42.

¹¹ Fiona Haslam, *From Hogarth to Rowlandson: Medicine in Art in Eighteenth Century Britain* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1996), 1.

the Fabric of the Human Body, 1543). The second part examines the works of Hogarth and Rowlandson and how these works serve as the visual record for this era.

CHAPTER 2

DEPICTIONS OF ANATOMY

The realistic depiction of human anatomy began with the illustrated treatise of Andreas Vesalius, a Flemish anatomist and physician who taught at the University of Padua, Italy. He championed the study of human anatomy through direct dissection of human cadavers in his innovative study *De Humani Corporis Fabrica* (On the Fabric of the Human Body, 1543). He established dissection of the human body as essential for understanding the physiological systems. Many previous anatomy books had been text only, describing the anatomy in great detail, and used as a guide while performing a dissection. One of the most popular guides was the ancient text by the physician Galen. Galen's dissections were performed largely on monkeys and pigs, since he believed their anatomy to be exactly like that of a human. His was the prevailing authoritative work until 1543 when Vesalius demonstrated that, although similar, the non-human anatomy was quite different in some areas, and only human dissection would reveal a true record of human anatomy. He wished to share this knowledge with as many people as possible, as he mentions in the preface to his book: "Our pictures... will give particular pleasure to those who do not have the opportunity of dissecting a human body or who... although fascinated and delighted by the study of man... cannot bring themselves

to ever attend a dissection.”¹ For this purpose, Vesalius created the first in-depth book of its kind. Previous anatomy books followed Galen’s teachings and had few, if any, illustrations as these were expensive to reproduce before the use of the printing press. Most of those earlier illustrations were not finely detailed. Vesalius wanted extraordinary and precise illustrations of the anatomy. This generated a need for collaboration between the anatomist and artists who could record the structure of the body as Vesalius revealed it through dissection. The illustrations have been attributed to the artist Titian or his pupil, Jan van Calcar, but this is widely debated.² The woodcuts from which the prints were made were exquisitely crafted, ranking as some of the finest book illustrations in the sixteenth century.³

¹ William F. Richardson and John B. Carmen, *On the Fabric of the Human Body: A Translation of De Humani Corporis Fabrica By Andreas Vesalius* (San Francisco: Norman Publishing, 1998), xix.

² The scholarly debate regarding exactly who created the unsigned woodblock illustrations is ongoing. They are often attributed to Jan Steven van Calcar, and occasionally attributed to Titian himself. Giorgio Vasari attributes the illustrations to Calcar in *The Lives of the Artists*, but that statement is disputed on several grounds. Typically scholars attribute them to an artist (or, more likely, artists) from Titian’s workshop. Charles Donald O’Malley, *Andreas Vesalius of Brussels, 1514-1564* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964), 125.

³ J.B.deC.M. Saunders and Charles D. O’Malley, *The Illustrations from the Works of Andreas Vesalius of Brussels* (Cleveland Ohio: World Publishing Company, 1950), 14. Unfortunately, the woodcut blocks were destroyed in the WWI bombing of Munich.

The Frontispiece

*The Frontispiece*⁴ (Figure 2) pointedly depicts Vesalius performing the dissection with his own hand. In doing so, he radically breaks away from the previously accepted practices in which the work was done by assistants or by Barber Surgeons, skilled workers who handled the manual labor, while the Physician sat on a raised platform and oversaw the dissection while lecturing.⁵ Vesalius believed that this traditional method only perpetuated anatomical ignorance by repetition of accepted texts as sacrosanct, some of which contained erroneous information. He believed that only direct observation and dissection of the human body would reveal the truth and he admonished the professors that sat "like jackdaws aloft in their high chairs, with egregious arrogance croaking things they have never investigated."⁶ Vesalius' book was highly influential throughout

⁴ The first printing of the *Fabrica* was so popular that a second run was necessary in the same year as the first. For reasons that aren't altogether clear two versions of the Frontispiece were created, and the second version was used in the second printing. The second version is crudely carved, showing none of the skill of the artist of the first version. There was also a hand-colored version included only in the copy presented to King Charles the Fifth. Since it would seem that Vesalius intended the first version be used with his book, this thesis will refer only to it.

⁵ Haslam, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1996) 258.

⁶ Charles O'Malley *The Illustrations of Andreas Vesalius of Brussels* (Cleveland: World Publishing Co, 1950), 50.

Europe, and human dissection eventually became the most accepted method of learning human anatomy.⁷

In the frontispiece for his book, Vesalius created a very theatrical setting with himself at the center of the action.⁸ He is performing a ‘public anatomy’ on a female cadaver in an outdoor setting, as evidenced by the greenery clinging to the Palladian Renaissance-style building that serves as a backdrop for the scene.

Temporary wooden structures have been created to accommodate the spectators.⁹ A large crowd has gathered, composed of members from many different classes of society: clerics, nobles, city and university officials, students, and passers-by.¹⁰

Also among the crowd is a nude man, symbolizing the study of the human body, a monkey to the left and a dog to the right. It is possible that these are symbolic of

⁷ Vesalius followed many of Galen’s teachings and in his early works he repeats some of Galen’s errors. These errors are corrected as others begin to follow Vesalius’ example and learn anatomy first hand, thus revealing his influence. See Mary Lindemann, *Medicine and Society in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 95.

⁸ There is much scholarly debate on the identity of the artist or artists for the book, but it is generally agreed that Vesalius had a hand in the design and composition of the frontispiece.

⁹ Anatomical dissections, in Padua and elsewhere, were commonly held outside for adequate lighting until a permanent indoor theater was built in 1594. This theater still stands today.

Charles G. Gross, *Brain, Vision, Memory: Tales in the History of Neuroscience* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999), 37.

¹⁰ O’Malley, 42.

Galen's study of animals, but more probable is that the animals will be dissected, or vivisected, for anatomical comparison.

Vesalius breaks with tradition, symbolized by his descent from the elevated chair from which professors usually lectured. He is explaining the anatomical structures as he personally performs the dissection. The traditional *sectores*, the dissectors who did the cutting and the *ostensores*, the demonstrators who would have shown the structures, have been demoted and now sit under the table quarreling about who will sharpen the knife.¹¹ A skeleton is positioned at the head of the table, reinforcing Vesalius' principal belief that anatomy starts with the bones, which must be referred to often during dissection.¹² Fiona Haslam describes the skeleton as sitting on a desktop, but close inspection of the print shows the skeleton to be positioned on the rail that divides the top tier of the audience from the stage. The greater trochanters of the skeleton's femurs are pushed forward by the rail and the ischium bones of the pelvis appear to sit on the rail. The angle of the legs suggests that the hips are flexed slightly and the legs drape over the next rail below, but that part of the skeleton is hidden by the dissection table. The pole is not being used for pointing as Haslam suggests, but is merely a prop that disappears

¹¹ Cynthia Klestinec, *Theaters of Anatomy: Students, Teachers, and Traditions of Dissection in Renaissance Venice* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011) 34.

¹² O'Malley, 43.

from view behind the table.¹³ The skeleton sits where the physicians would be seated in the theater, but it also takes the place of the Physician overseer and mocks the role of the traditional lector, who would point towards the body parts with a pole, similar to the one the skeleton appears to hold.

Vesalius' method of teaching as he conducted the dissection himself didn't catch on right away, but the study of human anatomy through direct observation and dissection of the human body was becoming extremely popular. In England in 1540, Henry VIII gave the newly merged Barber-Surgeon's Company their first charter,¹⁴ and granted them the bodies of four hanged criminals a year for public anatomy lectures.¹⁵ Jonathan Sawday notes that while the Barber-Surgeons were granted four bodies per year for dissection, the number of hanged criminals in the last few years of Henry's reign averaged five hundred - sixty annually. Capital

¹³ See Haslam, 259.

¹⁴ The scene of Henry VIII's presentation of the charter is presented in a painting by Hans Holbein, currently hanging in London's Barber-Surgeon's Hall. See Jessie Dobson and R. Milnes Walker, *Barbers and Barber-Surgeons of London: A History of the Barbers and Barber-Surgeons Companies* (Oxford: Blackwell Scientific, 1979), 34. For analysis of the painting see Lynda Payne, "A Spedie Reformation: Barber Surgeons, Anatomization and Medicine in Tudor London" In *Paracelsian Moments: Science, Medicine and Astrology in Early Modern Europe*. edited by Gerhild Sholz-Williams, Charles Gunnoe, jr. (Kirksville, Missouri: Truman State University Press, 2002), 71-92.

¹⁵ A public anatomy was one conducted on the body of any executed felon which had arrived in the college under statutory provision for the supply of corpses from the hangman. The College of Physicians also conducted 'private' anatomies, where the corpse was supplied by the anatomist himself. By the early eighteenth century, private anatomy schools were flourishing as well. Ruth Richardson, 39.

crimes included murder and “poaching, counterfeiting, forgery, sheep stealing, killing a cow, looting, pickpocketing, shoplifting, burglary, associating with gypsies, entering land with intent to kill rabbits, chipping stone from Westminster Bridge, bigamy, vandalism, and theft of a master’s goods by a servant.”¹⁶ The age of moral responsibility or culpability permitted children as young as seven years of age to be hanged for these offenses.¹⁷ Just twenty years later, Elizabeth I granted four bodies a year to the Barber-Surgeon’s university-trained rivals, the College of Physicians, perhaps indicating a new willingness by the physicians to perform anatomical dissections with their own hands. The number of hanged criminals dropped to one hundred - forty per year by the time of Elizabeth’s reign. By 1640 the number of hanged criminals had continued to decrease, now averaging eighty – ninety per year. Jonathan Sawday points out that the bodies of these criminals were in high demand; The College of Physicians was allowed six bodies per year, the Barber-Surgeons were allowed four, the Royal Society¹⁸ was granted access to the

¹⁶ Kirstin Olsen, *Daily Life in 18th-Century England*. (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1999), 213.

¹⁷ *Ibid*

¹⁸ “The origins of the Royal Society lie in an 'invisible college' of natural philosophers who began meeting in the mid-1640s to discuss the new philosophy of promoting knowledge of the natural world through observation and experiment, which we now call science.” The Royal Society was officially founded November 28, 1660, when a group of 12 met at Gresham College after a lecture by Christopher Wren, then the Gresham Professor of Astronomy, and decided to found “a Colledge for the Promoting of Physico-Mathematicall Experimentall Learning”. (<http://royalsociety.org/about-us/history>) accessed February 26, 2013.

bodies, as were other societies, companies and guilds such as “butchers, tailors and waxchandlers.” These groups profited by making candles from human fat for magic or curative use. They also used the bodies to learn the lucrative skill of embalming.¹⁹ The number of legally available bodies from the gallows fell as the need for bodies for dissection grew, perhaps indicating that the fear of being dissected may have had an effect on criminal behavior.²⁰

The Idle Prentise Executed at Tyburn

The number of hangings during Hogarth’s time (1697-1764) continued to decline but still averaged about eighty per year. Hangings took place every six weeks at the gallows in London, known as the Tyburn Tree, a three-sided gallows that allowed for multiple hangings at once. The atmosphere on Hanging Day was like a carnival, as depicted by Hogarth in one of his prints: *The Idle Prentise Executed at Tyburn* (Figure 3). It is one of the scenes from Hogarth’s moralizing series, *Industry and Idleness*. In this image, the character Tom Idle is being brought to the Tyburn for hanging, having fallen into crime through idleness. The scene depicts hanging day and the crowds that swarm to see the spectacle.

Philosopher and physician Bernard de Mandeville stated that those who attended public executions were “Amongst the lower Rank, and working People,

¹⁹ Jonathan Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned: Dissection and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 56-57.

²⁰ *Ibid*

the idlest, and such as are most fond of making Holidays, with Prentices and Journeymen to the meanest Trades, are the most honourable Part of these floating Multitudes. All the rest are worse... All the Way, from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*, is one continued Fair, for Whores and Rogues of the meaner Sort.”²¹

Hogarth’s print shows the crowd that Mandeville describes as the prisoner arrives from Newgate prison. In the distance the gallows known as the Tyburn Tree stands out above the crowd. Sometimes called the “Triple Tree,” it was a three-sided gallows that allowed several executions at once. On one of the top beams the executioner can be seen calmly smoking his pipe as he awaits the prisoner. In the foreground a woman holding a baby is selling “The last dying Speech & Confession of—Tho. Idle,” an obvious fake considering that Idle is still on the cart to the left and hasn’t yet made it to the gallows to give his dying speech. It was the task of the Ordinary, the chaplain of Newgate prison, to write an account of the events leading up to execution, including the condemned criminals confession and last words.²² The Ordinary was charged with providing spiritual care to prisoners who were condemned to death and to preside over the hanging. He is seen in

²¹ Bernard de Mandeville, *An Enquiry into the Causes of the Frequent Executions at Tyburn: And A Proposal for Some Regulations Concerning Felons in Prison, and the Good Effects to be Expected from Them* (London: J Roberts, 1726) Reprint intro. by Malvin R. Zirker, Jr., Augustan Reprint Society Publication no. 105 (Los Angeles: Clark Memorial Library, 1964), 20.

²² Peter Linebaugh, “The Ordinary of Newgate and his Account,” in J. S. Cockburn, ed., *Crime in England 1550-1800* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), 247.

Hogarth's print riding in a carriage in front of the procession. Thomas Idle is in a separate cart behind the Ordinary's carriage. He leans against his coffin, which bears the insignia T.I.; a coffin that will be used briefly to transport his body to the anatomists, as alluded to by the skeletons that border the print. A Methodist preacher has joined Tom in the cart and urges him to repent in his final moments. Hogarth was exposing how the Ordinary was less concerned with the prisoner's spiritual wellbeing than his own profit. The accounts of the Ordinary sold for three to six pence and print runs ran into the thousands. As a result, this was a lucrative sideline for the Ordinary.

To the far right in the foreground stands a known figure, a celebrated vendor of Gingerbread called "Tiddy Doll," a nickname conferred on him from a song he would sing as he sold his wares.²³ Known for his flamboyant clothing, he attended all of the "metropolitan fairs, mob meetings, Lord Mayor's shows, public executions and all other holiday and festive gatherings!"²⁴ He is holding a gingerbread cake in his left hand and seems to be preparing to throw it to or at Tom Idle. Others nearby are in the process of throwing things at the felon. A man in the foreground to the left prepares to throw a small dog at Idle. Henry Fielding wrote that after attending a hanging a "great numbers of Cats and Dogs were sacrificed,

²³ Identified as Tiddy Doll, 'the well-known vendor of Ginger bread' in William Hogarth, *Anecdotes of William Hogarth: Written by Himself* (London: J. B. Nichols and sons, 1833), 223.

²⁴ Charles Hindley, *A History of the Cries of London, Ancient and Modern* (London: Reeves and Turner, 1881), 108.

and converted into missile weapons....”²⁵ A fight has broken out just to the left of the man with the dog, where a man lies on the ground next to a crying infant while a woman appears to beat the man with her fist. It is unclear whether the man was holding the infant or has knocked the child from the woman’s arms causing the woman’s anger. Another man, possibly drunk, staggers to get up by hanging onto an apple cart, nearly tipping it over in the process. The apples could be bought as food, but are probably there to hurl at the felon. Constables with truncheons are seen in front of both carts, beating down the crowd and clearing the way to the gallows. In the background is a wooden grandstand crowded with onlookers. Seats could be bought in the grandstand, but most spectators stood near the gallows and tried to get close to the criminals, especially after hanging. The corpses were believed to have curious medicinal properties and onlookers tried to get close enough to touch them, to collect their sweat (a healing tonic), or to steal an article of clothing as a trophy or to sell. The clothing and the rope rightfully belonged to the hangman, who could then charge a fee for viewing at the local pub.²⁶ Families and friends of the hanged often fought to take the body for burial and to prevent the anatomists from taking what was lawfully theirs.

²⁵ Henry Fielding, “Modern History, March 28” *The Covent-Garden Journal*, no.1. January 23 (1752) 47. <http://books.google.com/books?id=910TAAAAQAAJ> (accessed October 8, 2012).

²⁶ Payne, 128.

Prejudice in Punishment

Due to unintentional prejudice in the laws, death by hanging was a more common occurrence among the poor who were more likely to break certain laws, such as those pertaining to trespassing in order to hunt for food. Such biased laws passed by Parliament inadvertently reflected the prevailing disdain for the lower class.²⁷ Bernard de Mandeville approved of the public dissections for the scientific advances that could be achieved, and while his thinking may appear enlightened, his prejudice towards to lower class is clear. He wrote:

I have no Design that savours of Cruelty, or even Indecency, towards a human Body; but shall endeavour to demonstrate, that the superstitious Reverence of the Vulgar for a Corpse, even of a Malefactor, and the strong Aversion they have against dissecting them, are prejudicial to the Publick; For as Health and sound Limbs are the most desirable of all Temporal Blessings, so we ought to encourage the Improvement of Physick and Surgery, wherever it is in our Power. The Knowledge of Anatomy is inseparable from the Studies of either; and it is almost impossible for a Man to understand the Inside of our Bodies, without having seen several of them skilfully dissected.²⁸

He further stated that, ‘When Persons of no Possessions of their own, that have slipp’d no Opportunity of wronging whomever they could, die without Restitution, indebted to the Publick, ought not the injur’d Publick to have a Title to, and the

²⁷ A topic of great debate, the changing attitudes towards the poor is a broad topic, and while it necessary to expose a small part of the prejudice in this thesis, it is not meant to be an over-simplification of the subject, the depth of which is beyond the scope of this thesis. See Richardson, 144-148 and George R. Boyer, *An Economic History of the English Poor Law, 1750-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

²⁸ Mandeville, 27.

Disposal of, what the others have left?”²⁹

These utilitarian and objectifying conceptions of felons’ bodies directly conflicted with popular beliefs held by the lower classes to which these felons typically belonged. Dissection was seen as a horrible fate because, beyond simply being disrespectful to the dead, it made it impossible to “ensure the dead’s peaceful departure from this world.”³⁰ As historian Roy Porter put it, there was a terrible fear of dissection as a spiritual assault due to the common belief that a body so disfigured would be “condemned to wander, mutilated and with identity lost, through eternity.”³¹ There was a prevailing belief that the body and soul were closely connected, that “the soul slept in the grave...being present in or near the body after death.”³² Dissection was a punishment that reached beyond earthly existence.

In 1751, William Hogarth created a ‘dissection as punishment’ scene in an engraving that borrowed many of the elements found in Vesalius’ Frontispiece. As part of his Modern Moral Subjects series, titled *The Four Stages of Cruelty*, the final print of the series presents *The Reward of Cruelty* (Figure 4). Here Hogarth

²⁹ *Ibid*

³⁰ Peter Linebaugh, “The Tyburn Riot Against the Surgeons,” in *Albion’s Fatal Tree*, ed. Douglas Hay, Peter Linebaugh, John G. Rule, E.P. Thompson, and Cal Winslow (New York: Pantheon Books, 1975), 109.

³¹ Roy Porter, *Flesh in the Age of Reason, The Modern Foundations of Body and Soul* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2003), 223.

³² Ruth Richardson, 16.

depicts the public dissection of a fictional criminal, Tom Nero. In the first plate of the series, Tom is shown torturing a dog for pleasure. In the second he is a grown man beating a horse. By the third he is shown standing over the woman he has just murdered. Hogarth had hoped that by drawing attention to the cruelty to animals by young men, his series might serve as a warning to stop such behavior and prevent young men from starting down this path that would ultimately lead to the same fate as Tom Nero. Hogarth stated in an interview that "...there is no part of my works of which I am so proud, and in which I now feel so happy, as in the series of *The Four Stages of Cruelty*, because I believe the publication of the theme had checked the diabolical spirit of barbarity to the brute creation which, I'm sorry to say, was once so prevalent in this country."³³

Whether Hogarth's work actually curtailed the "spirit of barbarity" is purely speculative, but his work may have had some influence on the passing of The Murder Act of 1752. This decreed that the bodies of hanged murderers would be dissected as part of their punishment, and would be denied burial. The Murder Act served two purposes. As historian Jonathan Sawday explains, "two birds were to be killed with one stone [and] the demands of 'justice' mingled with the prospect of

³³ European Magazine, June 1801 (European Magazine, published in London, ran from 1782 until 1826, publishing eighty-nine volumes. As the European Magazine and London Review it was launched in January 1782, promising to offer "the Literature, History, Politics, Arts, Manners, and Amusements of the Age.") <http://etext.virginia.edu/bsuva/euromag/1EM.html> (accessed November 2, 2012).

deterrence... Whilst, equally, the needs of ‘science’ could be fulfilled.”³⁴ Thus the Murder Act was created as a solution for providing what might be deemed an acceptable supply of bodies for the several anatomical schools throughout London, and as a deterrent to murder.³⁵ A young man named John Bell stoically stood through his eight hour murder trial and never reacted, even when he was sentenced to death by hanging. However, when the judge added that his body was to be dissected as well, Bell began to cry.³⁶ The law exploited a belief in the Protestant faith that, on the Day of Judgment, the body will be resurrected from the grave and the person will stand before God. Many believed a body so disassembled by

³⁴ Jonathan Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned: Dissection and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture* (London & New York: Routledge, 1995), 55.

³⁵ The Murder Act did not abate fears concerning bodysnatching. Nor did the Act do anything to improve anatomical education. Although it allowed for a supply of fresh bodies for dissection, The Murder Act decreed that surgeons, and not their assistants, were to perform the dissections and most wanted nothing to do with it and often paid a fine rather than perform the dissection in order to avoid the carnival-like atmosphere of the dissection hall. In fact, few medical professionals attended the dissections. It was an open public spectacle, and the crowds swarmed in to see the murderer receive his or her just reward or to feed their morbid curiosity. It was impossible to hear the lecture over the jeering crowd or to get close enough to see. The crowd often turned on the surgeon who had now become inextricably linked to dissection as punishment, not education. Surgeons became and continued to be the object of public loathing and ridicule until the Anatomy Act of 1832 finally severed the links between dissection and punishment. Simon Chaplin, “Curious Eyes and Steady Hands - Anatomists in Georgian London.” Lecture, Gresham College Lectures, London. www.gresham.ac.uk/professors-and-speakers/simon-chaplin (Accessed 16 July 2012).

³⁶ Druin Birch, *Digging up the Dead: Uncovering the Life and Times of an Extraordinary Surgeon* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2007), 57.

dissection could never be resurrected in order to stand in judgment and therefore the person could never make it to heaven. The fear of being denied resurrection and eternal salvation transcended execution.³⁷ This fate was deemed appropriate for one who had committed murder, and it was hoped that the fear of dissection would serve to deter one from committing murder, just as Hogarth hoped his prints would do.

The Reward of Cruelty

In Hogarth's print *The Reward of Cruelty*, a tattoo of the initials T M on the cadaver's arm identifies Tom Nero in order to ensure that the viewer knows that the man being dissected is the murderer from the previous prints and not a criminal of a lesser charge. It was also necessary to identify Nero because the print could be misidentified and confused with the assumed end of Tom Idle. The hangman's noose is still looped around Nero's neck to remind the viewer of his method of execution. A large eye-bolt has been screwed directly into the Nero's head and is attached to a large pulley system. Nero's face is contorted as if in pain as one of the assistants rather inelegantly dissects his eye, a contrivance on Hogarth's part to add to the horror of dissection. The composition is similar to Vesalius' dissection scene, but the academic lecturer who sits on the "high chair" is present, showing that Vesalius' hands-on approach had not caught on in London at least. Hogarth has

³⁷ Haslam, 280.

identified him as the president of the Royal College of Surgeons, John Freke.³⁸ He sits outside of the dissection area and points towards the body with a rod, leaving the dirty work to the anatomists. The anatomist in the center does not wear protective sleeves as the others do. Instead, he has rolled up his sleeves and is shown thrusting his bare hand into the chest cavity through the large abdominal opening. The president points to an area in the chest as the anatomist reaches in to retrieve an organ, possibly the liver or a lung.

The bowel has already been removed and is being placed in a basket on the floor. Nero's heart is lying on the floor next to the basket of intestines and has caught the interest of a dog. The dog is probably there for a comparative anatomy dissection later, as in Vesalius's print, but this time the dog is active in the storyline and is shown ready to feed on Nero's heart; poetic revenge for the torture Nero inflicted on a dog in the first plate of the print series.³⁹

The setting is said to be an imaginary setting that contains elements of the Barber-Surgeons theatre (no longer in use at the time of this engraving), the Cutlerian Theatre of the Royal College of Physicians and of the new but as yet unused Surgeons Hall, built close to Newgate.⁴⁰ Gathered around the amphitheater

³⁸ John Ireland, *Anecdotes of William Hogarth, Written by Himself: With Essays on His Life and Genius, and Criticisms on his Work* (London: J.B. Nichols and Son, 1833), 236.

³⁹ Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth: Art and Politics, 1750–64 Vol 4* (Cambridge, U.K.: Lutterworth Press, 1993), 28.

⁴⁰ Haslam, 258.

are physicians, scholars, clergy and nobility. The scholars in the front row can be identified by the mortar-boards on their heads. One to the far right holds an open book, following Vesalius' teachings that the written descriptions of anatomy must always be compared to what is actually observed. The physicians in the back, who can be identified by their wigs and canes, largely ignore the dissection and consult among themselves. Nero's finger seems to point to the boiling bones being prepared for eventual display, indicating his own ultimate fate.⁴¹ The two articulated skeletons in the background recall the large skeleton in the Vesalius print, but these skeletons are labeled "James Field" and "Maclean", both real-life murderers recently executed in London and now displayed, just as Nero's skeleton will soon be.⁴² They appear to point accusingly at one another, a type of *Memento-Mori*, warning the viewer of their own fate should they choose to do wrong.⁴³

Hogarth's print, *The Reward of Cruelty*, is clearly influenced by Vesalius's

⁴¹ Most cadavers were made into skeletons, a long and arduous process. Lynda Payne describes passages from a 1685 book by surgeon and physician James Cooke, in which he describes the necessary steps to prepare a skeleton for display, as being "read in parts like an elaborate cookbook." See Payne, 73.

⁴² James Field was a boxer who had a reputation as a violent thief. His name makes an appearance in an earlier print of the series, the *Second Stage of Cruelty*. A poster on the building to the left announcing a boxing match features his name.

⁴³ A typical *Memento-Mori* is a reminder of one's own mortality. It is often symbolized by a skeleton and the words "As you are now, I once was. As I am now, you will be." The skeletons in Hogarth's print serve as a reminder and a warning.

frontispiece, including the arrangement of the crowd and the setting.⁴⁴ There is a difference in the depiction of Hogarth's scene from that of Vesalius, however, in that it lacks the sense of awe that seemed to be shared by the members of the crowd in the Vesalius' frontispiece. This is purposeful on Hogarth's part, to imbue the scene with a detachment and disregard for the criminal as a person. As part of the punishment, the murderer's body has become a 'thing' to be dissected and dismembered and the parts discarded or preserved as specimens. The anatomists seem to work with little regard for Tom as a person. Hogarth had attended dissections given by the leading anatomists of the day, including William and John Hunter, and he would have seen firsthand the detachment with which these anatomists worked.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ The dissection theater has features of the Cutlerian Theatre of the Royal College of Physicians, particularly the throne, which bears their arms, and the curved wall and niches of the Barber-Surgeons' Hall (which was not used for dissection after the surgeons split away to form the Company of Surgeons in 1745).

⁴⁵ Hogarth lived next door to the famed anatomist John Hunter, and was invited to see and draw some of the cadavers being dissected by John or his brother William, as noted in this letter by William Hunter, written while preparing specimens for his book, *Atlas of the Gravid Uterus*; "You cannot conceive of anything lying snugger than the foetus in utero. This puts me in mind of Hogarth. He came to me when I had a gravid uterus to open and was amazingly pleased. 'Good God', cried he, 'how snug and compleat the child lies. I defy our painters at St. Martin's Lane to put a child in such a situation.' He had a good eye... and in drawing afterwards very well expressed it."

Martin Hopkinson, "William Hunter, William Hogarth and 'The Anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus'". *Burlington Magazine*, 116 (March 1984), 156-9.

CHAPTER 3

A NECESSARY INHUMANITY

William Hunter advocated the need for a certain detachment in physicians, particularly surgeons. He told his students, “Anatomy is the Basis of Surgery, it informs the head, guides the hand, and familiarizes the heart to a kind of *necessary inhumanity*”.¹ During this period before the discovery of anesthetics in the nineteenth century, surgery was a brutal affair. The patient had to be restrained during an operation and endured great pain. The surgeon needed to persevere and attend to the task at hand, despite the patient’s screams of pain and thrashing about. Wendy Moore says that William Blake’s character Jack Tearguts from *Island on the Moon* “was almost certainly based on John Hunter,” whom Blake knew.² Not only did Hunter have several acquaintances in common with Blake; they also lived in the same neighborhood. Blake’s protagonist says of Jack Tearguts, “He’ll plunge his knife in to the hilt in a single drive, and thrust his fist in, and all in the space of a Quarter of an hour. He does not mind the crying, tho’ they cry ever so. He’ll swear at them & keep them down with his fist & tell them that he’ll scrape their

¹ William Hunter, *Introductory Lecture to Students* [c. 1780], St Thomas’s Hospital, MS 55 (London: printed by order of the trustees for J. Johnson, 1784) Quoted in Ruth Richardson, *Death, Dissection, and the Destitute* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 31.

² Lynda Payne states in a footnote that Blake lived around the corner from John Hunter from 1782-84 at 23 Green Street. Payne, 125. Also see Moore, 235.

bones if they don't lay still & be quiet.”³

The Amputation

Thomas Rowlandson depicts a surgical scene that illustrates the apparent indifference of the surgeons to the screams of the patient in *Amputation* (Figure 5). The male patient is sitting in a chair, his left leg tied to the leg of the chair. His right leg is outstretched to a small footstool and the surgeon bears down on it with his own right leg to hold it in place as he saws through the patient's leg, amputating it just below the knee. Blood pours from the incision into a basin on the floor due to the fact that no tourniquet is being employed to repress the blood loss. Tourniquets were commonly in use by this time and the omission of the tourniquet is possibly purposeful.⁴ Fiona Haslam states that the lack of a tourniquet could have been “in connection with the subsequent loss of life- the ultimate blood-letting- or the perceived hastiness on the part of the surgeons to amputate without due care and consideration for the outcome.”⁵ The foot appears to be perfectly healthy,

³ Quoted in Payne, 125.

⁴ There was debate regarding the use of tourniquets, one that is sometimes relevant even in today's operating rooms. The tourniquet can do damage to the limb and blood vessels as it squeezes tight enough to shut off arterial blood flow distally. At the time of Rowlandson's print, Petit's Screw, a screw type of tourniquet introduced in 1718 by Jean-Louis Petit was widely in use, an improvement over the older type of circumferential band tightened by twisting. See John Kirkup, *A History of Limb Amputation* (London: Springer, 2009), 69.

⁵ Haslam, 274.

indicating that hastiness may have been a factor in the assessment of the patient as well. The patient is clearly in agony- his hands are clenched tightly into fists, his mouth and eyes are open wide- but the faces of those around him show no concern. The physician to the right, identifiable by his tri-cornered hat and sword, watches the proceedings with an air of leisure. The man standing behind the patient adjusts his spectacles as he pushes the patient's head back in order to get a better view of the procedure.

Fiona Haslam describes the man to the far left as an assistant who is holding "a knife for the next stage of the surgery and a crutch under his arm for the patient's use on completion of the operation."⁶ What Haslam describes as a crutch is actually a wooden peg leg, an example of which can be seen in Hogarth's print of the hanging of Tom Idle (Figure 6).⁷ The wooden leg in the amputation scene is freshly carved and ready to be fitted to the patient. In reality, the wound would have to heal substantially first, but Rowlandson's inclusion of the assistant in the act of carving the wooden leg serves two purposes; First, it adds to the overall inhumane treatment of the patient by implying that as soon as the surgery is over, the leg will be attached and he will be sent on his way. Second, Rowlandson is

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ The wooden leg had two long bars at the top that came up on each side of the thigh, as seen in the print. Straps or bandages would then be wrapped around to hold the leg in place. The man in Hogarth's print uses the 'peg-leg' even though he has not yet lost his foot to amputation, indicating an injury or more likely, some disease process that will eventually lead to amputation.

comparing the surgeon who works on bones to a woodworker. The whittling of the wood is similar to the ‘whittling’ of the bone, and the surgical tools, both in the hand of the surgeon and spilling from the bag on the floor, are carpentry tools repurposed for surgery. The surgeons wear carpenter’s aprons to protect their clothes, as well as protective sleeves. Only the man seated behind the patient and holding him fast to the chair seems to interact with the patient, perhaps speaking words of comfort and reassurance into his ear, to no avail.⁸

On the wall to the right is a “List of Examined and Approved Surgeons” with such names as ‘Samuel Sawbone’ and ‘Launcelot Slashmuscle.’ Over the door to the left is the label “The Surgery,” suggesting that the room beyond the door is the operating room. The room in which the amputation is being performed is apparently a dissection room. Behind the group, a cadaver lies on a table and the room is cluttered with articulated skeletons that seem to react to the horror before them. On the floor to the right is a barrel of discarded bones. Rowlandson shows that the patient hasn’t even been given the dignity of having his operation in an

⁸ In 1727, Daniel Turner published a discourse on fevers which included ‘letters’ on the conduct and character of a physician. *A Discourse Concerning Fevers in Two Letters to a Young Physician, Directing his Regimen for the Cure, and his Conduct to the Sick Person*. See Payne, 101. William Hunter’s lectures also included advice on proper conduct. See Payne, 119.

Thomas Percival’s *Medical Code of Ethics* wasn’t printed until 1803. In it he admonished surgeons to speak to the patient and intermittently reassure them. He also suggested that they clean away any blood from previous surgeries and hide the tools or anything that would “excite fear.” The bones and the cadaver in the room in Rowlandson’s image show that these surgeons were not concerned with the patient’s fears.

actual operating room, but is instead relegated to the dissection room, his leg another body part in a room full of body parts.

The Dissection Room

Dissection rooms of this type were numerous throughout London. Vesalius' assertion that knowledge of the human body could only come from dissection of the human body had become the accepted principle of anatomical study. Surgeons and anatomists advertised public dissections as well as private anatomy lessons through dissection. While many, such as the Company of Surgeon's Hall, only allowed observation of a dissection performed by the anatomist, schools such as the one run by William Hunter endeavored to instruct the students in the 'Paris manner,' which meant providing the students with their own cadavers to dissect. William Hunter had visited Paris and was impressed with the manner of hands on teaching of anatomy, but most of his training had occurred in Glasgow and his teaching methods were greatly influenced by the methods used there. Lynda Payne suggests that 'the Paris manner' carried more advertising cachet for Hunter's new school than 'the Glasgow manner.'⁹

Thomas Rowlandson gives a glimpse into what one of these classes might have looked like at Hunter's Great Windmill Street Anatomy School in *The Dissecting Room* (Figure 7). Rowlandson depicts William Hunter overseeing his

⁹ Lynda Payne, 105.

class in the middle of what could well be described as a feeding frenzy.¹⁰

Rowlandson depicts a room full of eager dissectors, who do not seem to be adversely affected by the sights and smells before them, focusing only on the discovery of human anatomy. One of Hunter's students, William Cruikshank, wrote of the horrible smell in the dissecting room and stated that the students often were "seized with *diarrhoera*, as soon as they began their dissecting."¹¹

Depicted here in this attic with skylight windows are the Hunters and some of their students performing anatomical dissections on human cadavers.¹² The original of Rowlandson's print is in The Royal College of Surgeons. When the College included the print in an article for the February 1949 edition of the Annals

¹⁰ *Ibid*, 146.

¹¹ P. Clare, *An Essay on the Cure of Abscesses by Caustic* (London: 1779), 117. Cruikshank's remarks appear in the Appendix.

¹² Some of the students identified in the image are Howison, Hewson, Pitcairn, and Baillie, all students of the Hunters, but at different times and Baillie was not in London until six years after Hewson's death, making this gathering a fantasy group or the labels are incorrect. See Payne, 141.

of the Royal College of Surgeons, some of the figures were labeled.¹³ According to the labels, the figure standing above the fray is William Hunter, pointing with his right hand to guide the students in their exploration. To his right is his brother John and to John's right is William Cruikshank. Tobias Smollett, a longtime friend of the Hunters, is standing over the shoulder of a student on the right. He is identifiable as a physician by the tri-cornered hat under his arm, which Rowlandson included for identification only, for according to one of the helpful hints included in the anatomy school's student manual, "A cap should be worn in preference to a hat, which is not only inconvenient, but also quickly acquires a bad smell..." in the dissecting room.¹⁴ The center group is focused on the abdomen of the cadaver while the man at the head shifts his feet for leverage as he intently dissects the eye, echoing the anatomist dissecting the eye in Hogarth's dissection scene *The Rewards of Cruelty*. Hogarth's print is further referenced by the cascading of the bowel from the cadaver to the left, echoing Nero's bowel trailing down to the floor

¹³ Rowlandson did not label any of the figures and the annal does not disclose the method used to identify the persons alleged to be represented in the image, but it possibly comes from an 1838 print of the image owned by The British Museum. On the *verso* is a note listing those in attendance. The accuracy of these labels on a print created almost fifty years after the original is suspect, especially considering that all of these people could not have been in this place at one time, either having moved far away or died. It would seem more plausible that the center figure is John, guiding the students through the dissection and that William is the figure identified as Smollett, the tri-cornered hat denoting his status as a physician and differentiating him from John, a surgeon and therefore not a physician or doctor.

¹⁴ John Shaw, *A Manual of Anatomy* (London: G Hayden, 1822) xi. Quoted in Moore, 54.

and into the basket below his body.

Hanging on the walls and the ceiling are skeletons of humans and animals. On the wall to the right is also a bust that appears to oversee the proceedings. It has been suggested that this is the bust of Galen.¹⁵ Also on the wall are three posters; the one in the middle is an anatomical chart. The larger poster to the left reads; “Rules to be Observed While Dissecting.” The other is titled “Prices for Bodies” and lists prices offered for cadavers, according to sex and age, alluding to the methods by which bodies were procured for the school.

¹⁵ Haslam, 279.

CHAPTER 4

THE ANATOMY SCHOOL

The Hunter brothers had reached celebrity status through their dissections and lectures, and the sheer number of dissections they performed cast suspicion on the origins of the bodies they dissected. These classes became so popular that the number of anatomy schools and surgeon's guilds increased and the demand for cadavers outstripped the legal supply. Bodies were supplied for these schools from prisons and the unclaimed bodies of the poor, but as demand increased, some anatomists turned to more clandestine means and obtained bodies from grave robbers. William Hunter warned his students that "in a country where liberty disposes the people to licentiousness and outrage, and where anatomists are not legally supplied with dead bodies, particular care should be taken to avoid giving offence to the popular or to the prejudices of our neighbours."¹

Resurrection Men

The prejudice was already well in place, as Rowlandson's *Resurrection Men* (Figure 8) attests. The title not only refers to the name given the men who dug up freshly buried bodies and sold them to the anatomists, but also to the fact that these men perpetrated a resurrection of the body that was premature to the

¹ Dr. William Hunter, *Two Introductory Lectures* (London: J. Johnson, 1784), 141. Quoted in Payne, 42.

anticipated resurrection on Judgment Day. The crest on the coffin lid reads; RESURGAM – “I will rise again” referring to the Christian belief in resurrection. Rowlandson depicts the two men going about their nefarious business. One holds a large cloth bag from above as the other straddles the legs of the body and pulls the bag down over it, stuffing it in headfirst. An animated skeleton holds a lantern for them.

Accounts by the resurrectionists and anecdotes from *The Diary of a Resurrectionist: 1811-1812*, corroborate the setting and paraphernalia depicted in the scene. The sack was such a part of the stock and trade of the resurrectionists that they were sometimes referred to as “sack-‘em-up men.”² The full coffin in Rowlandson’s image is the only anomaly, and is there for effect. It is an emblem that reminds the viewer of the family who selected and had made this coffin as the final resting place for their loved one. Rowlandson has made sure the lid was visible so that the *Resurgam* crest could be read, a play on words. Stories from the resurrectionists however, state that the coffin was rarely removed. The fairly shallow grave was excavated near the top exposing the head of the coffin, which would then be broken open and the body slid out through the opening. All of the grave-goods, jewelry and clothing would be returned to the coffin and reburied. It was only a misdemeanor to steal a body, which wasn’t seen as real property- it

² From the manuscript in the British Library quoted in J.B. Bailey, *The Diary of a Resurrectionist: 1811-1812: To Which are Added an Account of the Resurrection Men in London and a Short History of the Passing of the Anatomy Act* (London: S. Sonnenschein, 1896), 27.

can't be owned, so it can't be stolen. The theft of the clothes or jewelry was a felony however, and was a hanging offense.³ The other element in the print that is, of course, imaginary is the skeleton holding the lantern.

The Dissection Room

The animated skeleton appears again in Rowlandson's *The Dissection Room* (Figure 9). It could be seen as the next print in a series, were it drawn as such. The body taken from the grave in the last image now arrives at the anatomy school. The scene shows bodies being dissected, bodies awaiting dissection and fresh bodies being delivered for later dissection. It indicates the prodigious amount of work that went into providing a fresh supply of bodies, and may be an accurate impression of a day-in-the-life at the anatomy school. One of the Hunter's students, James Williams, wrote to his sister of his living conditions at the school:

My room has two beds in it and in point of situation is not the most pleasant in the world. The Dissecting Room with half a dozen dead bodies in it is immediately above and that in which Mr. Hunter makes preparations is the next adjoining to it, so that you may conceive it to be a little perfumed. There is a dead carcass just at this moment rumbling up the stairs and the Resurrection Men swearing most terribly. I am informed this will be the case most mornings about four o'clock throughout the winter.⁴

In Rowlandson's print, the anatomist and his students are startled as the skeleton, representing death, bursts into the room, apparently to take the anatomist

³ Richardson, 58.

⁴ James Williams, Letter written to his sister on October 8, 1793. From Jesse Dobson, *John Hunter* (London: Livingstone, Ltd, 1969), 178. Quoted in Payne, 104.

himself, perhaps in revenge for those whose bodies have been deprived a peaceful resting place. Coming through the door to the right is a Resurrection Man, carrying what can be assumed from the previous print to be a body in a bag slung over his shoulder. There is another body, a woman, lying on the floor in front of the skeleton. Another dissection appears to be taking place in the background to the right. On the walls and shelves are prepared skeletons of humans and animals and numerous preserved specimens in jars.

CHAPTER 5

THE BONE COLLECTOR

Both Hunter brothers maintained a huge collection of human and animal specimens, preserved body parts and skeletons, and both created museums to hold their ever-growing collections. Unusual specimens were highly prized, and John, at least, did not always wait for the patient's death before trying to obtain the rights to own their body or body part.

John Hunter was known to obtain bodies from grave robbers, but he sometimes paid off those in charge of the body in order to obtain the body before burial, including undertakers, family and friends. John Hunter was quite different from his brother. Whereas William was well-spoken and polished, John was reported to have been coarse and prided himself on his lack of genteel learning, perhaps already possessing a bit of dispassion for his fellow humans. He went to great lengths to acquire unusual specimens. As one of his biographers wrote:

He was indeed a most resolute beggar for every specimen which particularly pleased him by its rarity, and which chanced to be in the possession of any of his friends. The late Dr, Clarke had a preparation of an extra-uterine pregnancy, in which the foetus had been detained in the fallopian tube, and had there undergone some development, when the mother died of haemorrhage, consequent on the rupture of the tube. On this specimen he set a high value, and Hunter had often viewed it with longing eyes. 'Come Doctor,' said he, 'I positively must have that preparation.' 'No, John Hunter,' was the reply, 'You positively shall not,' 'You will not give it to me then?' 'No.' 'Will you sell it?' 'No' 'Well then, take care I don't meet you with it in some dark lane at night, for if I do, I'll murder you to get it.'¹

¹ Conversation between John Hunter and Dr. Clarke relayed by the author in Drewry Ottley, *The Life of John Hunter* (London: Longman, 1835), 75.

The threat of murder was surely an exaggeration, but Hunter's desire for unusual specimens was well known. He even joked about it himself. In a letter to his friend Edward Jenner he mentioned a particular specimen and how he wished the owner would let him have it. "You see how greedy I am," he stated.²

The Irish Giant

His greed for unique specimens drove him at times to extreme measures to obtain them. One such specimen was the body of Charles Byrne, known as the "Irish Giant." Byrne was nearly eight feet tall and he toured as a curiosity throughout Ireland and England, eventually ending up in London, by which time he had become something of a celebrity. The legend was that his parents had conceived him atop a tall haystack, and this led to his extreme height. The aristocracy clamored to see Byrne, as depicted here in a drawing by Thomas Rowlandson, *The Irish Giant* (Figure 10). Byrne stands in the center of the room, his hand resting on the head of the second tallest man in the room. A poster on the wall announces him as "The surprising Irish Colossus, King of the Giants." In this print, the giant's height is prominent. He stands almost twice as tall as the others. One man stands on a chair for a better look, but is still not at the giant's eye level. A small dog is seen next to Byrne's right foot, barking towards the giant's face as if barking up a tree. A woman to the giant's left pulls back his coat in order to get a

² *Ibid*, 75.

better idea of the giant's possibly relative anatomical proportions, but the size of his feet seems to be the real object of attention. On the left, a young man has pulled one of Byrne's relatively huge boot onto his own leg. On the right, a young woman has placed both of her legs into the other boot as a man steadies her with his arm around her waist. A woman next to Byrne kneels and prepares to place her foot next to his.

Shortly after arriving in London, Byrne's health began to deteriorate quickly and he developed a severe drinking problem.³ The rumors of his failing health caused a stir in the medical community. There was a strong desire to obtain the Irish Giant's body, not just for study but also as a medical anomaly. Knowing that death was imminent, Byrne requested that his body be "thrown into the sea, in order that his bones might be placed far out of reach of the surgical fraternity."⁴ After his death, the *Morning Herald* reported, "The whole tribe of surgeons put in a claim for the poor departed Irish Giant and surrounded his house just as Greenland harpooners would an enormous whale."⁵

None of the surgeons, physicians or anatomists was more zealous than the famous (and infamous) John Hunter. The precise details are not known, but Hunter

³ His health problems were probably related to his condition, known today as Gigantism, a pituitary disorder. It is possible that he drank to escape the pain associated with Gigantism.

⁴ *Gentleman's Magazine*, 53 (1783), 541. Quoted in Moore, 212.

⁵ *Morning Herald*, June 5, 1783, BL. Quoted in Payne, 133.

disrespected Byrne's wishes and foiled the efforts of his professional colleagues by bribing the undertaker. The giant's friends drank at a nearby pub while the coffin was being made. The body was then to be thrown into the sea in accordance with Byrne's wishes. Hunter bribed the undertaker with the colossal sum of five hundred pounds. Byrne's body was sold to Hunter and the coffin filled with stones. Hunter hurriedly took the body home but was deprived of a leisurely dissection by his own fear of being discovered. Instead, he swiftly sliced up the body and boiled it down to the bones in a copper vat.⁶ Hunter kept the skeleton a secret for many years and only hinted at it in letters to his friends and in a portrait by his neighbor, Sir Joshua Reynolds (Figure 11).⁷ The body parts that seemed to garner so much attention at Byrne's public appearances, the large feet of the giant, are seen hanging behind Hunter, the bones discolored as a result of being boiled in the copper vat.

John Hunter was never charged with a crime in this case or any of the other incidents of body snatching to which he was linked. He always managed to keep

⁶ Charles Byrne's friends are said to have been tricked into throwing a coffin filled with stones into the sea. Byrne's skeleton is on display at the Hunterian Museum in London. There is currently a public movement for the release of the bones for burial at sea so that Byrne's final wishes may be at long last fulfilled. Donna Bowater, "The Irish giant 'should finally be buried at sea'" *The Telegraph* December, 2011. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/newstoppers> (Accessed October 7th, 2012).

⁷ The original painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds was and continues to be a problem for many reasons. Reynolds' notebooks state that Hunter was a bad sitter. Hunter's wife did not approve of the painting and Reynolds experimented with pigments and bitumen, which cracked and flaked. Copies have been made and conservators continue to try to salvage the original. See Selwyn Taylor, *John Hunter and his Painters* (Kent, U.K.: Invicta Printers, 1993), 3.

his involvement just out of reach of the law. He was cited once in a court case involving a man who was sent to prison for “fraudulently obtaining a corpse... and stripping and selling it to Mr. Hunter of Leicester Square,”⁸ but he himself was never indicted.

⁸ Jesse Dobson, *John Hunter* (Edinburgh : E. & S. Livingstone, 1969), 179. Quoted in Moore, 235.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Neither William nor John was ever indicted by law, but public opinion certainly cast them in a criminal shadow. The activities of the anatomists made them excellent subjects for satirical artists and caricaturists, who targeted the practices of the anatomists rather than the anatomists themselves. The images in this thesis provide a glimpse into an otherwise hidden world. A caricatured representation may seem to depict an imaginary setting, but when compared with contemporary descriptions of the places depicted, in this case the dissection rooms and anatomical theaters, the caricature can be believed as a fairly accurate representation of the actual environs. The same is true for the methods of the anatomists and the techniques of the surgeons. As Fiona Haslam states, the images “could not have functioned adequately without direct reference to actual practice. The activities portrayed were familiar enough to the viewer to be judged critically and for detailed artefacts to be recognized.” Rowlandson’s *Amputation* (Figure 3) is a good example. It is an accurate depiction of an amputation, only slightly exaggerated for effect. The image is a type of medical record of a surgical procedure in eighteenth-century London that can be compared with current knowledge of below-knee amputations, a procedure that has changed very little, most notably from the addition of sterile technique and anesthesia.

Haslam goes on to say that “(i)n addition to this aspect of medical practice, the images convey a good impression of popular beliefs and attitudes...”¹ The ability to convey a cultural belief, such as the fear of the Resurrection Men or the attitude that surgeons were unfeeling and inhumane is the thing that really sets these caricatured images apart from ‘fine art,’ which followed strict conventions. The distorted features that convey pain or the angry or expressionless face that conveys inhumanity tells the story of what is happening in the scene, who it is happening to and how they are affected by it. These images capture a moment in time. Because the caricaturist operates under alternative artistic conventions, a more complete picture is given, one that is, as Annibale Carricci said, “more true to life than reality itself.”²

¹ Haslam, 11.

² Quoted in Ernst Gombrich and Ernst Kris, *Caricature* (London: King Penguin Books, 1940), 11-12.

ILLUSTRATIONS



Figure 1

Gianlorenzo Bernini. *Caricature of Pope Innocent XI*. c. 1676.

Pen and ink, 11.4 x 18.2 cm

Museum der bildenden Künste, Leipzig.



Figure 2

Frontispiece 1543

De humani corporis fabrica or “On the Structure of the Human Body”

Woodcut, Basel



Figure 3

William Hogarth - *The Idle 'Prentice Executed at Tyburn* 1747

Etching and Engraving

British Museum



Figure 4

William Hogarth *The Reward of Cruelty* 1751,

British Museum



Figure 6

Detail, William Hogarth - *The Idle 'Prentice Executed at Tyburn 1747*

Etching and Engraving

British Museum



Figure 7

Thomas Rowlandson

The Dissecting Room c.1775

Graphite on paper



Figure 8

Thomas Rowlandson, *Resurrection Men*, 1783

Wellcome Library, London



Figure 9

Thomas Rowlandson, *Death in the Dissecting Room*, 1815

From *The English Dance of Death*, vol i

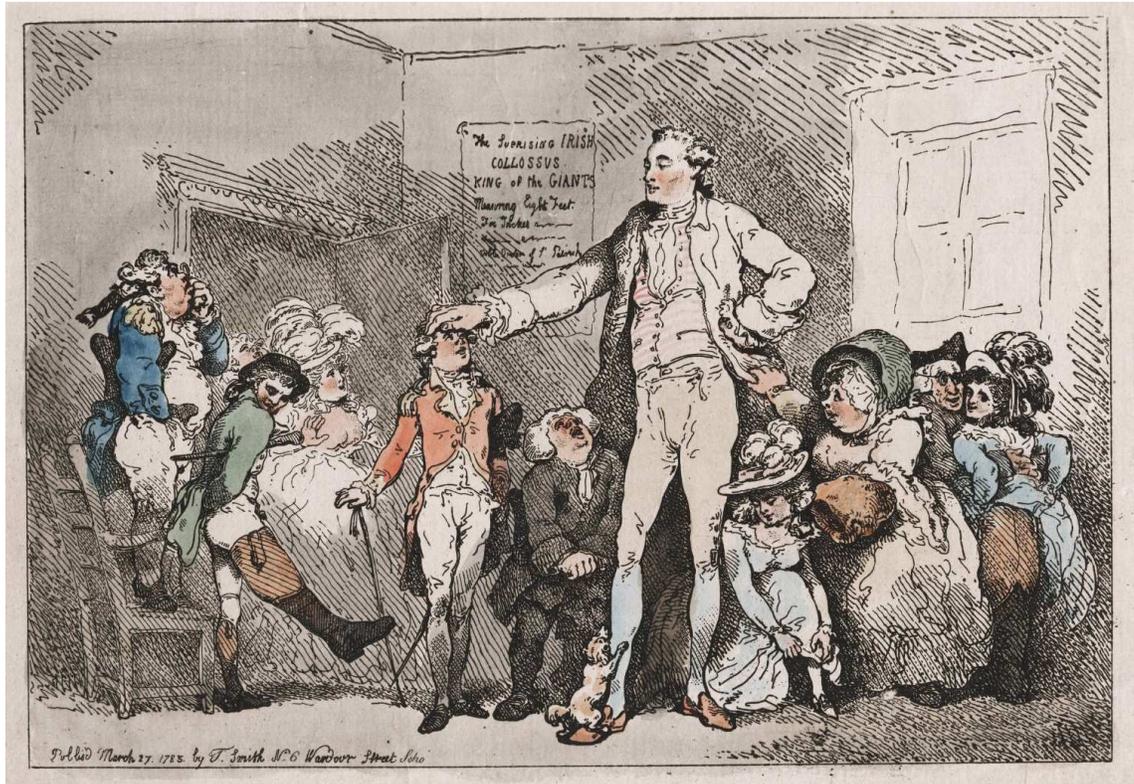


Figure 10

Thomas Rowlandson, *The Surprising Irish Giant of St. James's Street*, 1785

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Hand Colored Etching

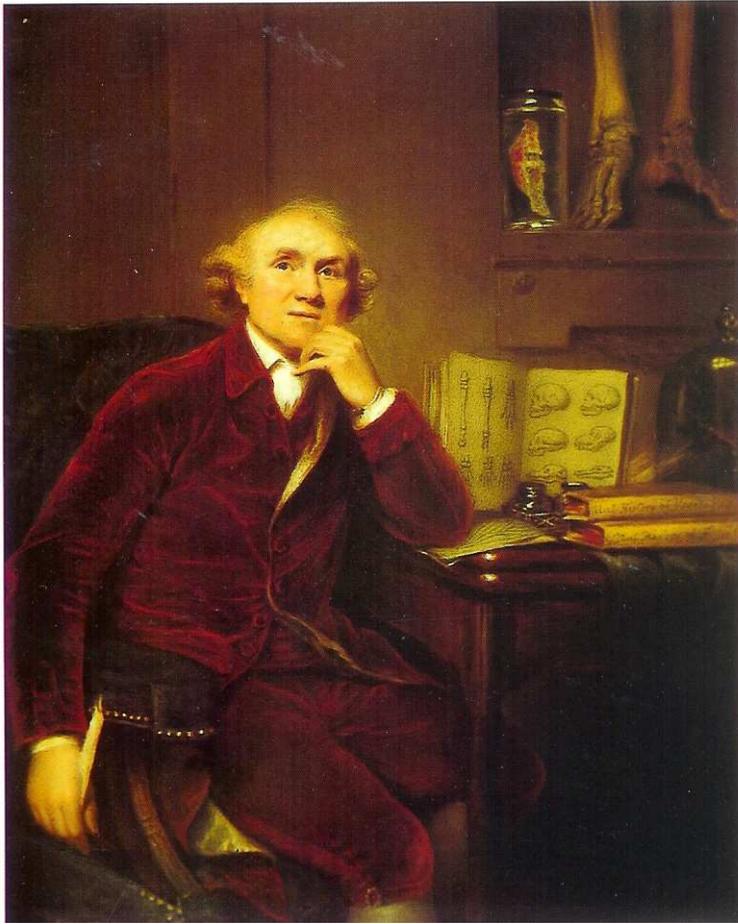


Figure 11

Sir Joshua Reynolds *Portrait of John Hunter* 1789

Royal College of Surgeons

50" x 45" Oil on canvas

Bibliography

- Bailey, J.B.. *The Diary of a Resurrectionist: 1811-1812: To Which are Added an Account of the Resurrection Men in London and a Short History of the Passing of the Anatomy Act*. London: S. Sonnenschein, 1896.
- Birch, Druin. *Digging up the Dead: Uncovering the Life and Times of an Extraordinary Surgeon*. London: Chatto & Windus, 2007.
- Bowater, Donna. "The Irish giant 'should finally be buried at sea'" *The Telegraph* December, 2011. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/newsttopics>
- Chaplin, Simon. "Curious Eyes and Steady Hands - Anatomists in Georgian London." Lecture, Gresham College Lectures, London. www.gresham.ac.uk/professors-and-speakers/simon-chaplin
- Clare, P. *An Essay on the Cure of Abscesses by Caustic*. London: T. Caddell, 1779.
- Dobson, Jesse. *John Hunter*. Edinburgh: E. & S. Livingstone, 1969.
- Dobson, Jessie and R. Milnes Walker. *Barbers and Barber-Surgeons of London: A History of the Barbers and Barber- Surgeons Companies*. Oxford: Blackwell Scientific, 1979.
- Henry Fielding, "Modern History, March 28" *The Covent-Garden Journal*, no.1. January 23 (1752) 47. <http://books.google.com/books?id=9l0TAAAAQAAJ>
- French, Roger K. *Dissection and Vivisection in the European Renaissance*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999.
- Gombich, Ernst and Ernst Kris, *Caricature*. London: King Penguin Books, 1940.
- Gross, Charles G. *Brain, Vision, Memory: Tales in the History of Neuroscience*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999.
- Haslam, Fiona. *From Hogarth to Rowlandson: Medicine in Eighteenth Century Britain*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1996.
- Hayes, Bill. *The Anatomist*. New York: Ballentine Press, 2008.
- Hindley, Charles. *A History of the Cries of London, Ancient and Modern*. London: Reeves and Turner, 1881.

- Hogarth, William. *Anecdotes of William Hogarth: Written by Himself*. London: J. B. Nichols and sons, 1833.
- Hopkinson, Martin. "William Hunter, William Hogarth and 'The Anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus'". *Burlington Magazine*, 116 (March 1984), pp. 156-9.
- Hunter, Dr. William. *Two Introductory Lectures*. St Thomas Manuscript 55. London: J. Johnson, 1784.
- Ireland, John. *Anecdotes of William Hogarth, Written by Himself: With Essays on His Life and Genius, and Criticisms on his Work*. London: J.B. Nichols and Son, 1833.
- Kirkup, John. *A History of Limb Amputation*. London: Springer, 2009.
- Klestinec, Cynthia. *Theaters of Anatomy: Students, Teachers, and Traditions of Dissection in Renaissance Venice*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011.
- Linebaugh, Peter. "The Ordinary of Newgate and his Account," edited by J. S. Cockburn, 246-69. *Crime in England 1550-1800*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977.
- Linebaugh, Peter. "The Tyburn Riot Against the Surgeons," in *Albion's Fatal Tree*, edited by Douglas Hay, Peter Linebaugh, John G. Rule, E.P. Thompson, and Cal Winslow, 65-119. New York: Pantheon Books, 1975.
- Lindemann, Mary. *Medicine and Society in Early Modern Europe*. Miami: University of Miami Press, 2010.
- MacDonald, Helen. *Human Remains: Dissection and its Histories*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.
- Mahon, Denis. *Studies in Seicento Art and Theory*. London: Warburg Institute, 1947.
- Mandeville, Bernard de. *An Enquiry into the Causes of the Frequent Executions at Tyburn: And A Proposal for Some Regulations Concerning Felons in Prison, and the Good Effects to be Expected from Them*. London: J Roberts, 1726. Reprint intro. by Malvin R. Zirker, Jr., Augustan Reprint Society Publication no. 105. Los Angeles: Clark Memorial Library, 1964.

- Moore, Wendy. *The Knife Man*. London: Bantam Press, 2005.
- Mundy, James in Patricia Phagan, *Thomas Rowlandson Pleasures and Pursuits in Georgian England*. London: Giles Limited, 2011.
- Norton, Jeffery A. *Surgery: Basic Science and Clinical Evidence*. New York: Springer, 2000.
- Olsen, Kirstin. *Daily Life in 18th-Century England*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1999.
- O'Malley, Charles. *The Illustrations of Andreas Vesalius of Brussels*. Cleveland: World Publishing Co, 1950.
- Ottley, Drewry. *The Life of John Hunter*. London: Longman, 1835
- Paulson, Ronald. *Hogarth: Art and Politics, 1750–64 Vol 4*. Cambridge, U.K.: Lutterworth Press, 1993.
- Payne, Lynda. "A Spedie Reformation: Barber Surgeons, Anatomization and Medicine in Tudor London" In *Paracelsian Moments: Science, Medicine and Astrology in Early Modern Europe*. edited by Gerhild Sholz-Williams, Charles Gunnoe, jr., 71-92. Kirksville, Missouri: Truman State University Press, 2002.
- Payne, Lynda. *With Words and Knives Learning Medical Dispassion in Early Modern England*. Aldershot, U.K.: Ashgate, 2007.
- Percival, Melissa. *The Appearance of Character: Physiognomy and Facial Expression in Eighteenth-Century France*. London: W.S. Maney and Son, LTD., 1999.
- Percival, Thomas. *Medical Code of Ethics*. Manchester: S.Russell, 1803.
- Porter, Roy. *Flesh in the Age of Reason, The Modern Foundations of Body and Soul* New York: W.W. Norton, 2003.
- Porter, Roy. "Medical Lecturing in Georgian England," *British Journal for the History of Science*, vol 28, no.1, (March, 1995), 91-99.
- Porter, Roy. "Medical Education in England Before the Teaching Hospital: Some Recent Revisions" in *The Professional Teacher*, Proceedings of the 1985

- Annual Conference of the History of Education Society of Great Britain. J. Wilkes, editor. London: History of Education Society, 1986.
- Rause, Amelia Faye. *Caricature Unmasked: Irony, Authenticity, and Individualism in Eighteenth Century English Prints*. Newark : University of Delaware Press, 2008.
- Richardson, Ruth. *Death, Dissection and the Destitute*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001.
- Richardson, Ruth. "A Potted History of Specimen Taking." *The Lancet*. Volume 355(9207), 11 March 2000, pp 935-936.
- Richardson William F. and John B. Carmen, *On the Fabric of the Human Body: A Translation of De Humani Corporis Fabrica By Andreas Vesalius*. San Francisco: Norman Publishing, 1998.
- Roberts, K. B., and J. D. W. Tomlinson. *The Fabric of the Body: European Medical Traditions of Anatomical Illustration*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1992.
- Sappol, Michael. *A Traffic of Dead Bodies*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002.
- Sappol, Michael. *Dream Anatomy*. Bethesda, Md.: U.S. Dept. of Health and Human Services, National Institutes of Health, National Library of Medicine , 2006
- Sawday, Jonathan. *The Body Emblazoned: Dissection and the human body in Renaissance Culture*. London & New York: Routledge, 1995.
- Selwyn, Taylor. *John Hunter and his Painters*. Kent, U.K.: Invicta Printers, 1993.
- Shaw, John. *A Manual of Anatomy*. London: G Hayden, 1822.
- Simon, Robin. *Hogarth, France and British Art: The rise of the arts in eighteenth-century Britain*. Cornwall: Paul Holberton Publishing, 2007.
- Vesalius, Andreas. *De Humani Corporis Fabrica Libri Septem*. Basileae: Oporinum, 1555.

Vita

Barbara Brooks was born April 4, 1962 in Jackson, Tennessee. She was educated in public schools and went to technical school at seventeen. She graduated and began working in surgery in 1980. She eventually became a Surgical First Assistant, a rewarding but very stressful job held by physicians in most states.

In 2004 she returned to school part-time. She received a Curator's Scholarship and in 2010 graduated Summa Cum Laude with a Bachelor of Arts in Art History from the University of Missouri-Kansas City. She continued at UMKC to pursue a Master's degree in Art History. She worked as a Graduate Teaching Assistant in the Art History department, assisting with Art 110 from 2010-2012 and Asian Art 319 in 2011. She also worked as a Graduate Research Assistant in the Art History department in 2011. She is considering following a career path into Medical Humanities by taking classes for Biomedical Certification. She is currently working as an Adjunct Professor in the Art Department at Missouri Western State University in St. Joseph, Missouri.