

UC San Diego

UC San Diego Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Title

The value of a body : anatomy lessons in nineteenth-century British Literature and visual culture

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/0m90h3j8>

Authors

Vernoy, Lisa Beth

Vernoy, Lisa Beth

Publication Date

2012

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO

The Value of a Body:
Anatomy Lessons in Nineteenth-Century
British Literature and Visual Culture

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in

Literature

by

Lisa Beth Vernoy

Committee in charge:

Professor Stephanie Jed, Chair
Professor Cathy Gere
Professor Margaret Loose
Professor Kathryn Shevelow
Professor Pasquale Verdicchio

2012

The Dissertation of Lisa Beth Vernoy is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication on microfilm and electronically:

Chair

University of California, San Diego

2012

DEDICATION

My parents have loved, supported, and believed in me for as long as I can remember.

This dissertation is dedicated to them with gratitude and love.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Signature Page.....	iii
Dedication Page.....	iv
Table of Contents.....	v
List of Tables.....	vi
List of Figures.....	vii
Acknowledgments.....	ix
Vita.....	xi
Abstract of the Dissertation	xii
Introduction.....	1
Chapter 1: Regulating Dissection	
An Introduction to the Anatomy Bills and Act.....	5
Chapter 2: Dissecting Collections	
Illustrated Bodies and Medical Emotional Detachment in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries.....	57
Chapter 3: Monstrous Dissection	
Class Consciousness and the Creation of Monsters in Mary Shelley’s <i>Frankenstein</i>	98
Chapter 4: Dissecting Fictionalized Bodies	
Appropriation and Objectification in Nineteenth Century Paintings and Photographs.....	153
Epilogue.....	188
Works Cited.....	198

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Titles and important details of significant texts that impacted the passing of the Anatomy Act.....	27
--	----

LIST OF FIGURES

- Figure 1: Andreas Vesalius, *Second muscle man*, page 174. From *De humani corporis fabrica libri septem*, 1543. Courtesy of Wellcome Library, London.....62
- Figure 2: Andreas Vesalius, *Skeleton contemplating a skull*, page 164. From *De humani corporis fabrica libri septem*, 1543. Courtesy of Wellcome Library, London.....64
- Figure 3: William Hogarth, *The Reward of Cruelty*, 1751. Courtesy of Wellcome Library, London.....67
- Figure 4: Thomas Rowlandson, *Three anatomical dissections taking place in an attic*, circa 1770. Courtesy of Wellcome Library, London.....70
- Figure 5: William Hunter, *Plate II*, 1774. From *The Anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus Exhibited in Figures*. Courtesy of Wellcome Library, London.....77
- Figure 6: William Hunter, “Tab VI: The child in the womb, in its natural situation.” From *The Anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus Exhibited in Figures*, 1774. Courtesy of Wellcome Library, London.....79
- Figure 7: William Hunter, *Plate XXVII*, 1774 From *The Anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus Exhibited in Figures*. Courtesy of Wellcome Library, London.....81
- Figure 8: William Hunter, *Plate XXVI: 3 Months Foetuses*, 1774. From *The Anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus Exhibited in Figures*. Courtesy of Wellcome Library, London.....83
- Figure 9: Johann Ihle, *The Female Hottentot with natural Apron*, 1794. From Ebenezer Sibly's *Universal System of Natural History*. Courtesy of Wellcome Library, London...88
- Figure 10: *Small poster advertising the exhibition of the Hottentot Venus*, 1810. Courtesy of Wellcome Library, London.....90
- Figure 11: *Sartjee, the Hottentot Venus, Now Exhibiting in London, Drawn From Life*, circa 1810. Courtesy of City of Westminster Archive Center, London/Bridgeman Art Library.....93
- Figure 12: Sir John Everett Millais, *Ophelia*, 1852. Courtesy of Tate Britain, London.....158
- Figure 13: Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *Regina Cordium or The Queen of Hearts*, 1860. Courtesy of Johannesburg Art Gallery.....160

Figure 14: Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *Beata Beatrix*, 1870. Courtesy of Tate Britain, London.....166

Figure 15: Arthur Munby, *Photograph Portrait of Ellen Grounds with a broom*, n.d. Courtesy of Trinity College, Cambridge.....171

Figure16: Arthur Munby, *Photograph Portrait of Ellen Grounds dressed as a lady*, n.d. Courtesy of Trinity College, Cambridge.....173

Figure17: Arthur Munby, *Photograph portrait of Hannah Cullwick as a Munby's 'valet,'* 1861. Courtesy of Trinity College, Cambridge.....175

Figure18: Arthur Munby, *Photograph portrait of Pitwork girl 1*, 1865. Courtesy of Trinity College, Cambridge.....177

Figure 19: Arthur Munby, *Photograph portrait of Pitwork girl 2*, 1865. Courtesy of Trinity College, Cambridge.....179

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

So many people have supported me in this writing and researching adventure, but none more so than my dissertation advisor, Stephanie Jed. Her unwavering support and her belief that this project is valuable has made me a better writer, a better thinker, and a better teacher. She is a mentor in the truest sense of the word: she guides me, praises me, corrects me, and laughs with me. I thank you from the bottom of my heart for sharing yourself so completely with me.

Each member of my dissertation committee has given me their time, consideration, and support. This project would not be what it is without their generosity and expertise. Thank you, Pasquale, Margaret, Kathryn, and Cathy for sharing your knowledge and passion with me.

My family members have each listened to me talk endlessly about my ideas, my frustrations, and my successes. My mom has read this project over and over, caring for it and for me with love. Thank you, Mom, Dad, Kevin, Mike, and Katie for your understanding and patience.

My partner has made me smile every day since I have met him. He supports me unconditionally, he keeps me grounded, and he helps me remember what is important in life, allowing me to write better, live better, and love better. Thank you, Pepe, for those gifts.

My friends in San Diego, Orange County, Los Angeles, and elsewhere have also been constant sources of support and love. They have encouraged me to move past my failures and have celebrated with me during my successes. Thank you, Amie, Anna, Jean, Shirley, Krista, Megan, Alvin, Bethi, Yeesheen, Brian, Amber, Ana, Angie, Cat,

Inhye, Nadine, and many more; I will strive each day to pass forward the positive energy you shared and helped me cultivate in myself.

The staff, faculty, and TAs in the Warren College Writing Program have encouraged me to evolve into an intelligent and empathetic instructor. They valued my unique contributions, modeled an ideal work environment, and have never wavered in their generous support of me as a teacher, a writer, and a colleague. Thank you especially to Holly, Julie, and Madeleine for making Warren a warm and welcoming place to grow.

The UCSD Literature Department has been my home for six years and I will always remember my time at UCSD fondly because of the talented thinkers who have encouraged me to evolve my own thinking and writing. I thank all the literature graduate students, faculty, and staff for their dedication and collegiality.

I would lastly like to acknowledge the institutions and persons that supported my research both in the U.S. and in the U.K. Thank you to the Wellcome Library in London, the Royal College of Surgeons in Edinburgh, the Wren Library in Trinity College in Cambridge, the Bodleian Library in Oxford, the Huntington Library in San Marino, and most of all, the Geisel Library at UCSD.

VITA

- 2000 Bachelor of Arts, Tufts University
- 2003 Master of Science, California State University, Fullerton
- 2006-2011 Teaching Assistant for Warren College Writing Program, University of California, San Diego
- 2009 Candidate in Philosophy, University of California, San Diego
- 2009-2010 Research Assistant, University of California, San Diego
- 2010-2011 Academic Counselor, San Diego Mesa College
- 2011 Master of Arts, University of California, San Diego
- 2012 Doctor of Philosophy, University of California, San Diego

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: Literature

Studies in Nineteenth-Century Literature and Visual Culture

Studies in Teaching Composition and Literature

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Value of a Body:
Anatomy Lessons in Nineteenth-Century
British Literature and Visual Culture

by

Lisa Beth Vernoy

Doctor of Philosophy in Literature

University of California, San Diego, 2012

Professor Stephanie Jed, Chair

In early nineteenth-century Britain, Parliament decided that it must legislate on the problem of grave-robbing and the dearth of dissection subjects for anatomy training. After several failed bills, Parliament passed the Anatomy Act in 1832, which allowed unclaimed bodies in workhouses, prisons, and hospitals to be sold to medical schools for dissection. In this dissertation, I argue that fiction and print images that highlighted medical detachment and irresponsibility contributed to fear and anxiety that people felt about the vulnerability of their bodies that the Anatomy Act legislated. I analyze illustrations created for anatomy textbooks by Andrea Vesalius and William Hunter as well as illustrations of African women such as Sarah Baartman to show how images such

as these contributed to the public's awareness of how bodies were increasingly degraded and objectified in the Romantic Period. Fiction also contributed to the way people responded to the Act; I use Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* as a literary representation of medical detachment, making medical advancements more accessible to the public and speculating on how irresponsibility in the medical field can affect the rest of the population. I posit that Shelley's novel impacted people's understanding of medicine and therefore affected their reactions to governmental regulations such as the Anatomy Act. I then showcase paintings, photographs, and a fictional story produced after 1832 to demonstrate how bodies became objectified and fictionalized during the Victorian Period, adding to the fiction of class stability and stratification. Ultimately, this project helps us understand how emotional reactions that people had to legislation and to the appropriation of bodies contributed to the development of class consciousness in nineteenth-century Britain.

Introduction

This project is about stories: political stories, medical stories, literary stories, visual stories; stories within stories, stories that evolve from other stories, and stories from the nineteenth century that are still being rewritten and continue into the present day. The seed for this project is a Parliamentary Act that was passed in 1832 and is commonly known as the Anatomy Act, which legislated that “unclaimed” bodies from workhouses, prisons, and public hospitals could be sold to medical schools as dissection subjects. I discovered this lesser-known Act after reading a short story by Ernest Jones, which involves the dissection of a woman’s body.

I was fascinated with how the character’s body in Jones’ story was transformed into an object of public use when she became a dissection subject for surgeons, so I began researching the story and the Act that codified her objectification. While researching the Act, I discovered letters, editorials, and articles that responded to this legislation, which took three years and several drafts to pass in Parliament. Some people wrote in support of the passing of the Act, while others strongly objected to it. Reading through the written arguments, I realized that people were expressing an increased awareness of how vulnerable their bodies already were to appropriation and objectification and that if this legislation passed, their bodies would be vulnerable in a new and different way. This possibility resulted in laboring class people feeling fear and anxiety about the fate of their bodies after they died.

In chapter one of this project, I analyze the wording of the Anatomy Bills and Act in light of other documents that contributed to the wording of the drafts. In addition, I

argue that reactions and responses by the public to the legislation demonstrate an increased self-awareness about the vulnerability of working-class bodies.

In order to discover why people reacted as they did to the Anatomy Act, I investigated Britain's history of science. Sitting amidst the rare books collection at the Wellcome Library in London and in the reading room at the Royal College of Surgeons in Edinburgh, I pored over anatomy manuals and surgeons' journals from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries and realized that they were all collections of images, facts, theories, and discoveries. These collections reflected the way that medicine devolved from a holistic conceptualization of the human body to viewing the body in pieces, resulting in specialized medical skills and knowledge. Illustrations of dissections indicated that the body became progressively more fragmented in medical training, which influenced the cognitive map that surgeons made of the body. The degradation of the human body led to the fragmentation of humanity, which can be seen in paintings and in advertisements for exhibitions of "othered" bodies—bodies of people having abnormal physical characteristics from the typical British citizen. In chapter two, I show how printed images contributed to an emotional detachment that surgeons adopted, and how these images influenced the British population to realize that bodies were being increasingly viewed as objects to be used for dissection and/or exploitation. This objectification set the stage for the government to condone bodies being treated as objects by medical practitioners, regardless of the protests by the people.

Fiction also influenced the way people responded to the Act, and in chapter three I analyze Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* to show how fictional stories affected people's consciousness about their own bodies. Specific scenes and details in Shelley's novel

fictionalized popular scientific theories, and she based her story on the fear that was produced from scientific pursuits and surgeons' increasingly emotionally detached behavior. Shelley's novel impacted the way people understood medicine and therefore affected their reactions to governmental regulations such as the Anatomy Act. Shelley made accessible to the general public knowledge about how bodies of the lower classes were exploited and used for the benefit of the upper classes.

The body became a preferred medium by which to tell stories in the nineteenth century. Shelley used the body of the monster and of Victor Frankenstein to tell her story, just as visual artists used bodies of their models to tell their stories. In chapter four, I showcase two representative collections of paintings and photographs produced after 1832 to show how understanding the provisions of the Anatomy Act helps us understand the way that bodies were fictionalized and appropriated in the Victorian period. The collections are paintings of real life model, Elizabeth Siddal, and photographs of working-class women that Arthur Munby collected. The bodies of the women are controlled and fictionalized by the artist and these bodies allow viewers to understand how the class stratification in Britain was also fictionalized to provide emotional relief to people in the more comfortable classes. At the end of the chapter, I show how fiction helped readers understand the repercussions of bodily appropriation by analyzing the short story that helped me begin this academic journey: "The Young Milliner" by Ernest Jones.

By bringing together a variety of bodily representations from diverse fields, this project helps us understand how emotional reactions that people had to legislation and to the appropriation of bodies contributed to the development of class consciousness in

nineteenth-century Britain. Ultimately, my trips to various libraries, my academic discoveries, and my new ideas about old documents have resulted in this project, which contributes a story of its own, with the hope that it will inspire the creation of more stories. By looking at stories past and present, we can better understand the people and cultural artifacts from the past, and perhaps also better understand the story that narrates our present concern over the respect for human bodies.

Chapter 1: Regulating Dissection

An Introduction to the Anatomy Bills and Act

After her mother didn't come home for two nights in a row, Peggy Haldane searched the streets of Edinburgh looking for her, and ended up at a local inn. Peggy's mother, Mary, was an aging prostitute and had worked hard to keep Peggy from resorting to her line of work. At the inn, Peggy met the innkeepers, William Burke and William Hare, along with their wives. Peggy was alone and sought the assistance from the innkeepers to help her find the whereabouts of her mother. Her inquiry into information about her mother proved to be fatal, and the mother and daughter were reunited when Burke and Hare sold their dead bodies the next day for about £10 each to the Edinburgh Medical College, an institution known for training medical doctors. A few months and nine bodies later, Burke and Hare were caught and tried, and Burke was sentenced to death by hanging. He was later publicly dissected at the very college where he and Hare had sold 16 bodies of their murder victims for profit.

Nearly two years later, in July of 1830, John Bishop, Thomas Williams, and James May attempted to sell a dead 14-year-old boy's body to the King's College School of Anatomy. The traffic of dead bodies was not uncommon in early nineteenth century England, but the fact that this boy's body had clearly never been buried led to Bishop and Williams's arrests, executions, and public dissections at the King's College and the Theatre of Anatomy in Windmill Street, respectively. Before their executions, the pair admitted that they had sold over 500 bodies to anatomy schools over the past 12 years,

though they only confessed to murdering three victims, claiming that the rest were “resurrected” through the desecration of graves.

These true accounts are more than just descriptions of murders in nineteenth-century Britain. The famous confessions of Burke and Hare, known as the West Port murderers, and of Bishop and William, known as the London Burkers, coupled with the growing need of corpses for dissection at medical colleges, contributed to the UK Parliament passing legislation in 1832 that allowed workhouses, hospitals, and prisons to sell the bodies of dead workers, patients, and convicts to medical schools for dissection.¹ “An Act for Regulating Schools of Anatomy,” popularly called the Anatomy Act, was passed in 1832 and was designed to promote practical anatomical learning, deter the stealing of buried bodies, and prevent the murdering of healthy people for the purpose of selling them to medical schools. But the Act did not only affect the medical field; people wrote and acted in protest to this Act because of the class bias that it legislated, thereby impacting the awareness that people had about the vulnerability of their own bodies.

This chapter follows the publication history of the Anatomy Bills and Act in conjunction with other documents and social events that influenced the wording and eventual passing of the Act. In order to understand the impact of these documents, this chapter also analyzes the published reactions that people had to this legislation. Ultimately, the Act resulted in people experiencing fear and anxiety about the fate of their bodies, which influenced the development of British culture and class consciousness.

¹ Sally Ledger points out that the Anatomy Act prevented people who lacked resources to own external property from even owning their bodies after they were dead (62).

Part I: The Role of Dissection in British History

In 1540, the Royal Company of Barbers and Surgeons was created. It controlled medical education until the eighteenth century. Britain lacked provisions or laws regarding dissection, but in 1541 Henry VIII granted this group the exclusive yearly right to four executed felons' bodies to be used as dissection subjects.² This law was sustained for over two centuries, and six more bodies were provided to this group in the early eighteenth century. The demand for dissection subjects far outnumbered the legal supply, which resulted in surgeons and medical schools resorting to illegally begotten bodies.

The Murder Act

By the mid-eighteenth century, it was clear that the medical profession had outgrown King Henry's ruling. Surgeons in the eighteenth century needed bodies to dissect in order to advance their own surgical skills and to provide medical education to the next cohorts of doctors and surgeons. In 1751, the government responded to this need by passing an act titled "An act for better preventing the horrid crime of murder" and nicknamed the "Murder Act." It stipulated that anyone convicted and executed for murder must be publicly dissected or hung in chains after execution. In theory, this would deter people from committing murder and as a bonus, provide more dissection subjects for surgeons and medical students. However, in practice, the long-term effect was to irrevocably link dissection with criminality. This link is the main reason that

² See Julia Bess Frank's book for more information about the history of British dissection.

Britain's population more than any other European country's population feared and loathed dissection.

In retrospect, the medical profession should have fought against this act rather than embrace it because of the long-term negative stigma created regarding the practice of dissection and the entire medical field, especially since the number of people convicted of murder still did not satisfy the needs of the surgeons whose profession was growing along with their need for more dissection subjects. Surgeons once again had to turn to robbing graves or buying bodies from grave robbers, who were also known as "resurrectionists."³ Because of the Murder Act's stipulations, famous murderers such as John Bishop, Thomas Williams, and William Burke were dissected after their executions. The judge who sentenced Burke stated that he was being lenient to Burke by having him dissected rather than hung in chains, but not everyone would have agreed that this is the more attractive decree. One condemned murderer in the late eighteenth century "pleaded in court that he might be hung in chains, not because he liked the idea of his corpse exhibited to travelers passing into London, but because even this humiliation he thought preferable to dissection by the surgeons" (Linebaugh 81).

Adding a postmortem punishment was intended to deter the crime of murder, but the more lasting impact was on British perception of dissection.⁴ The Murder Act was repealed nearly eighty years later with the passing of the Anatomy Act, which assumed

³ Frank points out, "Far from being an acknowledgement of the growing scientific importance of dissection, [the Murder] act made the idea [of dissection] even more repugnant to the public and fuelled its determination to protect other possible sources of cadavers from desecration" (400).

⁴ "Eighteenth-century penal practice was based largely on the supposed efficacy of...infrequent, but theatrical, examples: a few hundred were hanged each year, and perhaps a few score pilloried, a few thousand publicly flogged. But most known offenders were never prosecuted, and most of those convicted of serious crime were simply shipped overseas" (Hay 49).

that the populace would instantly change their views on dissection because medical advancements could benefit them in the long run.⁵ However, rather than putting the people's mind at ease regarding dissection, the change of legislation increased people's fear of dissection and the medical field, since it essentially swapped the kinds of bodies that could be legally dissected. Whereas the Murder Act stipulated that bodies of murderers were legal dissection subjects, after the Anatomy Act passed in 1832, the bodies of paupers were legally dissected. The result was that these two acts tied poverty not only to dissection, but also to criminality and deviance. The Anatomy Act convicted people in the lowest classes of being guilty of poverty, the punishment for which could be dissection.

Supply and Demand

The anxiety that people of all classes felt regarding grave robbing was well founded. Even though the 1751 Murder Act legalized the dissection of murderers' bodies, the number of bodies it provided was hardly adequate for the growing need by medical students, and the Murder Act did not slow the disinterment of dead bodies.⁶ Surgeons were forced to rob graves and obtain bodies from resurrectionists, thereby becoming complicit in the dead body trade.⁷ Because obtaining bodies for dissection was so difficult in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, a debate raged during the 1820s and early 30s about how many corpses a student should be required to dissect.

⁵ The Anatomy Act states, "The Body of a Person convicted of Murder shall after Execution be dissected, be and the same is hereby repealed," meaning that the Murder Act is repealed with the passing of the Anatomy Act.

⁶ Ruth Richardson, a historical expert on the Anatomy Act, references an 1826 poll of London anatomy schools revealing that 592 bodies were dissected by 70 students (54).

⁷ Charles Dickens uses the character Jerry Cruncher in *A Tale of Two Cities* to illustrate the practice of disinterment for profit. Though Dickens uses a caricature of this type of worker (as he does in most of his novels), he illustrates well the motivation of being a grave robber.

Some anatomists argued that each student must dissect at least three whole corpses to become proficient in human anatomy, while others stated that dissecting parts that added up to one human body was adequate (Richardson 53-4). These alternative allowances expanded the trade of human bodies to include human body parts. Dead bodies were being sold in pieces because this practice could be more lucrative to the grave robbers.⁸

Graves of all classes could be disinterred, but the bodies of the lowest classes were most often targeted because of the relative ease by which these bodies could be obtained. Pauper graves were not very deep, and multiple coffins were often buried in one grave.⁹ It was the poor who prevented rich people's graves from being robbed because they were the ones who welded iron coffins shut, sold patented coffins, and got paid to guard graves, all of which required money and all of which the lower classes could ill afford. Thus, people in the laboring classes were well aware of their susceptibility to body snatching and their inability to prevent it. The grave robbers themselves were almost exclusively from the laboring classes, which makes their stealing of pauper bodies even more poignant.¹⁰ There was a sort of dark poetic justice intrinsic to this practice of grave robbers stealing bodies of their own class and selling them to buyers of a more comfortable class, since there was the very real possibility that once they died, they themselves would end up on the dissection table.

⁸ The practice of using lower-class people's body parts for upper-class people's benefit had been long in effect. Teeth of the dead, for example, were often removed and sold as a basic material for dentures, so the rich would literally eat with the teeth of poor people, just as they would wear wigs made from asylum inmates' hair (Richardson 67).

⁹ Frank states, "Poor graveyards were the most sought after; the graves of the poor were not very deep and often a pauper grave would yield three or four bodies, the coffins stacked one on top of the other" (2).

¹⁰ Richardson points out, "The body snatchers were the living exemplars of innovative market logic—they had betrayed the deepest sentiment of their own class by their ruthless trade in human flesh" (90).

The pricing for the bodies themselves was somewhat complicated; for a period of time prices were more or less standardized for adults, and children were measured and paid for by the inch.¹¹ Gangs of resurrectionists would work together to obtain bodies and sell them for the highest prices, which effectively turned dead bodies into commodities.¹² The price of the bodies, though standardized in places like London, could fluctuate depending upon the season, place, and particular need for bodies. The surgeons were struggling with the dilemma of how to secure dissection subjects without being financially exploited by grave robbers, who were beginning to set their own prices for bodies rather than allowing the schools to set the prices. The surgeons were in a bind because if they did not have dissection subjects as promised, they could lose students to schools in other countries such as France that did not have a problem in maintaining a steady supply of bodies, but allowing the resurrectionists to set the price was degrading and threatening to the surgeons, who were running a business and had to make money from their students' tuition.¹³ Though not the exclusive factor in initiating the Anatomy Bills, the resentment that the surgeons developed gained support for the legislation.

The Westport Murderers

The first Anatomy Bill was distributed to Parliament on May 5, 1829, when the famous trial of Burke and Hare was still very much in the public's consciousness, given that Burke was publicly hung and dissected on January 28, 1829. Although both men

¹¹ Ruth Richardson notes, "By the 1790s, the Lambeth gang was said to have been selling adult corpses for 'two guineas and a crown' while children's sold for 'six shillings for the first foot, and nine [pence] per inch for all it measures more in length'" (57).

¹² Elizabeth Hurren remarks, "fees were paid on a sliding scale depending on what was being purchased, from whom, and where...each pauper body was a commodity involving complex negotiations and payments" (797).

¹³ France had established itself as a leader in medical advancements because they had a ready supply of bodies by which to train their doctors. France's leading medical schools were attached to public hospitals and when the paupers died in these hospitals, their bodies were used in anatomy lessons.

were involved in murdering 16 people whose bodies they then sold to the Edinburgh Medical College, Hare turned King's evidence against Burke, saving his own life and condemning his partner in crime. The trial took place on December 24th and 25th of 1828, and Burke was sentenced to death by hanging. After being charged guilty without a doubt, the Lord Justice Clerk delivered this sentence to Burke:

The only doubt I have in my mind is, whether, to satisfy the violated laws of your country, and the voice of the public indignation, your body ought not to be exhibited in chains, to bleach in the winds, in order to deter others from the commission of similar offences. But taking into consideration that the public eye would be offended by so dismal a spectacle, I am willing to accede to a more lenient execution of your sentence, and that your body should be publicly dissected. I trust that if it is ever customary to preserve skeletons, your skeleton will be preserved, in order that posterity may keep in remembrance your atrocious crimes. ("The Late Horrible" 430)

The Judge essentially sentenced Burke to the same fate to which Burke had condemned his victims. Burke was hung at Tyburn, and his body was then transported to Edinburgh Medical College where it was dissected for the benefit of the students and doctors. Individuals from the public could then view the dissected body for a fee.

Burke and Hare's actions reached further than likely could have been predicted. Burke's name became a vernacular verb, "to burke," meaning to suffocate someone to death, and it was transformed into a noun, "burker," meaning someone who kills others through suffocation. In fact, three years after Burke's death when Bishop and Williams were arrested, the latter two were nicknamed the "London Burkers," presumably because they sold the bodies of their victims to medical colleges, though they did not use suffocation to kill their victims. *The Lancet*, a medical journal that was, and still is, widely read throughout the scientific and general community, published many articles

and editorials in the early nineteenth century about the Burke and Hare trial and about the repercussions of Burke's confession and conviction. On January 3, 1829 *The Lancet* published a description of the trial and Burke's confession; on January 31, 1829, just three days after Burke was hung at Tyburn, *The Lancet* put out another article insisting that the government interfere in the illegal trafficking of bodies and somehow provide licit dissecting subjects for medical schools. The article calls for a protection for "individuals against the risk of being murdered for the value of their corpses" ("Human Dissections" 562). Burke and Hare's motivation for murder led the public to connect their crimes to dissection, and because Burke's dissected body was available for public viewing, the practice of dissection became a real and horrible action. This publicity of the crimes established yet another link between murder and dissection and became another part of Britain's history of dissection.

Repercussions of Murdering for Profit

Five months after Burke was convicted, a bill was brought to the House of Lords in an attempt to remedy the negative stigma attached to dissection and the medical field. During the months that led up to the bill being reviewed, articles in widely read journals and periodicals such as *The Lancet*, *The Morning Advertiser*, *The Westminster Review*, and *The London Times* forecast a bill being drafted to regulate dead bodies more effectively and called for changes needed in the body trade as a result of the Burke and Hare murders. One writer for *The Lancet* declared that Burke and Hare were the effective "authors" of the bill. The March 28, 1829 article states,

Unless the Legislature adopted some measure for supplying the schools of anatomy with subjects from an unexceptional source, no man could take upon himself to say, that there would be no renewal of the atrocities

recently committed at Edinburgh [...] Burke and Hare therefore, it is said, are the real authors of the measure, and that which never would have been sanctioned by the deliberative wisdom of Parliament, is about to be exhorted from its fears. We have no doubt that the dread of a repetition of the Edinburgh atrocities has had a powerful influence on the minds of many who are now for the first time disposed to support a measure for facilitating human dissections. (“Mr. Warburton’s Bill” 818)

Calling Burke and Hare “the real authors of the measure” indicates that the main initiating factor for writing this bill was to stop the illegal traffic of dead human bodies. But while *The Lancet* author criticizes the government for turning a blind eye to this practice, he also uses emotive language that indicates an emotional impact that the crimes have had. The readers are drawn to the “fear” and “dread” of the crimes, but the author implies that the real fear should be of human body trafficking. The author notes that “the dead body of a human is made an article of mercenary traffic” and that the first priority of the government should be to “prevent the murder of the living for the sake of the price at which their corpses may be sold” (818). This echoes the sentiments in the January 3, 1829 article quoted above; by using key words such as “murder” and “corpses,” it intends to exacerbate fear and anxiety in readers regarding the subject of dissection to gain support for a bill that legitimizes dissection on a wider scale. The article also makes readers of the bill more conscious of their own bodies by pointing out vulnerability that bodies faced with outdated legislation on this subject. The author of the March article suggests that either dissection should cease immediately or that bodies unclaimed by friends or relatives should be used for dissection to prevent the illegal trafficking of bodies.

Some medical schools did put dissections on hold after Burke was hung because of the stigma attached to dissection by medical schools. Editors of *The Lancet* on

January 31, 1829 reported that five schools of anatomy agreed to suspend their dissection lessons: those in Sheffield, Bristol, Liverpool, Manchester, and Birmingham.

Birmingham School's surgeons sent petitions to the government maintaining that a "legislative enactment" must be passed "for the protection of anatomical pursuits" ("Human Dissections" 562). In another petition, the physicians and surgeons in the town of Birmingham sent a plea to the government imploring them "to the necessity of speedily adopting some measure to remove the existing impediments to the cultivation of anatomical knowledge" (563). They point out in this petition that the schools' connection to the buying of murdered bodies "has caused public feeling to be outraged, and enormities to be committed, disgraceful to a civilized country and repugnant to every moral and religious feeling" (563). They go on to state that anatomical knowledge begot through dissection is the cornerstone of medical practice, but without the government's help in obtaining bodies, it is impossible for them to establish a positive reputation within the community.

The surgeons' petitions conspicuously neglected to offer a solution to the problem about obtaining bodies legally and in abundant enough supply. An 1829 March 28 article in *The Lancet* by the journal's editors, however, suggests that Parliament legalize "the dissection of unclaimed bodies" and readily admits that "the bill involves some degree of hardship upon the poor," but immediately adds that this hardship "is inseparable from the difficulty of legislating on this subject" ("Mr. Warburton's Bill" 818-9). The article at once acknowledges the impact that such legislation could have on the laboring classes, but also recognizes that the entire situation complicates class relations and that those in the more comfortable classes, who create the legislation, also experience hardship

because of the burden of finding a solution to this problem. The article continues, “No legislative measure for regulating the practice of dissection can be wholly reconciled with the feelings of the community” (819). Using the ambiguous term “community” implies that the feelings of those across class lines would be affected, especially considering that the Murder Act established dissection as something to be feared regardless of class station.

Surgeons wished to distance themselves from the practice of murder and grave robbing in order to establish a better reputation for their profession. Some surgeons used alternative means for instruction such as models of human bodies, plates and illustrations, and even artificial corpses.¹⁴ Other surgeons and medical students benefitted from being affiliated with a charitable hospital, since only those who had no one to help pay medical expenses were admitted as patients, and therefore there was no one to contact if the patient died.¹⁵ Although the schools attached to hospitals could use this method of securing bodies, most schools still had to depend upon grave robbers, thereby promoting a negative public opinion of the medical profession.

During the years leading up to the Anatomy Bills, the public’s lack of knowledge about dissection created apprehension about the topic, and even if people were not afraid of dissection, their lack of knowledge prevented them from appreciating the possible contributions of dissection to the medical field and ultimately to society at large.

¹⁴ Richardson states that in reaction to the restrictions that were being put on medical schools, doctors attempted to use different tools for teaching and learning such as models, casts, preparations, plates, animals, and artificial corpses (104).

¹⁵ Richardson describes the situation at these hospitals as the poor being “caught in a double-bind situation, [since] admitting their ‘low circumstances’ and that they were ‘destitute of friends’” guaranteed their admission to the hospital, but it also meant that their bodies would likely be used as dissection subjects if they died there (105).

Sporadically throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries anatomists would offer low-cost classes on dissection that were affordable to most people.¹⁶ Rather than experiencing horror and disgust at the practice, people who took the classes became educated about how the body was respected during dissection and about the benefits that could result from the practice. These informed members of the public ended up supporting and encouraging the practice.¹⁷ Unfortunately, there was no governmental support for this type of instruction, and the infrequency of the class offerings prevented widespread education about dissection and human anatomy.

“The London Burkers”

On June 12, 1829, the first Anatomy Bill passed in the House of Commons but failed in the House of Lords, and business seemed to go back to usual in regards to grave-robbing and buying dissection subjects illicitly. Two years later, however, in July of 1831, three men, John Bishop, Thomas Williams, and James May, were arrested for attempting to sell a 14-year-old’s dead body to the King’s College School of Anatomy. The dissection porter, William Hill, who was in charge of buying bodies for the school, was suspicious that the body was too fresh, since usually bodies that were bought were at least a few days old. Hill alerted anatomist Richard Partridge who came to view the body. He and a few of his medical students also suspected that the adolescent had not

¹⁶ This idea of taking science to the general public may have grown out of the practice of doing experiments in people’s homes for a fee in order to educate children and adults, especially about the field and methods of science. A famous experiment that was performed in private homes involved the use of an air pump invented by Otto von Guericke in 1650 and commissioned by Robert Boyle. The air pump was popularly used with a bird or other small animal to demonstrate the effects of depriving air to animals.

¹⁷ James Bailey, a historian from the nineteenth century, wrote about attempts in the late eighteenth century to educate the populace about dissection (100-1). Effie Botonaki states, “In the early eighteenth century, entrepreneurial anatomists in London began to offer courses, which they advertised in newspapers, to anyone who was interested enough to pay a fee. These courses would take place in private houses or even taverns” (82).

died legitimately, and while the murderers waited for Partridge to supposedly change a fifty-pound note to pay them for the body, Police Superintendent Joseph Sadler Thomas and other police officers were fetched and immediately took the three into custody, along with the man who helped transport the body.¹⁸

Bishop and Williams admitted to killing a total of three people and selling their bodies to medical schools.¹⁹ (May was released when Bishop and Williams both disclosed that he did not take part in the murders.) This would likely not have excited the public's interest as much had Burke and Hare not still been relatively fresh in their memories. In fact, Bishop and Williams were nicknamed "the London Burkers" because of the nature of their crime, but also because, while Burke and Hare murdered and sold their victims in Edinburgh, Bishop and Williams were active in London. During this period, authorities tended to turn a blind eye towards the trafficking of dead bodies, policemen not often making arrests or at least leaving the buyer out of the charge, so surgeons and schools were typically not implicated in those sorts of crimes. The anatomy schools understandably did not want to be connected to the practice of disinterment, since this could mean a tarnished reputation and therefore a loss of business.

The lack of legislation to discourage grave robbing and provide legal dissection subjects for anatomy schools led to full-scale body trafficking. The medical schools were never at more need for subjects, and the resurrectionists capitalized on this need. In

¹⁸ For more details about Bishop, Williams, and May's murders and arrests see Sarah Wise's detailed account in her book, *The Italian Boy*, specifically pages 1-19.

¹⁹ Sarah Wise reports that there was speculation that a woman named Fanny Pighorn was also murdered by the pair, but "There was no body and thus no forensic evidence to substantiate a charge" (197). The reason that there was no body, of course, is that they likely sold her corpse to the anatomists. To prove this, one of the surgeons would have had to take the stand against the murderers, thereby confessing that they had bought such a body (197).

Bishop's confession, he stated, "Until the transactions set forth I never was concerned in obtaining a subject by destruction of the living. I have followed the course of obtaining a livelihood as a body-snatcher for 12 years, and have obtained and sold, I think from 500 to 1,000 bodies; but I declare, before God, that they were all obtained after death, and that, with the above exceptions, I am ignorant of any murder for that or any other purpose" (Wise 244). The practice of disinterring bodies for profit was lucrative for both the buyers and the sellers. And perhaps without the London Burkers' crimes, legislation on this topic would have been even longer in coming.

Because the Murder Act was still in effect when Bishop and Williams were executed, their bodies were dissected after they were hung and people could pay to view parts of the dissection.²⁰ That bodies of notorious criminals were still publicly dissected maintained the public's opinion that dissection was a practice to be feared and reserved for only the most despicable of criminals. Their dissections were examples of apt punishment for the crimes committed and further convinced the public that dissection was more of a punishment and spectacle than a teaching tool.

News of Bishop and Williams' crimes, executions, and dissections was reported throughout England. The *Morning Advertiser*, a periodical from the 1830s, reported about Bishop, who was dissected in an exhibit room at King's College in London, "A more healthy muscular Subject has not been seen in any of the schools of anatomy for a long time [...] The body presented a remarkably fine appearance across the chest. The deltoids were splendidly developed, and the pectorals, major and minor, were particularly

²⁰ Wise notes, "For a fee, the curious were allowed into the dissecting room, where Edward Tuson and George Guthrie were at work" dissecting Williams' body at the school of anatomy on Windmill Street in London (257).

displayed” (Wise 255). After Bishop was dissected, his body was exhibited to the public where people could view the body and his clothes for a penny. Anatomy students retained “keepsakes” of the murderer such as locks of his hair, or patches of his clothing. Plaster casts of Bishop’s and Williams’ heads were sold, thereby turning them into celebrities and making their crimes more memorable.²¹ These exhibitions strengthened the connection in the public’s mind between dissection and criminality and reminded people of the humiliation that accompanied public dissection.

Burial

In addition to its being related to murderers and crime, one reason that dissection was frightening for people is that there was no guarantee of burial if the body was dissected. Even if the body was buried, many believed that dissection mutilated the body, making it incapable for resurrection when the apocalypse occurred. In addition to assisting in the grieving process, burial was a part of religious practice. Many people believed that if their bodies were not returned to the ground they would not be resurrected properly when their lord returned to Earth. A prayer said at the deceased’s burial, taken from the Book of Common Prayer used by the Church of England states, “We therefore commit his body to the ground; earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust; in sure and certain hope of Resurrection to eternal life, through our Lord Jesus Christ; who shall change our vile body, that it may be like unto his glorious body.” In order to be resurrected and have the body resume its original form, many believed that all of an

²¹ Wise writes, “As late as 1883, plaster casts of Bishop’s and Williams’ heads were being advertised as ‘suitable for public or private museums, literary or scientific institutions,’ along with the heads of Oliver Cromwell, ‘the Idiot of Amsterdam,’ Coleridge, Sir Isaac Newton, William Palmer the Poisoner, and the five idiot progeny of one Mrs. Hillings; they cost a mere five shillings each, or forty shillings for a dozen” (261).

individual's body parts would need to be in the same grave. Dissection did not necessarily prevent this from happening, but surgeons certainly did not always respect their subjects' religious beliefs and there was no incentive or imperative for surgeons to bury the bodies that they dissected.²² The final Anatomy Act does include a clause that encourages written wills to be respected, but if an individual had no living relatives or friends, it was possible that these wills could be "lost." In addition, if the dying person was illiterate, then he or she could not be assured that their wishes were properly conveyed in their will, especially if the person transcribing it would benefit financially from selling a dead body.

On December 19, 1831, the public discovered that an anatomy theatre in Aberdeen failed to properly inter the remains of their dissection subjects. Although grave robbing was an upsetting idea, even more distressing was the idea that the bodies would never find a resting place in the ground. A *London Times* article reports that after a few individuals found that the school had improperly buried the remains of its subjects, "a shout of horror was instantly raised, and the crowd was quickly increased to not less than 20,000 persons" ("Destruction" 2). The crowd reportedly chanted, "Burn the Burking-shop," and the theatre was burned to the ground (2). Using the term "Burking-shop" indicates that the crowd immediately assumed that the surgeons bought murdered bodies for dissection, or that the doctors killed people themselves in order to supply their school with subjects. The people mobilized into a socially minded (albeit violent) group that in effect advocated for the right for bodies to be treated with more respect. The destruction

²² There were no incentives for surgeons to bury their dissection subjects, and therefore the bodies and parts were often buried in mass graves, shallow graves, and the like (Richardson 248).

of the anatomy theatre is evidence of how the medical field affected the population's class consciousness on an emotional level, since the people reacted based on anger and fear.

Not everyone saw the destruction as a manifestation of social advocacy. In fact, less than two weeks after the Aberdeen Theatre was burned down, surgeon P.H. Green sent a letter to *The Lancet* criticizing the violence and ignorance of the mob. His letter specifically expresses distress about the recent threats to doctors and surgeons. "To me," Green writes, "it seems that anatomy is on its last legs. Shackled by the prejudices and ignorance of the public, exposed on the slightest excitement to the blind fury of the mob, nothing but a bold and vigorous effort of the profession can save us from the difficulties and dangers with which we are beset" (521). Green refers here to both physical threats by the mob as evidenced by the recent violence at Aberdeen and the political threat to the establishment of medicine in Britain. He points out that without legislation that legalizes dissection, surgeons are essentially criminals, though the alternative of not being informed about anatomy would also make them criminals if they were to practice surgery without proper education. Green conveniently avoids suggesting how he believes bodies should be legally obtained and he is quick to criticize the "blind fury of the mob" without showing empathy for how the actions of the surgeons may have affected individuals within the mob.²³

²³ Though Green seems to consider the mob as an unthinking, destructive force, E.P. Thompson posits that because of education and growing class consciousness, the mob developed into an informed group that stood up for the rights they believed they deserved. Thompson states that the mob of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries "was a transitional mob, on its way to becoming a self-conscious crowd; the leaven of Dissent and of political education was at work, giving to the people a predisposition to turn out in defense of popular liberties, in defiance of authority, and in 'movements of social protest, in which the underlying conflict of poor against rich...is clearly visible'" (69: Thompson quotes G. Rude p 237).

Redefining Class-Consciousness

Class-consciousness typically refers to the beliefs individuals hold about their own class, specifically in regards to social rank, economic status, and the structure of their class. This term is especially important for this project because most historians agree that British class-consciousness in the laboring classes emerged during the early nineteenth century, right around the time that the Anatomy Act was passed. The way that people reacted to this specific act and how people responded to the issue of dissection in general contributed to this class-consciousness. Therefore, looking at the acts that regulated dead bodies for dissection becomes a crucial part in understanding how this consciousness developed.

E.P. Thompson's groundbreaking book *The Making of the English Working Class* provides a foundation that academics, including myself, have used for decades to understand the way that class-consciousness in the lower classes developed. According to Thompson, class is a culturally specific phenomenon, dependent upon not only economics, but also upon relationships among people in the same class and between classes. Thompson states that class-consciousness relates to the way in which "experiences are handled in cultural terms: embodied in traditions, value-systems, ideas and institutional forms" (10). Thompson roots his historical analysis during a specific 42-year period. He writes, "In the years between 1780 and 1832 most English working people came to feel an identity of interests between themselves, and as against their rulers and employers" (11) Because of the emerging cohesion of the laboring classes, Thompson posits, "the working-class presence was, in 1832, the most significant factor in

British political life” (12). Thompson puts the working-class people in the center of economic, political, and social conversations in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Thompson’s thesis about class-consciousness developing during this period is well supported and grounded in various examples such as the emergence of common spaces where people in the working classes could read newspaper articles to each other and discuss current issues, in addition to the increase in literacy across all classes. Thompson states, “In times of political ferment the illiterate would get their workmates to read aloud from periodicals; which at Houses of Call the news was read, and at political meetings a prodigious time was spent in reading addresses and passing long stings of resolutions...From 1830 onwards a more clearly-defined class consciousness, in the customary Marxist sense, was maturing, in which working people were aware of continuing both old and new battles on their own” (712). The increased attention to print materials allowed people in the lower classes to share and absorb information and develop a shared concept of their own class.

Several critics point out that there are aspects of class development and history that Thompson’s analyses neglect. H. McQueen, for example, calls attention to the idea that Thompson does not take into consideration that the political and economic power difference between the classes could have limited the thoughts and desires of the people from the lower classes (75). R. K. Webb adds that by neglecting the middle-class emergence, important figures and ideas are lost. Thompson refers to the upper and middle classes as having the same ideals and interests, but Webb critiques this method as being too reductionist. Brian Harrison states that Thompson’s perspective overly

simplifies complex political process and focuses too heavily on the outcome rather than on the process (579).

Using Thompson's work as a foundation and taking the diverse critiques into consideration, I would like to add that people's emotional reactions to events and literature contributed to the way that class-consciousness developed and solidified during the early nineteenth century. Though initial reactions would have taken place in public and private spaces such as the home, coffee shops, and pubs where people first learned of events affecting them, contemporary researchers learn of their reactions as manifested in letters, uprisings, fiction, and print images. By looking at the history of science in conjunction with political documents produced during this time, we can see that people responded according to how certain issues registered on an emotional level.

People in the lower classes had reason to view dissection with anxiety, fear, and resentment since they were the most vulnerable to becoming dissection subjects, and they were also the ones who would likely never benefit from the advances made from these dissections because they could not afford the services of the surgeons who had undertaken the anatomy training. But people in the laboring classes were not the only ones with emotional reactions to acts of Parliament; those in the more comfortable classes also carried a burden of making decisions about how to provide for the training of doctors and the use of dead bodies. In addition, class stability was not guaranteed, which made all bodies, regardless of class, technically vulnerable to dissection. Though it was much more common for those in the lowest classes to end their lives in public workhouses, hospitals, or prisons, the Anatomy Act would have caused anxiety for people in all classes who were threatened with an instable income.

As McQueen points out, when analyzing class stratification, one must consider the power structure involved. Although the Anatomy Bills and Act were not necessarily the defining points in stratifying the classes, they created even more benefits for those with power and added a kind of punishment for those without. Those with power ensured that their bodies were not threatened with the possibility of being dissected after death, shifting the responsibility of contributing bodies to those without power. The upper classes, then, punished the lower classes not just with the threat of dissection, but more importantly with the fear of this threat during their lifetimes. The fear and anxiety felt by the various classes factored into how the collective consciousness developed during this time.

Part II: The Anatomy Bills – A Problem with Class Bias

In this next section of the chapter, details of the Anatomy Bills are analyzed in order to show how popular opinion contributed to the wording of the bills and the stipulations that were included. In upcoming chapters, I use information about the Act to draw conclusions about how popular culture influenced this legislation and how the legislation influenced popular culture. The implications of the changes between the bills and the final wording of the Act highlight the way that literature and visual culture captured the population's self-consciousness encouraged by the Act.

This chapter depends upon understanding the chronology of events and publications in order to recognize the evolution of how and why the Anatomy Act passed. The following table lists in chronological order dates of important events that will be analyzed further in this chapter.

Table 1: Titles and important details of significant texts that impacted the passing of the Anatomy Act

Date	Title/Event	Important Details/Changes from Previous Bills
1751	“An Act for Better preventing the Horrid Crime of Murder” passed in Parliament.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stipulates that people convicted of the crime of murder must be dissected or hung in chains after being hung to death
22 July, 1828	“Report from the Select Committee on Anatomy” submitted to Parliament for review.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Appointed by the House of Commons • Written by a group of surgeons who were selected to discover the best way to remedy the problem of grave-robbing and a lack of legal dissection subjects • States that the committee found that bodies “unclaimed” by friends or family would be best dissection subjects
1 Nov., 1828	William Burke and William Hare arrested for the crime of murder.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Admitted to smothering 16 persons and selling their dead bodies to anatomy schools, primarily to Dr. Robert Knox • Burke was hanged and body was dissected • Hare turned King’s evidence against Burke and was released
5 May, 1829	“A Bill for the unlawful Disinterment of Human Bodies, and for regulating Schools of Anatomy” submitted to Parliament.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • First bill brought to Parliament in reaction to the dearth of dissection subjects • Does not repeal Murder Act • Does not extend to Ireland • First proposal to make dissection legal on a large scale • Bodies considered “unclaimed” if not claimed by family within 72 hours • Makes provisions for those who bequeath their bodies to science* • All bodies must have death certificate* • Dissected bodies must be buried* • Did not pass
July, 1831	John Bishop, Thomas Williams, and James May arrested for the crime of murder.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attempted to sell a 14-year-old’s dead body to the King’s College School of Anatomy • Bishop and Williams were found guilty of murder, were hanged, and were dissected
10 Dec., 1831	“Letter from the Council of the Royal College of Surgeons to Viscount Melbourne, His Majesty’s Principle Secretary of State for the Home Department” submitted to Parliament for review.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Calls the study of anatomy the most important part of surgical education • Directly addresses the problem with grave-robbing • Recognizes that surgeons have been accused of being complicit in criminal acts
23 Jan., 1832	“A Bill (As Amended by the Committee) For regulating Schools of Anatomy” submitted to Parliament.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Title changed to focus more on education than on grave-robbing* • Preamble wording changed from “dissection” to “anatomical examination”* • Repeals Murder Act* • Allows that individuals can request not to be

Table 1: Continued

Date	Title/Event	Important Details/Changes from Previous Bills
		dissected after their deaths* <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No time period specified for when bodies must be claimed by family • Providing inspectors for schools* • Did not pass
8 May, 1832	“A Bill (As Amended on the Second Re-commitment) For regulating Schools of Anatomy” submitted to Parliament.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extends to Ireland • Specifies that bodies must be claimed by family within 48 hours • Makes provisions for bequeathing body to science • Surgeons need a license to dissect a body • Passed
1 Aug., 1832	“An Act For regulating Schools of Anatomy” passed by Parliament.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Same text as 8 May, 1832 Bill

* Indicates stipulation in bill that was carried over into all future bills/act

This table shows the details of the Anatomy Bills and other documents and events that influenced the passing of the Anatomy Act. As the table shows, many stipulations in early bills were carried throughout subsequent bills, while other conditions changed significantly as will be further discussed throughout this chapter.

“Report from the Select Committee on Anatomy”

After having turned a blind eye for centuries to the problem of obtaining bodies for dissection, the British government finally took action in 1828 when the House of Commons appointed a Select Committee “to inquire into the manner of obtaining Subjects for Dissection in the Schools of Anatomy, and into the state of the Law affecting the Persons employed in obtaining or dissecting bodies” (1). From this 150-page report, published in the Commons Journal, in which a class bias and the surgeons’ political agenda are implicitly clear, we can discern the motivation for drafting the first bill and the reason why people had the reactions they did to the Bills and Act. The Select Committee’s report supports using bodies not claimed by family from workhouses,

hospitals, and prisons. It states, “If selection then be necessary, what bodies ought to be selected but the bodies of those, who have either no known relations whose *feelings* would be outraged, or such only as, by not *claiming* the body, would evince indifference on the subject of dissection” (10, emphasis in original). This statement is embroiled in class bias, since people from the lowest classes would have no means to be buried if they had no family. But this statement also implies that even if the deceased had relatives, they would not object to the body of their relative being dissected if they did not come forth and claim the body. In actuality, the expense for burial could be more than a family could afford, considering the expense for the coffin, the food and drink at the funeral, and money paid for the priest to give the parting sermon.²⁴ Though costly, the ritual of burial was important since it provided the family closure on the individual’s death and helped the family grieve the death.²⁵ The Select Committee’s report states that not claiming the body suggests a lack of feeling, but it very well could have been a lack of money. Before the Anatomy Act was passed, unclaimed bodies were buried at the public’s or parish’s expense, and families and friends could attend the burial. The committee’s report implies that burial is a privilege, not a right, and that people must be of a certain financial status to deserve this right, thereby adding yet another differentiation between classes.

To obtain information for their report, the committee interviewed witnesses who were experts in the field of anatomy. At the end of this report, they included the

²⁴ For more information about burial practices and expenses, refer to chapter 1 of Richardson’s book, *Death, Dissection, and the Destitute*.

²⁵ John Knott writes, “Dissection of the body of a loved one added to the horrific sense of loss felt by family and friends, and the lack of a proper burial denied them the opportunity to come to terms with that loss” (14).

witnesses' testimony as "evidence," in which the experts agreed that unclaimed bodies should be used for dissection subjects. The report states,

It is the opinion of almost all the witnesses...that the bodies of those who during their life have been maintained at the public charge, and who die in workhouses, hospitals, and other charitable institutions, should, if not claimed by next of kin within a certain time after death, be given up, under proper regulations, to the Anatomist; and some of the witnesses would extend the same rule to the unclaimed bodies of those who die in prison, penitentiaries, and other places of confinement. (9)

The report insinuates that because the people use "charitable institutions" they should not have the right to determine the fate of their own bodies after they die. It further suggests that anatomists have a right over paupers' bodies and should gain ownership over these bodies once dead.

The wording of this report is echoed in the Anatomy Bill of 1829, indicating that this report was extremely influential to the eventual passing of the law. Scholars have attributed much to the influence of the Burke and Hare murders in initiating the 1829 bill, but by looking at the timeline of events, Burke and Hare's arrest and trial did more to make the issue pressing than they did to inspire the initial writing of the bill. The report was published on July 22, 1828, but Burke and Hare killed their last victim on October 31, 1828 and were arrested either that night or the next morning on November first. So while Burke and Hare added to the public knowledge of the dead body trade and certainly contributed a new element of horror to that practice, the report was motivated by more than a single scandal, given that the report was published months before the pair was arrested.

The May 1829 Bill

The first Anatomy Bill was brought to the House of Lords on May 5, 1829. Entitled “A Bill for Preventing the unlawful Disinterment of Human Bodies, and for regulating Schools of Anatomy,” the text of the bill begins, “Whereas it is expedient to make some further provision for the prevention of the unlawful Disinterment of Human Bodies...” and continues to specify that the punishment for grave robbing will be six months imprisonment for the first offence and two years for the second. Information about regulating schools of anatomy is not discussed until the second paragraph, indicating that the main reason for the bill is to prevent grave robbing, rather than to advance medical science or to improve anatomy lessons. The names of the various anatomy bills changed over the course of the three years it took them to evolve into an act, but that the title of the first bill, as well as its text, begins with the intention of preventing disinterment shows that the top priority at that time was to regulate the illegal trafficking of dead bodies. Fear was clearly a motivating factor for the drafting of this bill, both of grave robbing and of the continuation of murder for monetary profit. This bill provides stipulations such as fines and imprisonment, which are intended to deter not only the selling, but also the buying of a body not accompanied by a death certificate.

The Select Committee’s report, the Burke and Hare murders, and the growing desire for the medical field to cultivate a respectable reputation all worked in concert to design the first bill of anatomy. The practice of dissection became both a social and a medical issue, since there was clear class bias in the choice of bodies for dissection subjects. The 1829 bill states,

And be it further Enacted, That when any person shall die during

imprisonment in any prison, or shall die in any hospital or workhouse, and the body of such a person shall not be claimed as hereinafter mentioned, or the disposition of such body shall not be otherwise provided for by law, it shall be lawful for the party having the custody of the person so dying in prison as aforesaid, and for the party having the care of the person dying in any hospital or workhouse as aforesaid, to deliver up the body of such person to any party duly licensed under this Act, or to the authorized agent of such party.

Thus the bill authorizes the person having “custody” and “care” of a body unclaimed by friends or family within three days to sell that body to an anatomy school. Nowhere does it express real concern for these bodies. Real concern would be to determine and respect an individual’s wishes about how to dispose of his or her body once dead, but this is absent in the bill. This bill continues the practice of people in the more comfortable classes ignoring the feelings of the laboring classes. Regardless of the fact that dissection was still associated with murder and criminality and with a disregard for religious practices in England, the bill attempts to codify a cold, callous dispersal of lower-class human bodies. Thus, the bill exacerbated the public’s negative attitudes toward dissection and did little to promote the public’s acceptance of how dissection might benefit the British populace.

The authors of the bill predicted that a steady supply of bodies would emerge from hospitals, prisons, and workhouses, making the problem of the illegal body trade a thing of the past and allowing schools that were not attached to charitable hospitals to stay in business. The bill and its provisions were supported by surgeons and most of those who worked in the medical field. This provision would solve the problem of insufficient dissection subjects, but did not take into consideration the emotional impact it could have on people in the laboring classes, whose bodies were vulnerable to this

treatment. The notion of using pauper bodies for dissection was horrific to individuals especially in the laboring classes, since if they lost their work or health, they could not guarantee that they would not someday die in a workhouse or hospital.²⁶

Before the first bill was drafted, the lower classes knew that their bodies were more vulnerable to being disinterred and dissected and when *The Lancet* on May 15, 1829 published the text of the 1829 bill, they saw in print that their bodies were not only vulnerable, but expendable. At the end of the bill, definitions of workhouse and hospital are provided: “‘Workhouse,’ shall be deemed to include poorhouse, house of industry, charity, workhouse, or boarding-house for the poor. ‘Hospital,’ shall be deemed to include infirmary, asylum, house of refuge, or other institution for the reception and treatment of such, maimed, lunatic, or destitute persons.” These definitions emphasize the class bias, since both the workhouse and the hospitals housed people from the lower classes, and the bill specifically uses the terms “poor” and “destitute.”

Henry Warburton, a known radical, was the author of the 1829 bill, which came to be known as “Warburton’s Bill.” An upper-class gentleman educated at Trinity College in Cambridge, Warburton was known for his liberal leanings and his advocacy for the lower classes.²⁷ Although he was considered a liberal, he was still a member of a class whose bodies were less vulnerable to destitution, and his bill failed to provide

²⁶ This provision was not supported even by people whose bodies were less vulnerable because of their class station illustrated in editorials such as Thomas Wakely’s in *The Lancet*.

²⁷ A contemporary of Warburton, Harriet Grote, described him as “a wealthy timber-merchant of London...[who] had obtained some distinction as a scholar and man of science, when at Cambridge. He was at this time [in 1831] a sincere and zealous Radical, and such men were of the utmost value as supporters of the Liberal cause in Parliament, being few in number, though in some measure distinguished for ability” (Grote 76). Harriett’s husband George Grote was a historian, a writer, a founder of the London University, and served as a Member of Parliament during the same time that Henry Warburton served. He was also a close personal friend of Jeremy Bentham. Because of Grote’s connections and because his wife examined his personal papers after he died, Harriett Grote knew and could comment on Warburton’s person.

bodies for medical purposes from *all* classes; rather, he targeted the bodies from the classes where dissident voices could be easily silenced. Rather than create political turmoil, Warburton chose to exploit the poor and justify this policy with the notion that all persons would ultimately benefit from advancements in science. However, because the poor could not afford regular medical attention, and in fact, only went to the hospital or hired doctors in extreme circumstances, the upper classes clearly benefitted medically more than the lower classes.²⁸

An anonymous letter to *The London Times* editor on September 4, 1829 attempted to address the problem of class bias by arguing that the bill did not target the poor, but rather the friendless, thereby focusing less on the effect of social class and more on a reflection of social relations. The author states,

So far from attempting to affix a stigma upon poverty, we do not legislate with regard to the poorer orders inasmuch as they are poor, but inasmuch as some of them happening to die *unclaimed*, no one's notions of propriety of esteem can be shocked by the dissection of their bodies...It is perfectly true that the enactment does not touch the rich; but there is no particularity in this: in the law the rich are not contemplated, not because they are rich, but because the bodies of the rich are never found unclaimed in workhouses, hospitals, or any where else (Letter 2, emphasis in original).

The writer's attempt to reframe the implications of the bill in order to placate the lower classes seems hardly worth the trouble, especially since a few months later, in another letter to *The London Times*, a different writer who calls himself "Medicus" supports the bill, but admits that pauper bodies are targeted. In fact, he points out that the Archbishop of Canterbury and Lord Tenterden were key players in the bill's failure because they opposed "the propriation of the bodies of the friendless poor to the purposes of

²⁸ Tim Marshall states, "Only in the considerable long term did the poor stand to gain from an improved state of medical education; in 1827 their bodies simply served the interests of the wealthy" (50).

dissection” (Medicus 2). “Medicus” predicts that a future Anatomy Bill will pass, and that it is inevitable that the poor will be the victims. “It is necessary,” he writes, “that a portion of those who die friendless should be substituted for such as have the advantage of friends to care for them” (2). Both articles define dissection subjects as being “friendless,” which redefines the term “friend” in economic terms. If a person has the financial means to bury a body, then they are defined as a “friend;” on the contrary, if a person has no acquaintance able to bear the financial burden of burial, he or she would be considered “friendless.” According to the authors of the articles, money, not relationships, defines friends. This imposed definition would have affected class formation and consciousness, since part of the formation of class depends upon having relationships and friendships with people from one’s own class. Since the laboring classes had a different definition of friend not based on money, the class stratification became more defined.

Another letter to *The London Times* in December of 1831 by Mr. Brodie, an “eminent surgeon,” reiterates “Medicus’s” idea that the friendless must be sacrificed, but that it is not only the poor friendless—that the rich friendless will be equally as vulnerable (Brodie 3).²⁹ He admits that the working classes may take offense at the bill but attempts to reframe judgment about the bill by implying that all who have friends are excluded from the possibility of dissection. “In opposition of the plan proposed, that it may be considered as a very harsh and arbitrary measure on the part of the legislature to point out any particular class of society, as furnishing subjects for dissection, while the

²⁹ Charles Dickens addresses this claim in his novella *A Christmas Carol*, where future Ebenezer Scrooge’s body is shown as unclaimed and abandoned by the Ghost of Christmas yet to Come.

other are exempt” (3). However, based on the economic-based definition of “friend,” bodies of people from the more financially comfortable classes would not be sold to anatomy schools, since regardless of how many friends the people in these classes had, they still had the money to be buried, thereby preventing their bodies from being sold to medical schools. In this way, an individual without friends could become a “friend” to himself by providing his own means for burial after death. The attempt to mask the implications of the bill with a change in semantics did not entice the lower classes to embrace dissection.

The 1829 bill includes a passage describing the means by which anyone, regardless of class, could bequeath their bodies for dissection. The bill states, “If any person shall, during his lifetime, attested by two or more witnesses, declare that he is desirous that his body after death may be delivered up for dissection, it shall be lawful...provided that [his body is accompanied by] a certificate signed by three or more physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries that the deceased came fairly by his death.” Though this addition implies that all classes of people could contribute their bodies to science, the low number of bodies actually bequeathed to anatomy schools makes the stipulation seem more like an empty gesture on the part of the writers.³⁰ The bill does stipulate that the medical schools must wait 72 hours before dissecting a person in order to give the family time to claim the body.³¹ Being retrieved by their family, however, is the only way that a person can avoid dissection if they die in workhouses, prisons, or

³⁰ Richardson’s research suggests that it is nearly impossible to discover exactly how many persons bequeathed their bodies to science. The appointed inspector of anatomy combined the number of bodies bequeathed with the number of bodies that died in lodgings that needed parish burial. The combined number of corpses in this category between the years 1832 and 1857 is 135, indicating a very low number of body bequeathals (Richardson 369-70).

³¹ This period is shortened to 48 hours in the Anatomy Act.

hospitals. There is no stipulation in this bill that a person can request in writing *not* to be dissected after death. The default, therefore, is that bodies of the poor will be dissected, and bodies of the rich will not.

Though the 1829 bill intended to provide a solution to the problem of grave robbing and the negative reputation of medicine, several people voiced their opposition to the bill. One letter to editor of *The Lancet* on June 1, 1829 was signed only as M.R.C.S. and states that in regards to the means by which the surgeons will obtain the bodies, “I do object to the cold-blooded details, the infamous omissions and commissions, which characterize this bitter bill” and concludes: “permit me to [...] enter my protest against the Bill” (319). The “omissions and commissions” refer to the specific targeting of lower class bodies for dissection subjects and the way that the poor will not necessarily benefit from the legislation. The “cold-blooded details” point to how the writers of the bill pretend that this bill is to help people in all classes, but that the poor are the only ones who are asked to sacrifice their bodies in order to advance medicine. The author describes the bill as “bitter,” but it seems more to describe his emotional reaction to the bill’s class bias. This author uses the power of his pen to “enter a protest against” the Anatomy Bill, proving how important this is to him.

Another letter to the editor in the same issue pleads for someone in the House of Commons to stand up for the poor people and prevent the bill from passing. R. Gibson writes, “Something like shame at so just and touching an appeal might have arisen, to spare us the infliction of a measure of which I hardly know how to speak in terms of sufficient indignation” (319). This author recognizes that people in the lower classes lack the influence to prevent this legislation from passing, so he uses an emotive appeal to ask

for governmental representatives' assistance. He refers to the "shame" that the representatives should feel, and implies that people from all classes should feel "indignation" at such a biased bill. The editorials written in immediate reaction to the bill show that the people understood the implications embedded in the bill and disapproved.

Even some people from the medical field voiced their reservations about the legislation. Dr. Southwood Smith was one of the doctors who gave his testimony in the Select Committee Report on Anatomy. Smith provides a criticism of the 1829 bill in *The Westminster Review* stating that the poor live only for the rich, and that the bill will ensure that they serve them also in their deaths (Richardson 160). Although Smith, being a doctor, would clearly benefit from the passing of such legislation, he still sees the injustice of using only bodies of one class of people, and seems to feel the "shame" and "indignation" that the Gibson assumes everyone should feel in regards to the Anatomy Bill.

Europe

This idea of using unclaimed bodies for dissection is not unusual when we look at what other European countries were doing during this time. Austria, for instance, established a practice of performing post-mortem examinations on all patients who died in a hospital and using unclaimed bodies as dissection subjects. Likewise, Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands established policies where bodies that would be buried at the public's expense could be used as dissection subjects. In Holland, surgeons even went so far as to provide public lectures and practical demonstrations about anatomy and dissection in order to educate the public and reduce fear about medical research and

practices.³² Whereas in England there were riots and evidence of written condemnation of the treatment of dissected bodies, there is no evidence of people in other European countries voicing opposition to dissection. This may be because dissection in other countries was considered a necessary part of medical instruction and was viewed by the general public in most of continental Europe as such.

One of the most popular anatomy schools in Europe was the French Administration des Hopitaux, which established dissection as a teaching tool. The school established a widely known and uncontested practice of using unclaimed bodies as dissection subjects. The practice resulted in well-trained French surgeons and no documented riots about this practice.³³ Even the Select Committee's report that so influenced the writing of the first Anatomy Bill describes France's system as one Britain should model. The report states,

There are no private dissecting schools at Paris, but two public ones; that of the Ecole de la Medicine, and that adjoining the Hôpital de la Pitié. These are supplied exclusively from the different hospitals and from the institutions for maintaining paupers, the supply from certain of these establishments being appropriated to one school, and that from the remaining establishments to the other. [...The bodies of the dead] are conveyed from the hospitals, at an early hour, in a covered carriage, so constructed as not to attract notice, to a building at the schools, set apart for that purpose. They are then distributed by the procureurs (anatomical demonstrators) to the students; and, after dissection, being again enveloped in cloth, are conveyed to the nearest place of interment.
(9)³⁴

³² For more information about specific dissection practices throughout Europe, see James Bailey's work on the subject (120-2).

³³ In his book on dissection in England during the nineteenth century, John Knott notes that in the early nineteenth century, France was able to progress in medical advancements because they had a ready supply of dissection cadavers (3).

³⁴ According to *The Medico-Chirurgical Review and Journal of Practical Medicine*, published in the 1827, "procureur" refers to a demonstrator of anatomy.

The committee assumed that because this system worked in France, it would easily translate to England. During this time France was the epitome of dissection and anatomy training. *The London Times* reported on April 19, 1828 that “from 150 to 200 British students annually went to Paris to pursue their [medical] studies” (“Meeting” 7). The committee reasoned that Britain could use France’s method as a model for reconstructing its own system.

The committee, however, did not take into consideration how seriously people were affected by Parliamentary legislation. This was possibly because legislation such as the Murder Act affected certain classes and groups of people more than others. The surgeons only considered the positive benefits of adding more dissection subjects to their tables and did not connect their practice with emotional repercussions by their patients. For people in the laboring classes, however, who may have even have seen the dissected bodies of murderers, the connection between criminality and dissection was ever present, which would have made most people fear the prospect of their own bodies being dissected. Neither France nor any other European country had ever legislated using dissection as an added punishment for murder, which may have influenced the difference in reactions between people from the continent and the British people.³⁵

Lasting Impact of the Murder Act

The 1829 bill did not repeal the Murder Act of 1751, presumably because the main purpose for the bill was to provide as many dissection subjects as possible to the

³⁵ I would like to acknowledge that because there were no riots or written opposition to using unclaimed bodies for dissection subjects does not necessarily mean that all people condoned and supported the practice. The lack of evidence about how people felt regarding dissection makes knowing their true feelings difficult, but the lack of documented protest does suggest that people throughout continental Europe accepted the practice more than in Britain.

anatomy schools. By focusing more on the material effects rather on the emotional impact that it could have, the authors of the bill created a document that strengthened the connection between poverty, criminality, and dissection. People in the lower classes understood that Parliament was targeting their bodies because there were not enough murderers to fill the needed dissection subject quota, which also contributed to their understanding that part of how their class was defined included a vulnerability to being dissected after death.

William Burke had been dissected only four months before the bill was brought to Parliament, which in essence asked that paupers share Burke's (and other murderers') fate. On May 15, 1829, a staff writer for *The Lancet* highlighted the bill's callousness towards the lower class people when he asked in an article, "if dissection be a punishment and a degradation, on what principle of humanity or of justice, is it to be inflicted by Act of Parliament on the bodies of the innocent and unoffending poor?" ("Mr. Warburton's Bill" 211). The writer reminds readers that despite the recent legislation implying otherwise, poverty does not equal criminality. He also uses the terms "humanity" to emphasize the human factor in this issue, which was so easily forgotten, especially when surgeons practiced medical detachment from their patients and subjects.

Not everyone empathized with the lower class plight, however. An article simply entitled "Anatomy" was published in *The London Times* on January 15, 1829 and posits that the Murder Act is irrelevant to how people feel about the Anatomy Bill. The article states, "It has been said that dissection is objected to because murderers are dissected; but the truth of this supposition I entertain great doubt...When the examination of a body, whether of the rich or of the poor, is solicited by a physician, when did he receive a

refusal, on the ground that murderers only were opened? Never. Such a thing never entered into the imagination of any one” (“Anatomy” 3). The article makes numerous mistakes, including not distinguishing between how people feel about surgery and how they would feel if their bodies were dissected against their wishes. In addition, this author who may or may not have been a medical practitioner, lumps bodies of rich and poor together on the hypothetical dissection table to make a blanket statement about how people feel about dissection. But he neglects to acknowledge that the bodies of poor people outnumbered the rich at a very high rate as dissection subjects, ignoring a class bias and showing a clear lack of understanding that it was the class association with criminality that created distaste about the bill. The writer uses flawed logic to determine that there should be no offense.

Many surgeons, however, voiced their opinion that not repealing the Murder Act could have a negative impact in passing the Anatomy Act. *The London Times* published notes on a meeting of physicians in April of 1828, during the time that the first Anatomy Bill was being drafted. Dr. Southwood Smith reportedly stated that he advocated for “the removal of those enactments which inflicted dissection as a punishment” (“Meeting” 7). Smith recognized, along with much of the population, that the British government had worked hard to make dissection a deplorable and horrendous punishment for the crime of murder, and without repealing the Murder Act, poor people and murderers would be treated equally after death.³⁶ People like Sir Walter Scott, for instance, condemned the

³⁶ Other members of the more comfortable classes, such as Sir Walter Scott, opposed the Anatomy Bills because the Murder Act was not repealed. In his 1829 journal, Scott notes that he opposes the Anatomy Bill because dissection was still tied to murder. Scott adds that it was not just the connection to murderers that made the bill repulsive, but also the fact that the poor and friendless have no choice about whether or not they are dissected (Marshall 28-9).

Anatomy Bill in his 1829 journal for being thoughtless about people's sensibilities on this subject, but the surgeons who supported repealing the Murder Act seemed more interested in the negative effect it could have on the passing of the Anatomy Act, rather than because it was considered offensive to the lower classes.

Nevertheless, there were people who submitted articles in opposition to the Anatomy Act because they were personally offended by the connection it made between the lower classes and criminals. In the June 6 issue of *The Lancet* in 1829, soon after the Anatomy Bill was published in British periodicals, a supposed workhouse inmate's letter to the editor describes his emotional reaction to the bill. "[An] Act of Parliament [...] consigns me to dissection like a murderer, because I am poor. Gracious Heaven! and can this take place in England. In the abstract, dissection I should disregard, but I look with horror upon being classed with and treated like a murderer" (Unclaimed 320). In this man's case, his main objection was clearly that the Murder Act would have remained in effect if the 1829 bill passed. The writer of this letter signed the letter, "I am, Sir, Your very humble servant, One of the UNCLAIMED. Workhouse—Worchestershire" (320). Even before he died, the writer describes himself as "unclaimed," meaning that he had no living relatives or friends and knew that if this legislation passed, his body would be vulnerable to being sold by the workhouse to a medical school. The despair and dread expressed by the writer about the destiny of his body is seen in his word choice, specifically of words such as "murderer" and "horror."³⁷ The author reiterates wording

³⁷ We must acknowledge that because the letter is anonymous, it could have been fabricated by the journal's staff in order to represent a workhouse inmate's voice. Writing to a periodical at this time would not have been easy for a person living in the workhouse, not only because they had little if any leisure time to write, but also because writing and sending a letter cost money that a worker might not have had. The paper and ink would have cost money and would not have been readily available in a workhouse, and the

from the Murder Act, whose full title is “An act for better preventing the horrid crime of murder.” The author also chooses to use the word “disregard,” referring to the fact that he feels nothing in regard to dissection in the abstract. This word choice is interesting, however, because it reflects the sentiment of the bill’s supporters in regard to the feelings of those in the laboring classes. The writer’s current state of “horror” allows us to see the affect that the bill had on people who were still living. The anticipation of future bodily treatment coupled with the disregard about their feelings while alive resulted in this negative reaction to the bill.

Ireland

In 1801, the Act of Union was passed, establishing Ireland as a part of Great Britain. Though Roman Catholics gained rights through the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829, the Irish were still a part of Britain’s growing colonial empire, the spoils of which included dead bodies. Exporting bodies from Ireland to England and Scotland was an overlooked practice during the early nineteenth century when there was a shortage of bodies for dissection in major cities such as London and Edinburgh (Richardson 120). The 1829 Anatomy Bill states, “nothing in this Act contained shall extend to Ireland,” thereby intending to leave Irish graves more vulnerable than English ones. In March 14, 1829, a letter to the editor in *The Lancet* entitled “On the Exportation of Dead Bodies from Ireland to England and Scotland” objects to how the protection of Irish bodies is entirely overlooked. The article states, “an objection has been stated which deserves some attention, and it is this: --That the exportation of dead bodies is precisely as

stamp to send the letter would also have cost money. Regardless of whether it is actually from a workhouse inmate, this letter reflects the types of objections that the poor might have had during this time.

justifiable as the exportation of dead or live bullocks; or, in short, of any other commodity which Ireland imports into England or Scotland” (775).³⁸ It was not necessarily the practice of dissection or disinterment that the author had a problem with; it was the fact that England was benefiting from Irish grave robbing. The author explains,

If circumstances, therefore, render the exhumation and the sale of bodies necessary in a given place, I think the exigencies of that particular place should be the measure of the evils of the system; and that it is too much to expect that any people would permit the extension of these evils for the accommodation of the inhabitants of another country who would thus have all the advantages without any of the inconveniences of such system. (775)

So it is evident that the author does not voice a negative opinion about dissecting the poor; rather, he focuses on the colonial implications of the medical profession. The clause specifies that the place where the body is located, both in the class structure and in the Empire, determines the fate of the body after death. This system indeed generated bodies for dissection, but yet again, legislation in Parliament increased fear among people whose bodies were targeted for dissection.

The motivation for including this clause in the 1829 bill, which essentially condoned importing bodies from Ireland in that there would be no penalty for Irish grave robbing, could have been to ensure a back-up plan in case the bill failed to provide sufficient bodies for dissection in England. When the bill finally passed and became an act on August 1, 1832, Ireland was included in the legislation, and interred bodies in Ireland were provided with the same protection as in England and Scotland. The

³⁸ Over one hundred years previously, Jonathan Swift comments on the dehumanization of the Irish people and their bodies in his satiric essay “A Modest Proposal.” In this essay, Swift suggests that in order to ease financial burden, Irish babies should be sold for food by their mothers to rich Englishmen as a delicacy.

Anatomy Act made grave robbing a punishable offence throughout the UK and stipulated that bodies could no longer be shipped from Ireland to England or Scotland and that schools of anatomy in Ireland would be supplied with local pauper bodies. Despite the ultimate change in legislation, the earlier exclusion of Ireland shows the government's attitude towards the Irish people and the value of their bodies, as less than those of the English.

The Council's Letter

A few months after Bishop and Williams were hung and dissected, the Council of the Royal College of Surgeons submitted a letter to Parliament urging the passing of the Anatomy Bill in order to establish a legal way to secure bodies for dissection and to prevent murdering for profit. The letter argued that the study of anatomy was absolutely necessary for a medical student to become a proficient practicing doctor. The surgeons were faced with a dilemma: On the one hand they regretted procuring bodies through illegal means, but on the other hand they knew doctors must be trained properly in order to become capable in surgery. The Letter of Surgeons states:

It is not possible that any one should be properly qualified to practice in this department of the Healing Art, who has not obtained a due knowledge of Human Anatomy, and explored with his own hand the structure of the dead body: proofs of their having done so have therefore been always required of candidates who have presented themselves for examination... [Medical practitioners] were aware that the want of properly educated Surgeons would prove a serious evil to the Public. However much they might be inclined to encourage the use of preserved parts and models as subsidiary means of teaching Anatomy, they were convinced that these are of themselves quite inadequate to afford that minute, complete and accurate knowledge which is necessary in Surgical Practice, and which the Student only acquires by Dissection. (1)

The letter attempts to convince members of Parliament of surgeons' responsibility to the people when they note that doctors have experimented with alternative methods of practice, but that these are insufficient for training doctors. The surgeons imply that they are stuck in a bind, since the substitutes were inferior in comparison with real human bodies. The letter attempts to make the public complicit in its goals by stating that they practice for the public good and for no other reason: "The Council believed that they could not properly perform their duty to their Sovereign, from who the College received its Charter, nor to the Public, for whose benefit it was granted, without insisting on the study of Anatomy by dissection, as the most important part of Surgical Education" (1). By reiterating the importance of the study of anatomy, the letter reacts to the public's outrage about the recent murders and the public's call for more responsibility on the surgeons' part. The authors of the letter knew that they needed to make a case for the legal procurement of dissection subjects, but they likely also knew that the wealthy would profit more than the poor from legislation in this field. Although surgeons tried to demonstrate that all British citizens would benefit from the establishment of a legal trade in dead bodies, the fact remained that laboring bodies were exploited both in life and in death.

The letter of surgeons that was sent to members of the UK Parliament was published in *The London Times* on December 30, 1831 and in *The Lancet* in January of 1832, soon after the new Anatomy Bill went to Parliament, which allowed the public to understand that the medical field supported the legislation. The letter echoes some earlier mentioned sentiments regarding the concern with the fact that surgeons have been accused of being complicit in criminal acts by buying bodies that were either murdered or

stolen from graves. The letter states, “Bodies used for dissection in the Anatomical Schools have necessarily been procured by illegal means; by the invasion of consecrated ground, and the disturbance of graves, in a way disgusting to Society at large, and especially offensive to the friends and relatives of the deceased” (1). The letter acknowledges the public disapproval of the methods used for securing dissection subjects, but rather than connecting with the laboring classes to design a system that is acceptable across class lines, the authors use this knowledge to justify using unclaimed pauper bodies as dissection subjects. With this document in the public arena, people’s fear about surgeon’s commoditization of bodies was confirmed.

The letter also addresses the crimes that were recently committed by Bishop and Williams, using fear created from this phenomenon to push their agenda: “If the Council of the College continues to require that those who present themselves for examination shall have studied Practical Anatomy, who can venture to say that crimes similar to those what have just now filled the Public with dismay will not be again committed?” (2). This question addresses not only Parliament, but also the public, since the letter implies that all bodies are vulnerable to murder for profit if legislation is not passed to legalize dissection and secure a legal means for attaining bodies. The letter anticipates counterarguments about this reasoning by excusing surgeons from any complicity in the recent murders for dissection subjects: “It is vain to imagine it always possible to distinguish the body of a person who has been murdered from that of one who has died a natural death” (2).

The writers of the letter admit that there will be opposition to any bill that specifically targets a certain class in the legislation. The letter states, “[Surgeons] have, however, been aware that some serious objections might be urged to the course which

they thus ventured to take” (1). Although the letter is not specific about who would object to the bill, we can deduce from newspaper editorials and articles opposing the bill that people in the lower classes have the most hostility towards the future legislation. Like the Select Committee report published nearly three years previously, the 1831 letter addresses the global impacts that a lack of legislation on dissection subjects has had:

In the other countries in Europe, Anatomy is taught only under a License, and in certain places appointed by the Government, and an exact Register is preserved of all the bodies consigned for Dissection. But it is a contradiction to suppose that any such License can be granted, or such a Register preserved in this country, where the study of Anatomy is barely tolerated, and where not only the procurers of dead bodies, but the Anatomical Teachers and Students are alike engaged in illegal pursuits.
(2)

Specifically addressing the public’s opinion and editorializing on how it reflects upon the entire country provides commentary not only on the reputation of British doctors, but also about British national pride and the public’s consciousness about their own country. At this time, Britain was working hard to establish itself as a world power, but this letter implies that teachers and students involved in “illegal pursuits” reflect badly upon the whole nation and its world presence.

The January 1832 Bill

The Anatomy Bill was revised in January, 1832 and the authors of the bill needed to find a balance between meeting the needs of the anatomy schools and making provisions that Parliament would approve. The authors, therefore, changed the title to focus more on medical training than on grave robbing, repealed the Murder Act, and used more ambiguous words to make the meaning of the provisions more vague.

The title was changed from “A Bill for Preventing the unlawful Disinterment of Human Bodies, and for regulating Schools of Anatomy,” to “A Bill for regulating Schools of Anatomy.” The authors eliminate the mention of preventing grave-robbing, focusing the bill on educating medical practitioners, as opposed to the 1829 title, which refers to disinterring bodies first and relegates anatomy education to a secondary notion. The 1832 title reflects the suggestion from the Council’s Letter that anatomy schools should be the primary focus of this bill.

In response to the negative reception the 1829 bill received from people in all classes in regards to allowing the Murder Act to remain in effect, the 1832 bill specifically repeals the Murder Act: “The Body of every Person convicted of Murder shall, after Execution, either be dissected or hung in Chains, as to the Court, which tried the Offender, shall seem meet...is hereby repealed.” The bill stipulates that people convicted of murder after their execution will “either be hung in Chains, or be buried on the Highway.” This added punishment still allows murderers’ bodies to be displayed publicly or buried in shame, but attempts to separate the practice of dissection with punishment and criminality.

The 1832 bill also changed many of the terms used in the earlier bill to reduce the offense and fear that the last bill caused. The January 1832 bill states,

And be it Enacted, That it shall be lawful for any party having lawfully the custody of the Body of any deceased Person, and not being an Undertaker, or other party entrusted with the body for the purpose only of Interment, to permit the Body of such deceased Person to undergo Anatomical Examination; unless, to the knowledge of such party, such Person shall have expressed his desire, either in writing at any time during his life, or orally in the presence of two or more witnesses during the illness whereof he died, that his Body after death might not undergo such examination, or unless the surviving Husband or Wife, or any known Relative of the

deceased Person, shall require the Body to be interred without such examination.

The term “dissection” was changed to “anatomical examination,” implying that this would be a natural part of the medical process if death were to occur. In reality, anatomical examination is the equivalent of dissection, but the change in wording made it more appealing to the readers because of the negative connotation of the term “dissection.” The writers distanced themselves from this word by introducing terminology that sounded more scientific. In addition, the word “unclaimed” does not occur in the 1832 bill at all, presumably because the term had become synonymous with class bias, which the authors did not want to underscore. Places where bodies would be acquired (prisons, hospitals, workhouses) are not specified in the 1832 bill; the bill simply states that whomever has legal “custody” of a body can “permit” the body to “undergo Anatomical Examination.” This revised wording gives the *appearance* of not targeting pauper bodies for use as dissection subjects, but the material effects are the same as the 1829 bill.

This bill also addresses at length the possibility of opting out of dissection if the patients or workers so desire. Though this pays lip service to a problem highlighted in many of the newspaper editorials of the time, the question remains as to whether dying people’s wishes would really be respected, especially if they had no family member to claim their body and prevent it from being sold to medical schools. Many of the destitute people in the workhouses, prisons, and hospitals could not write, so a written will was not always present. Even if there were a will, it is unclear as to who would enforce it, especially if there was profit to be made with an unclaimed dead body.

The last significant change between the 1829 and 1832 bills is the way that surgeons attempt to protect themselves and their anatomy schools. The 1832 bill mandates inspectors for schools of anatomy in London and Edinburgh to ensure that bodies are properly interred and that the dissected bodies are legally begotten. London and Edinburgh housed the greatest number of medical schools and were the two sites where the most atrocious murders occurred in order to supply dissection subjects to surgeons. The bill appropriately states that the inspectors would be stationed here because of the larger populations. This bill illustrates an investment in improving the medical field's reputation: having routine checks on their schools would contribute to an improved public image. In addition to providing inspectors, the bill also stipulates that all bodies must be accompanied by death certificates, which would hypothetically prevent grave robbing and murder to supplement the need for dissection subjects. However, a further stipulation states that anyone in possession of a body will not be prosecuted as long as they, or the school where they are practicing, are licensed for dissection. The bill states,

No Member or Fellow of any College of Physicians or Surgeons, nor any Graduate or Licentiate in Medicine, nor any Person lawfully qualified to practice Medicine in any part of the United Kingdom [...] shall be liable to any Prosecution, Penalty, Forfeiture, or Punishment for receiving or having in his possession for anatomical examination, or for examining anatomically any dead human Body.

The inclusion of this paragraph indicates that fear was felt by multiple parties in regards to the issue of dissection. Paupers feared being dissected, and surgeons feared having penalties and punishments inflicted on them for the possession of a dead body. However,

because surgeons were influential in the drafting of this bill, they had the power to protect themselves, as opposed to people in the lower classes.

Part III: The Bills Become an Act

The May 1832 bill passed in both houses of Parliament and became an act on August 1, 1832. Entitled “An Act For regulating Schools of Anatomy,” the Act begins as the January bill does, focusing on improving medical practices rather than preventing disinterment:

Whereas a Knowledge of the Causes and Nature of sundry Diseases which afflict the Body, and of the best Methods of treating and curing such Diseases, and of healing and repairing divers Wounds and Injuries to which the Human Frame is liable, cannot be acquired without the aid of Anatomical Examination.

But the Act adds further reasoning as to why this is specifically important:

And whereas the legal supply of Human Bodies for such Anatomical Examination is insufficient fully to provide the means of such knowledge: And whereas, in order to further to supply Human Bodies for such purposes, divers great and grievous Crimes have been committed, and lately Murder, for the single object of selling for such purposes the Bodies the Persons so murdered.

The Act does not specify which crimes, but because Bishop and Williams were hung just months before it was written, the readers of the Act would likely have known that murder for profit was a key motivator of this Act. The preamble attempts to combine the interest of advancing medicine and its need for more bodies with the necessity of stopping and preventing murders to attain these bodies.

In most other aspects, the Act is similar to the previous January bill, including provisions that there must be a license for practicing dissection and that an inspector will

monitor the schools of anatomy. As proposed in the bill, the Murder Act was officially repealed when the Anatomy Act passed, and the punishment for murder was altered to being hung in chains or being buried on the highway. The January bill neglected to specify a time period by which a body must be claimed by family, but the Act states that a body must be claimed within 48 hours of death, which is a reduction from the time set by the 1829 bill.

The Act differs from previous bills in several ways, which may explain why the May bill passed in Parliament. Firstly, the Act extends to Ireland, making it no longer legal to import Irish bodies, and extending the same rights (and class bias) to the Irish people as to other British citizens. Secondly, the Act includes information about post-mortem examinations. The Act states, “And be it Enacted, That nothing in this Act contained shall be construed to extend to or to prohibit any Post Mortem Examination of any human Body, required or directed to be made by any competent legal Authority.” This stipulation about “post-mortem examinations” was a safety net for medical schools that were attached to teaching hospitals; while patients could request not be subject to anatomical examinations, the post-mortem exams could be done on any body as long as the dissections were focused specifically on determining the cause of death, thereby providing extra training for students in case there was a dearth of dissection subjects. This stipulation could apply to bodies in any class, though poor people were more likely to die in teaching hospitals, while people in the more comfortable classes could afford an attending physician in their home.

After the Anatomy Act passed, the material result was immediate. Records from London Returns indicate that during the year that the Anatomy Act passed, 445 bodies

for dissection came from workhouses, 135 bodies came from hospitals, and 15 bodies came from prisons (Richardson 369). Although some anatomy schools still had to buy bodies that were disinterred, the legalization of buying bodies from public institutions provided hundreds more bodies per year to schools. Over the next decade, 57,000 bodies were reportedly dissected in anatomy schools in London. Only a very small percentage (less than half a percent) came from places other than institutions that housed paupers (Richardson 271).

Many surgeons and doctors published articles emphasizing the benefits of dissection and asserted that there could be no offense toward a dead body, but not all persons in the medical field supported the Anatomy Act. For example, the editor for *The Lancet*, Thomas Wakely, published an article three months after the Act passed asking that it be “remodeled” due to the profound negative effects he foresaw. He writes,

Instead of removing the source of that deeply-rooted prejudice which exists against the practice of dissection, [the Anatomy Act] has added to its fervor, because the public, and the poorer member of it especially, have reason to believe, that overseers will sell their bodies to the anatomists, and thus derive a profit from their dissolution. (274)

He concludes his article, “This foul, this disgusting, this anti-humanizing, this blood-stained ANATOMY ACT, must be remodeled, or it will bring the profession into everlasting disgrace” (275). The strong and violent language that Wakely uses to describe the Act mirrors the violence that was done on bodies when dissected, and his article reflects the fear that people felt about the legislation. Wakely expresses concern that the Act will cause the public to further distrust medical practitioners and that it will solidify a negative reputation for the medical field in general by using bodies of unwilling subjects. He specifically notes that the class bias is clear, regardless of the vague

wording in the Act, and that rather than contributing positively to the medical field, it “anti-humanizes” the dissection subjects. Although Wakely was not a part of the poorer classes, his article encourages solidarity among the pauper classes to encourage the remodeling of the Act. Wakely’s written concern shows that there was a continued debate about the Act even after it passed.

There was a lack of substantial change between the 1829 bill and the Anatomy Act in regards to which bodies became vulnerable as dissection subjects, yet there were far fewer protests to the Act once it passed. The disparity between the number of letters to the editor before and after the Act passed suggests that the changes in wording and/or approach were responsible and people recognized the futility in voicing their opinions. However, people left a lasting mark on the bills and Act by calling them the “Dead Body Bill”, the “Dissecting Bill”, and the “Blood-stained Anatomy Act” (Knott 1).³⁹ These derogatory nicknames let future generations know that the public was aware of the legislated violence implied in the Act, changing the emotional consciousness of the population and impacting people’s bodily awareness throughout the Victorian Period.

³⁹ John Knott also notes that there was paranoia by the working class that the New Poor Law was working on conjunction with the Anatomy Act. He states “If they were poor they imprison them, then starved them to death, and after they were dead they butchered them” (2).

Chapter 2: Dissecting Collections

Illustrated Bodies and Medical Emotional Detachment in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

In April of 1782, Charles Byrne traveled from Scotland to London to seek his fortune. Unlike most travelers, however, Byrne was just shy of eight feet tall and made his living by allowing people to view his body for a fee. At the same time, John Hunter, a famous anatomist and surgeon, was practicing medicine in London and was pursuing his passion for collecting medical oddities and abnormalities. Hunter was intrigued by Byrne's unique stature and when he saw Byrne, Hunter recognized that Byrne was not well and predicted his impending death with interest. Byrne suffered from gigantism, a disease caused by a tumor on the pituitary gland, which reduces the lifespan of an individual significantly. Byrne was then 22 years old, and his health was rapidly declining. Aware that anatomists would be interested in his dead body, Byrne made his friends promise to bury him at sea, far from the reach of the scalpel. Byrne was terrified of dissection because of the association with criminality and because his religious faith implied that being dissected would deny him entry to heaven.

Despite Byrne's refusal to bequeath his body to science or sell the rights of dissection to a surgeon, Hunter paid the undertaker £500 to deliver Byrne's body to his dissection studio immediately after the giant man's death. The undertaker swapped Byrne's body in his coffin for stones, leaving friends to believe that the body was buried at sea, just as Byrne had requested. In fact, the most salient detail for this chapter is that Hunter boiled Byrne's body parts and reassembled the skeleton for display in his

museum.⁴⁰ The skeleton is still exhibited today in the Hunterian Museum in the Royal College of Surgeons in London.

While alive, Byrne would have been well aware of the interest of surgeons in collecting his body for dissection and display, since medical collecting was a part of medical practice. As we saw in chapter one, the process of establishing respectable and legal ways to practice dissection, anatomy training, and body trade was complex and controversial. This process, begun many years before the passing of the Anatomy Act and continuing into the present day, has resulted in a series of collections: of bodies, body parts, and artwork about bodies, all of which contributed as bodies of knowledge to British culture and the building of its nation.

What and how people collected in public museums was emblematic of the culture in which they lived.⁴¹ In many ways, this chapter is like a museum: images of dissected and live bodies are displayed to illustrate the ways that the human body became progressively more degraded during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, ultimately culminating in a governmental regulation of bodies in 1832. Like a curator, I have sorted through a vast number of visual representations of dissected bodies and have chosen images to create a collection of my own with a specific purpose that contributes to a new perspective about dissection and the Anatomy Act.⁴² The collection in this chapter shows how bodies were more objectified and degraded over a period of time as surgeons

⁴⁰ More information about Hunter's involvement with Byrnes can be found in Wendy Moore's book, *The Knife Man*, chapter 13.

⁴¹ Susan Pearce points out, "From the Romantic movement's earliest beginnings in English letters and conspicuously in Wordsworth's early poems...romantic minds have paid attention to the ordinary and the particular, and to the attempt to record the fleeting moments of people's lives" (318).

⁴² Selection makes a collection special and creates importance within chosen objects that belong in a specific collection. Susan Pearce notes, "The selection process clearly lies at the heart of collecting" (23) and goes on to state, "'Choice' is at the heart of the collecting process; a word which expresses its special dual nature as selection and as the allotment of value, whatever form this value may take" (27).

became more specialized and began to focus exclusively on body parts, rather than the whole body. By looking at the development of bodily representations and the relationships between these images, we can more fully understand why the Anatomy Act resulted in the British people fearing and distrusting medical persons and how bodily consciousness developed in the nineteenth century.⁴³

I begin the tour of my museum with images of bodies from a sixteenth century anatomy manual. Through an analysis of the images, we can see that medicine during this time was a holistic and humanist practice, whereby surgeons were urged to consider the entire human body when treating symptoms. We then move to the eighteenth century and look at drawings of dissections, especially illustrations that surgeon William Hunter commissioned. These images suggest a change in surgical training: rather than considering the whole body of the medical subjects, doctors began focusing on parts and sections of the body, which contributed to a cognitive shift in fragmenting the body. This reduction also had the side effect of increasing emotional detachment from the dissection subject and patient. The last images in this collection focus on the way that humanity was fragmented, which is indicated in images of a “freak show” exhibition of Sarah Baartman, also known in the nineteenth century as “The Hottentot Venus.” Images published of her and of people from Africa, in addition to posters that advertised the display of her body, demonstrate how the human body and humanity were further

⁴³ When objects are grouped together with purpose, the collection becomes an object in and of itself. There is value in collections and in the fact that each collection carries meaning about the culture and the society in which it is embedded. The collections carry a different, and sometimes more important, meaning than each individual object within the collection. Susan Pearce states, “What is true of all objects [...] is equally true of those groups of objects which we call collections... They, too, like all objects, hold meaning only in as far as they relate to other meaningful objects, for significance rests in the web of relationships which is physically inherent in each thing. All objects are parts of sets, often more than one set at a time, but collections are sets in a particular sense, which marks them off from other kinds of object sets” (20).

reduced during the period just preceding the passing of the Anatomy Act. This fragmentation of humanity prepared both the public and medical practitioners for fundamental changes in the way that bodies were treated both by the medical field and by the British government.

Part I: Humanism and the Holistic Approach to Medicine

Art is an interesting medium for representing dissections and dead bodies.

Through drawings and illustrations, artists' imaginations can enhance or dull anatomical features or provide accurate representations of the body that can be used later for teaching and learning. Regardless of the accuracy, however, all illustrations have the mediating artist through which the image is represented, and the artist is influenced by several external factors such as the viewers, the surgeon commissioning the art, and the culture in which they live. Leonardo da Vinci had an early influence on the way that anatomy and art influenced each other. Like Leonardo, apprentice artists often attended dissections so that they could understand the human body from the inside out.⁴⁴ Leonardo produced a vast body of work on painting and using images from dissections as tools for enhancing artwork, and his art reflects the way that art can mirror the connection of the body with nature. He shows, for example, how the human circulatory system is similar to rivers in

⁴⁴ In an instruction manual for artists, nineteenth-century painter John Brisbane encourages all artists to have an anatomical understanding in order to produce art that is based on real human anatomy. He writes, "A Painter, or Lover of the Arts of Design, must study anatomy with other views [than a surgeon]. As the representation of the outside or surface of the human body is the chief object of his art, he ought to study the structure of the body, and its inward parts, chiefly as they affect or are referred to the external surface, and make their appearance there, or are assistant in the better drawing and representation of it" (5).

nature.⁴⁵ His *Treatise on Painting* was published over 100 years after his death and unfortunately, because the text is disorganized and fragmented, those theories were misrepresented and therefore influenced only a small number of artists and scientists. His legacy, however, on connecting the body to nature both in art and science, is reflected in more organized texts such as sixteenth century anatomy manuals. Leonardo da Vinci's methods and techniques were hugely influential throughout Europe, especially in the way that art and science were not mutually exclusive and in the way that they could influence each other in fascinating ways. Because this project is interested in public works that influenced both the field of medicine and the public's opinion about the field, rather than focusing on images such as Leonardo's drawings on anatomy that were not easily accessible to the public, this first section focuses on two images from a sixteenth century anatomy manual, meant for public viewing and for training future surgeons.

The medical images in this chapter were commissioned by surgeons, and the details in the drawings indicate that the artists must have understood the way that surgeons theorized the body and the approach taken by surgeons during dissection. In 1543, Brussels-born Andreas Vesalius published a seven-volume anatomy manual entitled *De humani corporis fabrica (On the fabric of the human body)*, which included plates illustrating depictions of the human body and reflecting the holistic mindset that doctors had during this time. Although the body was reduced to the skeletal or muscular systems, the whole body was clearly the focus of these illustrations. Like Leonardo's drawings, the bodies are connected with nature, and the outside world is a part of the

⁴⁵ Giuseppe Arcimboldo, another sixteenth century painter, also connected with the body with nature by using used fruit and vegetables to compose faces. His work reflects the importance that nature had in Western thought at this time.

training that doctors received. Vesalius' manual became the foundational educational text for anatomy and dissection for over 200 years and it was the basis from which both anatomy students and lay persons learned about the human body.⁴⁶



Figure 1: Andreas Vesalius, *Second muscle man*, page 174. From *De humani corporis fabrica libri septem*, 1543. Courtesy of Wellcome Library, London.

⁴⁶ Because Vesalius worked in Italy, his dissections were likely not of illegal corpses. Anatomists in Italy legally dissected bodies of paupers who died in public hospitals or whose families could not afford to pay for their funerals or burials. As in England, murderers' bodies were also legally dissected in Italy, though in Italy dissection was used as a teaching tool rather than as a punishment. For more information about specific dissection practices throughout Europe in the nineteenth century, see James Bailey's account, pages 120-122.

Figure 1 illustrates the human body's complete muscular system. The artist has depicted the body in a classical pose: the body stands on the ground and points with his fingers to the heavens and the earth. The human body is represented as the mediator between the physical and the spiritual realms. Man's imagination is what connects the two realms, illustrating that man is more than just his physical body. The viewer is drawn to look at his hands and specifically his pointing fingers because they indicate purpose. Although the subject is in a static pose, the body seems to be in movement, allowing the viewer to humanize the body through the association we have with our own bodies. The pose is familiar to viewers because of the classic pose, but also because of the fluid way the arms and legs are positioned. In addition, the facial features look to where the fingers point, encouraging the viewer to look in that direction and also to consider how imagination develops through the human body.

The weight that the artist gives to human intellect when depicting the physical body reflects the training that surgeons received during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Vesalius was working at the University of Padua in Italy when he produced his anatomy book, and the anatomy theaters, especially in Bologna, Padua, and Milan, displayed images similar to the ones in Vesalius' text, so students viewing a dissection could make the connection between anatomical learning and the holistic medical perspective. Although dissection by its very definition is a reduction of the body from a whole being to a series of parts, by studying images like those in Vesalius' manual and by having the reminder that the parts they study contribute to a whole system, students learned to consider how the body was connected to nature and life. Because medical

training before the eighteenth century included watching dissections and not necessarily assisting in the dissection of bodies, it was possible that doctors would not have dissected a body before treating patients. The images and environment that helped train the doctors influenced the way that their patients were treated – they were not reduced to a collection of parts; rather, the whole body needed to be considered when doctors were healing symptoms.



Figure 2: Andreas Vesalius, *Skeleton contemplating a skull*, page 164. From *De humani corporis fabrica libri septem*, 1543. Courtesy of Wellcome Library, London.

Figure 2 is another illustration from Vesalius' manual, which portrays the skeletal system, also in a classical pose. St. Jerome, a fourth century Roman Catholic priest and doctor of the church, is often portrayed posing in paintings and drawings in a similar way contemplating a skull.⁴⁷ People would have been familiar with this pose, which may have caused the viewers to have sentimental connections to the figure in the illustration. By positioning the skeleton in this way, the artist makes the skeletal frame more accessible to the viewers and reminds viewers that the skeleton is a part of the human body, which contributes to the larger function of life. Just as figure 1 shows the complete muscular system, figure 2 displays a complete skeleton and encourages medical students to learn the skeletal system in its entirety, rather than in pieces separate from the whole.

Although the skeleton represents a whole body, part of the reason that the skeleton seems human is through the positioning of select body parts. The skeleton's legs are crossed in a uniquely human way, since they are positioned to enhance the body's comfort. Even though the skeleton stands in a stationary pose, because the legs are crossed, viewers anticipate movement or repositioning of the legs at any moment. The placement of the jaw also indicates life, since it is drawn as if breathing. The skeleton's hands are a focus in the illustration, one of which supports the head (or skull) and the other rests on a skull. Again there are indications of life – one hand supports where the mind was, and the other rests as if a conduit to impart information. The hands, therefore, become representative both of how we receive and transmit knowledge. The body parts are important to the story of the image, but without the rest of the body, the

⁴⁷ The fact that he is the patron of librarians, scholars, and students may be why a skull is often included in images of St. Jerome pondering the meaning of life and death.

parts are not as significant. The body parts gain importance through the study of the whole body. This taught surgeons to value the entire body and the life that that body held.

Part II: Reducing the Body

In this next section of the chapter we look at illustrations that reflect the change in anatomy training in the eighteenth century. The images in this section indicate that surgeons were encouraged to specialize and become experts on certain body parts and systems rather than on the whole body, which resulted in a cognitive shift in how surgeons connected to their patients. Medical schools began requiring more hands-on training for medical students, meaning that students themselves had to dissect bodies, rather than watch passively while others dissected a body. By reducing the body to its parts, the human aspect of the body was forgotten and emotional detachment from the dissection subjects and live patients increased. This objectivity in medicine had the effect of making surgeons consider only part of the patient when treating symptoms, rather than taking a holistic approach as their medical forefathers did. While images in the sixteenth century focused on whole systems and encouraged physicians to consider the human body as a complete entity when treating individual symptoms, the illustrations in this section demonstrate a fragmentation of the body through the focus on pieces of the body and on body parts. This change in imagery reflects a degradation of the body by those who were trained with these images.

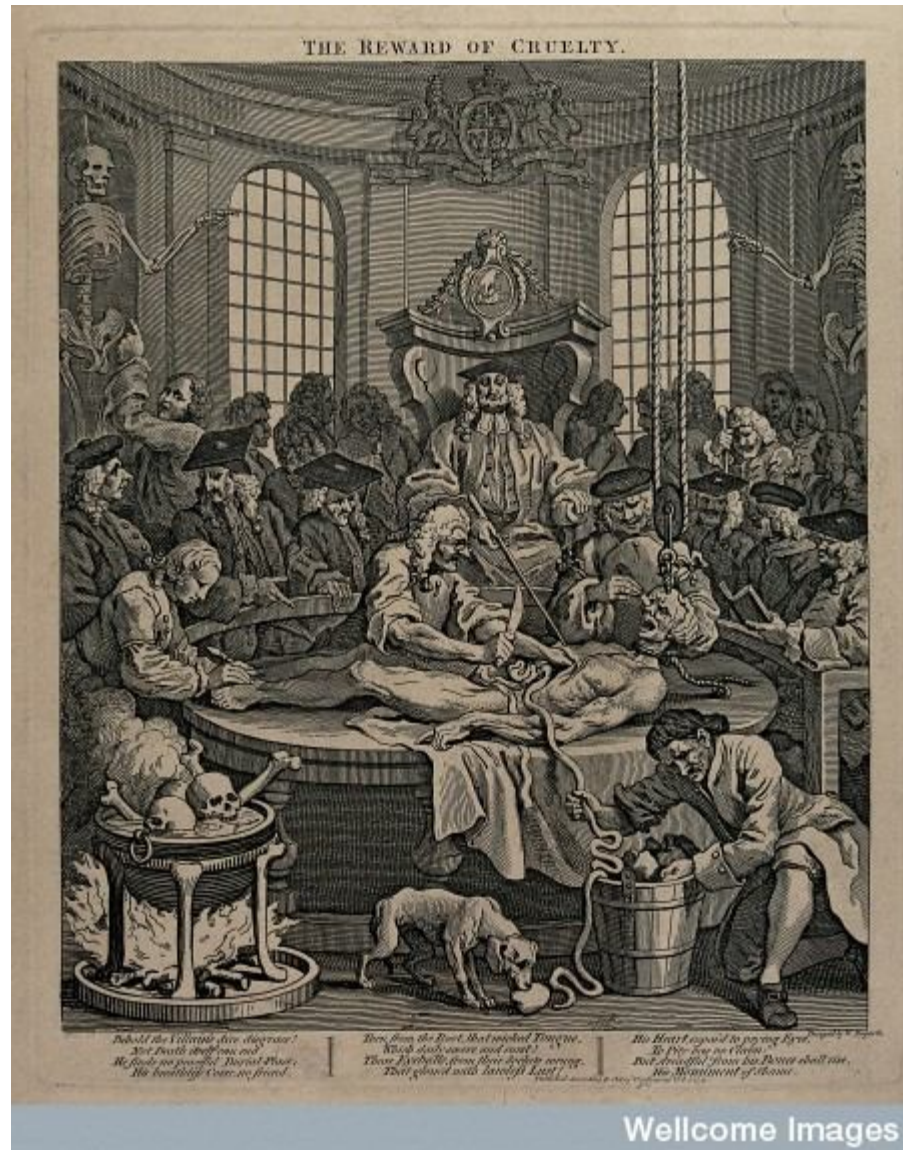


Figure 3: William Hogarth, *The Reward of Cruelty*, 1751. Courtesy of Wellcome Library, London.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ The text at the bottom of the painting completes a poem that Hogarth included in order to explain the images and provide a moral lesson for the viewers:

Behold the Villain's dire disgrace!
 Not Death itself can end.
 He finds no peaceful Burial-Place,
 His breathless Corse no friend.

Torn from the Root, that wicked Tongue,
 Which daily swore and curst!
 Those Eyeballs from their Sockets wrung,
 That glow'd with lawless Lust!

Figure 3 is the last of four printed engravings that illustrate the way that cruelty towards other beings ultimately results in punishment that was legislated by Parliament during that same year.⁴⁹ In the image, surgeons and medical students surround the body of the fictional character, Tom Nero (the main character in all the engravings), and the president of Royal College of Surgeons uses a pointer to train the medical students in anatomy. The body looks as if it has just come from the gallows since a noose is around the body's neck; the pained expression on his face indicates a horrific execution. Nero's hand points to bones of another body that are being boiled in the foreground, indicating that his fate is to be reduced to his parts. The reduction of parts is contrasted by a surgeon in the background who points to a skeleton, which is reminiscent of Vesalius' images of the complete skeletons. While the skeleton is complete, Nero's body is being reduced to parts by the many surgeons examining and dissecting his body.

Prints were made of this image and were sold for one shilling, which would have been affordable to people in all classes. Although Hogarth's message in the series of engravings is to discourage cruelty and violence, this last image had the added message that criminality and dissection are part and parcel. Therefore, this image would not only have been a deterrent to immoral behavior, but would also have contributed to the negative stigma that the medical field developed in the eighteenth century and that

His Heart expos'd to prying Eyes,
 To Pity has no claim;
 But, dreadful! from his Bones shall rise,
 His Monument of Shame

⁴⁹ The first three images represent cruelty in boyhood, in work, and in relationships. This image illustrates a satirical depiction of the workings of the Murder Act of 1751 that added the punishment of dissection to those convicted of murder. The Murder Act had been drafted, but not yet passed by the time Hogarth created this engraving, but was put into effect later that year.

continued into the nineteenth century. Viewers of this kind of image would internalize that dissection was connected to criminality and that dissection was a horrible fate to be feared and avoided by all.

Viewers would also notice the focused way that the surgeons observe and dissect the body, which is represented in the image both in the reduction of Nero's body and also in how the surgeon's bodies are illustrated. Each surgeon and assistant looks exclusively at the body part that they were assigned, and that the surgeons' bodies are not represented as whole (we see only arms, hands, and nondescript faces) indicates that they are specializing in their area and are no longer concerned with the whole body. The president using a pointer to focus the surgeons' attention on a specific part of the dissection process further fragments the body. One man dissects Nero's feet and another surgeon pulls out Nero's eyeball. While the assistant in the foreground of the engraving focuses on collecting the body's intestines, Hogarth reduced even his body to a collection of parts, since his leg, hands and face are the only thing that the viewer can see.

Although viewers may have been shocked at this picture of surgeons boiling bones, pulling an eye from its socket and allowing a dog to nibble on a body part, the medical students do not seem affected because they are learning about their future area of expertise; this is depicted as normal practice for the medical community. The difference in reaction between the surgeons and the viewers to the body's treatment shows that surgeons are moving further from being able to connect with their patients.



Figure 4: Thomas Rowlandson, *Three anatomical dissections taking place in an attic*, circa 1770. Courtesy of Wellcome Library, London.

Figure 4 is painting by Thomas Rowlandson, produced later in the eighteenth century that shows many aspects similar to Hogarth's engraving except that this image has the purpose of providing a less satirical depiction of what the dissection process may have looked like in the 1770s. This painting provides a transition between illustrations in early anatomy texts and images found in texts that were produced in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries because while the painting portrays bodies and has some aspects that Vesalius used in his anatomy manual, the overall message of the painting is that dissection subjects are now considered objects for study and training by surgeons. Whereas the bodies in figures 1 and 2 are infused with life and humanity, both the dead and the live bodies in Rowlandson's painting are lifeless and lack individuality or personality. The composition of the painting further indicates a shift in focus between

earlier medical training and that in the eighteenth century, since there is no representation of whole bodies – the painting is composed almost exclusively of faces, legs, arms, and hands. In contrast to the disparate body parts being studied are several complete skeletons in the foreground and the background of the painting (reminiscent of Vesalius' drawings of skeletons), which are largely ignored by the focused surgeons. Like Hogarth's engraving, the surgeons focus on specific parts of the body and there is a represented investment in specializing and becoming an expert within the field of medicine. A focal point for the painting is the arm of the dissection subject that has fallen to the floor, which forces the viewer to look at the body in parts rather than the body as a whole. The arm leads the viewer's eye to the subject's head and then to the surgeon's face and hands. Neither the dissection subject nor the surgeon's body is represented completely; we see the upper part of the dead body and the face, legs, and hands of the surgeon. This repetition of focus on body parts is seen throughout the painting. Whereas Vesalius' images show the relationship of body parts to the whole body, this painting shows body parts of different surgeons interacting with body parts of the dissection subjects.

Through his reduction of bodies to their parts, Rowlandson provides his understanding of current medical training and contributes to anxiety that people during this time felt about dissection because of the treatment of the bodies and the behavior of the surgeons. Cutting up and disemboweling bodies was a part of the dissection process, but that the surgeons paid attention *only* to the parts and neglected the whole body could cause anxiety for the audience. As mentioned in the last chapter, the most profound effect that the Anatomy Act had was on people's sentiments about how their bodies were

treated both after death *and* during their lifetimes, and this painting would have contributed to anxiety about the medical community's behavior because even the live bodies of the surgeons are fragmented and presented in pieces. In fact, there is little distinction in this painting between live and dead bodies: neither have distinctive facial features and especially the faces in the background of the painting lack life and individuality, thereby closing the gap between the dead and live bodies. This suggests a lack of emotionality in the field of medicine and could indicate to viewers that surgeons viewed all bodies, live and dead, as potential dissection subjects.

The body was considered a private entity, but dissection makes public a private aspect of the self. Not only are the bodies viewed by several surgeons, but Rowlandson has also made the bodies even more infamous by creating a collectible painting, which allows the bodies to be visually explored by the painting's viewers. Unlike Hogarth's depiction, the bodies in Rowlandson's painting are not necessarily murderers' bodies; they could be bodies of people who were disinterred. This possibility might encourage viewers to identify with the bodies, and the image would then serve as a reminder that images of bodies could be reproduced without permission, thereby violating an individual's privacy. This would have been a valid concern, since we will see further in this section that bodies of pregnant women were used as subjects for images in anatomy manuals without permission. Paintings like Rowlandson's do not glorify the dissection subjects, and people may have been concerned that their bodies would be documented in art as nothing more than a corpse used to train surgeons.

The placement of body parts in the painting would also have caused distrust in the medical field because the specialization gained by surgeons in focusing only on body

parts results in a dehumanization of the whole body. Although many people are studying the body in the center of the painting, the left hand of the patient has fallen to the floor. The simple depiction of the hand being allowed to drop to the floor signals the move from holistic to fragmented training and treatment, since this neglect indicates a shift from focusing on the health of the whole body to only treating specific symptoms, and possibly ignoring the rest of the body.

At the left of the painting, a body is disemboweled by a surgeon, and part of the intestines fall to the floor, again indicating a focus on particular parts and a disregard for those parts that are not being used for immediate training. When body parts were not needed, they could conceivably be thrown away, which would have separated them forever from their body of origin. One reason that dissection created anxiety was that the various parts of one person's body might be buried in different graves, making resurrection on judgment day impossible. The scene in this painting could have triggered anxiety and anger about this very possibility.

At the right of the painting is a splayed body whose facial features are all but absent, with holes for eyes and mouth. This illustrates yet another fear regarding dissection: that dissection subjects lose their individuality and become anonymous corpses. Although subjects all had names and lives before being dissected, this painting, and the scene on the right in particular, shows that the process of dissection involved an erasure of individual distinction. This scene represents an anonymity that surgeons desired; by transforming the body into a training object and reducing the body to a collection of parts, they could learn anatomy more efficiently. Although Vesalius' images did focus on parts of the body as well, the poses that the artist chose for the

bodies and the implied movement that the artist gave to the bodies allowed viewers to imagine a personality and individuality for the subjects, which gave the message to the viewer that sixteenth century doctors respected each patient as an individual. In Rowlandson's painting, however, the bodies have no personality and become generic corpses, implying that the surgeons paid no attention to bodies' individual origins and identities. The identity of the surgeons is also ignored – the facial features are similar and non-descript, indicating that dissection negatively impacts both the dissection subjects, as well as the anatomists.

The figures in Rowlandson's painting contrast sharply with the images that Vesalius used in his manual. The image of the muscle man in figure 1 indicates that imagination in humans is valuable and necessary for physical health. This is absent in all figures of Rowlandson's painting. The surgeons lack imagination and focus exclusively on the physical body. Both the dissected bodies and the surgeons are removed from nature and secluded in an attic with no inspiration from or connection to the outside world. Rather than acknowledging that the whole body connects with nature and life (as Leonardo da Vinci did with his anatomy paintings), the surgeons specialize in the physicality of the reduced body.

Like printings of Hogarth's engraving, this painting would have been available for viewing and purchase by the public and therefore could have influenced the way that people regarded dissection and surgeons' behavior. Rowlandson's painting indicates that training for surgeons has devolved from holistic consideration of bodies to a view that the body is simply a means to gain knowledge and nothing more. Viewers may have been disgusted with the way the bodies are neglected and reduced to objects of study, as

opposed to the Vesalius images that glorify the body and are reminiscent of the lived experiences of the studied bodies.⁵⁰

With the collectable images as an introduction to eighteenth century anatomy training, we will now view illustrations from an anatomy manual that was published in 1774. Surgeon William Hunter commissioned artist Jan van Rymsdyk to record in art dissections of pregnant women performed by William and his brother, John Hunter.⁵¹ William compiled the drawings and notes to produce a revolutionary text called *The Anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus Exhibited in Figures*.⁵² The book documents both in images and through notes the development of the child in the womb backwards from a full-term baby to a three-month-old fetus. The manual shows images the likes of which had never been seen before by anyone except those select few within the medical community who had had the opportunity to dissect a pregnant woman.⁵³ There would have been no opportunity for the public to view a dissected pregnant body, since the Murder Act only legally allowed the dissection of murderers' bodies. If a pregnant woman were convicted of murder, her execution would be stayed until after the birth, meaning that these dissections were distinctive and singular. The book provided the medical community with new images of dissection and pregnancy that were used to train surgeons in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The images encouraged surgeons to focus on sections of pregnancy, rather than the whole pregnant body. Even the process of

⁵⁰ As we will see in the next chapter, images like this in conjunction with literature such as Shelley's *Frankenstein* contributed to a negative stigma about medical practices and practitioners.

⁵¹ William Hunter also commissioned other artists to complete his manual, but the images used in this chapter were all drawn by Jan van Rymsdyk.

⁵² According to Wendy Moore, the vision to produce such a text was William's and the notes that accompany the images are his. But John Hunter reportedly performed the actual dissections, making the book a collaborative process.

⁵³ Moore points out that it was hailed as one of the "greatest anatomical works ever" (59)

pregnancy is fragmented into pieces, which advocated for understanding pregnancy in parts rather than as a holistic process. While the artistry and detail used is visually stunning and effective for training, the depiction of the body in fragments would have had the side effect of desensitizing surgeons to the dissected body and increasing emotional detachment of surgeons.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ Twenty five years later, German surgeon Samuel Thomas Soemmerring credited Hunter's manual as an inspiration to produce a similar text titled, *Images of human embryos [Icones embryonum humanorum]* (1799). His work provides pictorial supplement of growth and development of fetuses during the first five months of pregnancy. Soemmerring's continuation of the work that Hunter began indicates how foundational and influential Hunter's text was for future work. In 1829, Scottish anatomist Dr. Knox explains in an introduction to an anatomy textbook that it is crucial for anatomy students to have a visual knowledge of the human body and expresses gratitude to those earlier surgeons who provided the foundational texts that helped medicine progress. He states, "It cannot be denied that the anatomical student without the assistance of Plates, however zealously he may father his information from various works, and however carefully he may endeavor to retain knowledge thus obtained, will, unaided, make but little progress...bodies cannot be obtained always and everywhere, with equal ease...for this reason, we owe a debt of deep gratitude to those great men who have handed down, for the use and advantage of the student, engravings of their investigations" (Knox 1).

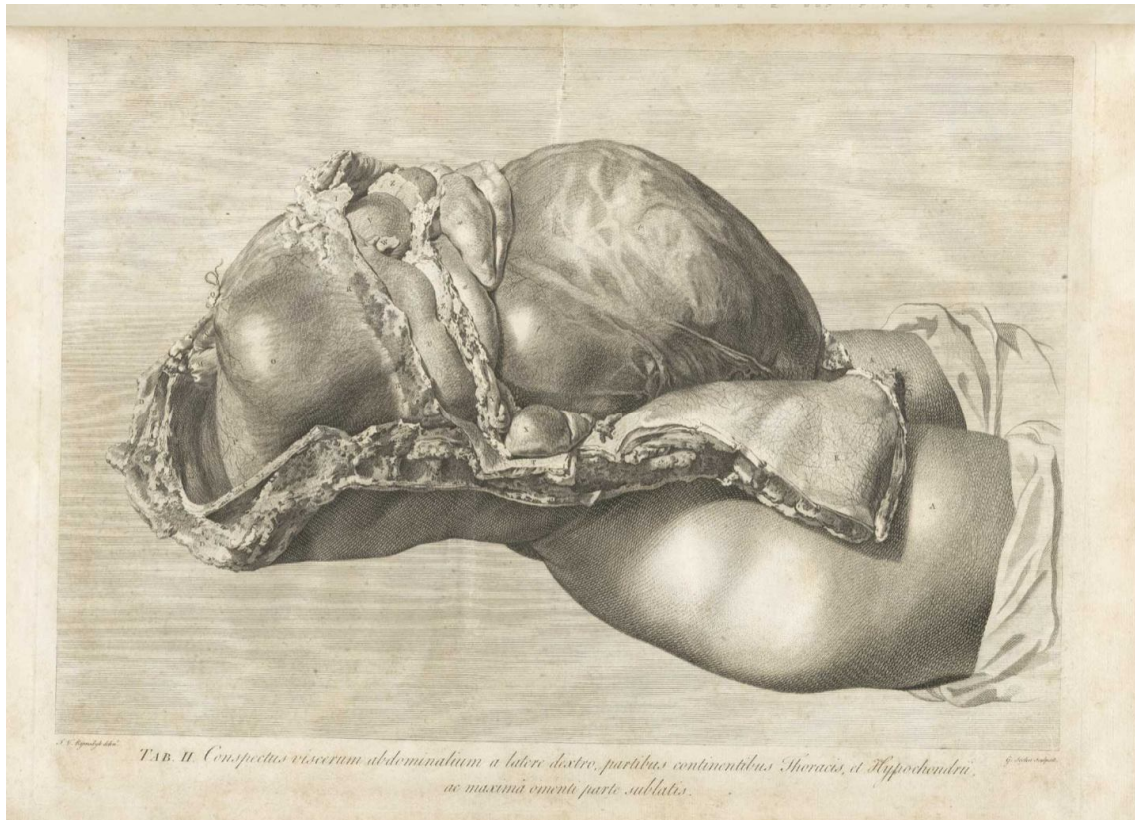


Figure 5: William Hunter, Plate II, 1774. From *The Anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus Exhibited in Figures*. Courtesy of Wellcome Library, London.

Figure 5 illustrates a woman's body in a late stage of pregnancy. The torso area has been opened, keeping the womb and internal body parts intact. The upper portion of her body has been removed, making the focus clearly on the middle section of her body. The artist focuses closely on representing accurate details of the organs, making this image representative of any pregnant body. As we saw with Vesalius' drawings and as we will see in Chapter 4 in nineteenth century paintings and photographs, an individual's hands and head can be distinguishing and indicate individuality. In contrast to Hogarth and Rowlandson's images where the bodies are reduced to generic faces, hands, and limbs, figure 5 includes many beautiful details of the body, but because the hands and face are not included, the body still becomes anonymous.

The purpose of the drawings was to aid in the training of future surgeons, and the details provided would have contributed to this focused training. The drawings would also have the effect of encouraging surgeons to become specialists by focusing on details of the body and the parts. Though specialists often treat symptoms effectively, the negative consequence was that the whole body and the individual could be disregarded. The drawing portrays a literal cutting away of parts that the surgeon did not feel were important for study. This drawing trained surgeons to think about the body as a collection of parts rather than a part of a whole, which had the overall effect of dehumanizing the subject and transforming the human body into an object.

The drawings in Hunter's manual portray the bodies in controlled environments, rather than in the real world. Vesalius' drawings include a background of nature – the bodies are outside of the dissection room, connecting the bodies with the earth and serving as reminders that bodies inhabit the outside world much more often than dissection rooms. Figure 5 represents the change that occurs in surgeon's conception of the body during the eighteenth century. Rather than recalling that bodies are a part of nature, the illustrations show a control of the bodies, since they have been placed in the dissection room. In contrast to images that Leonardo da Vinci produced, for example, which encouraged viewers to see the connections between the body and nature, Van Rymdyk's drawings lack any sort of association with nature or the humanities. Any factor that is not necessary for learning is left out of the drawing. Knowledge is now begotten in controlled and monitored environments, rather than in nature, which can change and is unpredictable. This image sends the message to the medical students that

focusing on patients in their natural situations is a wasted effort, and that controlling bodies in a sterile environment is now the preferred method of study.



Figure 6: William Hunter, “Tab VI: The child in the womb, in its natural situation.” From *The Anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus Exhibited in Figures*, 1774. Courtesy of Wellcome Library, London.

Figure 6 shows a more progressed stage of dissection with the uterine lining cut away to show the baby inside the womb. The note that accompanies this image indicates

that the purpose of the inclusion of this particular image is to illustrate the positioning of the baby and the placement of his body in relation to the internal organs of the mother. William Hunter notes, “Every part [on the baby’s body] is represented just as it was found; not so much as one joint of a finger having been moved to show any part more distinctly, or to give a more picturesque effect” (17). Hunter encouraged the artist to illustrate the body as it was, not with interpretation and without the emotional or sentimental lens of Vesalius’ drawings.

This realistic portrayal of the body was intended to encourage a more objective perspective about medicine and medical treatment, but it could not suppress initial reactions that medical students would have had to the images. The whole body of a dead baby lodged in the mother’s dissected birth canal and uterus would have been a shocking image to anyone in the eighteenth century. Although medical students may have already seen dead bodies, the body had not been represented in art in such a way before, and as mentioned earlier, it would have been unusual and unlikely for students to see a dissected pregnant body. The viewer, therefore, may not have been emotionally prepared for these images. Eventually this shock would wear off and could result in a desensitization of the students towards artistic representations and dissections. This numbing ultimately promoted an emotional detachment both from dissection subjects and from patients.

The images influenced an emotional devolution of the culture of the medical community. The fact that this body was pregnant when dissected would not only have been shocking, but it would have meant that the body was begotten through questionable methods. John Hunter, William’s brother, reportedly secured the bodies illustrated in *Gravid Uterus*. Since pregnant bodies would have been legally unavailable to surgeons,

the bodies almost surely were stolen from coffins and graves. The taboo nature of grave-robbing in addition to dissecting a pregnant body would have encouraged medical students to experience cognitive dissonance about how bodies were attained. The method used to secure the bodies would naturally cause anxiety and guilt, but the powerlessness that medical students may have felt about the situation and the system would cause them to justify the means with the end result. The natural emotional reactions that surgeons would have had both to the images and the bodies themselves were suppressed, and detachment and distance was encouraged.

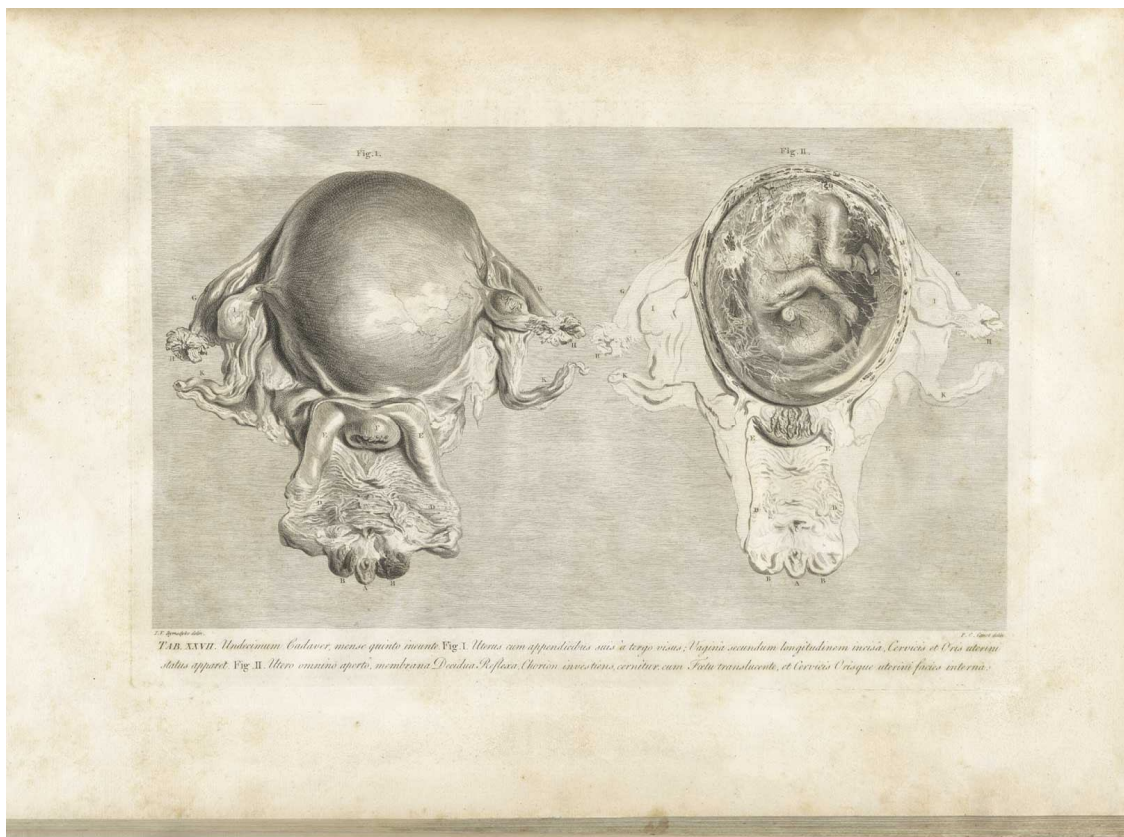


Figure 7: William Hunter, Plate XXVII, 1774 From *The Anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus Exhibited in Figures*. Courtesy of Wellcome Library, London.

Figure 7 shows two stages of dissection: the image on the left is an illustration of the outer part of the uterus and surrounding reproductive organs, and the image on the right illustrates a further stage in dissection with an image of the five-month-old fetus and part of the circulatory system that surrounds the baby. Unlike figures 5 and 6, which show the organs in relation to the surrounding body, this drawing shows that the uterus has been completely removed from the body. The process of dissection is the main focus here: whereas the body began as a whole entity, parts are removed from this body for careful study. The images are representative of a classical way to study anatomy by artists. Part of Leonardo da Vinci's artistic training included drawing body parts that had been removed from the body. But unlike artists, surgeons in the eighteenth century were not *also* required to study nature and the relationship between nature and the human body. Medical students would have been studying these images in conjunction with their practical training in the anatomy theater, dissection room, and/or teaching hospital. In none of their training would they have been required to connect the body to the outside world or nature; rather, these images encourage the students to become specialists in separated body parts.

This reduction of the body contributes to the public's anxiety about medical behavior. Both Hogarth's engraving and Rowlandson's painting show bodies being disemboweled and reduced to empty corpses. Hunter's images illustrate the pieces of the body that were removed from the body, leaving behind the corpse for disposal, possibly without the womb and the fetus' corpse. Not only could the body be buried without the womb (a part unique to a *female* body), but the mother and the unborn child might also have been separated. While the general public would have thought that this practice was

inhumane and cruel both to the memory of the individual and to the surviving family members, medical practitioners took a different perspective. Implicit in Hunter's images was a medical teaching principle: more effective learning would result from fragmenting the human body and focusing on isolated parts.



Figure 8: William Hunter, Plate XXVI: 3 Months Foetuses, 1774. From *The Anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus Exhibited in Figures*. Courtesy of Wellcome Library, London.

Figure 8 is a collection of images of dissected wombs. The images are described as being different perspectives of the womb from the front, the back, the side, and opened.⁵⁵ Like figure 7, this is an example of the body being reduced to parts and giving precedence to the individual parts rather than the whole body. It is also an illustration of the process of dissection because it shows how surgeons view the body parts from different perspectives. These different points of view imply a movement of the body parts, but not a natural action like those implied in Vesalius' bodies; rather they show a surgical manipulation of the body parts placed in different positions on the dissection table. Medical students were taught that this was a privileged viewpoint, since the general public would not have access to these images. They were also taught that it was the surgeon's prerogative to control patients' bodies in order to gain this perspective when practicing medicine.

That the manipulated body parts are unique to the female body indicate that surgeons desired control over a process that was unfamiliar to their bodies, since surgeons were exclusively male throughout the eighteenth century. The images show an increasing medicalization of the female body and a takeover by men in the field of obstetrics. Until the late eighteenth century, female midwives were the experts on the process of pregnancy and childbirth, and midwives were used exclusively to assist in the delivery of children. However, after assisting in Queen Charlotte's difficult delivery, William Hunter was named royal physician in 1764, and the trend to have male surgeons attend deliveries became more popular. Figure 8 represents the desire by men to control

⁵⁵ The text describes them in clockwise order starting with the left: "Fig. 1. Fore-view of the womb opened, full three months. Fig. 2. A longitudinal section of the womb. Fig.3. Back-view of the whole contents of the pelvis, consisting principally of the retroverted womb Fig.4. The womb opened to show the secundines and their contents."

a process that would otherwise be exclusively understood by women. While midwives considered the process of pregnancy and childbirth as a holistic process, these drawings show the breakdown of pregnancy into parts by men who replaced midwives as obstetricians.

The images also represent a control and regulation of motherhood. The bodies were pregnant, but the products of the bodies were fruitless, since the women died before giving birth. The images suggest that physicians not only desired knowledge about the pregnant body, but that they also desired the ability to control the products of women's bodies.⁵⁶ Figure 8 indicates a cessation of the process of pregnancy at certain moments as one would stop a machine, to understand and control certain moments in the process. The various perspectives of the womb are also manipulated, thereby imposing control over the viewer's experience of the female body – by putting the collection of wombs in one image, the viewer must observe them as objects completely removed from the body and take the perspective of an anatomist viewing individual body parts rather than an intact wife, mother, etc.

The art throughout Hunter's manual also serves as an emotional buffer between the observer and the body. The skillful ways that the artist depicted the women's and children's bodies makes the viewer focus more on the beauty of the art and less on the horrible implications of a drawing of a pregnant body. Depicting the body in art has the effect of transforming the body into an artistic object rather than a subject.⁵⁷ By

⁵⁶ This implication is again seen in *Frankenstein* when Victor Frankenstein destroys the female monster's body before animating her because he fears that offspring will be a "race of devils" (Shelley Vol.3, Ch.3).

⁵⁷ In chapter 4 we will see how Pre-Raphaelite art and Arthur Munby's collection of photographs also objectify the subject through the filter of artistic representation.

objectifying the body, the artist has contributed to the emotional distance that surgeons put between themselves and their patients.

Part III: Fragmenting Humanity

Hunter's manual allowed surgeons insight into the female and pregnant body, which had previously been foreign to doctors who were exclusively male. Perhaps this is the reason that William Hunter chose to dissect pregnant women's bodies: they were an "other" that had not previously been controlled or dissected because of the taboo associated with manipulating a pregnant body. While the illustrations in Hunter's manual were only viewed by future and current doctors, the public observed collections made in nineteenth century Britain of abnormal and/or foreign bodies in print and in person. This section analyzes the way that printed images of foreign bodies and advertisements for their exhibits influenced the way that viewers saw their own bodies, ultimately contributing to the fear that people felt about legislation that regulated dead bodies. Although there were many exhibits of unusual persons in Britain during this time, including Charles Byrne whose story introduced this chapter, this section highlights the exploitation and illustration of African-born Sarah Baartman who was popularly known in Europe as "The Hottentot Venus." Prints produced of and about her demonstrate the degradation of the human body that was going on at this time, as well as a decline in the humanity of respecting each body as that belonging to an individual person. This would have contributed to the public's realization that their own bodies could be treated as objects.

In 1810, Sarah Baartman travelled from Cape Town, South Africa to London, England with her husband, Hendrick Cezar, the brother of her former owner.⁵⁸ Cezar knew that freak shows during this time could be very profitable, and he knew that Baartman's body differed significantly from women's bodies in England. In addition to her dark skin, her body differed from most English bodies because of her large buttocks and elongated labia; people were fascinated by her body and paid to see her exhibited.⁵⁹ Baartman reportedly would imitate household duties when she was on display in order to fabricate a domestic image of an "othered" body performing familiar chores.⁶⁰ This image that Cezar created for viewers at once highlighted the difference between Baartman's body and the typical English female's body and at the same time led viewers to relate to the labor that her body performed.

⁵⁸ By marrying Baartman before coming to Britain, Cezar avoided legal repercussions for bringing a person from a colony to England for his profit. When abolitionists questioned the ethicality of Baartman's exhibition, Cezar made the case that she came to England as his wife and also that she participated in her exhibitions of her own free will.

⁵⁹ She did not allow her labia to be exhibited during her lifetime, but they were examined and preserved after her death. According to Anne Fausto-Sterling, "Even though people of color lived in England in 1800, a nonwhite female was an unusual sight" (29). The great majority of people of color living in England at the time were slaves, escaped slaves, and children of freedmen who were sent for an education.

⁶⁰ Fausto-Sterling states that by exhibiting Baartman in such a way, she became like a living diorama (30).



Figure 9: Johann Ihle, *The Female Hottentot with natural Apron*, 1794. From Ebenezer Sibly's *Universal System of Natural History*. Courtesy of Wellcome Library, London.

Even before Baartman arrived in London, representations like figure 9 of another “female Hottentot” contributed to the way people mentally constructed the bodies of African women and highlighted the differences between colonial subjects and bodies found in England. The difference in dress and the woman’s pose implies that African women lack the modesty of English women. The artist depicts her in a seductive pose, willingly showing her nude body, with genitalia and breasts clearly displayed, suggesting

a heightened sexual appetite. The woman holds a bow and arrows, emphasizing a supposed primitiveness of the African race as compared to civilized Britain citizens who used guns to dominate others. The woman is represented as being closer to nature, but because of developments in technology, industrialized landscapes and people were seen as being more advanced, thereby demoting nature, so linking bodies to nature further alienated them from mainstream English culture.

The anthropological exhibition of bodies during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries helped viewers identify with colonialism in the same way that images of dissection helped surgeons accept the fragmentation of the body and a move towards specialization. The title of the image, “The Female Hottentot with natural Apron,” categorized the woman by her tribe, rather than her nationality as British subjects were. The ability to exhibit and label things or people implies a position of power. A collection of bodies such as the one in figure 9 is an illustration of the colonial power that Britain had over colonized people.

JUST ARRIVED
FROM LONDON,
And, by Permission, will be Exhibited here for a few Days,
 At Mr. James's Sale Rooms, Corner of Lord-street,

THAT MOST WONDERFUL
Phenomenon of Nature,
 THE
HOTTENTOT
VENUS,
The only One ever exhibited in Europe.

In viewing this Wonderful living Production of Nature, the Public have a perfect Specimen of that most extraordinary Tribe of the Human Race, who have for such a Length of Time inhabited the most Southern Parts of Africa, whose real Origin has never yet been ascertained, nor their Character, which has been so differently described by every Traveller who has visited those remote Regions of the World; and considering the natural morose Disposition of those People (who are scarcely ever observed to laugh) she is remarkably mild and affable in her Manners. She has had the Honour of being visited by His Royal Highness the PRINCE REGENT, and several Branches of the ROYAL FAMILY, also the principal NOBILITY, of both Sexes, in England, and declared to be a great natural Curiosity, well worthy the Attention of the Public. She is particularly obliged to the Female Sex who have so liberally patronized her Exhibition, and more especially after the malicious Reports circulated to her Disadvantage after her Arrival in this Kingdom; but which have been long since proved to be groundless. Over her Clothing, which is suitable to this Climate, is worn all the rude Ornaments used by that tribe on Gala Days.

N. B. Elegant Engravings of the Venus, by Lewis, sold at the Room.
ADMITTANCE—ONE SHILLING.

CHESTER, PRINTED BY J. FLETCHER.

Wellcome Images

Figure 10: *Small poster advertising the exhibition of the Hottentot Venus, 1810. Courtesy of Wellcome Library, London.*

With images such as figure 9 fresh in the public's mind, Cezar commissioned posters such as the one seen in figure 10 to be printed and distributed in anticipation of

Sarah Baartman's exhibition in London. She is described in the poster as "A perfect specimen of that most extraordinary Tribe of the Human Race, who have such a Length of Time inhabited the most Southern Parts of Africa." Like figure 9, the poster connects Baartman's body to nature: "That most wonderful phenomenon of nature, the Hottentot Venus," showcasing the uniqueness of her body in order to attract people to public exhibitions. She is described as a "phenomenon," thereby setting her apart from the viewers. In addition, the language used in the poster such as "specimen" and "Tribe" forces viewers to take an anthropological perspective, creating an emotional distance between her and the audience in a way similar to how doctors becoming specialists as opposed to generalists resulted in emotional detachment from their patients.

At the bottom of the poster, there is an advertisement for "Elegant Engravings of the Venus, by Lewis, Sold at the Room." Thus, in addition to observing her at an exhibition, a viewer could buy a print of her body as a souvenir.⁶¹ Her body was commercialized and commoditized in the form of a collectable object that transformed Baartman's body into an object without a voice, fixed in the static pose that the depictions captured. Baartman's exhibitions occurred during the period immediately before the Anatomy Act passed, when people were becoming aware of how bodies were regarded by medical staff, but more importantly, by themselves. An image of Baartman's

⁶¹ "There was a lively market in prints showing [Baartman] in full profile; crowds went to see her perform. And she became the subject of satirical cartoons filled with not particularly subtle sexual innuendo" (Fausto-Sterling 31).

body, therefore, served as a reminder that each person's body could be classified, labeled, and preserved forever in art.⁶²

The poster points out that members of the royal family and other nobility attended the exhibit, in an attempt to add prestige and credibility. Unfortunately, a side effect of highlighting the class differences among exhibit visitors may have been that it increased public consciousness about bodies during this time. While the images of dissected pregnant women in Hunter's manual would have been viewed exclusively by men, the poster states that many women attended the exhibition and that Baartman is "particularly obliged" to her female patrons. One reason that Hunter's images were horrific is that female bodies were normally protected to preserve female modesty, but Baartman's exhibit demonstrates the vulnerability that female bodies could experience in the period just preceding the Anatomy Act.

⁶² In Sander Gilman's view, visual culture represents our understanding of the world and helps us organize this understanding, especially in regards to class and the "Hottentot" represented the creation of a new class of people that consisted of "the black, especially the black female" (136-7).



Figure 11: *Sartjee, the Hottentot Venus, Now Exhibiting in London, Drawn From Life*, circa 1810. Courtesy of City of Westminster Archive Center, London/Bridgeman Art Library.⁶³

Figure 11 was produced and sold around the same time that Baartman's body was being exhibited in London. Her clothing and accessories in the illustration could be indicative of how she was dressed for her exhibit, although biographies indicate that these printed images depict her in far less clothing than she actually wore in front of others.⁶⁴ Specific images sold at the exhibition have not been identified, but figure 11 could be representative of the kinds of images sold. In the print, Baartman is represented as

⁶³ Baartman's name in Africa was reportedly Sartjee or Saartjie, but according to historian and biographer, Rachel Holmes, she changed her name when she moved to Europe and introduced herself as Sarah from that time until her death. Because my research and study focuses on the period that Baartman was in Europe, I will refer to her as Sarah.

⁶⁴ See biographies by Rachel Holmes, Clifton Crais, and Pamela Scully for more detailed accounts of her exhibitions.

wearing a headdress, a belt, and various accessories, as well as smoking a pipe and holding a stick and feathered cape. The illustration exposes much of her body, though the angle and perspective of the drawing highlights her large buttocks and hides her front genital area.

Figure 11 had the intended purpose of illustrating a body that was different from what the viewers typically saw in order to sell more copies of the image, but it may also have heightened the self-consciousness of viewers and led them to suspect that their own bodies may be vulnerable to viewing like Baartman's. The image shows a development in the way that bodies were viewed and displayed. The anatomy manual illustrations progressively fragmented the human body and encouraged doctors to regard bodies objectively, as a collection of parts; figures 9, 10, and 11 show representations of how humanity was increasingly fragmented during this period, since the images encouraged the public to objectively view a live person's body. The exhibitions of bodies like Sarah Baartman's inevitably led spectators to consider the consequences exploitation and transformation of human beings into specimens in relation to legislation about dead bodies, since the Anatomy Act made it possible for surgeons to transform the bodies of paupers into dissection subjects.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ In their article on how Baartman's fictionalized and fragmented body can be seen as a site of trauma, Carlos A. Miranda and Suzette A. Spencer note that adding the name *Hottentot* to Baartman's identity is a form of "biopower" (as defined by Foucault) exercised by those who actively and passively participated in colonialism. The Anatomy Act can be seen as one of the first legislative exhibitions of biopolitics and biopower in Britain, since Foucault defines biopower as a government's right over life and death becoming modernized, and that this change is reflected in the power exercised in the culture and society. By regulating bodies after death, the Anatomy Act also regulated the lives that people led in anticipation of the possibility of being dissected after death. Sarah Baartman was a physical representation of the biopower that was being wielded by the British government both in the colonies and in the metropole because although she was enslaved in Africa, she was exhibited in London. Although British abolitionists questioned her and determined that she was willingly participating in her exhibition, she likely saw very few options other than being a part of an exhibit, especially considering that she was married to her captor.

Conclusion

The examination of bodies resulted in an increase in anatomical knowledge about the human body and better trained doctors, which in turn resulted in more lives being saved during surgery. However, the method by which this knowledge was gained led to the human body being objectified in a way that changed how the medical community regarded bodies of both patients and cadavers and how members of the public regarded their own bodies. By analyzing images from anatomy textbooks, we can see that eighteenth and nineteenth century medical training devolved into reducing the human body from a subjective being to a medicalized object. Images of Baartman's body and her exhibition show how live bodies were objectified on a public platform, thereby having a wide influence on popular culture.

The medical artwork provides a lasting record of the perspective that people in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries had about bodies and shows the transition between the holistic perspective in medicine and the degradation of the human body. This artwork also gave clues to the non-medical community about this change and contributed to how dissection and medical training was perceived by the general public. Though physicians continued to be exhorted to uphold the Hippocratic Oath and to do no harm to their patients, the art indicates that there were no ethical standards in medicine at this time.⁶⁶ The artwork illustrates a progressive fragmentation of the body, sending a message to viewers that doctors were trained to reduce and/or eliminate the humanness in the human body in order to increase anatomical knowledge and skills.

⁶⁶ Although there were no laws penalizing doctors for unethical practices, there were guidelines that were meant to direct physicians in their treatment of their patients. Thomas Percival, for example, published *Medical Ethics* in 1803, which is based on the Hippocratic Oath and advocates for the patient's right to truth.

The illustrations in this chapter were specifically chosen to demonstrate a shift that occurred in how bodies were artistically and mentally constructed. By the 1820s, medical training and freak show exhibitions in Britain had established that certain bodies could be considered as objects, both after death and during life. The medical specialization and detachment that these eighteenth and early nineteenth century drawings encouraged was manifested in the passing of the Anatomy Act. By the 1820s when the debate arose as to where legal bodies for dissection should be obtained, doctors had already been taught to look objectively at the process of dissection, so emotional arguments by people in the lower classes had little effect. Medical schools and the tools used for training neglected to teach students empathic skills, making it easier for surgeons and legislators to ignore the emotional pleas of the population against the act in favor of promoting medical learning.⁶⁷

I would like to end this chapter with one last image, created mentally by you, the reader. Picture, if you will, a multi-leveled circular anatomy theatre in the nineteenth century filled with medical students and a body being examined by surgeons in the center of the large room. As the students look down upon the body, the surgeons look up from the dissection subject to see a collection of eyes, noses, hands, and arms: all searching and yearning for anatomical knowledge. The students and surgeons seem to be reduced from complete wholes to disconnected body parts. The students look with their eyes, but do not see the unwilling “gift” that was made by the individual being dissected; the

⁶⁷ As we will see in the next chapter of this project, Mary Shelley fictionalizes this emotional detachment in *Frankenstein*, most especially in the scenes where the monster attempts in vain to appeal to Victor Frankenstein’s humanity through an expression of emotionality. Fiona Hutton notes that after the Anatomy Act passed, teaching hospitals benefitted greatly from their patient dying, since a post-mortem examination could be ordered with or without permission. These examinations were used to discover the cause of death, but were also used to train medical students (127-8).

surgeons use their hands to dissect, but do not feel empathy for the dissection subject. The students are taught what body parts look like how to surgically remove these body parts, but the face of the dissection subject has been covered by a cloth in order to help everyone in the room forget that this body was once a living human being and to encourage objectivity in medical practice. The training surgeon removes a body part for his students to study, and then attempts to place it back into the emptied body to show the relationship between body parts, but the part does not fit correctly: once the body has been reduced, it can never be whole again. Despite the many people in attendance, there is a marked lack of humanity in the room.

The purpose of this mental exercise is for the reader to become an artist when imagining the faces, the hands, and the sectioned bodies and to produce an image that showcases the fragmentation that medicine encouraged of the body and of humanity. The imagined scene also gives the reader insight into how frightful and anxiety-producing dissection had become in the nineteenth century to people outside of the medical community. The images of dissection, both in art and in people's imaginations, contributed to the fear and anxiety about the medical field. This fear became part of the British culture and continued to affect people throughout the nineteenth century.

Chapter 3: Monstrous Dissection

Class Consciousness and the Creation of Monsters in Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*

On November 4, 1819, one year after Mary Shelley's novel, *Frankenstein*, was initially published, the body of executed murderer, Matthew Clydesdale, was given to Dr. James Jeffery. Part of Clydesdale's punishment was to be dissected after being hung, due to the stipulations of the Murder Act, but Dr. Jeffery decided to experiment with the body instead of immediately dissecting. He attached a galvanic battery to Clydesdale's body and turned it on. As soon as the current ran through his body, Clydesdale's chest heaved and he rose to his feet. People who were in the audience swooned, applauded, or ran, and Jeffery stuck a lancet into the throat of the murderer, killing him once and for all (MacGregor 46).

This Frankenstein-like experiment offers a "real-life" version of some of the events represented in Shelley's novel. Likely Clydesdale was not completely dead when he was brought to the university for his dissection, making Jeffery's experiment less of a miracle than it seemed at the time. Still, an audience that had read or heard of *Frankenstein* was already terrified by the possibility of a dead body being brought back to life on the dissection table.

Chapters 1 and 2 focused on how laws and medical practice in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries shaped British consciousness regarding dissection and the regulation of dead bodies. This chapter analyzes the way that fiction interprets scientific theories and makes them accessible to the public, through an analysis of one novel that brought scientific theories to public consciousness. Mary Shelley, in her literary masterpiece,

Frankenstein; or, The Modern Prometheus, used ideas from science and medicine to build her novel, including themes that were present in cultural discourses during the early nineteenth century. Through Shelley's interpretation of scientific developments of the day, we can see the impact that her novel might have had on people's reaction to the drafting and subsequent passing of the Anatomy Act. *Frankenstein* heightened readers' awareness of the vulnerability of their own bodies and increased fear and anxiety that people felt regarding the medical field because of the possibility for irresponsibility and neglect on the surgeons' part. Moreover, the novel provided insight to readers about the role of social class in the destiny of their own bodies.

Part I: The Creation of a Story

A chronology of the novel's publication history and of Britain's political developments suggests how literature may have influenced British culture by heightening people's awareness of their own bodies in the years leading up to the Anatomy Act. The novel did not gain popularity until a few years after its initial publication in 1818, but its fame spread when Richard Brinsley Peake used Shelley's basic storyline to write the play *Presumption; or, The Fate of Frankenstein* in 1823, the same year that the novel's second edition was published.⁶⁸ The play differs from Shelley's novel in regard to characters and dialogue, but the stage version made more public Shelley's idea about using dead bodies to create life and the potentially disastrous repercussions that medical neglect and

⁶⁸ The 1818 edition was most influential in the novel's stage productions and therefore on the public's understanding of Shelley's ideas and storyline. This edition, then, will be used when looking at the text of *Frankenstein*. The third edition was published in 1831, just one year before the Anatomy Act passed. Though the third edition was by far the most popular and successful edition of the novel overall, due to the timing of the publication the third edition likely contributed much less than the previous editions to the way that people reacted to the Anatomy Act.

irresponsibility could have. England and France produced at least fourteen stage productions based on the novel and made Shelley's ideas more accessible to the general population, since literacy was still limited among the laboring classes.⁶⁹

The first Anatomy Bill was published in 1829, during the height of the period when Shelley's story was being performed regularly in English and French theaters. The story is best known for the way Shelley depicts "science gone astray," but in addition to focusing on the scientific developments of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in her novel, Shelley used real social and political events that were occurring in continental Europe to organize the themes and locations in her novel, while also addressing problems within Britain through the class, moral, and educational stratification of her characters (Brake and Hook 41).⁷⁰ Readers would have recognized many of the locations and political references, and because of its popularity, Shelley's story would have contributed to how readers and viewers formed a picture of scientists and the medical field.

Shelley was active in learning about and discussing current events and scientific breakthroughs within her social circle. Though medicine and science were still male dominated disciplines, Shelley was knowledgeable about cutting edge medical and scientific thought and she integrated theories into her novel about evolution, Galvanism, and regeneration.⁷¹ It is documented that Shelley studied works by Erasmus Darwin and

⁶⁹ Steven Forrey notes, "Within three years of the first performance of Peake's *Presumption*, fourteen other English and French dramatizations had utilized the Frankenstein theme" (ix).

⁷⁰ Allan Hunter notes that Shelley's novel "addresses the larger social and political turmoil of the French Revolution, as well as the hotly debated possibility of mass suffrage in England. What began in France as a celebration of democratic idealism led to mob rule, and prompted the reconsideration of an entire school of radical political thought based in the same materialist philosophy that underpinned progressive science" (134).

⁷¹ Though Desmond King-Hele theorizes that without Erasmus Darwin, Shelley would not have formulated her premise for the novel, there were many contributing factors to Shelley's intellectual development. Christa Knellwolf King and Jane Goodall note, "Controversies about mankind's purpose were considered

attended lectures by scientists such as Luigi Galvani and William Lawrence.⁷² The Shelleys' friendship with the latter scientist allowed Percy and Mary to stay up to date regarding scientific developments and changes in the medical field.⁷³

Her distinctive education contributed to Shelley's invention of modern science fiction:⁷⁴ Shelley used the body to tell her story and the science fiction genre allowed her to found her fiction on science and medicine. Basing her fictional creations on current scientific theories, Shelley pushed her story beyond the limits of science, which in turn pushed fiction to develop into a new genre.⁷⁵ Together, both the science and the fiction became monstrous since she infused real and fictionalized science into the imagination of her characters and her readers and created her novel out of their bodies. Shelley impacted readers physically and emotionally by building monstrous bodies and coercing her

in light of, for instance, Georges Buffon's accounts of the resemblances between the human physical frame and that of apes and other primates. The young Mary was, therefore, immersed into a heady intellectual climate that encouraged her to speculate about the reforming potentials of contemporary science" (10).

⁷² Erasmus Darwin published his scientific work on plants and nature, and his writing has been credited with influencing his grandson's (Charles Darwin) theories on evolution. Luigi Galvani was one of the first scientists to use bioelectricity, a method where electricity is run through a dead body to imitate life-like actions. William Lawrence wrote about man's nature and evolution-related topics during the early 1800s.

⁷³ Melinda Cooper posits that the Shelleys' relationships with scientists such as Lawrence made them "unusually well versed in the scientific and medical context which informed the controversy between materialists and vitalists" (88). Mahala Yates Stripling states, "Shelley ingeniously combined the new sciences of chemistry and electricity with the older Renaissance tradition of the alchemists' search for the elixir of life to conjure up the possibility of reanimating dead bodies. She imaginatively envisioned how, shocked with electrical impulses, her corpse might spring to life" (17).

⁷⁴ Some critics also consider Shelley's novel as an important foundational text for Victorian gothic fiction. In Ellen Moers' view, the body is an important site of analysis within the gothic genre. She states that the gothic is *not* "to reach down into the depths of the soul and purge it with pity and terror (as we say tragedy does), but to get to the body itself, its glands, epidermis, muscles, the circulatory system, quickly arousing and quickly allaying the physical reactions to fear" (214). According to Peter Garrett, there is an emotional and psychological component as well. He states, "Gothic clearly aims to disturb its readers," but that this is "always accompanied by a strong concern for control" (Garrett 2).

⁷⁵ Brake and Hook characterize Shelley's novel as "the first evolutionary novel. It foretells our hopes and fears for scientific progress, and the dreadful secrets of the human frame" (41). Allan Hunter states, "In creating a new genre that joined social commentary to the scientifically speculative, Shelley leads the reader to a more disconcerting possibility than the mere physical threat of a rampaging monster. She responds to the theory of Erasmus Darwin...and conceives of a situation in which human agency and imagination have made possible the next evolutionary step. The creature is a new species that threatens to supplant the supremacy of man, not out of evil intent, but simply by enacting the natural process described by Darwin" (134).

readers to relate to them through empathy with their situations. For instance, readers are meant to feel emotional pain when the male monster is rejected repeatedly: once when he is scorned by the family that he rescues from starvation and later when his father/creator says to him, “Begone, vile insect!” regarding him as less than human (Shelley Vol. 2, Ch. 2).⁷⁶ Shelley developed the body as a fictional medium for depicting and articulating political, physical, and emotional responses, and she was able to explore this medium as she based her characters on dead and live bodies of people in Britain.

Although Shelley was a member of the British upper class, her novel demonstrates that she understood struggles and insecurities of the lower classes as well.⁷⁷ As previously discussed, grave robbing and dissection were two problems that affected people in the lower classes much more than other classes because of the vulnerability of their bodies after death, and although Shelley does not explicitly write about her feelings regarding dissection or grave robbing in her journals, she may have shared the public’s apprehension regarding these practices, especially considering that she had already buried one baby by the time she wrote the novel. Even more frightening to her might have been the fact that Fanny Imlay, Shelley’s half sister, had recently killed herself, and Shelley’s father, William Godwin, refused to claim her as family, meaning that she would have been buried in a pauper’s grave. Being buried this way would make her body more vulnerable to grave robbers and might have added new horrors to Shelley’s own reality.

There is a fascination for the human body throughout the novel, and bodies in the novel become the focal points for the readers, since the body is the conduit through which

⁷⁶ Unless otherwise specified, the citations that reference Shelley refer to her novel, *Frankenstein*.

⁷⁷ Shelley read her mother’s (Mary Wollstonecraft) and father’s (William Goodwin) work, which is reflected in the class consciousness apparent throughout *Frankenstein*.

all life is created, whether organically or inorganically. Shelley explains that part of her motivation to write the novel was to impact readers' bodies: to affect their blood and specifically their hearts. In the preface to the third edition of *Frankenstein*, Shelley writes, "I busied myself to think of a story...one which would speak to the mysterious fears of our nature, and awaken thrilling horror—one to make the reader dread to look round, to curdle the blood, and quicken the beating of the heart" (Shelley, "Introduction" 171). Shelley encouraged readers to participate in her story through their physical reactions. The novel contributed to a consciousness of readers about their own bodies, which was further developed with the passing of the Anatomy Act.⁷⁸

Shelley uses the public's (and perhaps her own) trepidation about medicine and surgeons to create a fictionalized world where a doctor learns to specialize in reanimation without also learning about how to care for the living. Victor Frankenstein embodies many of the fears experienced by the public about the medical field, since he adopts the medical detachment that the anatomy textbook illustrations promoted. As demonstrated in the last chapter, medical training in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries encouraged surgeons to become experts on one aspect of medicine rather than taking a holistic view of healing. Victor Frankenstein demonstrates his expertise when he creates life out of death, but also shows his lack of holistic learning when he then leaves his experiment to its own devices. The connection that the novel makes between medical learning and its consequences helped people understand repercussions that medicine could have on their bodies and daily lives. The rest of this chapter will explore details about the novel that

⁷⁸ Detsi-Diamanti, et al. note, "The struggle to pursue scientific truth in modernity is epitomized in the textualization of the body, or, in other words, the turning of the fleshy body into a body of knowledge" (2).

might have registered with readers on an emotional level, specifically taking into consideration the social atmosphere in which the novel was written.

Part II: Constructing the Frankenstein Family

Victor and Mr. Frankenstein, his father, construct their family in much the same way that Victor constructs the monster's body: piece by piece. Dissection images displayed in the last chapter established that the body was degraded and fragmented by giving more importance to the parts of the body rather than the whole. The first few chapters of the novel establish that Victor learns from his father to build the family in pieces, rather than considering it as a whole entity. This fragmentation of the family helps Victor learn that creating a family using inorganic methods is acceptable. From the very beginning of Victor's narrative, actively building a family becomes important. He explains how each member comes to be a part of the Frankenstein family and like the monster's body, Victor's family is by and large collected and constructed by males, rather than being birthed by females. Victor and his father select members to add to the family to play specific familial roles and serve a particular purpose within the family.

This method of forming the family mimics the way that scientists and doctors during the nineteenth century became specialized by fragmenting the body into individual parts. The Frankenstein males specialize in constructing the family, but rather than viewing the family as a functioning whole, Victor and his father see the family as a collection of parts to fulfill specific needs within the family structure. The first to be collected was a wife, then a daughter, a playmate, and finally a servant/companion.

Destitute Bodies

Bodies in this novel represent the range of social classes found in Britain during the early nineteenth century, and the idea of creating bodies to fit certain roles begins with the idea of artificially creating and collecting family members, especially those who are destitute of family or friends. Medical schools in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries used primarily working-class bodies that were disinterred for dissection and ideally the schools would have corpses that varied according to gender, age, and cause of death in order to train the students in how to treat different kinds of bodies. Each body that was dissected contributed a distinct piece of medical knowledge because of the uniqueness of each body. Mr. Frankenstein seemed to have an image of an ideal family and systematically added members, each of whom contributed a part to the family's domestic bliss.

The manner in which Victor narrates his parents' courtship shows that he reflects upon this romantic time through an emotionally detached lens. Mr. Frankenstein finds Caroline when she is penniless and hopeless. Victor narrates,

[Caroline's] father died in her arms, leaving her an orphan and a beggar. This last blow overcame her; and she knelt by Beaufort's coffin, weeping bitterly, when my father entered the chamber. He came like a protecting spirit to the poor girl, who committed herself to his care, and after the interment of his friend he conducted her to Geneva, and placed her under the protection of a relation. Two years after this event Caroline became his wife. (Shelley Vol. 1, Ch. 1)

Caroline was “an orphan,” “a beggar,” and destitute of friends and family. Victor learns that a lack of family makes bodies vulnerable and available for collecting. Victor shows the medical detachment that he has learned to apply even to family when he simply states the facts of the relationship without any sentimentality or expression of emotion. From

Victor's point of view, Mr. Frankenstein collects Caroline's body into his family by marrying her and this happens without romance, and even without mutual affection.⁷⁹

Mr. Frankenstein continues to collect family members when he learns that his niece has lost her mother. Victor's father jumps at the chance to add a daughter to the family collection. Most of the bodies that were dissected around Shelley's time were men, probably because female bodies were guarded more carefully after death and were less readily available to grave robbers. Public dissections were conducted on convicted and hanged murderers, who were also primarily men. Attaining female bodies was therefore special both to anatomists and the Frankenstein family because they added variety and diversity. Rather than taking the whole family down to Italy to welcome the newest family member, Mr. Frankenstein goes alone to collect Elizabeth. Victor says that his father "did not hesitate, and immediately went to Italy, that he might accompany the little Elizabeth to her future home" (Shelley Vol. 1, Ch. 1). Mr. Frankenstein teaches Victor that the males are responsible for reproduction within the family and that females are not necessary for this function.

Collecting Elizabeth is convenient because it offers gender balance to the family, but she belongs as part of the collection of bodies also because she is essentially unclaimed by her nuclear family. Her biological mother dies, and her father writes to Mr. Frankenstein offering him Elizabeth. This lack of care by her nuclear family makes Elizabeth's body vulnerable for others to claim. The male Frankensteins take advantage

⁷⁹ As we will see in more detail in the next chapter, "rescuing" destitute women was not uncommon in literature and in life. Women in both Ernest Jones' fiction and in Dante Rossetti's life are saved from poverty and a life of prostitution and/or crime by their more wealthy male benefactors.

of her physical availability, which teaches Victor that families can be controlled and constructed and sees that bodies have value only if they are protected and desired.

Shelley uses the term “destitute” throughout the novel to describe different characters; this description also applies to bodies that were targeted by grave robbers and previews which bodies would be affected by the Anatomy Act.⁸⁰ The individuals collected into the Frankenstein family were also destitute; the way that Victor and his father identified and then collected bodies into their family mimicked the way that medical practitioners’ attained bodies for dissection. Although published after *Frankenstein*, as mentioned in chapter 1 of this project, the Select Committee’s Report on the best methods for attaining bodies for dissection concluded that unclaimed citizens’ bodies would be best suited as dissection subjects because they had no living relatives to mourn them. The reasoning behind this conclusion is flawed: just because a body was not claimed did not mean that there were no family members or friends to mourn the individual’s passing. However, the Select Committee’s Report essentially redefined the term “friend” as someone who had the financial means to bury a body. People without “friends” were targeted by grave robbers and by the Anatomy Act. Shelley’s characters and their actions towards each other show that this bias was present even early in the nineteenth century. Victor and Mr. Frankenstein use the re-definition of “friendless” and “destitute” to justify the collecting of family members. Although the members are grateful to be connected with such a wealthy and established family, through the course

⁸⁰ Although the term “destitute” is never used in the text of the Anatomy Act, an unclaimed body would implicitly be destitute of friends and family.

of the novel we understand that these bodies are used by the collectors to control the development and growth of the family.

Victor learns from his father and practices collecting on his own family, just as medical professionals collected bodies and specimens to enhance their medical training. Selection is a key part of collecting, and Victor demonstrates this medical style when he brings playmates into the family circle only when it is convenient for him and the other family members. Victor's construction of his family is controlled and regulated—there is no question of gender or of the inconvenience of rearing babies: the people collected into the family are already walking and talking, and are therefore more useful to the family at large. This control exhibited by Victor and his father while collecting essentially transforms the bodies into objects. The bodies are only allowed into the family if they are useful. The medical field also reduced bodies to objects, which were used to train surgeons. Each body and body part played a specific purpose or was discarded.

Victor's first collected body is Henry Clerval. Victor recognizes that the gap in years between himself and his brothers creates a "vacancy," which he fills with his playmate, Henry. Victor narrates,

In this description of our domestic circle I include Henry Clerval; for he was constantly with us. He went to school with me, and generally passed the afternoon at our house: for being an only child, and destitute of companions at home, his father was well pleased that he should find associates at our house; and we were never completely happy when Clerval was absent. (Shelley Vol. 1, Ch.1)

Victor states the facts about how Henry entered their circle and highlights that Henry's body is vulnerable because he is "destitute of companions." Henry's body, like Caroline's and Elizabeth's, has been rescued by the Frankenstein family, but is also

manipulated physically. Henry's body resembles the body parts in Hunter's manual because they are placed in controlled environments where they can most benefit others. Victor controls the placement of Henry's body and only narrates playing in the Frankenstein home where it is most convenient for Victor. He does mention that the Frankenstein family was happy to have him with them, but only after providing an emotionless description of Henry's entrance into their circle. Although Victor uses an emotive word, there is still a detachment implicit in his describing Henry, which makes the reader identify more with the members collected into the family than with Victor. This is significant later when the reader is meant to empathize with the monster more than with his creator.

The last person accepted into the Frankenstein circle is Justine Moritz: an ideal member for the Frankenstein collection because her siblings and mother die through the course of the novel, making her an adult orphan, again someone destitute of family. Although Elizabeth is very fond of Justine, she never fully becomes a part of the family because of her class status. In fact, Justine is from the same class that the actual dissection subjects were from, both before and after the Anatomy Act was passed. Grave robbers targeted working-class bodies to disinter because they were less protected: families with less money had to work and could neither stand watch at the gravesite nor pay someone to guard it for them. They also could not afford "state of the art" coffins that were made of metal or that used locks designed to prevent grave robbing.⁸¹ Rather, coffins of people with less money were buried more shallowly, were unguarded, and

⁸¹ Poor people were aware that their own dead were the most vulnerable to body snatching because it was they who helped rich people prevent body snatching by welding iron coffins shut, selling patented coffins, and guarding graves for a fee (Richardson 90).

were often buried in the same plot as other coffins, which made their bodies the easiest and fastest to steal, creating the least risk for grave robbers of being caught in the act. Justine's body was also unprotected, and was easily collected by the Frankenstein family. Her unprotected body also made her the first and most obvious body to be sacrificed to the monster's rage, when it was she who was convicted for killing Victor's younger brother, William, who had actually been killed by the monster. The fact that Justine is an orphan, coupled with her class station, makes her body especially vulnerable to sentencing in the courtroom and to execution. Justine has no alibi for William's murder, and her class ultimately condemns her because the jury believes that she killed the child to steal a locket, a possession so small that any individual in a more comfortable class would never have been accused of stealing it. Her lack of family connections allowed her a spot in the Frankenstein household, but her destitution also contributed to her unjust execution.

The Family Members

Just as all of the organs in a human body play their roles to sustain its life, so do all of the characters in the novel play their roles to sustain the Frankenstein family. The monster's dismemberment of the family can be seen as a metaphorical representation of a surgeon's dissection of the human body. When the monster kills off Victor's family, he not only murders the individuals, but he also removes members who play vital roles in the life of the family. Beginning with the death of little William, we see the family begin to shut down and stop working similarly to how a body would stop working when organs fail. One by one, the family members are either murdered or die for various reasons at a

faster pace than Victor can collect more members; the rapid death rate of the family indicates that there will be no next generation of Frankensteins.

As the only child in the story, William represents a vulnerable part of the family: a member who is dependent upon others to care for him. He is the favorite, and the women especially adore and dote on him. William's specialness might also come from the fact that he is the last member of the family to whom his mother gave birth. Many of the other family members were collected by the men, but William is Victor's biological brother. By murdering him, the monster kills part of the purity of the family, making it look more like a collection of random (but necessary) parts, just like the monster's body.

The next "family" member who dies is Justine, who is executed for little William's murder. Justine's death reinforces the importance of the working class in regards to establishing class hierarchy. The working classes are the legs that the upper classes stand on, so when Justine is executed, the class position for the Frankenstein family is undermined. After Justine's execution, the family shatters. They leave their home, and soon after, Victor travels to Britain, which eventually initiates more family deaths.

Elizabeth is the heart of the family. She provides gender balance and domestic stability, especially after Victor's mother dies. In addition, she is the only character who has the potential to reproduce naturally; she does not participate in collecting bodies like Victor and his father. Their collecting behavior, however, foreshadows that Elizabeth will never be allowed to reproduce with her body, since the male dominance in this arena is constantly present. The redundancy of her body echoes how men began specializing and taking control of all bodily functions, including pregnancy. William Hunter's

manual, for instance, encouraged surgeons to specialize in areas of the body such as the womb, thereby replacing female midwives as childbirth experts. Because Victor and his father collected with their hands, Elizabeth's womb stays empty.

As soon as she is of marriageable age, Victor begins to avoid Elizabeth. He goes to medical school and then stays away to create a being on his own, rather than returning to Elizabeth where they could make a child together. When Victor finally does return and marry Elizabeth, he is more interested in hunting the monster than in consummating the marriage. Because all members of the family depend upon her for survival, when Elizabeth is murdered the family loses their stabilizing force and begins to crumble. Without Elizabeth, Mr. Frankenstein loses the will to live, and Victor finds himself alone with only the monster as a companion.

Though never considered so by Victor, the monster is actually a member of the Frankenstein family, since he is essentially Victor's progeny. The monster is forced to be Victor's foil: if Victor is the creator, then the monster is the destructor. The monster reiterates again and again that he neither wants nor enjoys this role, but there is no other role for him to play. After killing William, the monster meets Victor on Mont Blanc and says to him, "How dare you sport thus with life? Do your duty toward me, and I will do mine toward you and the rest of mankind. If you will comply with my conditions, I will leave them and you at peace; but if you refuse, I will glut the maw of death, until it be satiated with the blood of your remaining friends" (Shelley Vol. 2, Ch. 10). The monster clearly states that if Victor takes responsibility for his actions, no harm will come to the rest of his family and friends. Victor initially complies, not because he sees that he is wrong, but out of fear, and later reneges on his promise to the monster. Victor's fear and

broken promise is contrasted with the monster's fortitude and follow through. The monster does what he thinks is morally right, and does not stop until his mission is completed. Victor has become a specialist at creating life and collecting bodies, but his misguided and "monstrous" education resulted in his inability to understand how to care for people or maintain life. The monster becomes a neutralizing force that contains Victor's god-complex and provides a repercussion for Victor's irresponsibility, ensuring that the family collects no more family members and ceases to reproduce unnaturally. The monster, then, is an essential part of the family, without whom the family might continue to irresponsibly reproduce.

The Power of the Female Body

The Frankenstein family is disproportionately male, so why does Victor initially create a male instead of a female being? Victor has only brothers, so in order to add balance to the family, it would be logical to add another female. But throughout the story he avoids the female body and any processes that involve female reproduction, and his behavior might also be indicative of disgust with the female body. In several nineteenth century novels, the body speaks louder than words; the woman's voice is often silenced and her body is left to speak for her.⁸² In addition, Victorian women's bodies were considered vessels of morality, but because of menses, they were also considered

⁸² Willam Thackeray, Thomas Hardy, Charles Dickens, Jane Austen, and Charlotte Bronte are just some examples of authors who illustrate this through their characters. When theorizing about the role of women in nineteenth century literature, Chris Baldick points out that women's bodies in literature are symbolic of "England's social structure and the values behind it" and that "a woman's morality in this period was tied to her ability to preserve or augment the property primarily of the men in her life: father, husband, and, eventually, sons" (39, 53).

inherently diseased and unclean.⁸³ This could create a paradox as to whether women should be considered perfect beings or hopelessly flawed, and we see this dilemma in *Frankenstein* when Victor both worships Elizabeth but at the same time avoids physical contact with her. The novel does not provide us with a clear picture of what kind of anatomy training Victor received, but during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the female body became the site for medical training.⁸⁴ As seen in chapter two of this project, William Hunter created a groundbreaking anatomy manual that focused on the stages of pregnancy and was used to train surgeons in the placement of female body parts. This resulted in surgeons becoming specialists in certain areas of the body. Had Victor been a real person, as a medical student he would have studied anatomy manuals like Hunter's to familiarize himself with texts and images of the female body. Because it was difficult to obtain female bodies as dissection subjects, however, medical students would not always have the opportunity to dissect a female body.⁸⁵ Victor could have gone through his entire medical training without having dissected or touched a female body.

Despite his physical aversion to the female body, Victor clearly desires the power that female bodies hold in regards to reproduction. As previously mentioned, Victor specializes in creating, not in caring for his creation. Victor creates a being, which is essentially his offspring, but he is not interested in learning about other duties that come

⁸³ Cindy LaCom theorizes that women are seen as either all good or all bad; they either represent the Madonna or the prostitute (192).

⁸⁴ "Medical men began to focus almost obsessively on female flesh, bone, and sexual organs as explanations of woman's 'nature,' and a proliferation of medical texts valorized woman's womb and her reproductive capacities" (LaCom190-1).

⁸⁵ According to Elizabeth Hurren, nineteenth century medical schools had difficulty obtaining bodies of women and children and "an Oxford medical student's chances of dissecting a female corpse were rare before World War I" (799-800).

with raising a child. Victor reproduces, but not through an intimate physical act between two living people. Rather, he procreates with corpses, which he destroys and dissects in order to create life. When justifying his creation of the monster, he states,

No one can conceive the variety of feelings which bore me onwards, like a hurricane, in the first enthusiasm of success. Life and death appeared to me ideal bounds, which I should first break through, and pour a torrent of light into our dark world. A new species would bless me as its creator and source; many happy and excellent natures would owe their being to me. No father could claim the gratitude of his child so completely as I should deserve their's. Pursuing these reflections, I thought, that if I could bestow animation upon lifeless matter, I might in process of time (although I now found it impossible) renew life where death had apparently devoted the body to corruption. (Shelley Vol. 1, Ch. 3)

Victor never calls his creation a child; rather he wants to be a “creator” and produce “a new species” by using dead matter, not a live body, to create life. He implies that he would be the “father,” but rather than wanting to care for the child as a biological parent would, he seeks the creature’s “gratitude.” He takes pleasure in the process of the animation with no regard to how the creature would learn how to walk and talk, let alone live in the outside world. The quote above shows how consumed Victor is with “bestowing animation” and “renewing life,” but he shows no interest in what he will do if he succeeds. Victor is a talented and ingenious scientist, but he lacks the capability to parent his creation.⁸⁶

Victor becomes the creature’s “creator and source” but there is no nurturing, no teaching, and no mothering after the creature is animated. Caroline, Elizabeth, and Justine model the opposite behavior: they are ideal mothers who nurture and care for other characters to the point that they give their lives for the benefit of their family.

⁸⁶ Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar argue that when Victor gives birth to the monster, he becomes female and that Victor desires to be both parents in the formation of a new being (234).

Victor is not willing to sacrifice himself for his creation; in fact, he sees the monster as “horrid” and shuns the monster only moments after he gains life. Human infants are not born objectively attractive, but parents of newborns have a natural connection and inclination to find their progeny beautiful so that they will stay protected and nurtured. Victor’s lack of protective or loving instinct is clear when Shelley contrasts the language of a mother with a complete rejection of the creature: “How can I describe my emotions at this catastrophe, or how delineate the wretch whom with such infinite pains and care I had endeavoured to form? His limbs were in proportion, and I had selected his features as beautiful. Beautiful! -- Great God!” (Shelley Vol. 1, Ch. 3). Victor reacts violently even over the thought of finding his creation beautiful. Victor describes the process of creating the monster by taking “infinite pains and care” just as a mother does when birthing the child or caring for it *in utero*. This sharply contrasts with the violence of rejection when he sees how hideously ugly the monster really is. He calls the monster a “catastrophe” and a “wretch” based on the appearance of the being that Victor created through his own toil.

Victor circumvents the female reproductive cycle, and creates a “son” of his own through the labor, but not material substance of his body. His father shows him that creating a family does not require female reproduction. Mr. Frankenstein initiates the creation of the family and models for Victor the way that a man can collect family members, eliminating the need for women completely.⁸⁷ This controlled behavior and desire to dominate a female role parallels the way that men in science refused to allow

⁸⁷ In her article on the role that females take in *Frankenstein*, Anne Mellor states, “[Victor] Frankenstein has eliminated the necessity of having females at all” (274).

women into the field until the late nineteenth century and is also a reflection of the emerging medicalization of the female body and a professionalization of obstetrics.

Before the nineteenth century, midwives were primarily responsible for assisting with the birth of babies. But beginning in the early nineteenth century, with the medicalization of childbirth, surgeons began to push the knowledge and practice of midwives from the field. Shelley likely saw this shift, since her journals document a constant awareness that her mother died giving birth to her.

Part III: Creation of the Monster

Victor Frankenstein's construction of the monster may have contributed to the public's understanding of dissection and the way dead bodies were manipulated for the use of the medical community. Shelley explores dissection using a unique perspective: a normal dissection creates parts out of a whole body, but the monster is made whole through body parts.⁸⁸ Victor's behavior leading up to and including the construction of the monster would be particularly frightening to readers of the novel, given the current social climate regarding medical practitioners. Because the Anatomy Bills were published in periodicals in the 1820s, ideas connected with the Act such as the treatment of laboring bodies and Victor Frankenstein's emotional disconnection to the monster contributed to how readers understood the medical field.

⁸⁸ Richard Holmes states, "Mary Shelley would imagine an experiment in which an entirely new human being was 'created' from dead matter. *She would imagine a surgical operation, a corpse dissection, in reverse.* She would invent a laboratory in which limbs, organs, assorted body parts were not separated and removed and thrown away, but assembles and sewn together and 'reanimated' by a 'powerful machine,' presumably a voltaic battery" (327).

Throughout the novel, Shelley challenges readers to explore the definition of human and humanity, most of all through the conception and creation of the monster. Victor's unemotional and irresponsible behavior toward the monster highlights how the medical community treated human bodies in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. During dissection, bodies were objectified and the humanity in both the act of dissection and the treatment of the dissected bodies was ignored. After dissection, bodies were not always buried properly, and in cases of malformations or abnormal growths, body parts were kept and collected without permission. Although medical schools were required to bury dissection subjects, parts of bodies that added up to multiple whole bodies were often buried together.⁸⁹ When people discovered that dead bodies were being treated disrespectfully, they felt anger, frustration, and fear.⁹⁰ Images such as Rowlandson's painting of dissections in an attic (chapter 2, figure 4), in conjunction with stage productions of *Frankenstein*, would have allowed readers to visually picture ways that bodies were transformed into objects through the dissection process. Shelley's novel emphasizes the monster's humanity in contrast to Victor's emotional detachment.

The Process of Life and Death

Surgeons and doctors in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries for the most part entered the profession because of their dedication to preserving life and advancing medicine so that more lives would be saved in the future. John Hunter explained in his work that part of his motivation for experimentation on dead bodies was to understand

⁸⁹ "It was the legal responsibility of the Anatomy Department at Oxford, and elsewhere, to physically inter bodies after dissection" (Hurren 789).

⁹⁰ As mentioned in chapter one of this project, an example of the manifestation of these emotions was observed on December 19, 1831 in Aberdeen when the public reacted violently and destructively to the news that an anatomy school was not interring their dissection subjects properly.

the process of life, and he came to the conclusion that life was larger than just the body, that there was a mind/body connection. He writes,

I have endeavoured to show that there are two principles in the higher animals, namely, *lade*⁹¹ and the action of the nerves, which last is called sensation and volition; or rather, perhaps there is but one principle life, which becomes the basis of the other and of every action of the body. I also endeavored to point out that sensation arose from feelings in the mind, which produce action in the body. (Hunter, *Works* 317)

Shelley fictionalizes this theory about how the mind controls bodily movements, and shows that the true test of humanness is through the examination of the mind, something that is missed when doctors study only dead bodies. Hunter also emphasizes the “sensation” that arises, which connects his work with Shelley’s, since she wrote the novel specifically to affect people’s sensations and possibly also their actions against social injustice. Because Victor’s education seems to be limited to studying texts and dead bodies, he never understands that the monster is the most human of all his family members, reacting appropriately with care, sympathy, sadness, and anger. The other characters in the novel seem flat and one-dimensional in comparison to the monster. Elizabeth is too good, never getting angry or upset with Victor’s neglect of her; Henry is too patient and conciliatory; and Victor lacks what Hunter characterizes as “sensation...from feelings in the mind,” evidenced when he refuses to treat the monster with basic human respect. Hunter provides us with a workable definition of life and how the mind and body work together, and Shelley illustrates this concept through the creation and development of the characters.

⁹¹ to put a load or burden on or in

Nineteenth century doctors and surgeons were educated about Hunter's hypotheses and definitions of life, and there were weekly lectures at the Royal College of Surgeons based on Hunter's writing. What is missing from Hunter's theories, however, is how the doctors should act once they have this information. Shelley adds to surgeons' education by providing a warning in her novel regarding the consequences of treating people as less than human. Victor is clearly fascinated by the human body and by life in general. He narrates,

One of the phenomena which had peculiarly attracted my attention was the structure of the human frame, and, indeed, any animal endued with life. Whence, I often asked myself, did the principle of life proceed? It was a bold question, and one which has ever been considered as a mystery; yet with how many things are we upon the brink of becoming acquainted, if cowardice or carelessness did not restrain our inquiries. (Shelley Vol. 1, Ch. 3)

In order to understand life, Victor follows in the footsteps of surgeons before him by focusing on the body. "To examine the causes of life, we must first have recourse to death. I became acquainted with the science of anatomy: but this was not sufficient; I must also observe the natural decay and corruption of the human body" (Shelley Vol. 1, Ch. 3). Victor specializes in death and decay in order to understand how to combat them when creating life. However, by specializing in death, he neglects to learn about human compassion and empathy, which would have saved the lives of his family members.

This flaw of Victor's—his focus almost exclusively on dead bodies and his lack of insight into humane treatment of the living—may have led readers to interpret his detached approach as representative of doctors and surgeons of the day. Victor shows more interest in creating new life than in preserving a patient's life, which reflects a fear of the people about surgeons' behavior and mindset. Paintings and novels of the time

fueled these fears by suggesting that surgeons considered working-class bodies as dissection subjects even while alive, and that surgeons were not invested in preserving paupers' lives. And with its legislating a connection between dissection and poverty, the Anatomy Act confirmed these fears.

Chapter one of this project analyzed several letters that voiced opposition to the Anatomy Act, and even before it was drafted, people violently opposed the medical practice of objectifying bodies. In the eighteenth century, executions were held at Tyburn, a village in Middlesex made famous because it was the place where most criminals were executed. The Murder Act relegated bodies of murderers to surgeons, but there were as many as eight "hanging days" a year, where individuals convicted of various crimes were hanged, and these bodies were often fought over by various parties (Linebaugh 69).⁹² Surgeons were invested in securing the bodies for dissection, and the families and friends of the criminals often wanted the bodies to receive a proper burial, free from the surgeons' "mutilation." Since surgeons were considered by many to be the final executioner as opposed to the hangman, the surgeons were frequently targets for disorder when bodies were cut down (Linebaugh 102). There were numerous instances where groups of people mobilized to secure the individual's body from the hands of anatomists. James Clough, for instance, was executed at Tyburn in 1742, and when the surgeons attempted to take his body, they were attacked and defeated by his friends, who buried Clough according to his wishes. Many considered dissection as worse than being

⁹² "At Tyburn [during an execution day] thousands of people, and often tens of thousands, would crowd around the execution ground to witness the spectacle" (McLynn 266). The most common parties to fight against the surgeons were family, personal friends, fellow workers, the Irish, and sailors (Linebaugh 79).

executed, since being cut up prevented the ascension of the body on resurrection day.⁹³ Many groups, such as the Irish, found dissection offensive because of their religious beliefs. During the early eighteenth century, 16 per cent of the casualties at Tyburn were of Irish descent, and they often appealed to one another to stay out of the dissecting room (Linebaugh 84). People asked to be “saved *from* the surgeons,” rather than being saved *by* the surgeons, showing the distrust that people felt toward this group (Linebaugh 82, my emphasis).

Violence toward surgeons continued into the nineteenth century. One of the most famous riots occurred after the Burke and Hare murders became public knowledge. Dr. Knox was the surgeon to whom Burke and Hare sold their murdered bodies, and the public believed that Knox knew that the bodies had been murdered but concealed this for his own benefit. When the public discovered the role that Knox took, a mob destroyed his house, financial support for his medical work was withdrawn, and he died alone in poverty (Wise 178). These acts of violence illustrate the fear that the public felt regarding dissection, but more specifically outrage about doctors acting irresponsibly and seeing bodies simply as objects for training. Rather than informing the public about the process and benefits of dissection, surgeons made dissections private, keeping the public guessing about the process and intentions. *Frankenstein* gave the public something they craved: knowledge about dissection. Shelley provided a fantastic story involving dissection and medicine, including a possible repercussion of allowing surgeons to act

⁹³ Dissection prevented “resurrection of the body, as promised by the Christian ritual...This was why hardened criminals, who did not fear Tyburn, quailed at the thought of going under the surgeon’s knife afterwards” (McLynn 272).

with no regulation or consequences. One of the appealing factors of the novel is that the it addresses concerns that had been part of British culture for over a century.

Victor's Education

Shelley masterfully creates a character who behaves in a way similar to many of the surgeons of the time through his objectification of bodies in order to satiate his thirst for anatomical knowledge. In order for Victor's imagination to do something that no scientist had done before, he needed a unique kind of education. Victor learns to collect from his father, but he is mostly self-educated. Although he thinks the theories that he reads are tenable, Victor essentially reads fiction, which helps him develop his imagination and make it more plausible that he would conceive of and execute a project that is out of the scope of most scientists of his day. Authors such as Cornelius Agrippa, Paracelsus, and Albertus Magnus had long been proven to be wrong in their theories, but bringing back ideas from the past helps Victor push science forward. He reads about alchemy and disproved theories, and although his father dismisses this type of education, it essentially provides Victor with a mind capable of conceiving the impossible. Reading theories about the elixir of life and turning metal into gold helps Victor develop his imagination, and when this is coupled with scientific facts and medical knowledge, he creates what no man has been able to create before.⁹⁴

Mr. Frankenstein offhandedly dismisses Victor's early education, but knowing the end result of this neglect, the reader cannot so quickly disregard the consequences of Victor's self-education. The content of Victor's education seems innocuous, but when

⁹⁴ Because of his unusual, but comprehensive education, Victor resembles an erudite from the fifteenth century; he attempts to learn all facts and theories on the subject of medicine and ultimately rejects hypotheses that don't help him advance, while embracing the premises that lead to his "success."

this is coupled with traditional medical training, Victor's mind becomes very dangerous. Reading about the impossible fed his imagination, which was harmless before he went to medical school. The anatomy illustrations of fragmented bodies and the focus on degrading the body rather than a holistic approach allowed his imagination to develop without any focus on humanity or reverence for the human aspect of the human body. The novel allows the reader to see how fragmented and incomplete medical training was and may have helped the public understand why the Anatomy Act passed despite the people's protests. People, especially those in the medical community, were trained to ignore the humanness in humans and to create objects out of human bodies.

Science or Fiction?

While writing this novel, Mary Shelley was aware of scientific discoveries and medical breakthroughs of the time. By combining science with fiction, she came up with a unique and terrifying genre of writing, now called "science fiction."⁹⁵ Although there is no evidence that Shelley read John Hunter's work, people within the medical community would have been aware of and influenced by his innovations because of the ways that he and his brother changed the medical field. In his journals, Hunter defined the term "monster" and provided categories for types of monsters found in nature. Hunter characterizes monsters as either having too many body parts, too few body parts, or having malformed body parts (Hunter, *Essays* 248). Shelley builds on this definition in her writing to push the boundaries of science, evolving the concept of the monster through fiction. The term "monster" derives from the Latin *monstrum* meaning a

⁹⁵ Some scholars consider other work such as Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* or Francis Godwin's *The Man in the Moone* as the first science fiction writings, but *Frankenstein* is the first novel that uses scientifically proven methods and medical practices as a foundation for the fiction, rather than in earlier works that were based on pure imagination and fantasy.

physical or biological abnormality. Monster figures historically have been interpreted as signs that the natural order of the world is off balance. Shelley uses the historical roots of the term as a foundation for her characters, but makes the audience question which character is the most monstrous. The monster is abnormal because he is made up of body parts of dead people and because of his physical appearance. But Shelley is much more interested in helping the reader understand how *Victor* becomes a monster because of his deliberate behavior and the way that he upsets the world's natural order. Victor's academic education makes him grow into a detached and unsympathetic being, having never formed the ability to experience "normal" human emotions such as love and empathy for others.

Victor's monstrous behavior emerges when he shows the inability to sympathize with the monster's situation and through his general disrespect of basic human rights toward the monster. Since the monster represents the common man, readers would have made the connection between the monster's situation and the situation of those in the lower classes in regards to medical doctors. The Hippocratic Oath is a promise to practice medicine ethically and has been used by medical practitioners as early as fifth century B.C. and into present day. However, just as Victor breaks it by not taking responsibility for his actions, the public saw numerous examples of this oath being broken in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: dissection and experimentation targeted people who had no social or political power.⁹⁶ When patients were admitted to the poor hospitals they were caught in a double bind: admitting the fact that they had no

⁹⁶ Effie Botonaki states that tests on both live and dead bodies "would be performed on the bodies of criminals, the poor, foreigners, to the unidentified and unclaimed—in other words, these tests were conducted by the powerful upon the powerless" (83).

friends assured them entry to the hospital, but also a spot on the dissecting table if they died (Richardson 105). Teaching hospitals benefitted from their patients dying; they could order a post-mortem exam with or without permission (Hutton 127-8). This surely had an effect on the spirits of admitted patients who were faced with the prospect of death, and also on the general consensus on how doctors considered working-class patients as future dissection subjects, rather than as people who could be saved by their expertise.

The monster in *Frankenstein* serves as a reflection of how humans can behave monstrously toward people who are marginalized or powerless. Victor creates a being and then abandons him as soon as he gains life. The horror of Victor's rejection of the monster is multiplied by the fact that the monster is essentially his progeny.⁹⁷ Not only is the child/creature rejected, insulted, and labeled by his creator, he is also forced into the world to experience isolation and loneliness. The monster's negative experiences would have registered with many British citizens, since the report from the Select Committee on documents that doctors interviewed specifically suggest that bodies not claimed after death should be used for dissection. Bodies would go unclaimed if they lacked family or friend connections, which was typical of many people in Britain at the time. People who had no physical or financial protection during their lives would also be vulnerable after their deaths, since their bodies were appropriated for dissection. Other authors such as Ernest Jones provided social commentary in their fiction that helped people understand repercussions of upper-class control and appropriation of bodies. In Jones' short story,

⁹⁷ "When it comes to parenting, Frankenstein is himself a monster. He will not acknowledge his only child, the Being he chooses to call Monster, Fiend, and Demon, though no human father ever played so thorough-going a role in any birth" (Butler 311).

“The Young Milliner,” to be examined in the next chapter, the main character is abandoned by her lover, and because she has no friends or money, when she falls ill she is left with no choice but to enter a teaching hospital. After she dies, her body becomes “unclaimed” and is used by the surgeons in an anatomy lecture. This fictional story provides an image of the fate that other individuals could share if they died in a workhouse, public hospital, or prison. It also allows people to see how working bodies were used to make others’ lives more comfortable, just as the monster’s body is used and abused by people in a higher class than his.

A New Species

Victor states that he wants to create something new by animating the dead and wishes to become a kind of father/master to his creation. When he succeeds in animating the creature, Victor rejects him because he is not human. Victor’s dismissal of his creation, based solely on physical appearance, provides a commentary on the importance of bodily markers during the nineteenth century. Victor focuses solely on the aesthetic of the monster, and after admitting that he specifically chose each of the monster’s features, he describes him:

His yellow skin scarcely covered the work of muscles and arteries beneath; his hair was of a lustrous black, and flowing; his teeth of a pearly whiteness; but these luxuriations only formed a more horrid contrast with his watery eyes, that seemed almost of the same colour as the dun white sockets in which they were set, his shrivelled complexion, and straight black lips. (Shelley Vol. 1, Ch. 3)

This negative description makes it seem as though the monster is a different species, but he is actually made from *human* body parts, likely from working-class bodies, since these were the easiest bodies to disinter.

The physical differences between classes were the clearest markers of class identity, and Victor makes it clear that he detests the monster's features that he specifically chose because they were the easiest to work with for his scientific purposes. "As the minuteness of [human body] parts formed a great hindrance to my speed, I resolved, contrary to my first intention, to make the being of a gigantic stature; that is to say, about eight feet in height, and proportionably large" (Shelley Vol. 1, Ch. 3). As Victor points out, the most terrifying part of the monster is not that he was made from dead body parts, but in the aesthetic of his body. Similarly, class and race delineation in Britain revolved around the body and it was difficult to pass for a member of a higher class because of the difference in clothes, physical build, the color and quality of the skin, and often other physical markers such as scars, calluses, or disfigurements. People in the more comfortable classes valued such physical characteristics as soft, white skin and small frames, and regarded such characteristics of working bodies as calloused hands, browned skin, and more robust frames as less attractive. However, the work done by these "ugly" bodies supported the lifestyles of those in the more comfortable classes and in fact, the work created these physical differences.⁹⁸ Washing dishes and clothes, constant sewing, and carrying heavy loads shaped the aesthetic of the working bodies. Photographs taken during the Victorian period document the presence of these bodies and are literal illustrations of the kinds of bodies that hard work produced. As will be explored in detail in the next chapter, people such as Arthur Munby commissioned and collected these kinds of photographs, which illustrate a fascination with the "other," since

⁹⁸ Franco Moretti theorizes the way that class status is literally written on the body: "the monster also makes us realize that in an unequal society [human beings] are *not* equal. Not because they belong to different 'races' but because inequality really does score itself into one's skin, one's eyes and one's body" (Moretti 325-6).

collectors were necessarily from the more comfortable classes. Munby's photographs highlighted the parts of the body that specifically show physical markers of class differences, such as calloused hands and muscled female bodies.⁹⁹ These markers became justification by comfortable classes to keep the definite class stratification.

Bodies in nineteenth century Britain had different kinds of value depending on their class and stations. Shelley highlights the hypocrisy surgeons exhibited when they used pauper's bodies to train doctors who mainly served people in the upper classes. Victor notes that his intentions to create the monster were noble: he wanted to "banish disease from the human frame, and render man invulnerable to any but a violent death!" (Shelley Vol. 1, Ch. 1). But merely ten pages later, the reader learns that Victor's intentions were more self-serving and egotistical. He wanted to prove that he could create a being from his own intellectual and physical labor, and he desired unconditional worship that his being would be sure to give him. Like Victor's initial altruistic claims, surgeons of this time argued that all Britons would benefit from medical advancements derived from dissection, but in reality, most working-class people could not afford to see physicians regularly, and would therefore benefit less from advancements than people in higher classes.¹⁰⁰ The work of real nineteenth century physicians was just as self-serving as Victor Frankenstein's.

⁹⁹ Additionally, the next chapter will argue that visual culture such as paintings and photographs that were produced by men helped to define and create the accepted image of the female body, and that this led to the male appropriation of especially the working-class female body.

¹⁰⁰ J. S. Cockburn notes that Bernard de Mandeville argued that the bodies of poor people being dissected ultimately benefitted other poor people who needed doctors and surgeons to be trained in internal medicine. Interestingly, Mandeville writes from a position of privilege and power about citizens that have neither privilege nor power. Effie Botonaki states, "Medical progress would benefit first and foremost, if not exclusively, those who had influence or/and wealth. So, only some bodies were valuable, worthy of attention and care, and it was these bodies which were able to avoid dissection" (83). Reynaldo Iletto contributes to the discussion on how science has been used historically to regulate and control bodies,

After Victor completes his grand experiment, he finds no more value from the monster's body and therefore wants it to disappear, which he believes he has a right to demand, since he does not consider the monster as human. However, the monster assures Victor that he will not disappear until Victor extends human rights to him. When the monster makes demands of Victor, he proves that he is human and that he should be treated as such. He states, "Life, although it may only be an accumulation of anguish, is dear to me, and I will defend it...Remember that I am thy creature; I ought to be thy Adam; but I am rather the fallen angel, whom thou drivest from joy for no misdeed. Everywhere I see bliss, from which I alone am irrevocably excluded" (Shelley Vol. 2, Ch. 2). The monster notices the happiness enjoyed by others and tries to convince Victor that he deserves this, too. But Victor refuses to listen; he cannot stand the sight or touch of the monster: "[he] placed his hated hands before my eyes, which I flung from me with violence" (Shelley Vol. 2, Ch. 2). The monster's hands become the central focus for an instant because they are "hated" by Victor, and he comments about how much he abhors being touched by the monster that he labored over creating. The monster uses the body parts that he was given and must use this body and these hands in order to live. In fact, the monster uses his hands to perform hard labor and saves the DeLacey family from starvation.

These hands can be viewed as a metaphor for the hands of the laboring class in Britain, who also worked for the benefit of the upper classes. As previously mentioned, their body parts and specifically their hands were calloused and hardened through their

under the cloak of advancing medicine. Ileo explores the way that the cholera epidemics in the Philippines during the nineteenth century gave the U.S. military the justification to "discipline" the masses by adding more supervision and regulation to the people's lives. When the native people resisted these changes, they were considered dangerous, but if they complied, they were implicated in colonial domination (144).

toil in providing comfort for people in the upper classes. It was their hands that produced the food that the upper class people ate, the clothes they wore, and fuel used for their homes.¹⁰¹ The upper classes literally used lower class bodies to maintain and improve their lifestyles, just as Victor uses the monster's body to develop his medical skills and prove to himself that he can create life out of death. However, when the workers' and monster's bodies were used up or became inconvenient, they were discarded and resented. The monster is shunned, paupers were put in workhouses, and lower class demands were ignored. Justifiably, the monster resists Victor's authority and demands his rights as a human after he finds that Victor has no more use for his body. The monster's insistence to be treated as a human sends a message to readers in the laboring classes. This was the time when class consciousness and solidarity emerged, and the monster's plight would have appealed to people in the lower classes who were being encouraged to, as did the monster, stand up for their rights as valuable people who deserve respect and as such, are justified in demanding respect from others.¹⁰² Readers would have more reason to identify with the monster as he demonstrates that he values his life enough to demand a chance at happiness and reason to abhor Victor as, in destroying the female monster's body, he demonstrates a complete disrespect of the monster, who he considers sub-human and undeserving of companionship or affection. A parallel to this is seen when, despite opposition from the lower classes, laws such as the

¹⁰¹ Jonathan Swift provides a social commentary in *A Modest Proposal* about the ways that poor people, specifically Irish people, provided food for the upper classes and that the upper classes too often considered the lower classes as less than human.

¹⁰² The message that the monster sends echoes the sentiments present in Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, where she appeals to both men and women that women need to be treated as humans rather than like playthings so that the general population will be educated and therefore develop as a society.

Anatomy Act and the New Poor Law of 1834¹⁰³ were passed. The laws upheld the status quo of lower-class bodies being objectified and regulated by the upper classes.

Bodily Awareness

When the monster is first animated by Victor, he is naked, just as people are when dissected.¹⁰⁴ The rejection of the monster in this vulnerable state adds a new fearful element to dissection: humiliation. The thought of being dissected and exposed (in all ways possible) was humiliating and terrifying even to consider. Not only were the dissection corpses naked, they were often put on display and handled by many different male doctors. In the 1820s, when people were debating the Anatomy Act (and when *Frankenstein* was gaining popularity), the Murder Act was still in effect, which meant that murderers' bodies were publicly dissected. In fact, William Burke's body was dissected publicly just six months before the first Anatomy Bill was published, and viewing his dead body was hugely popular in Edinburgh. Though there were many public spectacles in large cities during this time, the public dissections surely contributed to a self-consciousness of the body at this time. Shelley's novel complicated the way that bodies were humiliated, since the monster at once represents dead bodies on the dissection table, but also the working-class body. The monster is alive, but is humiliated by Victor as if he were still a dissection subject.

The process of humiliating bodies worked on many levels as seen when Victor rejects his creation. He is shunned because of how hideous his body looks, but his rejection makes Victor become self-conscious about his own body. He recognizes that he

¹⁰³ The New Poor Law of 1834 increased the number of workhouses throughout Britain in an attempt to regulate the placement of bodies that were receiving public aid.

¹⁰⁴ In fact, resurrectionists could be imprisoned if they stole clothes from a grave, but not if they only stole a body, which resulted in the fact that all bodies delivered to medical schools were naked.

needs to use his body to escape from the environment that he created, and through physical exertion, he can find relief. He states,

I continued walking in this manner for some time, endeavouring, by bodily exercise, to ease the load that weighed upon my mind. I traversed the streets, without any clear conception of where I was, or what I was doing. My heart palpitated in the sickness of fear; and I hurried on with irregular steps, not daring to look about me. (Shelley Vol. 1, Ch. 6)

The weight on his mind is of the monster's body, and he eases this weight by expending energy of his own body. The connection between the body and the mind echoes the way that guilt is often manifested physically. Specifically in regards to racism and classism, both the oppressed and the oppressors are weighed down emotionally and physically by the institutions. The suffering of the oppressed is often the main focus, as it is in *Frankenstein*, but there are consequences also for the oppressors, as Victor demonstrates.

Part IV: Construction and Destruction of the Female Monster

The construction and destruction of the female monster are the culminating moments of Victor's surgical abilities, and they are scenes that in many ways are the most terrifying. The construction of the female monster is similar to her male counterpart's, but her destruction is more vividly narrated, and Victor exhibits his power over the monster by creating and then destroying her in front of him. Grave robbing and dissection targeted lower-class bodies, the same bodies that Victor uses to construct the female monster. This connection between the text and real life contributes to the terror that readers would have felt reading the novel, especially since bodies both in real life and in the novel are vulnerable to manipulation and destruction. And although the Anatomy Act was passed several years after *Frankenstein* was initially published, the act

codified the already existing practice of targeting working-class bodies for use as dissection subjects. Women's bodies were protected and secluded when alive, and nineteenth century readers would be especially shocked about the fact that this violence is done to a female body—actually, to multiple female bodies, since Victor uses pieces of several dead bodies to construct the monster. The fact that a male doctor manipulates and violates her body makes the construction and destruction scenes even more profane.

Companionship

The monster learns through his interactions with the DeLacey family how humans ought to act toward one another, and therefore speaks with authority when he accuses Victor of treating him inhumanely. Through his observations and connections with the DeLacey family, the monster goes through a process of creating a human identity. Wishing to share his life with a companion and endeavoring to elicit human emotions such as sympathy and love from Victor are parts of this identity formation (Holmes 332), as is demonstrating his love and sympathy for the DeLacey family when he helps them farm their small plot of land, thereby staving off their starvation. The emotions he exhibits toward other humans, the wish that he be granted these emotions from others toward himself, the compulsion of wanting to be a contributing part of a family unit, all contribute to forming the monster's awareness that he needs companionship to survive.¹⁰⁵ He learns that that love and companionship creates more love and companionship: a lesson that Victor never learns.

¹⁰⁵ Richard Holmes states, "Secretly listening to the cottagers in the woods, [the monster] learns conceptual ideas such as warfare, slavery, tyranny. His conscience is aroused, and his sense of justice. But above all, he discovers the need for companionship, sympathy and affection. And this is the one thing he cannot find, because he is so monstrously ugly" (332).

Familial love enables the monster to learn humane behavior, but Victor chooses scientific and anatomical learning over humanistic learning. Victor never shows sympathy or love toward any of the other characters; not even toward his betrothed, Elizabeth. Throughout the novel, Victor accepts that Elizabeth will be his wife, but he never sees her as an equal and speaks of her condescendingly. Victor narrates, “Her figure was light and airy; and, though capable of enduring great fatigue, she appeared the most fragile creature in the world. While I admired her understanding and fancy, I loved to tend on her, as I should on a favourite animal” (Shelley Vol. 1, Ch. 1). Victor describes Elizabeth as non-human, first as “light and airy” as if she were a sprite or fairy, and later as an “animal.” Victor sees Elizabeth as fragile because of her physical frame, even as he acknowledges her hardiness in withstanding great fatigue.

Victor fictionalizes Elizabeth’s body by narrating a vulnerability both in body and mind, which is contrasted by her fortitude in the face of losing loved ones and neglect by her fiancé. When Victor needs a colleague in his self-directed studies, he narrates that Elizabeth “did not interest herself in the subject, and I was left by her to pursue my studies alone” (Shelley Vol. 1, Ch. 1). Victor considers Elizabeth as a pet rather than as an equal; she fascinates him, but does not stimulate his intellect. Although he does recognize her natural strength and intellect, in his mind he depicts her according to his own constructs. This trope of appropriating female bodies according to the needs of the males will be further explored in the next chapter, specifically through the fictionalized bodies of model and muse Elizabeth Siddal, working-class women in nineteenth-century photographs, and Anna, a character in Ernest Jones’ short story, “The Young Milliner.” Their class and lack of education make the women’s bodies vulnerable to fictionalization,

which ultimately benefits men in higher classes who visually consume their bodies. The male viewers enjoy a fictionalized distance between their bodies and those they view, which confirm their class station and power over other bodies. Victor participates in this corporeal manipulation when he forces a difference between his and Elizabeth's body. The distance he creates between their bodies results in emotional detachment and while Elizabeth suffers emotional manipulation from Victor's "othering" when he avoids Elizabeth, she at least has the Frankenstein family to protect and comfort her. The monster, on the other hand, is shunned and "othered" by the only human connection that he has in the world, and Victor refuses even to provide the monster a companion.

Victor feels that he owns his family, and he takes for granted their love and support without feeling that he needs to reciprocate. It is only when Elizabeth and others in his family begin to die that Victor finally realizes the importance of his family, even though he had never before appreciated their true worth. As opposed to Victor, the monster does realize that the one thing others have that he wants is a family. Unfortunately, the only family the monster knows is Victor, his creator, who rejects him, thereby denying him the family that he craves. In his frustration, the monster lashes out by murdering little William, later admitting that he does not want to be destructive and pleading for a companion. In his theories on life, John Hunter writes specifically about creatures' instinctual desire to preserve their own life. Hunter states, "The first, and most simple idea of life, I have observed, is its being the principle of self-preservation, preventing matter from falling into dissolution—for dissolution immediately takes place when matter is deprived from it; and the second is its being the principle of action" (Hunter, *Works* 223). Hunter recognizes that humans have a natural instinct to preserve

their own life, and will take action to do so. Shelley fictionalizes this theory when she develops the monster's character. The monster realizes that he cannot live alone, and he acts on this realization. Although Victor does not acknowledge him as human, the monster has enough self-awareness to recognize that a companion will remedy the loneliness that he feels and will cool the rage he feels toward Victor for abandoning him. Companionship, then, becomes necessary for the monster's survival. Without it, the monster cannot live, but neither will the rest of the Frankenstein family.

When the monster demands a companion, he expresses his desire to obtain such basic human rights as love and companionship.¹⁰⁶ Logically, Victor has two choices to fulfill the monster's desire for affection: he can build a female monster, or he can take responsibility for his actions and provide this companionship for the monster himself. When the monster asks Victor to build a female monster he states, "You must create a female for me, with whom I can live in the interchange of those sympathies necessary for my being. This you alone can do; and I demand it of you as a right which you must not refuse to concede" (Shelley Vol. 2, Ch. 9). The monster knows what his rights as a human are, and that since Victor refuses to be his companion, he must create a bride for him. Throughout the novel, Victor always has the option of becoming the monster's companion, thereby saving the rest of the members of his family. However, Victor's inability to see the monster as human in conjunction with his learned specialization prevents him from even recognizing that there are multiple solutions to the monster's

¹⁰⁶ Victor "has agreed to create the monsteress because, while he is moved by the Monster's narrative, he cannot 'sympathize with him.' This creation, then, would be a *substitute* for the Monster's inclusion within the human chain; Frankenstein may obscurely recognize that the Monster's desire for this mate may itself be a substitute for his real, his absolute demand, which is for recognition by his creator" (Brooks 212, emphasis in original).

problem. Victor understands that creating the female monster is a way to exclude the monster from his life and a way to clean up the mess he has made without actually acknowledging that the monster is his responsibility.

The monster is aware that Victor lacks the normal human capacity for emotions, and therefore appeals to him for a companion with reason and rationale. The monster states, "I intended to reason. This passion is detrimental to me; for you do not reflect that you are the cause of its excess...What I ask of is reasonable and moderate; I demand a creature of another sex, but as hideous as myself; the gratification is small, but it is all that I can receive, and it shall content me" (Shelley Vol. 2, Ch. 9). The monster speaks calmly and rationally, and though he does express how it will make him feel, he understands that the only way to convince a doctor is by using reason rather than emotions. Victor shows a medical detachment from the monster, but the monster does not give up. The monster states, "It is true we shall be monsters, cut off from all the world; but on that account we shall be more attached to one another. Our lives will not be happy, but they will be harmless, and free from the misery I now feel" (Shelley Vol. 2, Ch. 9). The monster assures Victor that he and his companion will be harmless, and logically, Victor has no argument against making him a bride. The monster concludes his speech with, "Oh! my creator, make me happy; let me feel gratitude toward you for one benefit! Let me see that I excite the sympathy of some existing thing; do not deny me my request!" (Shelley Vol. 2, Ch. 9). After speaking rationally, the monster ends with an outpouring of emotions, seemingly meant more for the reader of the novel than for Victor, since he already established that emotive speech does not affect Victor. This human ability to read and understand how to relate to a variety of people, from the

DeLaceys to Victor, establishes the monster as the most human of all the characters in the novel.

The Plea

The monster calls himself and his future companion “monsters,” but we soon understand that he means this more in Hunter’s terms of physical deformations rather than of monstrous behavior and feeling. The monster assures Victor that he and his bride “shall make our bed of dried leaves; the sun will shine on us as on man, and will ripen our food. The picture I present to you is peaceful and human” (Shelley Vol. 2, Ch. 9). He focuses on the human aspects of their future life, and provides a contrast to the way Victor has been living, again reinforcing the fact that the monster is Victor’s foil. While Victor works in an indoor laboratory, the monster wants to live outdoors; Victor has collected dead bodies, but the monster will collect nourishment; Victor distanced himself from his family, but the monster wants to stay always with his bride. The monster continues his speech to Victor, “Pitiless as you have been toward me, I now see compassion in your eyes” (Shelley Vol. 2, Ch. 9). The monster forgives Victor’s past cruelty and forces Victor to think and feel as a human. And Victor remembers that he does feel something:

I was moved. I shuddered when I thought of the possible consequences of my consent; but I felt that there was some justice in his argument. His tale, and the feelings he now expressed, proved him to be a creature of fine sensations; and did I not as his maker owe him all the portion of happiness that it was in my power to bestow? (Shelley Vol. 2, Ch. 9)

Victor looks objectively at the situation, and he intellectually knows that the monster is justified in his request. When Victor states, “I was moved” we wonder he means: does he feel an emotion, or has the monster made a valid point in an argument, thereby moving

Victor from one side of the argument to another? The monster believes that Victor feels compassion. However, the monster's belief that Victor can feel human emotions makes his destruction of the female monster all the more painful. He at once destroys the monster's dream of future happiness, and also any semblance that Victor has of seeming human to the readers.

Victor does not see the monster deserving of basic human rights. Victor here demonstrates the scientific detachment that many surgeons adopted towards their patients in order to supposedly become better at their craft. Bodies both of working-class patients and of the monsters became objects of study rather than feeling subjects and the doctor had complete rights and power over these bodies.¹⁰⁷ Acknowledging the monster as having subjective opinions and feelings would mean that Victor must extend human rights to the monster such as freedom and companionship, but by considering him only as an object, he can rationalize withholding human rights.

Victor does regard the monster as a different species and the monster internalizes this mentality as illustrated when he requests a mate. The monster states, "I am alone, and miserable; man will not associate with me; but one as deformed and horrible as myself would not deny herself to me. My companion must be of the same *species*, and have the same defects. This *being* you must create" (Shelley Vol. 2, Ch. 9, emphasis mine). The monster stipulates to Victor that his bride must be of the same "species," implying that others' treatment of him has made him question his status as a human. This self-devaluation shows that the monster has accepted his imposed position, in a similar

¹⁰⁷ Ruth Richardson states, "Clinical detachment had transmuted the object of veneration and super-natural power which the corpse was in popular culture, into an object of scientific study; entrepreneurial medicine eventually transformed it into an object of commercial exchange: a commodity" (51).

way to how the working classes often felt helpless about their situations. When Victor denies the monster a companion, he confirms that the monster does not deserve to be treated as human, and therefore initiates the monster's murdering spree.

Victor justifies the destruction of the female monster by predicting that she would be able to reproduce.¹⁰⁸ Even in the imaginary world that Shelley created in her novel, the likelihood that Victor could create a being that would have reproductive capabilities is very small. Victor never reports touching a female body throughout his narrative, and likely has only textbook knowledge of the female reproductive system, not nearly enough to construct a female who could actually create life within her body. The fact that Victor believes that he can create a being that could then in turn reproduce shows Victor's arrogance and god-complex.

A version of this arrogance manifested itself in the passage of laws that most of the population opposed. The British Parliament took the liberty to regulate what was to be done with paupers' bodies both during their lives with the New Poor Law of 1834 and after they had died with the Anatomy Act. The Act confirmed that some laws applied only to poor people, implying that an individual was entitled to more rights if financially secure (Richardson 188). Even though the law only physically affected a small percentage of the population, it created anxiety for anyone who had even the most remote possibility of ending their life in a workhouse, prison, or public hospital. The paupers' ownership of their own bodies was stripped from them, and there was relatively little

¹⁰⁸ "On the brink of completing the female version and in extension, the natural cycle, Victor finally recognizes the exponential threat mankind would face if this new organism was allowed to reproduce...In light of [Erasmus] Darwin's scientific revelations about how the world really works, the reproductive threat takes on a far more ominous tone and the terrible possibilities of the evolutionary cycle are revealed" (Allan Hunter 142).

resistance once the laws were passed because the people felt so helpless in affecting political outcomes.

To combat this fear, doctors had the option of being open and honest with the public about how dissection would benefit the whole of Britain, thereby treating them as equals and transforming the fear of dissection into a form of respect and accepted necessity. Some doctors at the end of the eighteenth century offered low cost anatomy lessons in order to make dissection more palatable to the lower classes, thereby limiting the amount of horror and disgust that accompanied dissection (Bailey 100-101). The people responded favorably to this attempt, but the practice was limited, had few immediate benefits for the doctors, and eventually ceased.¹⁰⁹ The Anatomy Act is the manifestation of the medical community ignoring the pleas of the masses for rights over their own bodies and of the British government legalizing the use of working-class bodies to benefit those in the more comfortable classes. In none of the Anatomy Bills is there a clause about the possibility of educating the masses about medical dissections, and Victor does not himself see that there is another solution to the monster's crippling isolation. Although Victor agrees to build the monster a mate, he ultimately ignores the monster's needs because he associates the monsters' bodies with criminality.

Scotland

The places that bodies occupy in *Frankenstein* become important symbolically. Although home base for the Frankenstein family is in Geneva and the characters travel throughout Europe, Victor chooses to construct the female monster in Scotland, the

¹⁰⁹ Jeremy Bentham is one medical practitioner who advocated for honesty in medicine and attempted to make it more accessible to all classes by patronizing free clinics and teaching hospitals.

birthplace of famous surgeons John and William Hunter, and also the country where Burke and Hare committed their infamous murders. Scotland became representative for readers of medical developments, but also of unethical medical practices. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Royal College of Surgeons in Edinburgh emerged as a powerhouse in medical training, and William Hunter became well established in the late eighteenth century in Glasgow where he helped found the University of Glasgow's Hunterian Museum and Art Gallery. Scotland was also well known for the problem of grave robbing, and Edinburgh in particular gained fame in 1828 when Burke and Hare were caught after selling murdered people's bodies to Dr. Robert Knox. Although the Burke and Hare scandal surfaced after *Frankenstein* was published, the scandal regarding obtaining dissection subjects may have further contributed to the popularity of Shelley's novel.¹¹⁰ Burke and Hare certainly made the public aware of the dangers that dissection could pose if people were being murdered for the price of their bodies.

Victor's placement during his most destructive work brings the characters to Britain and clarifies for readers that the bodies that Victor uses to construct the female monster are British. Victor anchors his location for the creation of the female monster on one of the Scottish Orkney Islands. Though the Orkneys are quite a bit removed from Edinburgh and Glasgow, Scotland would have been recognizable to readers as a site for medical research and dissection, and becomes a fitting place for Victor to resume his dissecting.

¹¹⁰ As mentioned earlier in this chapter, critics have also attributed *Frankenstein's* growing popularity throughout the 1820s to the high number of stage performances based on Shelley's storyline.

Torn to Pieces

Although the female monster is never animated, we consider her a character in the novel because of the importance she plays in the monster's and Victor's lives. Victor builds her body and all she lacks is animation, which Victor has the power to bestow. However, Victor sees only the female monster's negative potential, and decides to destroy her before he animates her. "Trembling with passion, I [Victor] tore to pieces the thing on which I was engaged" (Shelley Vol. 3, Ch. 3). While the creation of the male monster is a kind of reverse dissection, the destruction of the female monster is representative of an actual dissection, although perhaps more violent than a dissection would have been at a medical school. Even though the monsters had never been united, the male monster had already planned his life with his future beloved, and he howls with "devilish despair and revenge" when he sees his mate destroyed (Shelley Vol. 3, Ch. 3). This scene at once illustrates emotional detachment that Victor feels towards the monsters and also reflects the emotional consciousness that the monster has developed about his and his mate's bodies. The destruction of his mate registers physically with the male monster and makes him realize how powerless he is against Victor's prejudice.

This destruction also would have affected readers because of the parallel between Victor's behavior throughout the book and surgeons' behavior toward working-class bodies. Before Victor agrees to build the female, the monster astutely points out that Victor wishes he could dissect *him*. The monster states, "You, my creator, would tear me to pieces, and triumph" (Shelley Vol. 2, Ch. 9). The monster here not only foreshadows what Victor's behavior will be to the female monster, but also indicates that the dissection is a kind of "triumph" for the surgeons because of the benefit that they

received in the form of training and knowledge. Working-class people feared that surgeons considered all bodies as potential dissection material and that for their own selfish purposes surgeons wished to tear them to pieces through dissection, just as Victor does to the female monster. Although most doctors and surgeons went into medicine to preserve life, the controversial manner in which they obtained and treated dead bodies made the population wary about surgeons' real motivation for practicing medicine. Were doctors really invested in protecting *all* human life, or were they more interested in serving those with more financial security and using working bodies as experimental subjects? Did surgeons do *everything* they could to save the lives of the laboring class, or did they invest more time and energy into saving people in the more comfortable classes? Was entering a teaching hospital the equivalent of donating your body to science, or were there options for burial? These questions might have been fueling people's distrust of the medical community, which was only exacerbated by laws such as the Anatomy Act.

Surgical Control

Victor's initial motivation for becoming a doctor was to "banish disease from the human frame, and render man invulnerable to any but a violent death" and this can be interpreted as either an altruistic endeavor or as Victor's aspiration to have control over both life and death (Shelley Vol. 1, Ch. 1). Before Victor becomes a doctor, he desires the ability to prevent death, but in his creation of the male and female monsters, we see Victor's need to control the individual bodies with which he works. Dissection can be described as a process that transforms wholes into parts: it regulates and reduces whole bodies into a collection of distinct parts. As shown with anatomy illustrations in the last chapter, when parts are removed from the body, doctors can more easily control the

knowledge they gain by specializing on the individual parts. Victor exhibits this need to regulate bodies and knowledge when he creates the monsters initially, but especially when he destroys the female monster. He cannot accept that the monsters could create new life that would be unregulated and uncontrollable.¹¹¹

Perhaps one underlying reason that Victor fears a loss of control is that even from an early age his father instills in him the importance of controlling and regulating his surroundings, beginning with his family construction. Victor learns that men, rather than women, control reproduction and augment the family. The body is the medium through which sexual and reproductive control is expressed by all characters in the novel, and Victor cannot allow the monsters to procreate if he is to continue to control all reproduction in his family.¹¹² Victor sees that the monster created an independent identity and he fears the female monster's potential to control life and death with a superior capacity to his own.¹¹³ Victor fears the monsters' unpredictability and independent wills, but is unable to teach the monsters moderation, since he does not use it

¹¹¹ Although Victor fears that the monsters will create a "race of devils," seeing the monster's humanity throughout the novel indicates that their hypothetical children would have more compassion and altruism than even Victor and Elizabeth's children would.

¹¹² Anne Mellor theorizes that Victor fears female independence and the loss of control over reproduction and the regulation of the family. She writes, "What Victor Frankenstein truly fears is female sexuality as such. A woman who is sexually liberated, free to choose her own life, her own sexual partner (by force, if necessary). And to propagate at will can appear only monstrously ugly to Victor Frankenstein... Horrified by this image of uninhibited female sexuality, Victor Frankenstein violently reasserts a male control over the female body, penetrating and mutilating the female creature at his feet in an image that suggests a violent rape" (Mellor 279). Peter Garrett states, "Constructing this demonic version works Frankenstein up to the necessary pitch of desperation in which, 'with a sensation like madness,' he can destroy the female 'thing' that has come to represent his loss of control, displaying his own capacity for malice and treachery" (100).

¹¹³ Feminist critics such as Anne Mellor and Marilyn Butler interpret the destruction of the female monster as a reflection of the way that female sexuality is controlled during this time. Mellor remarks that Victor "is afraid of an independent female will, afraid that his female creature will have desires and opinions that cannot be controlled by his male creature" (279).

himself. Rather than considering the consequences of bringing the dead back to life, Victor believes that he can control anything that he creates, which has devastating results.

This desire by medical practitioners to be in complete control was illustrated in the nineteenth century in regards to the dead body trade. As we saw in chapter one of this project, one of the main motivations for passing a law that regulated anatomy was to eliminate the need for grave robbing, not exclusively because the surgeons had a moral objection to the practice, but also because surgeons were losing control of the trafficking practice and disliked that others could manipulate them. The price of bodies fluctuated based on the season, the age and gender of the body, and how many bodies were available for purchase. An increase in the number of anatomy schools in large cities like London meant that the demand for bodies increased, which resulted in surgeons paying whatever the grave robbers demanded if they wanted to keep their schools open. They were at the mercy of the suppliers (grave robbers), and they wanted to be free from these constraints. The Anatomy Act provided a quick and easy remedy since schools could form agreements with local workhouses or hospitals that all unclaimed bodies would be bought for a set price. The Act reduced the need to buy bodies from resurrectionists, and therefore significantly drove down the price of illegally begotten bodies. Victor's need to control the monsters' bodies is an illustration of the surgeons' need to control the body trade.

Criminality

Victor fears the female monster's potential independence in a similar way to how members of the comfortable classes feared that the general population would someday gain a voice, thereby having influence over what laws were passed and how their own

bodies would be treated after they died. Shelley wrote *Frankenstein* in the wake of the French Revolution; Shelley and her readers would have been well aware of the consequences of working-class needs developing into action. John Hunter provided a scientific assessment of how action drives life and vice versa:

The actions and productions of actions, both in vegetable and animal bodies, have been hitherto considered so much under the prepossessions of chemical and mechanical philosophy, that physiologists have entirely lost sight of life; and perhaps they have been led to this mode of reasoning because these properties are much more familiar, more adapted to our understandings, and more demonstrable than the living properties of organized beings. (Hunter, *Works* 216)

Hunter proposes that those who look too closely at the smallest elements of life forget that there is a larger picture to consider. Although Hunter did become a specialist in his field of comparative anatomy, he essentially warns surgeons to not become so specialized that they forget that their ultimate goal is to preserve life. He states that focusing on small aspects of the body's composition is more "familiar" and "more adapted to our understandings," which would be true of surgeons around the turn of the nineteenth century, since there was no longer a holistic aspect to medical training. Hunter acknowledges that the "living properties" are more difficult to understand, but implicit in his writing is the importance of keeping the larger picture in one's mind. Victor does just what Hunter warns doctors not to do by focusing exclusively on the monster's body, rather than how he could live. He loses sight of life as a whole; although the male monster demonstrates innate goodness, Victor can only see a deviant body that has committed crimes, and he ignores the rest of the monster's life.

Victor further justifies his destruction of the female by condemning her as guilty of future crimes. Victor states that the female monster "might become ten thousand times

more malignant than her mate, and delight, for its own sake, in murder and wretchedness” (Shelley Vol. 3, Ch. 3). By accusing the female monster of future murders, he connects her situation with Justine’s, since she also was falsely accused and executed for a murder that she did not commit. When William is found dead, Justine is immediately accused of murder, and because of the evidence found on her body, she is found guilty and is executed. Justine’s trial and execution takes place in Switzerland, which means that her body would not have been subject to the Murder Act because it was an exclusively British law. After being executed, the Frankenstein family would have paid for her body to be buried in a plot. However, British readers of this story would have been aware of the Murder Act’s stipulations, and because Justine was executed for the crime of murder, Shelley connects Justine’s body to this Act. The female monster is also accused of murder, albeit one that has never been committed, and as potentially procreating a “race of devils,” the evidence of the “crime” again based on the woman’s body (Shelley Vol. 3, Ch. 3). Evidence that Victor used to condemn the female monster is not *on* the body, like with Justine; rather it *is* her body, specifically her reproductive capability coupled with a fabricated uncontrollable rage. And since it is through the body that Victor imagines that future crimes will be committed, Victor punishes the female monster’s body in retaliation. Because Justine was innocent of murder, the reader also doubts that the female monster would have committed the crimes of which she is accused.

The guilt that is attached to the female monster’s and Justine’s bodies is representative of how class distinctions made bodies of lower-class individuals more vulnerable because they had fewer people and less financial resources to protect their

bodies after death. The Select Committee on Anatomy suggested that bodies of unclaimed paupers and suicide victims be used as dissection subjects, since they reasoned that these people's bodies would not be mourned. The report states, "If selection then be necessary, what bodies ought to be selected but the bodies of those, who have either no known relations whose *feelings* would be outraged, or such only as, by not *claiming* the body, would evince indifference on the subject of dissection" (10, emphasis in original). As mentioned earlier in this project, just because a body was unclaimed did not necessarily mean that the individual had no family or friends. This statement in the committee's report demonstrates the class bias that the Anatomy Act later puts into law and also how the upper classes justified this class bias. Justine's body is connected to poverty and therefore to criminality, which is part of the reason that people opposed the Anatomy Act: it repealed the Murder Act, but essentially replaced criminal bodies with pauper's bodies, thereby linking poverty to criminality. In Justine's case, her poverty ties her to criminality in a way that none of the other bodies could because of their class. Similarly, the female monster's body is easily destroyed by Victor after he accuses her of future crimes. Unlike Justine, however, the female monster's "fiancé" still lives and therefore there are consequences to Victor's actions.

The Agreement

Before the monster and Victor part in Scotland, the monster asks Victor, "Do you dare to break your promise?...do you dare destroy my hopes?" (Shelley Vol. 3, Ch. 3). When Victor answers in the affirmative, he answers a question not only from the monster, but also from the lower classes to the doctors and surgeons of the time. The people wanted to put their trust in medicine, and medical practitioners promised to do no

harm to their patients when they became doctors. But supporting a law that allowed bodies of paupers to be sold for dissection violated this promise and this trust. People become more fearful of doctors in their lifetimes because of the Anatomy Act, and we see how the act benefitted medical students first and foremost without consideration for how working-class people would be negatively affected through anxiety and fear.

Victor's punishment for destroying the female monster aptly fits his crime: Victor dissects the monster's only family, and therefore the monster dismembers Victor's family systematically. The monster forces Victor to watch as he dissects his family by murdering key members, just as Victor made the monster watch as he dissected his bride. The murder of Henry Clerval is devastating to Victor, but when the monster murders Elizabeth, he essentially also murders Mr. Frankenstein, since the old man loses the will to live without Elizabeth. It was not the creation of the male monster that destroyed Victor Frankenstein's family and way of life; it was his neglect, his abuse, and ultimately his destructive behavior.¹¹⁴

Conclusion

Shelley based her novel on actual scientific theories and real bodies that were being dissected and exploited to benefit medicine and science. She used this reality to create hybrid characters in her novel that were based partly on real humans and partly on past fiction or her imagination. Shelley titles her novel *Frankenstein; or, The Modern Prometheus*, linking her text to her contemporaries, as well as her predecessors. In Greek

¹¹⁴ Mary Poovey states, "William Frankenstein, Justine Moritz, Henry Clerval, even Elizabeth Lavenza are, as it were literally *possessed* by this creature; but, as Frankenstein knows all too well, its victims are by extension his own" (256).

mythology, Prometheus was a Titan who imparted fire to mortals. In punishment for this generosity, his liver was eaten by an eagle nightly, only to have it grow back each day. By co-naming her novel *The Modern Prometheus*, Shelley immediately forces the reader to focus on the body and body parts of her characters, since the mythological Prometheus was bodily tortured every night for decades. It is unclear whether Shelley means for the reader to understand this as a second name for Dr. Frankenstein or whether it is more a title for the monster. The novel details torture of both Victor and the monster, so the title could apply to either man. However, the mythological Prometheus assisted in human comfort, while Victor Frankenstein shows himself to be self-serving and egocentric. The monster, on the other hand, shows generosity on multiple occasions and attempts to help humans, despite the cruelty that his creator has shown him. The monster is tortured with a gunshot wound, freezing cold temperatures, and scorn by all humans with whom he interacts. When Victor agrees to create a companion for the monster, he renews his hope daily that his life will change for the better. But repeatedly, Victor dashes the monster's hopes, similarly to how Prometheus' liver was eaten away each night.

My research in this chapter suggests that Shelley's monster points to a complex social configuration and makes visible the fears of nineteenth century British working-class people with respect to their bodies and dissection practices. Shelley's novel featuring a sort of modern Prometheus brings into relief the titan-like feats and sacrifices of the working-class people, indicating that though the names of most dissection subjects were lost, their bodies could still attain immortality through representations in literature.

Chapter 4: Dissecting Fictionalized Bodies

Appropriation of Working Bodies in Nineteenth Century Paintings and Photographs

On Saturday, March 22, 1862, a woman was on her way home from work when she was approached by a gentleman wearing a top hat and sporting a long beard. He invited her into a photography studio and although the woman had seen photographs in shops before, she knew that she was far too poor to afford a self-portrait, and she remembered that women at her work had mentioned that that some people posed naked to make extra money. The woman was scared that the man wanted her to pose naked, so she ran from him. As soon as she turned the corner, however, the doorman to the studio grabbed her arm and asked why she was running. The doorman assured her that all she had to do was sit for a photograph, and that she would be fully clothed. He whispered that the gentleman might even give her a shilling or a copy of the photograph if she sat very still.

Reluctantly, and still skeptical about the process, the woman followed the footman back and tentatively entered the studio. The gentleman with the long beard told her to sit on a stool in the middle of the room and act naturally. The man behind the camera told her that she did not have to smile, but she was nervous and smiled unconsciously. She moved her hands from her lap to her sides and back to her lap, not knowing where they belonged. The gentleman told her to put her hands in her lap and to stay very still. After what seemed like many minutes the gentleman said, “Now I think we may dismiss her,” and began looking through a diary of some sort. The woman knew that the men had had no intention of paying her, so she asked, “Ain’t you a going to give

me nothing Sir?" The gentleman looked at her and then at the photographer who shrugged slightly. The gentleman gave her a shilling and told her to be on her way. She picked up her things and walked out of the building, reflecting that the process was strange, foreign, and slightly humiliating. She asked herself why they would want *her* picture when they could have bought pictures of the royal family from any photographer's shop. She knew she was not beautiful, so why did he spend money to capture her image? The woman walked home feeling confused and faintly uncomfortable, but the feeling soon passed, as she saw neither her portrait nor the gentleman again.¹¹⁵

This story is based on an incident that gentleman and photograph collector Arthur Munby recorded in his journal. With the popularization of the photograph in the mid-nineteenth century, collecting photographs had become a popular pastime, especially among members of the upper class who could afford such luxuries. Based on advanced scientific technologies, the camera produced cultural artifacts and was therefore considered a mediator between science and the humanities. Although the first photographs produced in the late 1820s and thirties were primarily of landscapes, photography portraits became increasingly popular with further advancements in the field during the eighteen-fifties and sixties. People would commission and collect not only photographs of themselves and their families, but also portraits of distinctive or unusual individuals. Although photographs of celebrities such as royalty in England were the

¹¹⁵ Incident and dialogue taken from Munby's diary entry from Saturday, March 22, 1862.

most popular and the most expensive, persons such as Arthur Munby took more interest in working bodies than in royalty and aristocratic bodies.¹¹⁶

This chapter focuses on representations of the working poor like the woman photographed by Munby. When such people were employed, perhaps they were protected from entering the workhouse and public hospitals, but a loss of work and/or health resulted in a vulnerability that the Anatomy Act codified. Early photographs and nineteenth-century paintings contributed to how class stratification was constructed and upheld. As shown in earlier chapters, the trope of appropriating vulnerable bodies for the benefit of more comfortable classes has been illustrated for centuries in visual culture and in literature. However, the Anatomy Act changed the public's emotional consciousness about bodies, thereby giving new meaning to the appropriation of working bodies.

Victorian visual culture shows a change in bodily awareness across classes and reflects a shift in how bodies were conceptualized during the period after the Anatomy Act was passed. In chapters two and three, drawings and fiction of literal dissections were analyzed to show how bodies were degraded and why people reacted negatively to the passing of the Anatomy Act. This chapter investigates post-1832 images where in particular the bodies of live women are appropriated by the more comfortable classes. The Anatomy Act changed people's consciousness about their bodies by legislating a class bias in medical practice. This provides us with a new perspective by which to analyze paintings and photographs that were produced during the Victorian period. Through our understanding of the significance of the Act and the reason why people had

¹¹⁶ Quentin Bajac states, "Two fundamental desires lay at the root of the 'portraitureomania' ... firstly to have one's own portrait taken and, secondly, to collect the portrait of others" (56).

emotional reactions to it, we can see that art continued the process of constructing and manipulating bodies for others' benefit.

Although there is a vast quantity of fiction and visual art that was produced during the Victorian period, I have chosen two representational collections from this period to show the ways in which working-class bodies were fictionalized and metaphorically dissected: paintings of real life milliner and model, Elizabeth Siddal, and photographs of working-class women from Arthur Munby's collection. The bodies of the women were visually represented and viewed in such a way that allows us to consider how their bodies were re-imagined through the process of appropriation.

Elizabeth Siddal was a milliner in her young adulthood, but became a model and amateur artist after Walter Deverell "discovered her" while she was working in a shop. He was reportedly struck by her red hair and insisted that she model for his painting, "Twelfth Night." While modeling for Deverell, she was introduced to other members of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood (PRB) who also asked her to model for them, including Dante Gabriel Rossetti, whom she later married. Because of the way her image was constructed and reconstructed by artists, Siddal's body becomes a fiction of her real self and this body can be seen as a reflection of the treatment of working-class bodies and of social and class mobility.¹¹⁷

Arthur Munby was also interested in the aesthetic of the working-class body. Munby commissioned and collected well over a hundred photographs of working-class

¹¹⁷ Siddal's life has been extensively documented and this chapter will not attempt to provide another biography of her life. For more information about Siddal's life, see work by Jan Marsh, Lucinda Hawksley, or Violet Hunt, all of whom have completed comprehensive biographies of Siddal.

women, some of whom he befriended, but many of whom were strangers to him.¹¹⁸ Little can ever be known about the actual lives of most of the subjects in the photographs; we instead must study the stories that emerge from the portraits and analyze how their bodies are fictionalized through the photographer's artistic choices such as how the figures were posed, the props used, and the clothes worn. Like Siddal's images, the fictional bodies in the photographs reflect class positions and the possibilities of their appropriation for others' benefit.

In the last section of this chapter, we will see an example of how fiction makes experiences accessible to the reading public that involve social class differences and bodily manipulation. Writer and Chartist leader Ernest Jones combined current social events with the public's emotional reactions to these events to create a fictional story about a young milliner whose body is both metaphorically and literally dissected. This story narrates the experience of appropriation illustrated in the paintings and photographs, helping readers understand how people were affected by these processes. The focus on bodies in art and fiction heightened awareness about how readers' and viewers' bodies were treated or regarded by people in various classes.

Part I: One woman, many bodies

In 1850, twenty-one-year-old Elizabeth Siddal was working as an assistant in a milliner's shop in order to subsidize her family's modest income. When she was asked to

¹¹⁸ Munby's collection is housed in the Wren Library at Trinity College in Cambridge. The small photographs that he collected are for the most part about three inches by two inches, printed on cardstock. Munby wrote on the back of many of them to remind himself (and possibly to inform others) about the person represented in the photograph or the circumstances by which he came upon the particular portrait. Through the examination of Munby's diaries and collection, Derek Hudson has produced the most comprehensive biography and analysis of Munby's life. Diane Atkinson adds to the understanding of Munby's life by focusing on his marriage to a working-class woman, Hannah Cullwick. Their insight allows readers to understand Munby's many passions and the struggle that he and Cullwick went through to sustain a relationship that was condoned by neither their cultures nor their families.

pose as a model for Walter Deverell, she readily accepted, since the pay for models was substantially higher than for milliner's assistants. Over the next twelve years, various artists in the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood drew, painted, and sculpted images of her body for a variety of artistic works. Her body became representative of the way that working-class bodies during the Victorian period were fictionalized and appropriated for particular use. This fictionalizing and appropriation opens a window to class insecurities surrounding the passage of the Anatomy Act. The working poor were vulnerable to the stipulations in the Act regarding paupers' bodies being sold to medical schools as dissection subjects. The more comfortable classes may have felt the need to create more deliberate boundaries that would prevent them from ever falling into an increasingly vulnerable position toward this possibility of ending their lives on a dissection table.



Figure 12: Sir John Everett Millais, *Ophelia*, 1852. Courtesy of Tate Britain, London.

Figure 12 shows one of the most famous paintings for which Siddal modeled. Here she is painted as Ophelia from Shakespeare's play, *Hamlet*. It is one of the first

paintings in which Siddal is the only subject in the painting, which makes her body and face the exclusive focus for the painter and the audience. This exclusivity allows us to understand how her body was appropriated in significant ways for the benefit of the artist and the painting.

Because Siddal was required to work to help support her family, we know that she was a part of a class lower than most of the artists in the PRB. This class position contributed to why her body was so easily appropriated by the artists. Deverell used Siddal's body to represent Viola in his painting, "Twelfth Night" and Millais transformed her body into Ophelia. Significantly, Millais has chosen to portray the scene after Ophelia has drowned herself, meaning that Siddal's body is represented as being dead. So the artist changed both the identity and the living status of her body.

Siddal's body seems almost nonexistent since her torso and legs are covered by a dress that blends in with the water and vegetation. Her body seems to be slowly disintegrating into the water. Unlike her body, Siddal's hands and face have detailed features and seem not even to be attached to the rest of her body. The viewer is immediately drawn to her face and her neck, since this is the brightest spot in the image. Her facial features are clear and the way her mouth is painted gives the impression that she is about to take a breath, drawing the audience to look closely at her face. Because her eyes make no contact with the viewer, however, we disconnect and realize she is dead.

Siddal's hands are the second most striking body part in the painting. Here, Millais creates a fiction of her classless beauty. As Siddal's delicate hands emerge from the water and resist gravity, her experience of manual labor seems to be erased. Even

though Siddal's body was a working body, images such as *Ophelia* appropriate her body to represent more comfortable classes. This fictionalization of her body and class shows the way that class markers were used to fabricate class stability.



Figure 13: Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *Regina Cordium* or *The Queen of Hearts*, 1860. Courtesy of Johannesburg Art Gallery.

Figure 13 represents two images of Siddal. The first, a chalk drawing, was the study for the second, an oil painting. Both have the same title and were done by Dante Gabriel Rossetti soon after he and Siddal were married. Rossetti reportedly completed the drawing when he and Siddal returned from their honeymoon as a sort of love song to his new bride, calling her and the painting his “Regina Cordium” translated from Latin to “queen of hearts.” Later that year, he completed the oil painting and looking at the images together, we gain insight into how Rossetti fictionalized the body of his wife in different ways. The drawing fictionalizes intimacy between the viewer and Siddal's body

and creates a fiction of natural beauty. The painting, however, creates a more of a museum fiction by including a name plate and adding color and jewelry to her body.

The most noticeable feature in both images is Siddal's hair. In the drawing her hair flows in soft waves and some locks fall onto her shoulder "naturally." The red chalk that Rossetti uses on white paper creates the fiction that this is the true color of her hair and that the luster exhibited by the chalk on paper is real. Rossetti changes her hair for the painting. Her hair is more controlled and looks more like an accessory rather than part of her being as in the drawing. The waves are no longer falling "naturally" onto her shoulders, but instead are brushed away from her shoulders, giving the impression of a more manipulated hairdo. He adds a black color to the hair in the painting, making it seem as though it repels the light, rather than radiating it as in the drawing. Rossetti also changes Siddal's lips and cheeks, adding more makeup and jewelry in the painting. The woman is transformed from a milliner's assistant to a ruler of hearts.

These changes are significant because it is a reflection of the kind of relationship that artists had with their models. In 1856, Christina Rossetti, Dante Rossetti's sister, wrote a poem titled, "In an Artist's Studio." The poem argues that by altering the bodies of models in their art, artists appropriate the models' images and identities. The poem states, "He feeds upon her image by day and night" (line 9) and closes with "Not as she is, but as she fills his dreams" (line 14).¹¹⁹ The changes that Dante Rossetti makes in his painting illustrate the lines that his sister wrote. The painting is more commercialized, and the overall effect is to alter Siddal's socioeconomic status. Rossetti controls her hair, adds makeup and fancy jewelry, and transforms her from a milliner's assistant into a

¹¹⁹See *Norton Anthology of English Literature*, Volume E, page 1463 for complete poem.

queen. This transformation shows the instability and fabrication of British class structure. There was clear class stratification during the Victorian period, but Rossetti's painting shows that the class divide was malleable and people could easily pass for being in a higher or lower class depending on their clothes, hair, and accessories. Social class, in other words, was becoming a fiction in terms of outward appearance and thus, subject to representation.

Another way that Rossetti alters Siddal's class is through her name. In the painting in figure 13, Rossetti names Siddal "Regina Cordium," and in real life, he also changes her name. Before Siddal became a model and entered the PRB circle, she spelled her last name with two "l's": Siddall. Reportedly, Rossetti convinced Siddal to drop the last "l" in her name because he considered one "l" more elegant, possibly more indicative of an individual in a higher class (Prose 104-5).¹²⁰ In addition, Rossetti and Siddal describe her father as an optician on her marriage certificate, rather than as a shopkeeper (Marsh 42). This fabrication of his profession would have elevated Siddal to a more even class to Rossetti's and no one questioned this falsehood.¹²¹ This again proves how fictional class stability was at the time if Siddal's class changed with a stroke of a pen. Siddal and Rossetti exploited the fact that class is an intangible social construct

¹²⁰ In Christina Rossetti's poem about Siddal, "In an Artist's Studio," line 6 states, "A nameless girl in freshest summer-greens."

In her study of Rossetti's paintings of Siddal, Francine Prose points out that there were "two essential elements of Pre-Raphaelite culture: hair fetishism and erotic slumming" (118), indicating that members of the PBR consciously chose lower class women to model for them.

¹²¹ Class may have been important to Rossetti because his family was reportedly opposed to his marriage to Siddal "mainly on account of her worsening health but also on the grounds of her more humble origin; her education had been without advantages and her influence... was yet ineffectual in the discharge of the more domestic duties" (Surtees 9). Jan Marsh notes that the difference between Rossetti's class and Siddal's was not as distant as the Rossetti's may have wanted. The Rossetti's were immigrants from Italy, and, though educated, all had to work to sustain their livelihood. Siddal's father was an iron-monger who kept his family fed, but when the children were old enough to work, they were expected to contribute to the family income.

in their ability to so easily author a change in her class situation. Siddal was painted as many fictional and biblical characters, from Ophelia in Shakespeare's *Hamlet* to Beatrix in Dante's *Inferno*. But her class status became as much a fiction as the stories she enhanced.¹²² As seen with the passing of the Anatomy Act and as will be demonstrated in the next part of this chapter, class structure was reinforced socially and politically by those who benefitted most from the working poor. Rossetti and Siddal challenged the notion that classes were fixed through a renaming of self and family.

Another change that Rossetti made between the drawing and the painting is to the eyes. Siddal's eyes in the drawing seem to look towards the reader casually and comfortably, inviting the reader to look back. But the painting's eyes increase the distance between the subject and the viewer.¹²³ In the painting, Siddal seems less interested and makes the audience invest less in the subject, making it easier to objectify her person. The drawing creates a fiction of her humanity, while the painting seems cold and void of human emotion.

Siddal in the painting looks out towards the audience, but does not seem to see anything or anyone. This may be indicative of how Rossetti saw Siddal most of the time. The drawing seems to have been done in a moment of great connection between the two – it was completed soon after their honeymoon and when Siddal was reportedly very

¹²² Charles Dickens, William Thackeray, Thomas Hardy, Charlotte Bronte, and Jane Austen are just a few examples of nineteenth century authors whose characters' class positions are not fixed throughout their novels.

¹²³ Virginia Surtees writes of the drawing as compared to the painting: "The likeness to the sitter is closer, the fall of the hair freer, and the hand holding a flower is slightly more upright; the shoulders are covered" (75).

happy.¹²⁴ But Siddal suffered from mental and physical health problems, which worsened after she had a miscarriage, and her depression seems to have ruled a good part of the Rossettis' married life. The painting may have depicted Siddal as Rossetti wanted her: not letting the outside world affect her and looking confidently past the viewer. This hardening of the subject reflects an appropriation of Siddal's body, since Rossetti created her as he wanted her to be, not as she truly was. Such authorship may have been going on from the moment Rossetti and Siddal met. The artists' younger brother, William Michael Rossetti, wrote that Rossetti had been in love with Siddal since 1851, indicating a "love at first sight" scenario (Marsh 38). This early date that William named indicates an infatuation not with Siddal's person, but with her looks.¹²⁵ Rossetti was introduced to Siddal when she was modeling for Ruskin and others, and models were paid to look beautiful, not for their personalities. Rossetti, then, may have fallen in love with the aesthetic of her body and fabricated the rest of her person as he does in the *Regina Cordium* painting.

Siddal's hand is another noteworthy body part in the images. In the drawing, Siddal's hand casually holds a small flower and the hand is drawn in such a way that indicates movement and life. The painting still captures Siddal's hand shape, but it is more controlled and hardened. The painting features a pansy, which is painted as though it is a flag that the queen holds of her country; she is regal and conscious that her body is

¹²⁴ Hall Caine, a professed friend of Rossetti, writes in his biography of him, "Rossetti and she [Siddal] were married. Friends who saw much of them in earlier days of their married life speak of their obvious happiness, and protest, in particular, against evil rumours circulated later, that nothing could have been more marked than Rossetti's zealous attentions to his young wife. All the same, it is true that very soon her spirits drooped, her art was laid aside, and much of the cheerfulness of home was lost to both of them. Her health failed, she suffered from neuralgia, and began to be a victim of nervous ailments of other kinds" (82).

¹²⁵ In a biography of Rossetti, Arthur Symonds writes, "It was in the beauty of women, and chiefly in the mysterious beauty of faces, that Rossetti found the supreme embodiment of beauty" (47).

viewed by others. While the flower in the drawing is nonintrusive and allows the whole hand to be displayed, the flower in the painting detracts from Siddal's hand, covering part of it. The beauty of the pansy in the painting draws the eye to the flower rather than to the hand.¹²⁶ As seen in Millais' painting, "Ophelia" in figure 12, Siddal's hands display her delicacy and show a lack of working-class markers such as calloused or red hands. But the painting changes the hand slightly, perhaps just as Rossetti wanted to change Siddal just enough to make her his own creation.¹²⁷

Especially figure 13 gives us an idea of how Siddal's body was fictionalized even by her husband. Two years after Siddal married Rossetti, she overdosed on laudanum and although the inquest into her death returned a verdict of "accidental death," she reportedly left a note, indicating that her death was probably suicide. According to some biographers, Rossetti found his dying wife with a note pinned to her nightgown that read, "Take care of Harry," Harry being Siddal's younger disabled brother (Surtees 11). Rossetti reportedly burned the note immediately after finding it and never showed it to anyone, which adds to the myth created about Siddal and her body. There is no physical evidence that the note actually did exist, but this story has been reproduced repeatedly for the fascination and titillation of readers and biographers. However, Siddal's suicide and last wish does indicate a response to the appropriation of her body. By taking her own life, she prevented her body from further being used by others.

¹²⁶ The pansy is a traditional symbol of thought or memory, which becomes more significant when we remember that this painting was the last done of her before her death.

¹²⁷ Britain had early established that the body cannot be property, which eased the practice of grave robbing. This provision is first seen in writing in Sir Edward Coke's treatise *Institutes* where he writes "the burial of a cadaver is "nullis in bonis" or "the goods of no one." However, as Bronwyn Parry and Cathy Gere write, bodies became property if they were changed or manipulated in any way, including changes for storage, or application of a skill such as dissection or preservation techniques ("Contested Bodies" 145).



Figure 14: Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *Beata Beatrix*, 1870. Courtesy of Tate Britain, London.

Figure 14 was completed by Rossetti eight years after Siddal's death. Here Siddal's body is represented as Beatrice from Dante's *Vita Nuova* and *Divine Comedy*.¹²⁸ Rossetti outlined the basic meaning of the painting in a letter to William Graham in March, 1873 in which he described the painting "not as a representation of the incident of the death of Beatrice, but as an ideal of the subject, symbolized by a trance or sudden

¹²⁸ Rossetti reportedly called Siddal his Beatrice throughout their lives together, presumably meaning that she was his muse and inspiration. The relationship between Beatrice Portinari and Dante Alighieri, however, was very one-sided, and Dante likely fabricated much of who Beatrice was, especially considering that he only met her twice in his lifetime. Similarly, Rossetti fictionalizes much of who Siddal was, including what she looked like, since figure 14 was completed after her death and her image came from his memory.

spiritual transfiguration. Beatrice is rapt visibly into Heaven, seeing as it were through her shut lids” (Horner 25). Rossetti’s friends reported that Siddal’s suicide affected him greatly, and his posthumous painting of her seems to be a way for Rossetti to honor her memory and cope with the loss by transforming his grief and guilt into productivity.¹²⁹

Even after her death, we see that Siddal’s body is still fictionalized and appropriated. Her face is clearly the center of this fiction with the eye of the viewer immediately drawn to her bright cheek and pouty lips. Rossetti constructs a state of rapture by painting her eyes closed. As we saw in figures 11 and 12, the eyes are important parts of the fiction created about the bodies. Siddal’s eyes in the drawing in figure 12 draw us into the image, showing us a “natural” image of Siddal, while the eyes in the painting create a fiction of distance and lifelessness. In *Beata Beatrix*, Rossetti may have avoided painting open eyes so as to create a fiction of continued life, full of peace and contentment.

The way that Rossetti has positioned Siddal’s body draws the eye from the face, past the neck to her elbow and then to her hands, forming a triangle. This reminds the viewer of the holy trinity and ascension, and makes her hands a key part of the composition of the painting. While her hands in other paintings serve as a fiction of her person, her hands in figure 14 serve the needs of the viewer and painter. They are in an open and welcoming position, almost inviting the audience, or artist, to pour their troubles into them. Even after Siddal’s death, Rossetti still appropriate her body and used it in his art.

¹²⁹ After Siddal’s death, “it was long before Rossetti recovered. Perhaps he was never the same man again. At least, the brilliant and perhaps rather noisy young fellow, fond of intellectual gymnastics and full of a sort of animal spirits, was gone for good, and though after a time he recovered a certain hilarity, there does not seem to have been much real joy in it” (Caine 85).

Since this painting was executed after Siddal's death, we might view its details as part of Rossetti's attempts to continue to fictionalize and mythologize her body. Siddal's hair in *Beata Beatrix* was a focus for many stories told about Siddal's life and body. Siddal was reportedly first noticed by Deverell for her auburn hair, and Rossetti's paintings of her often focus on this unique and striking feature. Perhaps because it was so noticeable, Siddal's hair was incorporated into the myth told about her even after her death. The same year that *Beata Beatrix* was completed, Rossetti got permission to exhume Siddal's coffin in order to retrieve a book of poems that he placed next to her head when she was buried.¹³⁰ Some biographers include details about the story of her funeral by stating that Rossetti wrapped the book in Siddal's hair, and that when the book was retrieved, strands of her still golden hair were attached.¹³¹ These stories told about her body after her death prove how it continued to be appropriated for the benefit of others, since the publication of the book of poems, together with the story of the awful, romantic desecration of her body became somewhat successful.

The same year that he painted "Beata Beatrix" and exhumed Siddal's body, Rossetti began writing a series of poems known as the "The House of Life" poems.¹³² The book of poems was published eleven years later, and the poem, "Life-in-Love," shows how Rossetti began to accept the loss of his wife.

¹³⁰ "At length the license of the Home Secretary was obtained, the faculty of the Consistory Court was granted, and one night, seven and a half years after the burial, a fire was built by the side of the grave of Rossetti's wife in Highgate Cemetery, the grave was opened, the coffin was raised to the surface, and the buried book was removed" (Caine 89).

¹³¹ Hall Caine claims that Rossetti "placed the little volume in the coffin by the side of his wife's face, and wrapped it round with her beautiful golden hair, and it was buried with her in Highgate Cemetery" (85) and "when the book was lifted [out of the coffin], there came away some of the beautiful golden hair in which Rossetti had entwined it" (90).

¹³² The poems in that collection all address the issues of time and/or death and the series concludes with his acceptance that death is inevitable.

Not in thy body is thy life at all
 But in this lady's lips and hands and eyes;
 Through these she yields thee life that vivifies
 What else were sorrow's servant and death's thrall.

 Even so much life hath the poor tress of hair
 Which, stor'd apart, is all love hath to show
 For heart-beats and for fire-heats long ago;
 Even so much life endures unknown, even where,
 'Mid change the changeless night environeth,
 Lies all that golden hair undimm'd in death. (lines 1-4, 9-14)¹³³

This sonnet is clearly Petrarchan in its conceit for its fragmentation of the female body.¹³⁴

Rossetti gives life to parts of her body such as her “golden hair,” but notes that it is “stor’d apart” from her body and it is “undimm’d in death.” While during her lifetime Rossetti reduced Siddal’s body to parts in order to create new images and art, this poem shows Rossetti’s attempt to remember and re-member her body parts, thereby resurrecting her image in his mind.¹³⁵ Rossetti places Siddal’s hair “apart” from her body, not allowing it to die like the rest of her. The poem is not exclusively about her hair; other body parts are included such as her lips, eyes, heart, and her hands. The poem reconstructs her body piece by piece, placing certain pieces (such as her hair) in revered spots in his mind.

The body parts help Rossetti remember Siddal, showing how he uses her body even after her death for his benefit. Rossetti grieves for his wife, but instead of looking

¹³³ See *The Victorian Web* for complete poem.

¹³⁴ See Nancy Vickers’ article on the way that Laura’s body in Petrarch’s *Rime Sparce* becomes an authoritative text that informs our reading of other poems that focus on the female body.

¹³⁵ Vickers writes that the trope of recreating the woman’s body in pieces was established in Petrarch’s *Rime Sparce*, and is used repeatedly when remembering and “re-membering” the woman’s body and self (271).

elsewhere for coping mechanisms, he uses the memory of her body. He emotionally feeds off of her body to produce art that helps him cope with his emotional distress.¹³⁶

Images of Siddal's body help us appreciate the way that bodies were fictionalized and objectified for the benefit of others. The Anatomy Act became a referent of the revival of the Petrarchan trope of fragmenting the body.

Part II: Fiction Photographed

As mentioned earlier in the chapter, gentleman and collector Arthur Munby made a collection of photographs of working bodies, which are important to this study because they are representations of how bodies of working-class people were fictionalized in order to support a fabrication of class stability.¹³⁷ The Anatomy Act raised the stakes on the importance to retain work and a high social and financial status, since a loss in work and finances could result in one's body being sold as a dissection subject. Images that fictionalize bodies of the lower classes can be seen as providing a relief to those in the more comfortable classes who had the power to both fictionalize bodies and collect images of these fictions.

¹³⁶ In his description of Rossetti's life, Arthur Symons describes the way that Rossetti benefitted from his interactions with his models, "He had his own way of feasting on forms and visions" that resulted in Rossetti creating images that were unique and attractive to viewers and friends, alike (10). This is reiterated in Christina Rossetti's poem, "In an Artist's Studio" when she writes in line 10, "He feeds upon her face by day and night" (line 9).

¹³⁷ Munby was a contemporary of Siddal and Rossetti; in fact, Munby's journal shows that he and Rossetti interacted socially on at least a few occasions, and Munby's accounts reflect a mutual admiration of each others' artistic eye. Munby notes a specific instance when Dante Rossetti was in his home and admired a photograph of Hannah Cullwick, Munby's secret lover. Munby notes this meeting in his journal, June 22, 1862 and recorded the dialogue on the back of a picture: "This is the portrait of Her – which my friend D.G. Rossetti admired so warmly, and wished for a copy of it when he saw it in 1862 at my chambers in the Temple. 'It is a beautiful face,' he said, 'a remarkable face indeed; I should like 'to know that lady.'" Munby showed his collection of photographs to select people such as Rossetti and he bequeathed the collection to Trinity College in Cambridge. The collection now remains in the Wren Library and is never removed from that space.



Figure 15: Arthur Munby, *Photograph Portrait of Ellen Grounds with a broom*, n.d. Courtesy of Trinity College, Cambridge.

Figure 15 is a studio portrait that Munby commissioned of Ellen Grounds, whom he photographed several times.¹³⁸ On the back of the photograph, Munby wrote, “Ellen Grounds, collier girl, 108 Scholefield Lane, Wigan. Aged 22. “Eh, it favers as Ah were sweepin’ th’ hahse!” Taken in my presence, 11 September 1873.”¹³⁹ He makes a note of things that he found important such as her age and profession, and that he was present during the photography session. This information about her profession becomes a part of the fiction about Grounds’ body. Everything about the photograph is staged so as to encourage the viewer to see in the photograph a snippet of working-class life. Both the

¹³⁸ Roland Barthes theorizes about the importance of individual photographs and asks, “Why choose (why photograph) this object, this moment, rather than some other? Photography is unclassifiable because there is no reason to *mark* this or that of its occurrences” (6, emphasis in original).

¹³⁹ Being a “collier girl” meant that she worked in a coal mine.

outfit that she wears and the prop she holds show the theatricality of the photographs that Munby commissioned and collected. In the photograph, Grounds looks to the far right of the photography studio as if looking for direction on how to stand or act. Indeed, the photographer has told the subject how to pose, what to wear, and what to hold in the photograph. She wears a skirt and carries a broom, neither of which she would have used while working in the mine. The broom and her hands holding the broom become the focus of the photograph, her hands mediating between her body and the work that she pretends to do.

On the back of the photograph, Munby quotes Grounds as saying, "Eh, it favers as Ah were sweepin' th' hahse!" That Munby chose to include this quote is indicative of the fiction that he wished to create out of her body. Although he notes that she works in a coal mine, he fictionalizes a penetration into the private home of a working-class person. Grounds' body is reduced to an object of fascination by viewers, who, if they could afford to buy a photograph such as this one, would have been from a more comfortable class. The photograph gives viewers the opportunity to fictionalize a distance between their bodies and Grounds' and to feel more stable with their class situation. Having photographs of working individuals would have been constant reminders to people in the more comfortable classes that there are clear class markers, which become wedges to protect them from certain destinies. We may view the photographs that fixed images of that boundary as symptomatic of the insecurities running across classes.



Figure 16: Arthur Munby, *Photograph Portrait of Ellen Grounds dressed as a lady*, n.d. Courtesy of Trinity College, Cambridge.

Figure 16 is also a photograph of Ellen Grounds, this time dressed as a lady. Munby reportedly added tinting to Grounds's cheeks after it was produced, presumably to imitate the wearing of makeup. Her hair is pinned up, she wears a dress that she likely could not have afforded, and she wears earrings and a broach, which are indicative of a higher class. All of these details transform Grounds' body from a working body to a body in a more comfortable class. Grounds' seeming comfort and confident gaze contrasts with figure 15, where she looks nervously to one side. Similarly to how Siddal's body was manipulated by the artists when painting onto the canvas, Munby uses Grounds' body as a canvas to paint a story that he wishes to tell.

The photograph of Ellen Grounds indicates an instability in class stratification.¹⁴⁰ During the Victorian period, bodies were a sign of class and station.¹⁴¹ The body was marked through language, clothing, and actions, but photographs such as this one prove how fictional class distinctions were. Representations of bodies that were shown to be staged, malleable, and fictional challenged the idea that classes were fixed. That Munby could change the impression of Grounds' class simply by changing her clothes and hair reinforces the artificiality of class distinctions and shows the possibility for social mobility, just as Siddal and Rossetti did when they ignored class conventions changing Siddal's name and fabricating her father's profession, thereby essentially changing Siddal's class.

These kinds of photographs are symptomatic of the anxiety felt by the more comfortable classes about the fiction of class-marked bodies since they had an investment in drawing clear class boundaries to simulate a stable class structure.¹⁴² The Anatomy Act legislated a more permanent sense of boundaries between classes, since certain bodies would be marked not only by dress, but also by the surgeon's scalpel.

¹⁴⁰ According to E.P. Thompson's analysis, 1830 was the year that "a more clearly defined class consciousness" emerged "in the customary Marxist sense" (712). And by 1832, Thompson claims that "the working-class presence was...the most significant factor in British political life" (12).

¹⁴¹ Michael Sappol writes, "who you are depends on the body you are bequeathed...how that body is discursively marked, dressed, posed, operated, what languages are used to describe it, what gestures it is permitted" (1).

¹⁴² Herbert Gans writes on how the poor contribute to the current social system: "[P]overty helps guarantee the social status of those who are not poor" and "the poor also assist in the upward mobility of the non-poor" (110).



Figure 17: Arthur Munby, *Photograph portrait of Hannah Cullwick as a Munby's 'valet,' 1861.* Courtesy of Trinity College, Cambridge.¹⁴³

¹⁴³ Cullwick was Munby's lover whom he secretly married later in life and although the term lover implies a sexual relationship, there is no indication that this was the case. Biographer Derek Hudson claims that there was never a traditional sexual relationship between Munby and Cullwick before or after their marriage.

Figure 17 shows two images of Hannah Cullwick's body, which feature the arms and hands of a working woman. In the image on the left, her sleeves are pushed up to show her arms and hands, and the image on the right is a close up of her hands. Both images focus on parts of the body that are markers of class. Cullwick's developed arm muscles and calloused hands were caused by years of physical toil as a maid-of-all-work. Viewers immediately identify the subject as part of the working class because of the way labor has shaped her body. These photographs reduce Cullwick to her body parts and into a one-dimensional person. By focusing on body parts in photographs, Munby highlights the aspects of women's bodies that shackle them to their class.

Munby showed a consistent fascination with those features of a woman's body that distinguish her as a working woman. Many of his photographs highlight androgynous features of women's bodies such as developed muscles, above average height, and large and/or calloused hands. In his diary, Munby writes of a scene he viewed in Trafalgar Square: "I noted a young milkwoman...Her large hands were in color a glowing red; the skin coarse and rugged without, showing no vein or dimple, and though leathery in the palms, hardening into yellow callosities—corns, she would call them...A lady came mincing past at the moment, with tiny hands cased in lavender kid: the contrast was delicious" (Munby, Tuesday 11 June, 1861). Munby's observations encourage us to focus on the consequence of manual labor and how such physical markers can tether a person to the laboring class.

The hands are especially important to all classes, since they mediate between the body and any product of the body. The hands wash clothes, move coal, write, paint, and dissect bodies. By focusing on Cullwick's hands, Munby represents the fiction of a

working-class body. Her calloused and dirty hands mark a laboring class position that she worked hard to secure. After she and Munby were married, however, Munby also insisted that Cullwick dress up as a woman of his class.¹⁴⁴ Against this background of upper class interest in the “fictions” of class, we can perhaps better understand the urgency of distinguishing with the Anatomy Act those bodies that were more susceptible to dissection from those that were not.



Figure 18: Arthur Munby, *Photograph portrait of Pitwork girl 1*, 1865. Courtesy of Trinity College, Cambridge.

Figure 18 is a portrait of a woman who, according to the note written by Munby on the back of the photograph, had recently changed professions. Munby noted, “This girl was a kitchenmaid at the Victoria Hotel Southfont, she left service to go to pitwork,

¹⁴⁴ Diane Atkinson quotes an instance when Cullwick joined Munby for tea dressed as a lady from Munby’s journal: “her brown hair massed in rippling waves about her high-bred face...her tall lithe figure...why her smile, her whole face, is queenly now” (228).

which she preferred; and had been a collier about a week when she came to have this picture taken, in September 1865.” Rather than noting her name or other personal details, Munby only includes information about her professions, which helped him create a fiction of a true working body. Although the woman’s body is staged in a photography studio, Munby’s journals suggest that an important aspect about the photos he collected were that the women’s bodies did manual labor for pay. On Sunday, October 27, 1861, Munby writes, “I went to visit some of the photographers in Farrington Street. Many portraits of vulgar uninteresting persons, male and female; but hardly any of real working people” (165). Munby’s exclusive interest in working bodies helps him create a more “authentic” fiction in the photographs. He uses the fact that they perform manual labor as a backdrop to create with their bodies a visual story of his making.

The fiction in the photograph in figure 19 shows a comfort in class and employment. The woman in the photo looks relatively relaxed in that she looks straight in front of her as opposed to the photograph of Ellen Grounds, whose anxiety seemed to manifest in her looking to the extreme right. The woman’s apparent comfort contributes to the fiction of class stability that the more comfortable classes were invested in establishing.



Figure 19: Arthur Munby, *Photograph portrait of Pitwork girl 2*, 1865. Courtesy of Trinity College, Cambridge.

I chose this last image to illustrate how both class and gender fictions were created through photographs. The woman’s outfit, the inclusion of the working prop, and the way her body is posed all contribute to an androgynous look.¹⁴⁵ This photograph allows Munby to construct a fiction about how work can blur a body’s gender. This added distinction between an androgynous working body and the body of a female from a more comfortable class would serve as an added barrier between the classes.

The woman’s skirt is tucked into her waistband and her trousers are displayed clearly, neither of which a woman in a more comfortable class would do. In addition, her hands are manipulated to create a more masculine image. Her right hand is placed on her

¹⁴⁵ Barry Reay writes that these “manly women” could be threatening to the traditional construction of the female body, which included “tell-tale signs of ‘feminine weakness’ in the form of earrings and a bonnet” and the “unwomanliness” could suggest “moral depravity” and “abandonment of domestic duties” (110).

hip and her left hand holds a sifter. The pose and the use of the working prop create the fiction that manual labor produces masculine bodies.

Like the woman in figure 18, this woman's gaze helps fictionalize a stable class structure. The woman stares straight into the camera, which gives the impression of comfort about her class, since the photograph has fictionalized a confidence about the clothes she wears, the prop she holds, and the work her body does. If working-class people were happy and content with their work and positions, then there would be no civil unrest and no reason for bodies to move up or down in the class system. The Anatomy Act created anxiety in all classes about the fate of one's own body, but these photographs allowed people in more comfortable classes to ease this anxiety by fictionalizing a distance from working bodies.

Part III: Fiction informing Reality

I conclude this chapter with an analysis of a short story, "The Young Milliner," by Chartist leader Ernest Jones, a story which in many ways pulls all threads of this project together, and, as I mentioned in the Introduction, is the reason that I became interested in the Anatomy Act and its implications.¹⁴⁶ The story's focus on a young woman's body connects the emotional reactions about the Anatomy Act with the artistic products of the Victorian Period by exemplifying how one laboring woman's body was used for the benefit of other characters.

¹⁴⁶ Chartism (1838-1848) was the first mass working-class movement in the world. Named from the People's Charter of 1838, which made six basic demands, it advocated for radical democratic reform.

The story begins with Anna, an 18-year-old milliner, working in her home to produce clothing for an upper-class client. She is described in detail as a stunningly beautiful orphan, and the reader is meant to realize that the main character lives in poverty and virtue, inasmuch as she had procured personal loans in order to survive. Anna resists the option of prostitution to supplement her wages, though she is encouraged by many in the story to use her sexual appeal to make money.¹⁴⁷ Charles Trelawney, a medical student, is the chief male protagonist who lives in the building opposite from Anna, and Anna falls in love with Charles early in the story through their scarce interactions. After weeks without steady work, Anna tries to collect back wages owed to her from a wealthy client, but when the client refuses to pay her, she becomes penniless and homeless and is on the precipice of starvation when Charles finds her in a park.¹⁴⁸ The medical student takes her back to his apartment where Anna regains her strength and from then on, Anna acts as a wife to Charles in all respects, except that they are not married. Anna is eventually approached by Charles' mother, who offers her money to leave Charles, but Anna refuses. While on his way home to Anna, Charles meets his mother, who convinces him to return home with her to help care for his father. While at his parents' home, Charles is convinced to leave Anna, who is not only penniless, but is now also pregnant. After giving birth to a stillborn baby, Anna dies in the same medical school where Charles is a student. Anna's body is brought out before a lecture hall for

¹⁴⁷ In her book on needle working in the nineteenth century, Beth Harris writes, "it is undoubtedly true that seamstresses were underpaid and overworked: that many were forced to turn to prostitution, and that their employers were often heedless of their misery" (3).

¹⁴⁸ According to the editor of the book in which this short story is collected, the character of the milliner in this story is "the least original" because women in the needle working industry represented the most exploited and worst paid profession (Haywood xxvi).

dissection, and upon seeing the body, Charles cries out and faints, and Anna's body is rolled out of sight.

The representation of class, medical education, and dissection in this story clearly correspond to pressures felt in real people's lives during the Victorian period. "The Young Milliner" was first published in installments in Jones' paper, *Notes to the People* in 1846, fourteen years after the Anatomy Act was passed. Jones coordinated articles and stories in his paper strategically, placing articles that either directly or tangentially related to his fictional stories directly before the installments of the fiction. Articles that are found directly before sections of "The Young Milliner" include: the average age of death depending on profession, information and commentaries about laws such as the Poor Law of 1834, the law regarding imprisonment for debt, an exploration of how capitalists' interests contrast to working-class interests, and a note from "The Women's Rights Association" thanking Jones for his continued support for their causes. This collection of articles gives the reader a clue regarding Jones' motivation for writing the short story and provides some background about the topical issues included in his story. The preceding articles also serve as emotional primers for the short story that follows. The information provided in the factual articles allows the readers to gain knowledge about real events in Britain, and the fiction encourages them to imagine what the struggles of others could be like.

Jones created figures in his short stories to highlight the way that working bodies were literally and figuratively consumed by the upper classes and because Anna's body is continually surveyed by the other characters, Jones shows how a body satisfies a visual need:

She was very beautiful—her age could not be more than eighteen years—and her light brown tresses fell over cheeks of so delicate a rose, her eyes were of such soft cerulean blue, her smile was so gentle and so confiding, her every motion so meek, so graceful, her demeanour so artless and so engaging, that the coldest heart could not gaze on her without a thrill of tenderness. (Jones 40)

This description allows us to visually inventory her body as though we were viewing a photograph or painting, or a body on the dissection table. Anna's profession addles her with a working body, but Jones deliberately blurs the class distinction, creating a fiction of her character – gentle, meek, graceful – that might just as well mark her as an aristocrat. This fuzzy boundary between bodies in various classes is similar to how Elizabeth Siddal was used to create the impression of bodies in the more comfortable classes.

Despite her grace, the work Anna does mark her physically, which tethers her to the working class. In part two of the story, Jones provides a snippet from Anna's childhood to reinforce the hard life of paupers:

Sometimes, in her days of childhood, she would stop at a garden gate to watch the fair little girls of the rich running about within, with their pretty coloured shoes along the smooth gravelled walks, plucking flowers as they listed, with soft gloves to screen their small white hands from sun and soil, grand dolls to play with, and stately nurses to carry them when tired. Then she would gaze at her own poor hands, her little fingers worn and bleeding with premature toil—her half-bare feet swollen with the ceaseless errand on the stony road—and think of her hard, dull, cheerless home. (Jones 44)¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁹ In this and other stories, Jones points to the hands as markers of class distinction. Jones published a story entitled "The Girl with the Red Hands," where a milliner is rejected by a suitor because of her working-class body. The male protagonist focuses on her hands, made red due to overwork, and he therefore rejects her for her physical flaw. Jones uses the technique of melodrama that we find in his other fictional stories to moralize the dangers of overwork, since the girl essentially works herself to death. The repeated focus on the hands both in Jones' fiction and also in the photographs of working women emphasizes the class distinction that marks their bodies and allows a reconstruction of their bodies through viewers' gazes.

Jones emphasizes the differences in the children's hands and feet in order to highlight how the "small white hands" of the rich depend upon "fingers worn and bleeding" of the working poor. Even as a child, Anna was constrained to become a part of the work force. Although some fictional bodies grew stronger through work as we saw in figures 18 and 19, Anna's weaker and smaller body struggles under the weight of physical labor. The passage above demonstrates Anna's awareness about her own body and the way that it was being abused through work at an early age. There is a shift from being looked at by others to looking at oneself. As explored in chapter one, the Anatomy Act made people more aware of their own bodies, regardless of class, but especially in the laboring classes because their bodies became more vulnerable with the change in legislation. Anna adopts this self-conscious gaze when she looks at her own hands and feet and sees the differences that class status and her resulting labor have created.

In chapter three of "The Young Milliner," the reader is introduced to the main male protagonist, Charles Trelawney. When he first sees Anna, he sees her eyes and hands. This Petrarchan focus on the eyes of the beloved in relation to her quivering working-class hand takes on a particular significance in the context of Charles' medical studies and the Anatomy Act. "Trelawney look[s] upward, and see[s] a trembling little hand move back the blind at the garret window—and two soft loving eyes gaze after him!" (Jones 47). Thus, Charles applies aspects of his medical training to his everyday life as he is attracted by distinct parts of Anna's body that appeal to his romantic senses—her trembling hand and her soft eyes—rather than her whole person.

Anna's body also becomes representative of the sacrifice imposed by the Anatomy Act of working-class bodies. When in the middle of the story Anna loses work

because an aristocrat client refuses to pay wages due to her, she also loses her housing and is on the brink of starvation when Charles finds her and installs her in his home.

Because they engage in sexual intercourse, Anna can never return to a respectable kind of life apart from him. Charles benefits sexually and domestically because when he brings Anna into his home, he establishes her there as a wife figure, even though he never marries her. There is a clear class difference between the two characters. We understand that Charles' family has sizable wealth and it is clear that he will likely not marry Anna since he does not do so right away. In addition, soon after she begins living with him, "the passion of Charles Trelawney [begins] to cool" (Jones 59). Though Charles can walk away from this affair with his reputation relatively intact, Anna would never be seen as anything other than a "fallen woman" if she and Charles part, and she would have to choose either prostitution or the workhouse so that she will not become homeless. Charles' sexual and domestic penetrations clearly benefit him with very few risks, but eventually lead to a sacrifice of Anna's body.

Here is another instance of how the Anatomy Act discriminates between classes. When working-class people could not find work, the Poor Law of 1834 required that they enter workhouses.¹⁵⁰ If they died in these places, their bodies could be sold as dissection subjects; Siddal, Munby's photographic subjects, and Jones' character Anna were all vulnerable to this cold fate. Anna's situation might have caused anxiety for readers from any class, since Jones uses Anna's body as a symbol of how class stability was fictional.

¹⁵⁰ The New Poor Law of 1834 essentially created more workhouses for people without employment. The conditions inside the workhouses were reportedly worse than many prisons. The workhouses segregated women and men, and also parents from children. The inmates were subjected to hard labor and were fed poorly. Ruth Richardson provides evidence of paupers choosing starvation over entering the workhouses after the New Poor Law was passed because of the atrocious conditions of the workhouses (279).

Working readers in Anna's situation would empathize with the destitution that Anna experienced, and readers in more comfortable classes may have reflected that her "fall" was possible for bodies in any class.

When Charles' mother comes to Anna and his apartment, she tells Anna that she will not be able to see Charles again. Anna replies, "But Charles is my life...If you take him away from me, you kill me...on my knees, with folded hands—see—I beseech you!'. Suddenly, she seized the hand of Mrs. Trelawney, and pressed it to her heart" (Jones 63). Jones here endeavors to humanize the cold relation between the more comfortable and the laboring classes as Anna forces the hand of Mrs. Trelawney to feel Anna's heartbeat and make a physical connection between the two women. But in the context of the Anatomy Act, Mrs. Trelawney could not afford to feel a connection to someone destined for dissection and rejected Anna even after discovering that she is carrying her son's child. Any human response on Mrs. Trelawney's part would have exposed the workings of a system that accepted the exploitation of poor bodies for the benefit of medical advancement for the wealthy.

At the end of the story, poverty forces Anna out of Charles' apartment and into a public hospital. Anna gives birth to a stillborn baby boy and soon after dies of a "pulmonary complaint" (Jones 68). After hearing of Anna's symptoms, the attending physician says to the medical intern, "This young woman cannot last beyond the day – you will take care to have her dissected with the greatest attention...This is very important...Her anatomy will be of the greatest possible service to me in the treatment of

the ladies I have attended to” (65).¹⁵¹ With these words, Jones connects the story to legislation that affected lower class bodies because Anna is seen as a corpse to be dissected even before she dies. This calculated dispatch of a still live body to the dissection table was, of course, the ultimate fear of the laboring poor in the wake of the Anatomy Act. Jones’ fictional representation of this dreaded outcome made this fear concrete in the awareness of his readers and political allies.¹⁵²

Jones’ story narrates the journey that, in the context of the Anatomy Act, a fictional body could take from the private space, to a public hospital, and finally to a dissection table. The journey was a dramatic one that included class distinctions and class blending, disconnections, and interdependencies, but always ended with the vulnerability of the working poor to devastation and dissection.

¹⁵¹ Ella Dzelzainis argues that Anna is “increasingly objectified as the story progresses, [and] in the final scene Anna is spoken over and spoken for” (93).

¹⁵² In his biography of Ernest Jones, George Cole analyzes how Jones’ ideas about reform differed from those of Karl Marx. Cole states, “[Jones] and Marx parted company when, amid the disintegration of Chartism, he [Jones] had come to believe that no Reform could be brought about except by collaboration between the workers and the middle classes. Marx denounced his apostasy; but it is clear from his letters that he did not cease to respect the man” (338). Jones targeted both the lower and the higher classes in his writing since he knew that radical and lasting change could only occur if the majority of the population saw the need for change, and when people with means to initiate change could facilitate the process.

Epilogue

Many stories that were created in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries resonate with present day readers because foundational topics and themes are still relevant today. The story of Dr. Frankenstein and his monster, for instance, has been recreated in literature, in film, and on the stage hundreds of times since Shelley first published her novel in 1818. And aspects of her story, such as building monstrous bodies and exposing the consequences of irresponsible medical practice, have been used to build other stories. Themes that this project brought to light have also been pulled into twentieth and twenty-first century stories. Legislation that discriminates against and exploits targeted bodies continues to haunt society, as do bodies that are not allowed to find a final resting place. In this last part of the project, I would like to provide several twentieth-century examples of how pieces of past stories help create and inform new stories that underscore current fears and anxieties in similar ways to how stories and print images help us understand the fears and anxieties of people in the nineteenth century.¹⁵³

The films of Jean-Pierre Jeunet often focus on how people struggle internally with finding an identity and how bodies are used as a medium for emotional catharsis and physical repatriation. In such films as *The City of Lost Children* (*La Cité des Enfants Perdus*), and *Amélie*, for example, characters manipulate the bodies and minds of children and neighbors, respectively, to find peace and order in their confusing and disordered worlds. In *The City of Lost Children*, Krank kidnaps children and attempts to

¹⁵³ Although this project has focused on the development of British culture and society, considering ease by which information and stories are currently shared, this chapter is not limited to one national literature, but instead uses stories from around the world.

steal their dreams, since he does not have the ability to dream or to feel certain human emotions. The main protagonist in *Amélie* uses her neighbors' problems, manifested through their bodies, to avoid addressing her own inability to connect emotionally with others. Jeunet uses his fictional characters to reveal the anxiety that people still feel regarding the appropriation of bodies, providing some insight about current emotional consciousness. The films demonstrate that personal satisfaction can only be found through one's own body and mind, and that the attempt to appropriate others for this purpose is ultimately fruitless and destructive.

Jeunet's 1997 film, *Alien: Resurrection*, at first seems to be a departure from the filmmaker's "non-Hollywood" style, since this film was shot exclusively in Hollywood studios and is the fourth of the *Alien* franchise, which began in 1979 with Ridley Scott's blockbuster horror/action movie, *Alien*. However, this film has Jeunet's trademark unusual characters, and the plot is fueled by the manipulation of bodies for the benefit of those with more power.

The opening shot of the 1997 movie is of Ellen Ripley's body suspended in a tube of liquid, preserved for observation and study. Her voice narrates the opening lines of the movie: "My mommy always said there are no monsters, no real ones. But there are." Although the lines remind the audience about the monstrous alien bodies from the previous *Alien* movies, the next scene shows eager faces of the scientists, changing our perspective to focus on how humans have become more monstrous than the aliens. The scientists stand around Ripley's body and cut it open to remove a small alien from her chest. After the alien is safely deposited in a clamp next to Ripley's opened body, a scientist asks, "How's the host?" and when he hears that she is still alive, he orders her to

be “sew[n] back up.” Although Ripley dies in *Alien*³, this movie takes place 200 years after her death and her body has been cloned by scientists who have spliced her DNA with alien DNA to create a hybrid body that looks human but has many alien qualities such as corrosive blood and superhuman strength. Ripley’s body is appropriated as a site for growing aliens.

Ripley’s Frankenstein-like body is both accepted and rejected by humans and aliens alike, underscoring the marginalized experience of one whose body is specifically created for others’ use. One scientist becomes annoyed at Ripley’s resistance to accepting their cause, insisting that products and tissues from the aliens’ bodies will allow the scientists to create new alloys and vaccines, which will benefit society. He states, “Things have changed a great deal since your time” to which Ripley replies, “I doubt that.” Her reply points to the way that medical irresponsibility and using bodies for others’ benefit is still in our present consciousness and predicts that it will remain there in the future.

The story takes place on a military spaceship that orbits the margins of the universe, outside any government’s jurisdiction. The crew of a commercial freighter named *The Betty* boards the spaceship and Captain Frank Elgyn inquires about the spaceship’s purpose: “Whatever you have going on here, general, ain’t exactly approved by Congress” and calls their transaction “cloak and dagger stuff.” General Perez replies, “It’s a military operation,” but Elgyn responds, “Most army medical labs don’t have to operate outside of regulated space.” Their conversation alerts us to the fact that while the government funds the “military operation,” the scientists are allowed a free pass to use bodies as they see fit because they occupy an unregulated space. With no outside

regulating body, the scientists' understanding of moderation and ethics blurs, allowing them to act monstrously.

While Ripley and the crew of *The Betty* attempt to leave the spaceship, they encounter a man whom Ripley identifies as having an alien growing inside of him. The man explains that he is on his way to the planet Zyron to work at a nickel refinery. Ripley clarifies that he and the other workers were kidnapped and their bodies were sold while in stasis to the scientists so that their bodies could become hosts to growing aliens. This scene illustrates the vulnerability of all bodies in this world where the scientists' statement "things have changed a great deal" is clearly negated, since working bodies are still being exploited and manipulated by those with more power and resources. Ripley emphasizes that *humans* did this to his body, encouraging us to question the definition of "human," especially considering that Ripley, an alien-human hybrid, ultimately saves the crew and that Annalee Call, the character most emotionally invested in saving the lives of others, is revealed as a robot. When the crew discovers that Call is an android, Ripley says to her, "I should have known. No human being is that humane." Call has such characteristics as empathy and selflessness that the human characters lack.

The most terrifying scene in the movie is not necessarily one involving aliens attacking and massacring the humans, but one that displays the products of the failed attempts by the scientists to recreate Ripley's body using her and alien DNA. We see through Ripley's eyes the bodies of her malformed and monstrous "sisters," all of whom are either dead or suffering, and all preserved for study and medical manipulation.¹⁵⁴ The

¹⁵⁴ Sarah Wise theorizes that collections of bodies and body parts helped to instill fear into the public's consciousness regarding science and medicine during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: "Secrecy such as Sir Astley's tended to provoke suspicion, rather than deflect it. Mysterious attics, rooms with

bodies are displayed as if in a museum, perhaps as if they were a part of a “Body Worlds” exhibit that showcases the anatomy of bodies for educational purposes. After looking closely at several bodies, Ripley realizes that these bodies are clones, just as she is, and she is emotionally moved for the first time in the movie, stunned that humans would create and then neglect living beings so callously. She remains speechless throughout the scene, forcing us to focus on how her face reflects her horror and sense of powerlessness. The scene climaxes when Ripley meets a live clone who struggles to breathe and has tubes running in and out of her stomach. Rather than asking for a companion as Frankenstein’s monster does, the clone begs Ripley for mercy when she repeats, “Kill me.” Ripley understands that the only merciful action, apart from never having created the bodies, is to destroy the lab and the clones. As she points the flamethrower at the monstrous body, the “woman” looks at Ripley, nods, and Ripley burns the bodies and the lab.

In the final scene of the movie, Ripley kills the last surviving alien and through the window of *The Betty*, Ripley and Call look at Earth for the first time, which has been revealed earlier as “home base.” Call asks Ripley what will happen once they land and Ripley replies, “I don’t know. I’m a stranger here myself.” Neither Ripley’s nor Call’s bodies have ever been to Earth – Ripley’s body was “resurrected” in space and Call was built on another planet – but Earth is named as their home and so their bodies are repatriated to this place.

opaque windows, creatures pickled in bottles, body parts in cooking pots, disappearances, strange goings-on after dark: it was the stuff of gothic fiction and fairy tales” (Wise 184).

The film's ending theme of repatriating bodies to their "homes" draws from the idea that stories about bodies are not complete until they are returned to their home and/or loved ones. The history of Sarah Baartman's body, for instance, continued long after her death. Although she died in 1814, Baartman's body was preserved in parts in the Musee de l'Homme in Paris. Her skeleton and a cast of her body were displayed in the museum, while her brain and genital parts were preserved and kept in a back room (Fausto-Sterling 20). But in the mid-1990s, South African President Nelson Mandela requested that France return Baartman's remains to her place of birth. France eventually acceded and on May 6, 2002, nearly two centuries after her death, her remains were buried on a South African hilltop in the town of Hankey. Baartman's return to her native country completes her body's physical journey, but does not prevent the creation of future stories about her body and life. Several biographies and novels have been written since her body's repatriation, which indicates the lasting impact her life and body had on the public's consciousness.

Even such documents that affect bodies as a Parliamentary Act can have a sort of lifespan. The Anatomy Act of 1832, for instance, had a difficult birth, as shown in chapter one of this project, but the Act was not put to rest until more than 170 years later when it was repealed on November 15, 2004. The Act was amended on May 24, 1984, giving people more control over the way their bodies were used after their deaths, but the amendment still states that in cases where no will has been expressed, "the person lawfully in possession of a body may authorise it to be used for anatomical examination." The use of unclaimed bodies is not eliminated until the Human Tissue Act of 2004 repeals the Anatomy Act and requires "appropriate consent" to be given for the use of

any body or part of the body. The long duration of the Act contributed to the continued vulnerability of bodies for the use of those with more political, medical, or physical power.

I conclude this project with one last story that epitomizes the evolution of bodily appropriation while also demonstrating the complexity and multifaceted nature of this issue. In 1951, Henrietta Lacks sought medical attention at Johns Hopkins Hospital where her doctor diagnosed her with cervical cancer and later took samples of the cancerous tumor and parts of her cervix without her permission. Her cells became popular in the scientific community and attained a kind of immortality because hers continued to grow after the period when all other human cells had died, allowing researchers to use the cells in a wide variety of medical experiments such as developing vaccines, testing the effects of toxic substances, and much more. Lacks died on October 4, 1951, but her cells lived on and were eventually sent to researchers around the world to advance medicine and science that often assisted in prolonging or improving people's lives.¹⁵⁵

Scientists have repeatedly stated that without the HeLa cells, as Henrietta's cells have come to be called, medical advancements such as the polio vaccine would have been much longer in coming. But the good that has come from her cells is complicated by the fact that cells from her body that have been used to benefit the health of others were taken without her or her family's permission. In fact, it was not until the 1970s that Henrietta Lacks' identity was known to scientists experimenting on her cells. Only

¹⁵⁵ Her cell line still lives today and is called HeLa because cell lines names are created from the first two letters of the "donor's" first and last names.

recently has Lacks' story been written and published in Rebecca Skloot's biography, *The Immortal Life of Henrietta Lacks*. Despite her anonymity, scientists appropriated the cells for their own use, suggesting a continuation of medical detachment even into the later part of the twentieth century.

In 1973, the Lacks family was approached by scientists who wanted to take samples of cells from the family members to see if their cells were special like their mother's. Because of a mistake in communication, the Lacks family believed that they were being tested for cancer, even though this was not the researchers' intention partly because there was no "cancer test," and also because the researchers were geneticists, not oncologists or cancer researchers. Henrietta's husband, Day, stated, "They [the scientists] said...they wanted to come test my children see if they got cancer killed their mother" (Skloot 182). The family believed that they would finally be recipients of a medical benefit that their mothers' cells helped develop. But because in 1973 gaining a patient's informed consent and getting permission from a review board were only guidelines, the scientists were not required by law to properly educate the family about the purpose of their tests. The geneticists found the cells not to be useful to their studies, so the family and the samples were forgotten.

Many members of Henrietta Lacks' family still live, many of them with poor and/or failing health, and most without health care. Henrietta's cells helped doctors and scientists make countless bodies more healthy, but Henrietta's treatment and the health of the Lacks family shows that certain bodies are still vulnerable to both appropriation and medical neglect and that socioeconomic status still contributes to the level of vulnerability. Medical ethical standards have evolved since 1951, but stories about the

Lacks family highlight the complexity of medical advancements, since others benefitted from the Lacks' loss.

These contemporary stories make us more aware of the current vulnerability of our own bodies to appropriation, just as legislation, anatomy images, literature, and art brought to light how bodies in the nineteenth century were used and manipulated for the benefit of others. Having this awareness, however, does not imply hopelessness about the future. Rather, contemporary stories provide warnings and education about how the future could progress if we don't take action to resist exploitation, just as Shelley's novel and Jones' short stories educated people of the nineteenth century about the workings of medical practice and legislation.

I predict that bodies will continue to be an essential medium by which stories are told, whether they are about exploitation and abuses of authority, or passion and love. Our own bodies are places to shape our own stories. By educating ourselves via the Internet and making informed decisions about our own medical treatment and the disposition of our body parts, we can determine the future our bodies hold. Having self-awareness is the first step in resisting exploitation and helping to build a future that respects the privacy of bodies, regardless of socioeconomic status. Through the passage of the Human Tissue Act and the implementation of informed consent as a required part of medical practice, we have already demonstrated an increased respect for the human body. Our knowledge about past and present stories that are awful yet hopeful urge us to promote the maturity of society's self-awareness as it continues to grow and change. My personal hope is that by providing insight about stories from the past, this project helps us

better protect our own and others' bodies and help build a future where bodies, all bodies, are respected and revered.

Works Cited

- Alien: Resurrection*. Dir. Jean-Pierre Jeunet. Screenplay by Joss Whedon. Twentieth Century Fox. 1997. Film.
- “Anatomy.” *London Times* 15 Jan. 1829: 3. Print.
- Atkinson, Diane. *Love & Dirt: The Marriage of Arthur Munby & Hannah Cullwick*. London: Macmillan, 2003. Print.
- Bailey, James B. *The Diary of a Resurrectionist, 1811-12*. Swan Sonnenschein, 1896. Print.
- Bajac, Quentin. *The Invention of Photography: The First Fifty Years*. London: Thames & Hudson, 2002. Print.
- Baldick, Chris. *In Frankenstein's Shadow: Myth, Monstrosity, and Nineteenth-century Writing*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987. Print.
- Barthes, Roland. *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1981. Print.
- Botonaki, Effie. “Dissecting Bodies and Selves in the Early Modern Period.” *The Flesh Made Text Made Flesh: Cultural and Theoretical Returns to the Body*. Ed. Zoe Detsi-Diamanti, Katerina Kitsi-Mitakou, and Effie Yiannopoulou. New York: Peter Lang, 2007. 75-86. Print.
- Brake, Mark and Neil Hook. *Different Engines: How Science Drives Fiction and Fiction Drives Science*. London: Macmillan, 2008. Print.
- Brisbane, John. *The Anatomy of Painting; or a Short and Easy Introduction to Anatomy: Being a New Edition of the Six Tables of Albinus ... with an Introduction, Giving a Short View of Picturesque Anatomy*. London: E.V. Evans, 1831. Print.
- Brodie. Letter. *London Times*. 8 Dec. 1831: 3. Print.
- Brooks, Peter. “‘Godlike Science/Unhallowed Arts’: Language, Nature, and Monstrosity.” *The Endurance of Frankenstein: Essays on Mary Shelley's Novel*. Ed. George Lenvine and U.C. Knoepfelmacher. Berkeley: U of California P, 1979. 205-220. Print.
- Butler, Marilyn. “Frankenstein and Radical Science.” *Frankenstein: The 1818 Text, Contexts, Nineteenth-century Responses, Modern Criticism*. Ed. J. Paul Hunter.

- New York: Norton, 1996. 302-312. Print.
- Caine, Hall. *My Story*. New York: Appleton, 1909. Print.
- Cockburn, J S. *Crime in England, 1550-1800*. Princeton: Princeton U P, 1977. Print.
- Cooper, Melinda. "Monstrous Progeny: The Teratological Tradition in Science and Literature." *Frankenstein's Science: Experimentation and Discovery in Romantic Culture, 1780-1830*. Ed. Christa Knellwolf King and Jane R Goodall. Burlington: Ashgate, 2008. 87-98. Print.
- Crais, Clifton C, and Pamela Scully. *Sara Baartman and the Hottentot Venus: A Ghost Story and a Biography*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 2009. Print.
- "Destruction of a Theatre of Anatomy in Aberdeen." *London Times* 26 Dec. 1831: 2. Print.
- Detsi-Diamanti, Zoe, Katerina Kitsi-Mitakou, and Effie Yiannopoulou. "The Flesh Made Text Made Flesh: An Introduction." *The Flesh Made Text Made Flesh: Cultural and Theoretical Returns to the Body*. Ed. Zoe Detsi-Diamanti, Katerina Kitsi-Mitakou, and Effie Yiannopoulou. New York: Peter Lang, 2007. 1-12. Print.
- Dickens, Charles. *A Christmas Carol and Other Stories*. New York: Modern Library, 1995. Print.
- Dickens, Charles. *A Tale of Two Cities*. Easton Press, 1981. Print.
- Dzelzainis, Ella. "Chartism and Gender Politics in Ernest Jones' 'The Young Milliner'." *Famine and Fashion: Needlework in the Nineteenth Century*. Ed. Beth Harris. Hampshire: Ashgate, 2005. 87-98. Print.
- Fausto-Sterling, Anne. "Gender, race, and Nation: The Comparative Anatomy of 'Hottentot' Women in Europe, 1815-1817." *Deviant Bodies: Critical Perspectives in Difference in Science and Popular Culture*. Ed. Jennifer Terry and Jacqueline Urla. Bloomington: Indiana UP (1995): 19-48. Print.
- Forry, Steven. *Hideous Progenies: Dramatizations of Frankenstein from Mary Shelley to the Present*. Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1990. Print.
- Foucault, Michel. *The History of Sexuality*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1978. Print.
- Frank, Julia Bess. "Body Snatching: a Grave Medical Problem." *The Yale Journal of Biology and Medicine*. 49.4 (1976): 399-410. Print.
- Gans, Herbert J. *More Equality*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1973. Print.

- Garrett, Peter. *Gothic Reflections: Narrative Force in Nineteenth-Century Fiction*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2003. Print.
- Gibson, R. Letter. *Lancet* 1 June 1829: 319. Print.
- Gilbert, Sandra and Susan Gubar. "Mary Shelly's Monstrous Eve." *Frankenstein: The 1818 Text, Contexts, Nineteenth-century Responses, Modern Criticism*. Ed. J. Paul Hunter. New York : Norton, 1996. 225-240. Print.
- Gilman, Sander L. "Black Bodies, White Bodies: Toward an Iconography of Female Sexuality in Late Nineteenth-Century Art, Medicine, and Literature." *Critical Inquiry*. 12.1 (1985): 204-242. Print.
- Green, P.H. Letter. *Lancet*. 7 Jan. 1832. Print.
- Grote, Harriet. *The Personal Life of George Grote*. London, 1873. Print.
- Harris, Beth. Introduction. *Famine and Fashion: Needlework in the Nineteenth Century*. Ed. Harris. Hampshire: Ashgate, 2005. 1-12. Print.
- Harrison, Brian. Rev. of *The Making of the English Working Class* by E. P. Thompson. *The English Historical Review* Jul. 1971: 574-587. Print.
- Hawksley, Lucinda. *Lizzie Siddal: The Tragedy of a Pre-Raphaelite Supermodel*. London: Andre Deutsch, 2008. Print.
- Hay, Douglas. "Crime and Justice in Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century England." *Crime and Justice*. 2 (1980): 45-84. Print.
- Haywood, Ian. Introduction. *Woman's Wrongs* by Ernest Jones. Ed. Haywood. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001. Print.
- Holmes, Rachel. *African Queen: The Real Life of the Hottentot Venus*. New York: Random House, 2007. Print.
- Holmes, Richard. *The age of wonder: How the Romantic generation discovered the beauty and terror of science*. London: Harper, 2008. Print.
- Horner, Frances J. *Time Remembered*. London: William Heinemann, 1933. Print.
- Hudson, Derek, and Arthur J. Munby. *Munby, Man of Two Worlds: The Life and Diaries of Arthur J. Munby, 1828-1910*. Boston: Gambit, 1972. Print.
- "Human Dissections." *Lancet* 31 January 1829: 562+. Print.

- Hunt, Violet. *The Wife of Rossetti: Her Life and Death*. New York: E.P. Dutton, 1932. Print.
- Hunter, Allan. "Evolution, Revolution and Frankenstein's Creature." *Frankenstein's Science: Experimentation and Discovery in Romantic Culture, 1780-1830*. Ed. Christa Knellwolf King and Jane R Goodall. Burlington: Ashgate, 2008. 133-150. Print.
- Hunter, John. *Essays and Observations on Natural History, Anatomy, Physiology, Psychology and Geology*. Ed. Richard Owen. London: John van Voorst, 1861.
- Hunter, John. *The Works of John Hunter with Notes*. Ed. James F. Palmer. London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longman, 1835-1837.
- Hunter, William. *The Anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus Exhibited in Figures [Anatomia Uteri Humani Gravidi Tabulis Illustrate]*. Birmingham: John Baskerville, 1774. Print.
- Hutton, Fiona. "The Working of the 1832 Anatomy Act in Oxford and Manchester." *Family and Community History* 9.2 (2006): 125-140. Print.
- Hurren, Elizabeth T. "Whose Body Is It Anyway? Trading the Dead Poor, Coroner's Disputes, and the Business of Anatomy at Oxford University, 1885-1929." *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*. 82.4 (2008): 775-818. Print.
- Ileto, Reynaldo C. *Critical Questions on Nationalism: A Historian's View*. Philippines: De La Salle University, 1986. Print.
- Jones, Ernest. *Notes to the People*. Ed. Jones. London: Merlin P, 1967. Print.
- Jones, Ernest. "The Girl with the Red Hands." *Woman's Wrongs*. Ed. Ian Haywood Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001. Print.
- Jones, Ernest. "The Young Milliner." *Woman's Wrongs*. Ed. Ian Haywood Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001. Print.
- King, Christa Knellwolf and Jane R Goodall. Introduction. *Frankenstein's Science: Experimentation and Discovery in Romantic Culture, 1780-1830*. Ed. Christa Knellwolf King and Jane R Goodall. Burlington: Ashgate, 2008. 1-16. Print.
- King-Hele, Desmond. *Erasmus Darwin and the Romantic Poets*. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan, 1986. Print.
- Knott, John. "Popular Attitudes to Death and Dissection in Early Nineteenth Century

- Britain: "The Anatomy Act and the Poor." *Labour History* 49 (1985): 1-18. Print.
- Knox, Robert. *Plates of the arteries of the human body*. Edinburgh: Maclachlan and Stewart, 1829.
- LaCom, Cindy. "'Is it More than Lame?' Female Disability, Sexuality, and the Maternal in Nineteenth-Century Novel." *The Body and Physical Difference: Discourses of Disability*. Ed. David T. Mitchell and Sharon L. Snyder. Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 2000. 189-201. Print.
- "The Late Horrible Murders in Edinburgh, to Obtain Subjects for Dissection." *Lancet*. 3 Jan. 1829: 430. Print.
- Ledger, Sally. "Chartist Aesthetics in the Mid Nineteenth Century: Ernest Jones, a Novelist of the People." *Nineteenth-century Literature*. 57.1 (2002): 31-63. Print.
- Leonardo da Vinci, Martin Kemp, and Margaret Walker. *Leonardo on Painting: An Anthology of Writings*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989. Print.
- Letter. *London Times* 4 September 1829: 2. Print.
- Linebaugh, Peter. "The Tyburn Riot Against the Surgeons." *Albion's Fatal Tree: Crime and Society in Eighteenth Century England*. Ed. Douglas Hay, Peter Linebaugh, John Rule, E.P. Thompson, and Cal Winslow. New York: Pantheon, 1975. 65-117. Print.
- Marsh, Jan. *The Legend of Elizabeth Siddal*. London: Quartet Books, 1989. Print.
- MacGregor, George. *The History of Burke and Hare, and of the Resurrectionist Times*. Glasgow: Thomas D. Morison, 1884. Print.
- Marshall, Tim. *Murdering to Dissect: Grave-robbing, Frankenstein, and the Anatomy Literature*. Manchester: Manchester UP, 1995. Print.
- McLynn, Frank. *Crime and Punishment in Eighteenth Century England*. New York: Routledge, 1989. Print.
- McQueen, H. Rev. of *The Making of the English Working Class* by E. P. Thompson. *Labour History* Nov. 1968: 75-77. Print.
- The Medico-Chirurgical Review, and Journal of Practical Medicine ... Edited by James Johnson, M.d: Republished by Richard Wood, 261 Pearl-Street, New York*. New York: Richard Wood, 1827. Print.
- Medicus. Letter. *London Times* 8 May 1830: 2. Print.

“Meeting of the Webb-Street School of Anatomy and Medicine.” *London Times* 19 Apr. 1828: 7+. Print.

Mellor, Anne K. “Possessing Nature: The Female in Frankenstein.” *Frankenstein: The 1818 Text, Contexts, Nineteenth-century Responses, Modern Criticism*. Ed. J. Paul Hunter. New York: Norton, 1996. 274-286. Print.

Miranda, Carlos A, and Suzette A. Spencer. "Omnipresent Negation: Hottentot Venus and Africa Rising." *Callaloo: a Journal of African Diaspora Arts and Letters*. 32.3 (2009): 910-933. Print.

Moers, Ellen. “Female Gothic: The Monster’s Mother.” *Frankenstein: The 1818 Text, Contexts, Nineteenth-century Responses, Modern Criticism*. Ed. J. Paul Hunter. New York : Norton, 1996. 214-224. Print.

Moore, Wendy. *The Knife Man: Blood, Body Snatching, and the Birth of Modern Surgery*. New York: Broadway Books, 2005. Print.

Moretti, Franco. *Signs Taken for Wonders: Essays in the Sociology of Literary Forms*. Trans. Susan Fischer, David Forgacs, and David Miller. London: Verso Editions, 1983. Print.

M.R.C.S. Letter. *Lancet* 1 June 1829: 319. Print.

“Mr. Warburton’s Bill.” Editorial. *Lancet* 28 March 1829: 818. Print.

“Mr. Warburton’s Bill.” Editorial. *Lancet* 15 May 1829: 211. Print.

Munby, Arthur. *Diary*. 1859-1898. MS. Wren Lib., Trinity College, Cambridge.

“On the Exportation of Dead Bodies from Ireland to England and Scotland.” *Lancet*. 14 Mar. 1829: 775. Print.

Parry, Bronwyn, and Cathy Gere. "Contested Bodies: Property Models and the Commodification of Human Biological Artefacts." *Science As Culture*. 15.2 (2006): 139-158. Print.

Pearce, Susan M. *On Collecting: An Investigation into Collecting in the European Tradition*. London: Routledge, 1995. Print.

Percival, Thomas. *Percival's Medical Ethics*. Ed. Chauncey D. Leake. Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins, 1927. Print.

Poovey, Mary. *Uneven Developments: The Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1988. Print.

- Prose, Francine. *The Lives of the Muses: Nine Women & the Artists They Inspired*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2002. Print.
- Reay, Barry. *Watching Hannah: Sexuality, Horror, and Bodily Deformation in Victorian England*. London: Reaktion Books, 2002. Print.
- Richardson, Ruth. *Death, Dissection, and the Destitute*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987. Print.
- Rossetti, Christina. "In an Artist's Studio." *The Norton Anthology of English Literature: Volume E*. Ed. Carol T. Christ, Catherine Robson, Stephen Greenblatt, and M. H. Abrams. New York: Norton, 2006. 1463. Print.
- Rossetti, Dante Gabriel. "Life-in-Love." *The Victorian Web*. 25 Feb., 2009. Web. 12 May, 2012.
- Sappol, Michael. *A Traffic of Dead Bodies: Anatomy and Embodied Social Identity in Nineteenth-Century America*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 2002. Print.
- Shelley, Mary. *Frankenstein: The 1818 Text, Contexts, Nineteenth-Century Responses, Modern Criticism*. Ed. J. Paul Hunter. New York: Norton, 1996. 7-157. Print.
- Shelley, Mary. "Introduction to Frankenstein, Third Edition (1831)." *Frankenstein: The 1818 Text, Contexts, Nineteenth-century Responses, Modern Criticism*. Ed. J. Paul Hunter. New York: Norton, 1996. 169-173. Print.
- Skloot, Rebecca. *The Immortal Life of Henrietta Lacks*. New York: Crown Publishers, 2010. Print.
- Soemmerring, Samuel Thomas. *Images of Human Embryos [Icones embryonum humanorum]*. Frankfurt: Main, 1799. Print.
- Stripling, Mahala Yates. *Bioethics and medical issues in literature*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 2005. Print.
- Swift, Jonathan. *Jonathan Swift, a Modest Proposal*. Ed. Leonard Baskin. New York: Grossman Publishers, 1969. Print.
- Surtees, Virginia. *The Paintings and Drawings of Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828-1882): A Catalogue Raisonné*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971. Print.
- Symons, Arthur. *Studies in Strange Souls*. London: Sawyer, 1929. Print.
- Thompson, E P. *The Making of the English Working Class*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1964. Print.

Unclaimed, One of the. Letter. *Lancet*. 6 June 1829: 320. Print

Vesalius, Andreas. *De Humani Corporis Fabrica Libri Septem*. Ed. Gabriel Lebon. Bruxelles: Culture et civilisation, 1964. Print.

Vickers, Nancy J. "Diana Described: Scattered Woman and Scattered Rhyme." *Critical Inquiry*. 8.2 (1982): 265-79. Print.

Wakely, Thomas. *Lancet*. Editorial. 24. Nov. 1832: 273+. Print.

Webb, R.K. Rev. of *The Making of the English Working Class* by E. P. Thompson. *The Massachusetts Review* Autumn, 1964 - Winter, 1965: 202-208. Print.

Wise, Sarah. *The Italian Boy: A Tale of Murder and Body Snatching in 1830s London*. New York: Holt, 2004. Print.

Wollstonecraft, Mary. *Vindication of the Rights of Woman*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1975. Print.

Official Papers and Publications:

Acts

25 Geo. II c.37: An Act for Better Preventing the Horrid Crime of Murder, 1752.

2&3 Gul. IV c. 75: An Act for Regulating the Schools of Anatomy, 1832.

4&5 Gul. IV c. 76: Poor Law (Amendment) Act, 1834.

32 Eliz. II c. 14: Anatomy Act, 1984

52 Eliz. II c. 30: Human Tissue Act, 2004

Bills

A Bill for the unlawful Disinterment of Human Bodies, and for regulating Schools of Anatomy, 1829.

A Bill (As Amended by the Committee) For regulating Schools of Anatomy, Jan. 1832

A Bill (As Amended on the Second Re-commitment) For regulating Schools of Anatomy, May 1832

Reports/Letters

Report from the Select Committee on Anatomy, 1828

Letter from the Council of the Royal College of Surgeons to Viscount Melbourne, His Majesty's Principle Secretary of State for the Home Department, 1831