THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF ARTS AND ITS ANATOMICAL
TEACHINGS; WITH AN EXAMINATION OF THE ART-
ANATOMY PRACTICES DURING THE EIGHTEENTH AND
EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURIES IN BRITAIN

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FOR MY GRANDPARENTS
"As our art is not a divine gift, so neither is it a mechanical trade. Its foundations are laid in solid science: and practice, though essential to perfection, can never attain that to which it aims unless, it works under the direction of principle."

Joshua Reynolds, Discourse VII, 1776.
ABSTRACT

The thesis investigates the artistic and anatomical practices taking place between circa 1768 and 1810, primarily in the context of the Royal Academy of Arts. In focusing on the educational components of anatomical knowledge, the dissertation examines the style, methodology and the various types of private and public teaching available to artists and medical students during this period.

In Chapter One, I examine the social, professional and demographic factors uniting artists and medical men. The social and professional divide that at one time kept such professions apart, was now being filled by informal gatherings. Neither artists nor anatomists however, were solely reliant on venues like the Royal Academy of Arts and private anatomy theatres. Such meetings often began in and around London's social milieu: the coffee-house culture.

In Chapter Two, I go on to look at the curriculum used in the Royal Academy Schools. An artist pursuing studies in the human figure would attend life classes, anatomy lectures, dissections, and teachings on physiognomy. The Academy Schools were not immune to the medical and scientific influences of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; the theories and practices of medical men infiltrated artistic training. Consequently, a number of private anatomy schools in the metropolis were open to both medical and art students. Other private drawing and dissecting classes had their own anatomical museums attached, providing art students with the opportunity of painting from pathological specimens.

In Chapters Three and Four, I proceed to explore the part played by William Hunter, an obstetrician, anatomist and the first professor of anatomy at the Royal Academy of Arts. Hunter and Joshua Reynolds were in agreement concerning anatomical instruction for artists. It was an education consisting of a thorough knowledge of the human body, and the ability to translate such anatomical information on to a canvas. Discussed here also is Hunter's large obstetrical atlas, and the life-size painted panels of Gautier D'Agoty.

I then proceed in Chapter Five, to examine the Plaister Academy. I examine its students, the curriculum and its teachers. While at the Royal Academy, William Hunter had access to the Plaister Academy and, as I suggest, it is here that he made his three-dimensional plaster of paris models of female anatomies.

As a whole, it is the aim of this dissertation to have thoroughly explored the links between artists and anatomists in England between 1768 and 1810, and to have documented the rise and nature of art education in this period.
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The seeds of this thesis were being sown without my knowing it. When I first began investigating the life class and the human figure I did not realise that it would lead to further anatomical revelations. However I am very pleased that it did. While researching this dissertation I have encountered encouragement, support, warmth and friendship from a number of sources.

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INTRODUCTION

Since ancient times, artists and medical men have visually recreated and revaluated the human body. Consequently it has been used for medical and scientific investigations, as an educational tool, and, as an allegory for something other than itself. Representations of the body are not merely works of art but can also be read as social documents; paintings and sculptures are direct vehicles of history. To a certain degree all art embodies crystallized history, allowing its cultural values to be portrayed through the iconography of art and medicine. For example, cultural attitudes and a society's understanding of sexuality can often be seen through the depictions of the human figure. This research addresses itself to the realisation and understanding of such representations.

The thesis aligns itself with current debates both in the history of art and the history of medicine; though extraneous to these, the research is primarily concerned with the teachings of anatomists in the context of art education. On realising the importance of such affiliations it was necessary closely to examine the teaching staff specialising in the human figure during the eighteenth century. From this initial encounter it was apparent that one could not talk about artists without also referring to anatomists.

The dependency of artists on anatomists and the service of anatomy to art predates the founding of the Royal Academy in 1768 and can be traced back to Medieval and Renaissance times,
particularly to artists such as Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo and Raphael. Investigations have led to the uncovering of the backgrounds of the professors of anatomy during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: such as William Hunter at the Royal Academy, who was a leading obstetrician, and John Marshall, a surgeon at the Government Schools. William Hunter's multifaceted interests brought him in contact with medical men, artists, students and patients. While practising as an obstetrician and anatomist, he lectured on anatomy to art students, worked alongside artists drawing and dissecting, gathered information for his medical treatises, and took moulds from female cadavers making three-dimensional plaster of paris models.

Links between artists and anatomists became increasingly interwoven in the eighteenth century and, in parallel to this, connexions were being formed between medicine, science and art. Hunter was one of the first anatomists in Britain to work with artists in a formal educational context where lectures took place, instructing artists on both living and dead human bodies.

The founding of the Royal Academy and its success was unusual, in that other private academies and groups prior to the Academy had failed for one reason or another. My interest in the Royal Academy of Arts, its pupils and teachers, has grown out of a body of scholarship dealing specifically with the history of art education. The history of art academies has already been surveyed by Nicholas Pevsner and Stuart.
Macdonald; this literature has documented the rise and fall of private academies and the various Schools of artists from the Renaissance onwards. As Stuart Macdonald shows, art academies were not unique to Britain; prior to the eighteenth century Continental academies were leading the way regarding syllabus, methods, publications and teaching. Macdonald also explores the philosophies and ethics governing the art institutions both here and abroad. The evolution of art education has been investigated by other writers such as Richard Carline, George Sutton and Quintin Bell, all of whom have dealt with various aspects of artistic training. In particular, I have drawn upon Carline's work on the pre-Academy years and the drawings produced by art students; and concerning such concepts as artisan and artist, Sutton's research has been especially useful. Other literature regarding individual institutions, such as D. G. C. Allan's work on William Shipley and the Royal Society of Arts, and H. C. Morgan's interest in the Royal Academy of Arts, have also been drawn on and extended. The publications commented upon here have greatly added to our knowledge of art academies, artists and their training. My thesis, however, extends this body of scholarship by examining the interaction of artists and anatomists, and the educational institutions encouraging such affiliations.

The founding of the Royal Academy of Arts, with Joshua Reynolds as its President and William Hunter as its professor of anatomy, succeeded in uniting art and medicine. Connexions such as these existed not only in the daily life class and at
the weekly anatomy lectures, but could also be found in the coffee-houses and residential areas in London. Consequently, Chapter One examines the social activities of artists and anatomists, providing evidence that friendships and professional links were formed outside the formal setting of the Royal Academy of Arts and the private anatomy schools. Through identifying coffee-houses, taverns, lecture-halls and living-quarters it has been possible to locate the social and residential lives of these two professional groups. Topographical analysis shows that geographical placement of artists and anatomists also affected their chances of crossing social and professional boundaries. Coffee-houses and taverns gave structure to the social network of artists and medical men where informal daily meetings eventually became recognised clubs. The coffee-house culture was an important feature to everyday life and it was here that artists and anatomists met to discuss business. Louise Lippincott's research on Arthur Pond reveals that he too was a regular frequenter of such places and it was here that he negotiated many of his commissions. Likewise, the British art market and the professional status of artists in the eighteenth century has been investigated by Iain Pears, revealing that art thrived not only because of the academies of art promoting artists, but out of the growing demand for commercial enterprise. For a comparative study involving painters and their public, Thomas Crow's work has looked at the role of the artist in the social context of eighteenth century Paris. I have built on the
research of Lippincott, Pears and Crow and in doing so have employed a similar analysis when dealing with the social and professional status of artists in relation to the medical profession.

London's social milieu attracted a large number of professional artists and medical men from Great Britain and the Continent. The medical profession was both educated and skilled, part of the élite and fashionable world, and those courting the visual arts earned the title 'gentleman'. Bearing this in mind, it is not surprising that numerous medical men sought the accolade conferred on them by the Royal Academy of Arts as professor of anatomy. This appointment brought with it status and social acceptability, it shows a man as not only educated but as harnessing sensitivity and taste to expertise. It was the hallmark of an anatomist-cum-gentleman. Through locating and identifying the social network of artists and medical men in the metropolis, one can understand more clearly how and why such professional men came to work side-by-side. Against this social backdrop it has been possible to examine the causes and consequences of everyday life on two diverse professions. Both communities encouraged formal teaching in voluntary hospitals and academies of art, while simultaneously creating private educational opportunities, increasing standards and choice. For an artist to be 'acceptable', he had to come from the Royal Academy, dine at the right taverns and hold memberships to the most renowned clubs. The art world, like the medical community, thrived on skill, knowledge, social
respectability, public acclaim and private invitations. Both Adrian Desmond and Susan Lawrence admirably portray the medical communities, their success and demise, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The career of a young student usually began with some kind of apprenticeship and Chapters One and Two outline the comparisons between an artist's education and a medical training. Not unlike medical apprentices bound to an eminent surgeon, young artists took their first step on the professional ladder once they gained entrance into the life class at the Royal Academy of Arts or assisting a well-known artist. Private entrepreneurship, in which the medical profession was becoming increasingly involved, can also be seen affecting the career structure of the artist. Private drawing lessons given by academicians supplemented their incomes. Medical men interested in art-anatomy studies often transformed their homes into anatomy theatres, museums and drawing studios. Many of the Academy's students interested in anatomy could often be found at such studios and those students seeking extramural classes for dissection were given private lessons by medical men such as William Hunter, Joshua Brookes, Edward Grainger and Charles Bell. These medical men not only acted as patrons but offered further tuition outside the mainstream life class at the Royal Academy of Arts.

This thesis primarily concerns itself with British academies, artists and anatomists, but it takes into account research that has been carried out on similar European
practices by William Schupbach and Jan Rupp. Both Schupbach and Rupp have examined the anatomical depictions of Dutch artists. Schupbach has analyzed Rembrandt's 'The Anatomy of Dr Tulp'; Rupp has looked not only at the cultural implications of art-anatomy practices in seventeenth century Holland, but has also examined the art academies and anatomy theatres. Eighteenth century studies in anatomy naturally incorporated the use of dissection, and cadavers became a resource for both artists and anatomists. Those art students at the Royal Academy attending Hunter's lectures would have invariably been taught with a cadaver in view. This was commonplace in the teaching of anatomy; art students, like medical students, understood the human figure in terms of its anatomical structure.

The influence of physiognomy is also explored in Chapter Two with emphasis on the life class and its curriculum. The main exponent of physiognomy was Johann Caspar Lavater who often met with his friend and colleague Henry Fuseli, while the latter was teaching in the Royal Academy Schools. The reading of facial expressions as well as bodily gestures was not a new phenomenon, it had already been introduced by Charles Le Brun into his teachings at the French academy of art during the seventeenth century. In Britain however, it was Lavater's physiognomical writings that caught the imagination of the general public. The interest in physiognomy and portraiture can be seen in the growing demand for painted portraits. The influence of physiognomy during the Victorian period has been
examined by Mary Cowling, who has looked in particular at the paintings of William Powell Frith. Although Cowling does not relate her physiognomical findings to education and the teaching of art, she does make reference to artists, their paintings and social class. Some of the eighteenth century physiognomical influences can be found in the neo-classical paintings depicting dramatic facial expressions with exaggerated body movements. While artists such as Henry Fuseli, William Blake and John Mortimer called for the use of imagination in painting, others such as Reynolds, called for beauty and scientific exactness to be harnessed to nature. Because scientific thought governed the Age of Reason, artists like Fuseli, Mortimer and aestheticians such as Winckelmann, looked back to the ancients to re-discover an era represented as passionate and non-scientific. Reynolds too looked back to antiquity; he endeavoured to align such neo-classical ideologies with an eighteenth century understanding of exactitude. Reynolds, like Hunter, was a man of the Enlightenment. Both Reynolds and Hunter believed in the harmony of nature, art, science and medicine; each component as they saw it, relying upon the next. There was very little division for them between art and science. The overlap of art and science are however, imbued with complicated concepts, and cannot be over-simplified. The split that was to come in the nineteenth century between art and science has been described by C. P. Snow as the making of two cultures. This is in contrast to the one-culture model linking art to science and
medicine. The art-anatomy folios and the artificially dissected mannequins of the eighteenth century therefore, can be visually seen to connect art and science. It was in this way that education became a catalyst, uniting not only professions, but bringing about new scientific and artistic images of the body.

Chapter Three surveys William Hunter's anatomy lectures and his influence on the artistic practices of both the staff and students at the Royal Academy Schools. These teachings of anatomy are set against the backdrop of contemporary understanding of aesthetics, taste, science and medicine. His ability to translate difficult medical terminology into simple concepts for painters, sculptors and engravers is borne out on a number of occasions by the art students themselves. In order to identify those students most likely to have regularly attended Hunter's lectures it has been necessary to analyze the life class, its curriculum and teaching staff.

The abundance of medical literature in this period is also examined here. Medical atlases, art-anatomy folios, dissectors' manuals and loose-leaf fugitive sheets reveal the interest in medicine and art. Chapter Four examines such art-anatomy treatises from the small pocket-size manuals to an elephant-size folio commissioned by William Hunter. Hunter's elaborately engraved plates and the size of the atlas gave rise to new interpretations of the body. These detailed engravings show female anatomies sectioned and fragmented, focusing on the various pregnancy states. In contrast to these two-dimensional
images other three-dimensional representations of the female form by Hunter are examined in Chapter Five. These plaster of paris models are unnatural compared to the Continental artificial anatomies produced at the same time. Hunter's dealings with the Royal Academy of Arts led him not only to use a number of the engravers there but to also employ the skills and techniques of sculptors in the Plaister Academy. In my analysis of William Hunter, his lectures, dissections and engravings, I have drawn upon and added to the research already carried out on him by Helen Brock, Martin Kemp and Ludmilla Jordanova. I have favoured structuring Hunter's lectures differently to those proposed by Kemp, and have re-interpreted the Hunter images of female anatomies differently to Jordanova. I have also included and applied the research of Londa Schiebinger and Thomas Laqueur who have both examined anatomical perceptions of the physical; especially the representations of the human body and its gender. Schiebinger examines the use of male and female skeletons in medical folios, showing that visual depictions of biology and sex (what we today call gender) did not arise until the latter half of the eighteenth century. Laqueur also submits evidence for, what he calls, the one-sex model: a male determined biology for both sexes. Dorinda Outram's investigation of the body as both a cultural and physical entity has led her to look at the images of those of the French Revolution. The outward body-signs that show the underlying social constructs, Outram argues, can be seen in the depictions of men and women. The
anatomical images of females in Britain at this time show her as biological, sexual, medicalised and idealised. The eighteenth century interest in both consumer and connoisseurship led some artists and medical men to produce images of females, revealing sexual organs of quasi-medical anatomies. Increasingly the medico-anatomical gaze becomes purely a male gaze that takes place both within and outside of the frame of vision. As Margaret Walters suggests: "any desire can be projected on to her".22

In addition to the in-depth analysis of Hunter's teachings and a survey of art-anatomical folios, the thesis charts the social, educational and professional opportunities available to artists and medical men during the Enlightenment. The obstetrical folios of William Smellie and William Hunter are but facets of a greater macrocosm. The social and demographic factors allowing such art-anatomy practices to be undertaken rely on the professional cross-fertilisation of artists and anatomists, and their good will to create new bonds. London's metropolis became the hub of social intercourse and professional discourse for artists and medical men alike; the eighteenth century interbred medical and artistic discoveries, linking human beings together. And perhaps it is entirely due to the tolerence and rationality of such an Age that artists were encouraged to harness their intuitive powers to scientific knowledge, cultivating taste and techniques.

The following Chapters show that anatomy was necessary to
both painters and sculptors, for as Aries's *The Hour of Our Death*, proposes: "It was useful to everyone: Anatomy was part of the indispensable equipment of every well-educated man. Anatomy is a path towards the knowledge of God, at any rate the God of the eighteenth century".23
FOOTNOTES


14. Rupp, J. C. C. 'Matters of Life and Death: an essay concerning the social and cultural conditions of the rise of anatomy and anatomical theatres, with special reference to the situation in seventeenth-century
Holland', unpublished paper, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Utrecht, 1990.


Chapter One

Professional Men: the Social Network of Artists and Medical Men in Eighteenth Century London with an Examination of Public Medical Education

During the eighteenth century medicine, like art, was a product of England's social, scientific and political climate and it is within this cultural world that education emerged as the catalyst for discursive liaisons between artists and medical men. This triadic relationship between artists, anatomists and education gave rise to changing knowledge benefiting both professions. This chapter examines the social interaction of artists and medical men in London, with attention given to meeting places, clubs, living quarters and public events bringing both professions together. Topographical analysis shows that geographical placement of artists and medical men also affected their chances of crossing social and professional boundaries. Medical education for young surgeons is examined whilst looking at the role of anatomist as teacher and initiator of the changing medical curriculum. For example, despite the difficulty of procuring cadavers for hospital use the medical syllabus consisted of practical dissection. Chapter Three investigates the private medical sector in terms of anatomy theatres and museums whilst this chapter looks more specifically at the public sector dealing with organised medical teaching and hospitals.
As life became more complex, merchants and tradesmen outgrew the coffee-houses, favouring taverns for social gatherings.¹ The outcome was the formation of clubs and this new type of gathering was described by Samuel Johnson in 1755 as: "An assembly of good fellows, meeting under certain conditions".² Clubs attracted different types of members and several organisations were formed by men preferring serious debates concerning politics, literature, medicine and art.³ Georgian life at a certain social stratum not only revolved around the home but also round the club and such social interaction brought together professional men who would otherwise not have met. Artists, surgeons, literary figures and merchants all shared a similar professional status in everyday life. As Roy Porter writes: "Clubs created identity and partisanship".⁴ And as Plumb illuminates in Georgian Delights, men and women thrived on passionate conversation: "They really believed in conversation - hence the proliferation of clubs like Dr Johnson's. They also believed in knowledge".⁵ Coffee-houses and taverns gave structure to the social network of artists and anatomists and informal daily meetings eventually became recognised clubs for selected topics. The medical profession was both educated and skilled, part of the elite and fashionable world and those courting the visual arts earned the title 'gentlemen'. Bearing this in mind, it is not surprising that numerous medical men sought the accolade conferred on them by the Royal Academy of Arts as Professor of Anatomy. This appointment brought with it status
and social acceptability; it portrayed a man not only educated and skilled but one harnessing sensitivity and taste to skill. It was the hallmark of an anatomist-cum-gentleman.


In locating and identifying the social network of artists and anatomists in the metropolis, we can understand more clearly how and why professional bodies came to work side by side. Against this social backdrop we can examine the causes, consequences and effects that everyday life had on two diverse professions; the cultivation of taste, knowledge, education and aesthetics took place in London's academies and coffee-houses. Notably most of the artists mingling with eminent medical men at this time came from the Royal Academy Schools and were pursuing careers in engraving, painting and sculpture.

There appear to have been four locations for artists and anatomists to meet: 1) coffee-houses/taverns; 2) Clubs; 3) living quarters and 4) private museums/galleries owned by connoisseurs. The fashionable areas can be identified as
Covent Garden, Soho Square, Leicester Square, Piccadilly, St. James Square, Pall Mall and Berkeley Square. It is interesting to note that many of the clubs and the living quarters of the artists and anatomists appear to be located in these fashionable areas. (see Appendix I for list). A number of these social venues have been located on a 1786 map, together with the residential areas of these professional men: also identifiable is the Royal Academy and William Hunter's Anatomy School (see over the page for Map and Key). As can be seen from the map, location of coffee-houses, academy schools and William Hunter's Great Windmill Street Anatomy School were closely connected, making professional and social discourse easy.

Coffee-houses originated in the middle of the seventeenth century and were used by men as an after-dinner rendezvous. By the following century, the number of coffee-houses had increased dramatically in the metropolis. However, those frequented by artists and anatomists appear to have clustered in certain areas of London and coffee-houses such as the British, George's, the Grecian, Hambleton's, Munday's, Nando's, St. James's, Percy's, Salopian, Smyrna, Somerset and Squire's seem to have been regularly attended, and can all be found in easy reach of each other (see Map). However, there were favourite coffee-houses visited almost daily by artists, literary men and anatomists and these were Old Slaughter's, the Turk's Head, the Grecian and the British. In 1753 several artists met at the Turk's Head coffee-house in the Strand, and
KEY TO MAP

COFFEE HOUSES and LOCATIONS

The Strand
1. George's, 213 The Strand
2. Grecian, Devereux Court, The Strand
3. Somerset, The Strand
4. Turk's Head, 142 The Strand

Covent Garden
5. Munday's, Maiden-lane. Covent Garden
6. Tom's, 17 Russell Street (formerly Gt. Russell street)

Drury Lane
7. Hambleton's, Prince's Street, nr. Drury Lane

St. Martin's Lane and Soho
8. Slaughter's, St. Martin's Lane
9. York Chop House, Wardour Street

Pall Mall and Temple
10. Nando's, Fleet-street, Inner Temple Lane
11. St. James's, St. James's Street
12. Smyrna, north-side of Pall Mall
between 1739 and 1769 all the artists attending life classes at the St. Martin's Lane Academy regularly met at this coffee-house. This was also a favourite supping-house of London's literary figures such as Samuel Johnson, Oliver Goldsmith and James Boswell, and it was probably on evenings such as these that William Hunter met Joshua Reynolds, Reynolds met Goldsmith, and John Heaviside, the surgeon, met Boswell. There are several entries in Boswell's *Life of Johnson* referring to the Turk's Head, commencing in 1763.6

Another coffee-house by the same name could be found in Gerard Street, and it was at this Turk's Head that Joshua Reynolds established the Literary Club in 1764: "The members [meeting] one evening in every week, at seven, for supper, and generally [continuing] their conversation till a late hour".7 This coffee-house also became the headquarters of the Artists' Club, consisting of artists attending St. Martin's Lane Academy.8 Slaughter's coffee-house, being located at the upper end of the west side of St. Martin's Lane, was also popular with artists from the Royal Academy and Oliver Goldsmith, in his "Account of Various Clubs" (Essay VI), says: "If a man be passionate, he may vent his rage among the old orators at Slaughter's coffee-house, and damn the nation because it keeps him from starving".9 An entry for 6th December, 1793, in Farington's *Diary* also refers to this coffee-house.10 In a letter from Benjamin West to Ozias Humphrys, dated 17th July, 1809, West invites him to dine at Slaughter's coffee-house on "Monday next at 4 o'clock - he has
appointed the gentm. who favour him with their Company". 11 Old Slaughter's was "the grand resort in the evenings" of Hogarth, West and Roubilliac as well as Benjamin Robert Haydon and David Wilkie, who were regular visitors. Haydon and Wilkie often ended a day's painting at this venue:

This period of our lives was one of great happiness: painting all day, then dining at the Old Slaughter Chop-house, then going to the Academy until eight, to fill up the evening. 12

Located near to Old Slaughter's was the York Chop House in Wardour Street, another favourite and inexpensive resort of successive generations of young painters and art students from St. Martin's Lane School and the Royal Academy. C. R. Leslie's Recollections describes happy days spent here. 13 The Grecian coffee-house could also be found in this part of town, in Devereux Court, the Strand, where evenings were spent in "inquiries into antiquity" and other topical news which gave "new knowledge". Frequent visitors to the Grecian were the surgeons Sir Hans Sloane, a certain Mr André, Joseph Farington, and Oliver Goldsmith along with "Mrs Mapp, the female bone-setter" who performed operations before their very eyes. Sir Hans Sloane, like Mrs Mapp, united work with socialising and it was in the Grecian coffee-house that Sloane is reported to have carried out most of his consulting work. 14 A popular venue for artists and medical men was London's coffee-house situated between St. Martin's Church and the Old Bailey, which opened its doors on 5th January 1771. Academician C. R. Leslie, as a young art student, stopped in December 1811 "for a few days at
the London Coffee-house on Ludgate Hill, with Mr. Inskeep and other Americans”. 15 And as a young anatomist Charles Bell regularly visited this coffee-house. Farington and Academy friends often supped at the British coffee-house, as an entry in his Diary for Thursday, 2nd April, 1794 shows: "Dined at the British Coffee House, with Hammond, Outram, Gerard, C & J Offley, & Dick". 16 William Hunter was also a frequent visitor to this coffee-house and was a member of a club that used the British as its headquarters. Here he "supped on a couple of eggs and drank his glass of claret". 17

A convenient venue for Academy students was Somerset coffee-house in The Strand along the same road as the Royal Academy of Arts. From both here and at Munday's coffee-house in Maiden Lane, letters could be despatched. An entry by Farington reads thus: "Dr Matthews called today but I did not see him", although "I wrote to him through Mr. Pocock at the Salopian Coffee-house inviting him to breakfast tomorrow morning". 18 Eight days prior to this meeting Farington records that "Mr Middleton the Apothecary from Lynn" also called to see him. 19 Joseph Farington was also a regular visitor to Percy's coffee-house where he dined with the Offleys on a number of occasions.

The main rendezvous for Academy artists was the Freemasons' Tavern in Great Queen Street, adjoining the Freemasons' Hall: numerous Academy meetings were held here and Academy business was conducted accordingly. 20 A Club was established at the Tavern known as the 'Church & King Club',
which students and Academicians regularly attended. The Mitre was yet another favourite with Hogarth and some medical men, and although the Royal Society held their anniversary dinner here in 1772, they eventually moved to the Freemason's Tavern. St. James's coffee-house could also be found in one of London's fashionable areas along with Squire's, both known for their Whiggish-political bias. Other taverns such as the King's Head, Nag's Head, Jenny's Whim, Salutation, Bull's Head and the Rummer were located in various parts of London from Cheapside to Chelsea. Club life was a direct product of coffee-houses and taverns; consequently by the latter half of the eighteenth-century discourse and dining furnished professional appetites. The Royal Academy established its own "Academy Club", meeting either at Somerset House or in local taverns. Entries in Farington's diary show seating plans for artists and medical men alike. Dr Radcliffe "was often to be found" at the Bull's Head (Clare Market), where Hogarth's Artists' Club also held its meetings. Other clubs were known for their gambling "and deep play", similarly attracting such professional men. The Athenaeum, where Sir Thomas Lawrence was a member, was founded for "noblemen and gentlemen distinguished as liberal patrons of Science, Literature, or the Arts". Slightly lower down the social scale of clubs, attracting literary figures and surgeons, was the Green Ribbon Club (also known as the King's Head Club) in Chancery Lane.

As I have shown, coffee-houses, taverns and clubs brought about new affiliations but such venues were not solely
responsible for medical and artistic interaction. Residential homes and their locations contribute significantly to the understanding of professional connexions. Some artists and medical men lived for a few months only in one area whilst others' resided there for many years. However, it has been possible to locate the main areas of London where artists and medical men lived side by side. No single area appears to have been dominated solely by artists, moreover both professions can be found living in the fashionable areas of the city.

Predominantly residential areas were: Oxford Street and Tottenham Court Road; Covent Garden and immediate vicinity; Pall Mall/Whitehall/St. James's Square; the Strand and Fleet Street; Piccadilly; Bloomsbury; Soho; Leicester Fields/Leicester Square; St. Martin's Lane and Trafalgar Square; Bond Street and Grosvenor Square. The areas less populated with artists and medical men were not within the immediate core of the city, and here it is worth noting that eighteenth-century London was divided differently to present-day mapping. The less populated areas were: the city (Islington, St. Paul's churchyard, Lincoln's Inn Fields); Golden Square; Chelsea; St. John's Wood/Marylebone/Kentish Town/Mornington Crescent/Maida Vale/Edgware Road/Paddington. (see APPENDIX II for list of occupants and locations).

From a survey of 214 artists, medical men and some literary figures all known to the Royal Academy of Arts the following Table shows the residents in specific localities of the city. Having devised a classification system showing
occupants and locations between circa 1750 and 1810, it is evident that the majority of artists and medical men resided between Oxford Street and Tottenham Court Road; and the second largest individual cluster occupied Covent Garden and immediately beyond Drury Lane. The third largest catchment are the areas between Pall Mall (St. James's Sq.), the Strand and Piccadilly and the fourth densely populated catchment is Leicester Fields/Soho/St. Martin's Lane/Trafalgar Square.
KEY TO MAP on previous page

yellow - **Oxford Street & Tottenham Court Rd.**
(largest catchment area of living quarters for artists & medical men).

green - **Covent Garden & immediate vicinity**
(including Drury Lane)
(second largest majority of artists' & medical men resident).

purple - **Pall Mall/Whitehall /St. James's; The Strand/Fleet Street; Piccadilly.**
(third largest populated area).

pink - **Soho; Leicester Fields/Leicester St; St.Martin's Lane & Trafalgar Square**
(fourth most densely populated area).

red - **Bloomsbury**
(this is the fifth most single populated area).

blue - **Bond Street & Grosvenor Square**
(one of the largest single populated areas).

A - The Royal Academy of Arts (Somerset House). The Strand.
B - William Hunter's Great Windmill Street School of Anatomy.
### TABLE I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Areas of Mapping</th>
<th>Largest Catchment Areas for Artists' &amp; Medical Men Residing in London</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Oxford Street &amp; Tottenham Court Road</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Covent Garden &amp; immediate vicinity (Drury Ln)</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Pall Mall/Whitehall/St. James's Sq</td>
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<td>The Strand and Fleet Street</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Piccadilly</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Soho</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Leicester Fields/Leicester street</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>St. Martin's Lane &amp; Trafalgar Square</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Bloomsbury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Bond Street and Grosvenor Square</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Marylebone</td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Mornington Crescent</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Maida Vale/Edgware Road</td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Paddington</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Kentish Town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>St. John's Wood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>'City' (Temple) and Islington</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Lincoln's Inn Fields</td>
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<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>St. Paul's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Chelsea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Golden Square</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(all areas show both professions living near to each other)

Table I: Catchment Areas of Artists and Medical Men between c.1750 to 1810.
Over 80% of the 214 sample were found to be resident in these areas, with very few living further out. The main catchment areas are shown on the map and from this we can see the size of population cannot be immediately identified with scale of location as it is the density in numbers of artistic and medical population that I have been concerned with. The main art and medical institutions can also be found around the 'fashionable' areas, and as can be seen from the map easy access between home, work and social life was available to both professions. Given the small areas in which we find pockets of artists and medical men with easy access to coffee-houses and clubs, and given the feasible walking distance between the Royal Academy and Hunter's Great Windmill Street Theatre, it is not surprising that friendships and business connexions flourished during this period. Art students attending William Hunter's anatomy lectures at the Academy Schools found it easy also to attend practical dissections carried out at his own private theatre nearby. The education uniting art and anatomy during the eighteenth century was partly due to the physical accessibility of life classes, art-anatomy dissecting rooms, public medical lectures and private teaching being undertaken at museum-cum-houses such as Charles Bell's in Leicester Square, where Benjamin Robert Haydon could often be found. An art student interested in anatomy and life drawing could not find himself in an atmosphere more conducive to the enthusiastic acquisition of knowledge.

Having noted the importance of social interplay,
professional expertise, geographical locations of living quarters, together with powerful artistic and medical institutions, it is easy to realise how the seeds of art-anatomy practices were being sown. Responsibility for uniting these educational and cultural elements lay with people such as Joshua Reynolds, William Hunter, Henry Fuseli, John Sheldon, and Anthony Carlisle, allowing them to support and encourage student participation in current debates. Cross-professionalisation also encouraged extra-curricular activities in the evenings either in private anatomy theatres or in anatomists' homes. Included in the lease of William Hunter's house was a clause giving him permission to dissect on the premises. This activity was not unusual and indeed, many medical men procured cadavers for their own personal dissecting. The geographical placement of anatomists made it easy for such dissection and drawing to take place.

Many of the societies, museums and repositories of art founded during the eighteenth century were also responsible for bringing together men interested in science and art. One such place was Ackermann's Repository of Arts situated at 101 The Strand, where engravings could be purchased over the counter. The Strand and the Royal Academy were sited at one of the main roads to the heart of the city. The Society of Arts, founded by William Shipley, held its meetings in 1756 on the first floor of a house at the eastern corner of Castle Court, the Strand. Here many of London's artists attended meetings, discussing art and planning annual exhibitions.
Later on another favourite resort of John Flaxman, Thomas Stothard and William Blake, was "Mr. Matthew's house in Rathbone Place", Oxford street:

Flaxman as a mark of esteem decorated the parlour, Mathew's library, with 'models of figures in niches, in the Gothic manner, and Oram painted the window in imitation of stained glass', the bookcases and furniture being also ornamented in a corresponding style. 26

Prior to the founding of the Royal Academy in 1768 with its own exhibition rooms in Pall Mall, the Incorporated Society of Artists of Great Britain held their annual exhibition in 10, 12 and 14 Spring Gardens, Trafalgar Square, between 1761 and 1772. Nearby at Soho the Linnean Society established itself in 1788, holding regular meetings and housing a natural history collection along with a library. Both these Societies were for specialists. However there were other societies catering for those with a general interest in the arts. The Dilettanti Society, founded in 1743, was one such establishment, and held its meetings at the Thatched House Tavern, 75 St. James's Street. It was started "by several noblemen and others, lovers of antique art, for the interchange of opinion, the cultivation of taste, and the encouragement and improvement of the Arts in England". 27 The British Institution also opened its doors on 18th January, 1806 (having been founded 1805), in London's fashionable Pall Mall and sought to promote the Fine Arts. Alderman Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery was one of the main resources for artists not only to see works of art but also to find employment as engravers and painters. Lansdowne House
was on the south side of Berkeley Square (built 1765-67), comprising a sculpture gallery, a large picture gallery and a library. A similar establishment was Richmond House in Whitehall, where many of the Academy students spent long hours drawing from the casts and paintings housed in the galleries.

The next section examines the medical world, its students, teachers and curriculum. Having identified the social and residential characteristics of their daily lives, we now turn our attention to the professional structure and everyday existence of anatomist as practitioner.

The Appearance of Entrepreneurs and 'Marginal Men':

Having examined the demographic locations of artists and medical men, establishing close residential contact between them, we now turn to the sitings in London of hospitals where both medical practice and teaching were undertaken. In order to understand the medical profession it is necessary to look at the location of educators and the curriculum being taught, which indicates that artists during this period were surrounded by anatomy classes in addition to the anatomy lectures at the Royal Academy, giving them a wide choice. With an abundance of subjects, lecturers and venues, medical and art students could choose their own pattern of inquiry.
Anthony Carlisle was appointed Professor of Anatomy at the Royal Academy in 1808 largely because he was a member of influential 'literary clubs' and well-versed in 'polite society'. The "Pow-wow Club" consisting of eminent surgeons and physicians, held its meetings at the Thatched House Tavern, a venue shared by the Dilettanti Society. Members of both professions acted as entrepreneurs and dominant figureheads. Artistic and medical communities brought about formal teaching in hospitals and academies of art whilst simultaneously creating individual and private educational opportunities, increasing standards and choice. They sought professional and educational freedom creating new and diverse institutes, whilst at the same time relying on the establishment. The Royal Academy and early voluntary hospitals provided a backdrop of stability and income. It was all too evident during this period that for an artist to be 'acceptable', he had to come from the Royal Academy Schools, dine at the right taverns and hold membership of the most renowned clubs. An entry in Farington's Diary, Friday 7th March, 1794, shows that on certain occasions only professional artists were acceptable:

Breakfasted at Sir George Beaumonts - Went to Spring gardens, to see Monsr. De Calonnes collection of pictures, mortgaged to Desenfans & Herries. They admit professional Artists - but no others.

The art world, like the medical community, thrived not only on skill, expertise and knowledge but also on social
acceptability, public accolade and private invitations. Susan Lawrence's thesis (1985) bears this out:

Professional status for medical men was primarily defined in terms of social and cultural acceptances, not in terms of the approval and accolade of other practitioners. Medical men "arrived", not when they acquired a certain body of knowledge and expertise, but when they displayed the values, graces and attitudes of the cultural elite - the nobility, the gentry and wealthy middle-class - and were accepted by them both as practitioners and as fit social companions.

A course of lectures at the Barber-Surgeon's Hall in February, 1663-4, was delivered by a physician where the curriculum included external and intestinal anatomy and dissection.31 Although St. Bartholomew's Hospital had provided a general course of lectures in the seventeenth century, it was not until the following century that diverse and dramatic changes were to be implemented with the emergence of organised teaching hospitals. Dr Cromwell Mortimer a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians initiated a "Proposal for erecting and settling public schools of anatomy and surgery in London", circa 1734. These proposals offered by the Company of Barbers and Surgeons were to establish medical schools after the French model "as established at Paris",32 giving instruction to "sea surgeons and others", especially midwives, on account of "the great ignorance and unskillfulness of many who cannot att a Great Expense purchase this knowledge abroad and the infinite matters and mischiefs arising from midwives practising without
any qualification".33 St. Bartholomew's established itself as a teaching hospital as early as 1724 when a building for a "Museum of Anatomical and Chirurgical Preparations" was provided, and in 1734 leave was granted "for any surgeons or assistant-surgeons to read Lectures in Anatomy in the dissecting-room of the Hospital". 34 The Westminster Hospital was instituted in 1719, established at Petty France in April 1720, four years later moved to Chapel Street, Westminster, and ten years later (in 1734) moved yet again to James Street. St. Thomas's Hospital was founded in 1173 and Guy's Hospital, located in Southwark, near London Bridge, was founded in 1724. The London Hospital was instituted in 1740 and sited in Whitechapel Road, whilst at the opposite side of town was St. George's Hospital established six years prior to this in 1734, to the west side of the city. Another large and important hospital was the Middlesex founded in 1745, at Mortimer Street near to Oxford Street. 35 Altogether there were seven major hospitals, promoting the practice and teaching of medicine founded during this period. As can be seen from the map on the following page, these hospitals were scattered around London, unlike the private anatomy schools and private drawing schools which were concentrated in the central areas (see Chapter Three). Demographic disparity between private anatomy schools, hospitals, private drawing classes and the Royal Academy of Arts would, I propose, encourage artists to frequent the private anatomy schools for instruction rather than hospitals. Anatomy lectures to outsiders, such as art students, would be
easily accessible, making cross-fertilization of artists and anatomists flourish in the private sector of the medical world. However, although private institutes dominated professional interaction it was the public establishments like the hospitals that nurtured curriculum change. Unlawful cadaver activities were carried out at all medical institutions during this period, drawing attention once more to the facilities available to both medical and art students.

II : The London Hospitals : Medical Men Become Teachers and the Curriculum Changes

The rising number of medical men in eighteenth-century England was part of the new medical education programme created through pioneering physicians and surgeons at the seven main voluntary hospitals already mentioned. Increased numbers were partly due to the fact that by the 1760s and 1770s London was the largest city in Europe, with a population of three-quarters of a million. Medical education and practice increased as the
population grew, and, with the birth of the main hospitals, flourished. Anatomists and surgeons appointed to hospitals saw the benefits of advertising their courses of lectures. Medical practice was emerging as a business venture. Similarly, artists from the Royal Academy advertised drawing classes, undertaking free-lance teaching to supplement their incomes. The Morning Chronicle advertised twice within one week, 15th and 18th January, 1774, lectures to be held at Guy's Hospital:

(Saturday, 15th) On Thursday, at Nine o'Clock, Dr. Saunders will begin his Lectures on the Theory and Practice of Physic and Chymistry, at Guy's Hospital.

The London Hospital also advertised the teaching of groups of medical men, giving relevant information as to their respective lectures. Advertisements not only gave choice of time-table but also gave diversity in the subjects offered, helping to restructure the curriculum. From advertisements it is possible to observe changes and advancements in the medical curriculum for nineteen years after the first advertisement for Guy's Hospital, offering additional topics such as materia media and chemistry. The components of the curriculum now included theory, practice and physiology, all of which took place in the theatre at Guy's. By examining records of medical lectures delivered at various times and places in the city, it has been possible to devise a time-table that a student might have followed toward the end of the eighteenth century. Such a
MEDICAL STUDENT TIME-TABLE between 1791 and 1793

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DAY</th>
<th>TIME-TABLE</th>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
<th>HOSPITAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>8.00am</td>
<td>Medical Lectures</td>
<td>St. Bartholomew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9.00am</td>
<td>Chemistry</td>
<td>St. George's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10.00am</td>
<td>Theory &amp; Pract. Med</td>
<td>Guy's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10.30am</td>
<td>Midwifery</td>
<td>St. Bartholomew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>10.00am</td>
<td>Theory &amp; Practice of Chemistry</td>
<td>Guy's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>1.00pm</td>
<td>Anatomy &amp; Physiol.</td>
<td>London Hospital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.00pm</td>
<td>Physiology</td>
<td>Guy's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>9.00am</td>
<td>Materia Medica</td>
<td>London Hospital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10.00am</td>
<td>Chemistry</td>
<td>London Hospital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1.30pm</td>
<td>Anatomy and Physiology</td>
<td>London Hospital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>9.00am</td>
<td>Midwifery</td>
<td>London Hospital</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10.00am</td>
<td>Theory &amp; Pract. of Physic</td>
<td>London Hospital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.30pm</td>
<td>Midwifery</td>
<td>St. Bartholomew</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Table is derived from original advertisements in the Morning Chronicle, 1791 to 1793.
The time-table is composed of oral teaching, practical dissecting, injecting and preparing specimens for museums and demonstration-rooms (see over the page).

The anatomy season for dissections and lectures extended from October to the middle of May to avoid the warm weather, due to the lack of preservatives; though some private anatomy schools such as Joshua Brookes's Blenheim Street School executed dissection all year round. However, this was the exception rather than the rule. Private anatomy teaching supplemented mainstream hospital teaching whereby a medical student would be fee-paying as well as a house-pupil, resident in a surgeon's house. In a letter to his father dated 29th March, 1802, Hampton Weekes, a student and dresser at St. Thomas's Hospital, writes: "I am now going to hear ye. first lecture on ye. Alkalies, from Mr. Allen."41 Another component of the medical curriculum was ward-walking (seeing patients in hospital) and in a letter dated 2nd January, 1797, reveals that Hampton Weekes had "a great deal too much to attend to", further adding that in order to be a good anatomist he "should attend only to that subject" - dissecting. In a letter to Weekes, Evans, too, complains of being over-worked: "as I must attend to the Patients in the Hospital and go round with the physicians as well as the surgeons which takes up a great deal of time".42 Joseph Flint South's Memorials gives insight into the professional hierarchy of the medical world:

Each surgeon had four dressers, one of whom lived at his own expense, or was supposed to do so, in the house; but he always slept there, and spent the greater part of the day within the
walls, the rest at his lodgings, which were close by, so that he could be quickly fetched if wanted. 43

A surgeon's dresser was responsible for "all the surgical cases, which were received at ten o'clock on Thursday", which was known as the "taking-in day". This component of the apprenticeship system was for advanced students, and through assisting a surgeon as a dresser, the student learnt practical anatomy: "When the surgeon arrived the dresser on duty would show him, among the out-patients, any case about which he needed further help or which he thought advisable to be admitted, as likely to issue in an operation". 44
Sir Astley Cooper was one of the most well-liked and championed orators and was surgeon to Guy's and St. Thomas's hospitals. The *Morning Chronicle*, Monday 14th January, 1793, advertised that: "Mr Astley Cooper will commence his surgical lectures on the 21st instant, at the Theatre St. Thomas's hospital". His pupils declared their "affectionate regard" for him and his "clear silvery voice and cheery conversational manner soon exhausted the conventional hour devoted to the lecture". As students diligently listened to his lectures the only sounds to be heard were the "subdued pen-scratching of the note-takers".

Teacher popularity brought new students, and new students brought higher incomes. The very nature of publicly advertising lectures and dissection meant that John Hunter, Joseph Warner, William Blizard, Henry Cline, John Abernethy, Joseph Henry Green, John Brisbane and Joseph Else were in competition. Guy's Hospital had a lecture theatre separate from the main hospital in 1770 and the London Hospital from 1785; St. Bartholomew's and St. Thomas's refurbished their theatres in 1791 and 1813 respectively. However, before these new theatres were available, lecturers at St. Bartholomew's, for example, delivered lectures in rooms at or close to the hospital. Drs. Else, Cline and Cooper at St. Thomas's apparently used a large operating room until 1815 when new lecture and dissecting facilities were built. In December 1784, Henry Cline was appointed surgeon to St. Thomas's at the age of thirty-six. Whilst living in Devonshire Street "Mr
Cline received pupils into his house" where Joseph Flint South became apprenticed to him whilst continuing to attend Astley Cooper's lectures. South writes of his earliest encounters with Cline:

Soon after leaving school, in June 1813, I was introduced to Mr. Henry Cline, who afterwards became my dear and respected master, and it was agreed between him and my dear father that for a few months I should go round the hospital on his visiting days, Wednesdays and Saturdays, and that I should attend the anatomical lectures in the coming October, which were given by Astley Cooper and Henry Cline. 49

Henry Cline had one other apprentice besides South, and this was Cline's cousin, Joseph Henry Green. Green was appointed Professor of Anatomy at the Royal Academy of Arts, a post he held from 1825 to 1851, succeeding Anthony Carlisle, although he had established himself in the medical world earlier than this with his appointment as surgeon to St. Thomas's in 1820, at the age of twenty-eight. 50 Cline delivered lectures to medical students twice a week (Tuesday and Friday), at 3 o'clock, on comparative anatomy and surgery. In 1814, students attended comparative anatomy lectures by Astley Cooper and a course of surgery by John Abernethy, surgeon to St. Bartholomew's. Both Astley Cooper and John Abernethy held prestigious appointments at hospitals whilst continuing regular courses of lectures for medical students.

Hierarchy in the medical world was comparable to that in the art world. Monday evening lectures on anatomy, painting,
perspective and chemistry held at the Royal Academy operated a tiered system of seating in strict order as follows: academicians; the dilettanti and members of 'polite society'; visitors; life class students; plaister students; and probationers. Likewise, medical lecture-halls were socially and professionally constructed thus:

The first four rows were appropriated to distinguished visitors and the Court of Assistants, and the Master's chair occupied the middle of the first row, raised to a level with the second;... this more favoured part of the audience was separated by a partition from the members, who occupied several tiers of seats immediately below the gallery ... The entrance to the members' and pupils' seats was from the Portugal Street, at that time a filthy street, with butchers' and costermongers' carts belonging to Clare Market.

The large numbers of medical students who "often stood in a crowd in the dirty street" waiting for the doors to open testifies to the overwhelming popularity of Astley Cooper and Abernethy as medical practitioners and teachers. Admission was by ticket only, as for Royal Academy lectures. For medical students it was a fight "to get good seats" and the "pushing and rushing upstairs could only be compared to the driving up the gallery stairs of a playhouse". This is not such a surprising comparison, as by the middle of the eighteenth century both medical and art lectures had become spectacles: practitioners 'performed' against a back-cloth of visual material such as a skeleton, écorché figures, anatomical models and the living figure. "After much crushing and pushing", the students, undeterred, were amply rewarded:
[they] got into the theatre; the more fortunate soon filled the seats, the rest had to stand or lean on the gallery rail, and be squeezed by those behind for about twenty minutes, as the students' allotment was soon filled. The more easy-going members avoided the crush, but they, too, gradually filled their seats. The lower tiers, however, remained untenanted for a time. 54

We now turn our attention to John Abernethy, eminent surgeon and scholar. As a lecturer Abernethy has been described thus:

His mode of entering the lecture-room was often irresistibly droll - his hands buried deep in his breeches pockets, his body bent slouchingly forward, blowing or whistling, his eyes twinkling beneath their arches, and his lower jaw thrown considerably beneath the upper. Then he would cast himself into a chair, swing one of his legs over an arm of it, and commence his lecture in the most outré manner. 55

Abernethy's "abruptness never failed to command silence and rivet attention", 56 and his teaching spread "far and wide", he being generally thought by many to be "the true founder of the great school attached to St. Bartholomew's Hospital". 57 He is described "as a very little man" though in "figure and countenance uncommonly handsome". 58 South, who attended Abernethy's course of lectures on surgery recounts that these consisted "almost entirely in laying down principles," 59 and unlike Astley Cooper who constantly used real cases as examples, Abernethy rarely brought theory and practice together. Unlike Cooper's specificity, Abernethy "generalised on the facts he had acquired". 60 Joseph Henry Green and South
both attended these lectures and next to Astley Cooper, John Abernethy was a close favourite:

His style of lecturing was very attractive; there was an originality, a quaintness, and sometimes even a drollery which fixed the attention, and impressed what he said upon the hearer's memory in a manner I have scarcely even known any other teacher to possess; and I can well remember that, after leaving the lecture, I could often run through the whole of it almost word for word.

A number of medical men published anatomical folios and as a young anatomist Joseph Henry Green published a Dissector's Manual (1821) for students to use alongside cadavers. Hospitals and medical teachers relied on student participation and their evaluation of the lecturers and subjects offered. The methods of teaching and student behaviour led John Bland-Sutton to discuss the "ethics of the lecture-theatre" and its critics, the students: "The Lectures in a Medical School vary much in temperament, methods of teaching, and manner of dealing with students. On the other hand, students are stern critics, and the management of a class of young men requires judgment and toleration on the part of the teacher". It is to these "stern critics" we now turn our attention.
Records of pupil registers similar to Royal Academy registers for art students (see Chapter Two) still exist for four of the seven main hospitals in London: St. Thomas's, Guy's, St. George's and the Middlesex. Moreover, the demand for "evidence of good moral character, and notices for decent behaviour" was not only important with medical apprentices but the same was expected of the probationers attending the Royal Academy Schools, whether they were painters, sculptors or engravers. Susan Lawrence points out that between 1780 and 1815 numbers of medical students gradually increased in the seven main hospitals because "the success of lectures at the hospitals went hand in hand with popularity of ward-walking" with opportunities for human dissection. By the late eighteenth century, hospital training had become "an expected part of medical education" for young apprentices. Comparisons between medical and art students will be made throughout this section, as similarities exist in their apprenticeship systems and training. Both professions taught theory and practice, the life class being to the artist what the dissecting-room was to the anatomist: "All the students learned by watching; the dressers, the pupils who paid an additional fee to have some hands-on experience, also learned by doing minor tasks under the supervision of the surgeons or their apprentices".

Joan Lane examines the role of medical apprenticeship
and her research concludes that this system of training provided personal and professional social upward mobility:

The surgeon-apothecary is one of the eighteenth century's most interesting examples of personal and professional upwards social mobility and of steadily enhanced status, not only in London, where the 'surgeon-princes' had always prospered, but also in the English provinces ...

The apprenticeship system flourished and such employment could be seen advertised for Thursday 10th January, 1793, in the Morning Chronicle:

TO PARENTS AND GUARDIANS, WANTED, and APPRENTICE to a SURGEON and APOTHECARY, at the west end of the town. A Premium will be expected. Apply to Mr. Moore, Chymist to the King, Russell-street, Covent-garden.

This recruiting system was in operation, as Dr. Lane points out, throughout the English provinces, and especially where early pioneering schools could be found, such as in Edinburgh, Glasgow and Manchester. Charles White, friend and colleague to obstetrician William Hunter, was Senior Surgeon and lecturer at the Manchester Medical School (founded 1752), where he gave lectures on Theory and Practice of Midwifery.

Medical education now consisted of public lectures, ward-walking, practical anatomy, specimens and museums, theoretical understanding of anatomical and physiological principles, and text-book studies. These components were sought from a number of agents already referred to in this chapter and all channels
would more than likely give a sound training and a better understanding of medical principles. What then did a student pay to receive such a well-rounded education? Medical student, Hampton Weekes made the following bill: 73

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Item</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1801 Sept.</td>
<td>Hospital Pupil</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mr Cline's Lects - 2 courses</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dissections</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Babington, Curry &amp; Roberts lectures</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Innes, on ye. Musc.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
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</table>

These are just a few of the items listed, the total amount being £61 8s 6d. For the privilege of becoming a Hospital Pupil Weekes paid £26 6s. not including additional costs for lectures regularly attended. This reveals those choices open to students, what and whose lectures to attend. A student with time and money could buy the best medical training in Britain. 74 Medical teaching, as with art teaching, was progressively becoming a very lucrative business and incomes from teaching were additional to those earned from practising art and medicine. The Register of the Surgeons' Pupil's, 1775-1799, at St. Thomas's had total figures for the period 1769 to December 1795: "St. Thomas's Surgeons' and Apothecary's Pupils - £22,867. 15s. Guy's Hospital-£8,719. 4s". 75 Joseph South as a student recalls that before the Autumn course was ended:

I had quite decided from my short hospital experience that I would become a surgeon, and so accordingly, the fee of five hundred pounds having been paid to Mr. Henry Cline, I was bound apprentice to him on February 18, 1814, for six years, at the Royal College of Surgeons of London. 76
Apprentices (see Appendix II for Indenture) bound to an eminent surgeon reigned over hospital pupils and dressers. Being made an apprentice was a step up the professional ladder, and after only a couple of days at St. Thomas's South recalls: "I was now fairly inducted as a hospital apprentice, and immediately felt myself advanced not a little over the heads of my fellow pupils and dressers, for we, the apprentices, considered ourselves in dignity only a step lower than our masters, and held up our heads accordingly". After many years of hard work and money invested into a medical education, having been made a member of the profession, Joseph South continued to "stick close to the dissecting-room and museum, helping the younger pupils and still dissecting for lectures and taking care of the museum". (South was appointed Lecturer on Anatomy at St. Thomas's in 1825). Surgeons from St. Thomas's and Guy's kept for themselves the fees from their four apprentices or dressers, but the fees accruing from all surgical pupils were equally divided between the three surgeons and apothecary of each hospital. John Hunter, however, refused to share his fees with colleagues.

Studentships lasted anything from two to eight years depending on money, determination and talent, and once a student was assigned to a hospital it was a matter of staying the course. It appears that medical students in the main had to accept that their apprenticeship would take between five and seven years. Again, this was dependent on hospital, individual surgeon, and on whether it was in the metropolis or the
provinces. However, in a letter to Astley Cooper, dated 24th March, 1836, William Renwick complains that apprenticeships are too long and "incur great waste of time":

in lieu of the period a youth should be placed with a General Practitioner ... for two, or at most three years, the remaining three years I would compel him to spend in Town. The first year to be devoted to Anatomy, Surgery and Lectures. The next to Medicine and Lectures, and the third to attendance on Midwifery at a lying-in Hospital ....

As can be gleaned from this letter, Renwick's proposal encourages students to undertake more practical medicine, advocating experience in both urban and rural areas. Surgeon James Parkinson envisaged five years in London as ideal for the student not pursuing an apprenticeship. For those following the traditional hospital route he suggested one or two years. Having invested time, money and hard work the student was usually handsomely rewarded once his career was under way. The career structure usually entailed teaching as another source of income and, as William Hunter claimed, "I cannot live without lectures". Having seen the financial benefits to be had from this type of entrepreneurship many medical men followed Hunter's example. However, compared to other professions earning much larger salaries, members of the medical profession were only modestly wealthy. Money earned by surgeons, physicians and apothecaries varies enormously depending on geographical location, status, education and specialism of the individual. As Roy Porter points out, an eminent physician
such as John Lettsom "could pocket up to £12,000 a year in fees", whereas Edward Hughes states: "It is significant of the low esteem in which one branch of the medical profession, the surgeons, was held that the normal salary of a surgeon at a military garrison was only £45 12s 6d". 85

The Royal Academy of Arts paid William Hunter £30 a year for his six lectures on anatomy, which supplemented his income from medicine. By comparison, professors of painting, sculpture and perspective, whose salaries were also £30, relied on supplementary incomes from either selling their art works or freelance drawing and engraving for Alderman Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery. A medical man could earn additional money by attending people at home though the variation in remuneration was considerable: a Bristol physician earned one guinea per visit, whereas another physician earned only five guineas for attending a family over a twelve month period. And a year's prescription bill could be anything from a few shillings to six pounds.86

James Parkinson, a practising surgeon, was against the apprenticeship system, believing that no benefit came from such a method of training. Parkinson was in favour of dissection, lectures and natural philosophy, adding that the most important component was practical hospital work. 87 James Lucas, whilst at Guy's, published a Candid Inquiry into the Education, Qualifications and Offices of a Surgeon Apothecary (1800), and both Lucas and Parkinson advocated the importance of lecturing and hospital duties, emphasizing practical anatomy. 88 Lucas
stressed that practical anatomy enabled "a practitioner to pry into the Seat and Cause of many disorders; to form judicious and satisfactory decisions; to prognosticate successfully; to argue with persuasion; and to obtain confidence". It is obvious from South's recollections that both Guy's and St. Thomas's students were eligible to attend each others' operations as members of "the surgical class".

A number of medical students' notes are still in existence, namely "Chirurgicall Lectures" (circa 1770) and "Anatomical Lectures by Mr Cruikshank. Course 1st. vol. 1st. October 1785". And J. F. South's Memorials recounts: "When I first began, in October 1814, to attend these lectures, Dr. Babington and Dr. James Curry were the teachers on practice of medicine". These are the same lectures that Hampton Weekes paid twelve guineas to hear. Dr Babington is described by South as a "good-tempered", kindly Irishman:

He used to wear black, with silk stockings, was a very untidy dresser, and rejoiced in dirty hands, he was gentle and pleasant with every one, and always ready with some funny anecdote, and always in a hurry, for which his large and well-earned practice was a just excuse.

Dr James Curry, in contrast, "dearly loved theorising and criticising" and was a man of "extensive reading and of very observant habits". William Blizard advised and ministered to pupils' reading needs:

He used to superintend his pupils on their reading, to examine them regularly, and to direct them in taking cases. Cold and phlegmatic indeed must have been the student
Some of the anatomical manuals concentrated solely on accompanying dissecting whilst others advised and taught visual human and comparative anatomy. A number of dissecting manuals consisted of text only, not trusting visual imagery to properly depict the body. Henry Watson, William Hunter and Percivall Pott all recommended works by Lorenz Heister and others as "suitable introductory texts". It was normal for practising surgeons and anatomists to publish their own manuals. Sometimes these medical atlases were aimed at both art and medical students, as was John Brisbane's. Brisbane was physician to the Middlesex Hospital between 1758 and 1773, and in 1769 published *Anatomy of Painting*, appealing specifically to art-anatomy needs. (see Chapter Four for discussion of Brisbane's folio). Hampton Weekes highly recommended John Shaw's *A Manual for the Student of Anatomy* (1821), which gave advice regarding behaviour, clothing, health and general well-being of the anatomist:

The student should endeavour to prevent the bad effects of sitting several hours in a cold dissecting room; the most effectual way is to put on an additional flannel jacket, and carpet shoes over his boots ... never to sit in the dissecting-room with the coat which he wears during the day, but to keep one for the purpose whilst he is there. A cap should be worn in preference to a hat, which is not only inconvenient, but also quickly acquires a bad smell.
After five or six years - many of them in the dissecting-room and with numerous hours spent pondering over text-books, scrambling to hear favourite speakers, rushing through ward-rounds and uniting theory and practice - successful candidates were awarded a certificate. They received individual certificates for each of the courses taken. One who passed all his courses was George Wells, who was a student at St. Thomas's under the guidance of Benjamin Travers, Frederick Tyrrell and Joseph Henry Green. In 1829 he was awarded the following for "diligently attending" his Course of Lectures:  

Practice and Operations of Surgery (26th January 1829); Theatre Principles & Practice of Surgery (20th January 1829); Two Courses of Lectures on Chemistry & Pharmacy (15th June 1829); Surrey Dispensary, attending NINE MONTHS Medical Practice (10th Nov. 1829); Two Courses on the Principles & Practice of Physic (7th Oct. 1829); Two Courses on the Principles & Practice of Midwifery and DELIVERED A NUMBER OF WOMEN as well as CONDUCTED A VARIETY OF CASES (8th Aug.1829).

Similarly, a certificate awarded to Mr Thomas Hunter (see Appendix IV) in July 1829 enabled him to seek employment as an Assistant Surgeon in the Royal Navy.

Certain comparisons can identify artists and medical men as following similar educational patterns, for not only were premiums required for both disciplines but their apprenticeships lasted between five and eight years. Table II over the page outlines the training and educational components for both professions. Medical and art-anatomy students followed men like Hunter, Cooper, Sheldon, Abernethy and Green.
### TRAINING/EDUCATION of APPRENTICESHIPS, c.1750 to 1810

#### MEDICAL STUDENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference: good moral character</th>
<th>Reference: good moral character</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Duration: 5 to 8 years</td>
<td>Duration: 5 to 8 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjects studied:</td>
<td>Subjects studied:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physiology</td>
<td>Painting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anatomy</td>
<td>Anatomy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural Philosophy</td>
<td>Theory &amp; Phil. of Paint.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemistry</td>
<td>Chemistry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midwifery</td>
<td>Portraiture</td>
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<tr>
<td>Theory &amp; Pract. of Physic</td>
<td>Theory &amp; Pract. of Paint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surgery</td>
<td>Perspective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apothecary/dispensary</td>
<td>Sculpture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dissection</td>
<td>Dissection &amp; Drawing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Materia Medica</td>
<td>Life Class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fees:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whole Apprenticeship £500</td>
<td>Apprenticeship outside the R.A. between £50 and £100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dresser - £50 (or 6 mths @ £31)</td>
<td>Royal Academy - usually patronised.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House-pupil - £26. 6s.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual Lecture Courses: £12.12s</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3 lectures together - £9. 9s.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

#### Venues:
- Lecture-halls (hospitals)
- Dissecting-rooms
- Hospital-rounds

#### Museums:
- Pathological/Specimens (hosp)
- Private Anatomy Museums

#### Teachers:
- Practising medical men

#### ART STUDENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference: good moral character</th>
<th>Reference: good moral character</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Duration: 5 to 8 years</td>
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<tr>
<td>Subjects studied:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Painting</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anatomy</td>
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<tr>
<td>Theory &amp; Phil. of Paint.</td>
<td>Theory &amp; Phil. of Paint.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chemistry</td>
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<tr>
<td>Portraiture</td>
<td>Portraiture</td>
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<tr>
<td>Perspective</td>
<td>Sculpture</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dissection &amp; Drawing</td>
<td>Life Class</td>
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<tr>
<td>Music and Drawing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harmony</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music and Drawing</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

#### Fees:
- Apprenticeship outside the R.A. between £50 and £100
- Royal Academy - usually patronised.

#### Venues:
- Lecture-hall (R.A.)
- Dissecting-rooms
- Painting/scululture studios

#### Museums:
- Richmond House
- Lansdowne House

#### Teachers:
- Practising artists

### TABLE II
into dissecting-rooms throughout London. Astley Cooper followed in the tradition of publishing his lectures which he delivered in 1817: Surgery, Clinical Lectures, Midwifery. These lecture-notes were taken from addresses given at St. Thomas's where he apparently "employed several assistants to dissect for him". The result of this produced "coach-loads" of specimens "to each lecture" and, as Clift remarked of one particular lecture: "This was indeed an overpowering discourse and highly perfumed, the preparations being chiefly recent, and half-dried and varnished". Practical anatomy was one of the largest, if not the largest, curricular component in a student's medical life and it is on this part of the curriculum that we now focus. The next section examines the procuring of cadavers and the need for dissection.

Dissection As A Curriculum Component: "Astride of a grave and a difficult birth. Down in the hole, lingeringly, the grave-digger puts on the forceps." 103

The above quotation it taken from Samuel Becket's Waiting for Godot, and metaphorically describes birth and death, immortality and mortality, the surgeon and sexton. Life is given but also taken, it is both precious and precarious. This section examines the relation between cadavers and dissection in affecting medical education. An interest in the scientific
and medical exploration of man's 'anatomized' body resulted in the increasing need for cadavers and, consequently, eighteenth-century medical men and their institutions (private and public) became deeply involved in these dealings. Medical men willing to pay any price for 'good' cadavers encouraged and supported groups of men known as resurrectionists and grave-robbers in obtaining dead bodies for dissection. Apprentices were known to scurry around graves in order that they might retrieve 'subjects' for anatomical study, though as a rule lecturers prided themselves on procuring large numbers of cadavers, thus increasing their competitive status with students. The 'Parisian' method of dissection (one cadaver per student) was the ultimate in dissecting-room teaching. Investigation into the medical world and its 'anatomizing' pursuits will show the availability of such activities to artists choosing art-anatomy classes.

The cross-fertilisation of ideas emerging from artists and anatomists working together influenced their understanding of the human figure. Both professions possessed similar interests in 'capturing' the body: the only difference being that one used a knife, the other a pencil. If we compare two quotations we see that professional parallels emerge. John Scratchley, the surgeon, refers to "the knife, held like a pen or pencil", whilst the artist Benjamin Robert Haydon speaks of making "the knife accompany the pencil". As this chapter has shown, there is evidence to suggest that medical men were well acquainted with London's artists, and on one occasion the
surgeon John Green Crosse recounts his encounter with the art world: "Went with a painter to the British Gallery in Pall Mall where I saw some valuable paintings and plenty of artists, male and female, engaged in their pursuits". Crosse was known as a skilful dissector and on returning from church on Christmas Day 1811, having first dined with Charles Bell, he "dissected until the evening". Two years later he was appointed as Demonstrator to the Great Windmill Street School. Artists, like medical men, interested in dissecting and drawing had little difficulty in acquiring cadavers as can be seen from Benjamin Robert Haydon's unrelenting quest for anatomical knowledge. Haydon had his own connexions outside Charles Bell's private anatomy classes which he regularly attended:

On my return to town I had set vigorously to work, and the autumn beginning, I got nearly a whole subject to myself at a surgeon's in Hatton Garden. The sight of a real body laid open exposed the secrets of all the markings so wonderfully, that my mind got a new and confirmed spring.

Haydon's approach to the "secrets" of the "real body" echo those concerns voiced by medical men supporting the need for unifying theory with practice. The artist's knowledge advances with every new organ, every new muscle found:

The distinction between muscle, tendon, and bone, was so palpable now that there could be no mistake again for ever. It was wonderful the utility of this process. No principles without this previous information could have availed.
Having dissected and drawn the cadavers, Haydon concludes that "the Greeks must have pursued the same course, however imperfectly". 112 Of course Haydon is wrong in his assumption since the Greeks did not dissect human beings, only animals. Throughout his life he advocated the need for anatomical understanding, instructing his students to "touch not the brush till you have dissected and drawn the body". 113 Haydon dissected and sketched a number of animals whilst attending Bell's private classes and when not drawing from a human figure he interested himself in comparative anatomy, the subject usually a lion, tiger or elephant. 114 Large animals such as these were easy to purchase in London and tigers were apparently sold for a few shillings.115 An advertisement reads thus: "a leopard 12' in length, to be baited to death! an African Tyger on a stage 4' high". 116 Haydon sketched while Bell and Crosse dissected; Crosse refers to "a great deal of time" spent in the dissecting-room, not only dissecting but also making anatomical models for teaching:

On Sunday morning, October 4th 1811, he [Crosse] went to church alone but in the afternoon he walked in Hyde Park with Mr Shaw and the other two house pupils. He 'made models in the dissecting room' on October 8th. 117

The anatomical models, such as Crosse was making, were used to supplement and not to replace cadavers (see Chapter Five):

"Although it was virtually undisputed that there existed no adequate substitute for dissection of human corpses in anatomy tuition, anatomists, anxious to dissociate themselves both from
the odium of exhumation and the high prices demanded by resurrectionists, tried other alternatives.\textsuperscript{118} Medical men realised the importance of preparations and models for teaching purposes and consequently many of them built anatomical and pathological museums. These existed adjacent to their private schools, in part of a hospital or in a room in the home. The anatomical and pathological collections were primarily functional and served as teaching props, but medical objects finely crafted, though no less functional, became gentlemen's playthings.\textsuperscript{119}

The medical profession was scathingly attacked by press and public alike throughout the eighteenth century for its dangerous connexions with resurrectionists and grave-robbers. Practical anatomy represented such a large percentage of the medical curriculum that increasing numbers of students demanded more cadavers, and consequently surgeon/anatomists were forced to seek new methods of securing dead subjects. Eminent surgeons advocated the need for practical investigations. Astley Cooper stated: "There is no person, let his situation in life be what it may, who, if I were disposed to dissect, I could not obtain".\textsuperscript{120} Hangings and public dissections were regarded as spectacles and were often advertised in the \textit{Daily Advertiser}.\textsuperscript{121} Medical men could legally obtain cadavers from hangings and from the Surgeon's Hall, but all other corpses came from illegal sources.\textsuperscript{122} Despite public hostility towards dissection the medical community continued to practice and began advertising practical anatomy in a discreet manner.
London's *Daily Post* of 4th November, 1741, advertised the 'Parisian' method:

On Monday next, Mr. Vitrack, surgeon, who attended the hospitals at Paris during four years, proposes to give courses on the method of dissecting the human body, by which means beginners will be sufficiently instructed in Anatomy in a short time, having the opportunity to dissect with their own hands. (applications were to be made from 5 to 6 in the evenings, at the Grecian Coffee House).

Alderman Boydell's official status as Sheriff during Joshua Reynolds' presidency at the Royal Academy also made it easy for Academy Schools to obtain fresh corpses from public hangings for their own anatomical classes, especially advantageous since William Hunter often taught with a cadaver in view. Royal Academy artists could often be found at a 'hanging day' spectacle: "Reynolds, who found the affair interesting, and had seen the Perreau brothers hanged in 1776, said afterwards, 'it is a vulgar error that it is so terrible a spectacle'". Hogarth, Marcellus Lauron, Rowlandson and the academician Samuel Wale (who worked as an illustrator for the *Tyburn Chronicle* and *Newgate Calendar*, producing engravings) also recorded executions. Surgeons eager to secure fresh cadavers often paid the hangman more than "six to eight-pence" to cut down and deliver the corpse. A number of articles and pamphlets bore evidence to the surgeon's fight for practical anatomy as a major curriculum component. However, some surgeons such as Anthony Carlisle preferred not to dissect
unless absolutely necessary and "voiced fundamental objections to the use of the poor", objecting on "moral and ethical grounds". Carlisle was in favour of using legal corpses but was against using decomposed bodies from grave-robbings. This is further borne out by his anatomy lectures as Professor of Anatomy at the Royal Academy, where unlike his predecessors, he never used dissection as an educational tool, much to the chagrin of students like Benjamin Haydon.

Notes dated 13th August, 1761, of two lectures on dissections performed in London by a certain Dr David are still in existence in the archives of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia and, though fragmented and fragile, are still legible. Lectures on Materia Medica, dated 17th and 22nd November, 1762 (London) are also available. David, anatomist and demonstrator, began his dissection at 7 o'clock in the morning:

The Surgeon had carried off the Body of the Melancholiquic fellow, about 30, who had cut his Heart the night before with a Razor - The Body of the unhappy Mortal was carried to Dr. Gregory's Laboratory in this His Town...

Dissections were undertaken in either small, private rooms such as Dr. Gregory's or in larger ventilated rooms in hospitals. The dissecting room at St. Thomas's in 1813 "was a squarish room above the eastern half of the laboratory, lighted by two windows eastward and a square lantern in the ceiling". Joseph South further describes the room furnishing "a large fireplace" and copper "used to prepare the subjects for
dissection", with "a large leaden sink" used for washing hands and "washing subjects and discharging all the filth". Descriptions such as these depict dissecting laboratories as over-crowded, grimy, stench-ridden places where students spent many hours 'anatomizing' or preparing specimens. South recollects that throughout his studentship he had "worked very hard", remembering: "I was in the dissecting-room almost invariably six or seven hours a day, and in the evenings occupied myself with examining the pupils... assisting them in making preparations, besides taking care of the museum". Royal Academy students, like medical students, had to enter their names in an Attendance Register for lectures and dissections which consisted of two courses (Autumn course beginning on the 1st October, and Spring course on the 20th January):

The fee for the anatomical lectures was ten guineas, and the same for dissections, exclusive of demonstrations, which was really a second course of practical anatomy, delivered in the theatre.

The 'anatomizing' of a human body created a situation whereby death by hanging had a double stigma: the disgrace and the subsequent dissection. The ritual of hangings after the 1750s always followed the same pattern (see footnote 135). Ruth Richardson quotes figures for the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as averaging 701 students in London dissecting 592 bodies. Insufficient cadavers made the medical profession seek unlawful sources. Lack of corpses and
an upsurge of medical education and practical anatomy created a new trading or 'business' for groups of men eager to secure a regular income.\textsuperscript{137} Cole's \textit{Things for the Surgeon} describes these activities as a "phenomenon unique to Britain" with a "smell of corruption" clouding the air.\textsuperscript{138} (see footnote 139 for comparable activities in other countries). Many surgeons were torn between their medical ethics and the quest for knowledge, for as Southwood-Smith describes: "you dare not practise without a knowledge of anatomy - Human anatomy cannot be known without the dissection of the human body".\textsuperscript{140}

James Appleton, porter and 'procurator' to Mr Grainger's Theatre of Anatomy in Webb street, Southwark, was offered a 'subject' (a boy aged fourteen) by grave-robbers. Appleton refrained from purchasing it as "the body was warm":

I declined to purchase it. They told me it was a very fresh subject. They then went away, and came again to me at the theatre next morning (Saturday) about eleven o'clock, and inquired again if I would purchase the body, but I again declined it.\textsuperscript{141}

Entries from a diary of a resurrectionist reveals that Henry Cline, Joseph Carpue, Joshua Brookes and Charles Bell all received cadavers unlawfully for the purposes of dissection:

"Monday 13th. Took 2 of the above to Mr. Brookes & 1 large & 1 small to Mr. Bell, foetus to Mr Carpue...and to Mr Cline".\textsuperscript{142} Charles Bell also received a number of corpses from Joshua Naples (a resurrectionist) furnishing not only his medical students but artists such as Haydon and Wilkie. Prices for
'subjects' were regulated for many years by the teachers of the Anatomical Club during meetings at the Freemasons's Tavern. As seen earlier in this chapter the Freemasons was a favourite haunt of artists and the Royal Academy Club and it is not difficult to imagine that friendships were formed here between artists, medical men and grave-robbers. Joseph South recalls that four guineas was the going rate for a cadaver. However, as the grave-robbers realised the surgeon's dependency on them, they endeavoured "to screw more money out of teachers". After much quarreling the ceiling amount was six guineas, with complete bodies and sectioned bodies proportionately priced (not unlike the way in which figure painters priced whole, half, head-shoulders and head portraits).

Astley Cooper was renowned for his nocturnal practises, especially as corpses attracted pupils: "unless the newly-arrived students were assured that they would have enough parts of bodies to work on, they would possibly enrol elsewhere". However, under the chairmanship of Henry Warburton a parliamentary committee was set-up in 1828 to investigate the teaching of anatomy and the use of illegal material. It was estimated by Astley Cooper that the number of students in London's anatomical schools approximated 700 "each requiring two bodies for dissection and a third for practical operational work". By 1831 Warburton introduced a Bill abolishing the 'anatomizing' of criminals whilst licensing schools and their teachers. The following year another Bill known as the 1832 Anatomy Act was passed. This led to decreased numbers of
illegal corpses and increased numbers of legal corpses from 300 to 600 per year. This Bill sought to abolish grave-robbing altogether whilst yet supporting medical education and its need for practical anatomy.149

Summary

The daily lives of artists and medical men in the metropolis during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries have here been explored. Topographical analysis has provided evidence to substantiate the hypothesis that these professions were constantly interacting on various levels. Furthermore, research has proved that such interplay between artists and anatomists was not solely reliant on business
contact but to a much greater extent on their geographical location and social activities. Social and professional constructs of daily life supported and enhanced both disciplines allowing such affiliations to change and develop educational practices and curriculum components.

This and the next Chapter seek to compare similarities and differences between an artist's education and that of a medical student and propose that imposed methodology, curriculum, venues and ideologies run parallel to each other, adding further evidence of the strong professional links forged during this period. Even the illegal grave-robbing which greatly affected medical training had repercussions on art-anatomy practices. The availability of corpses and dissecting-room time not only influenced medical learning but also indirectly affected artistic teaching. This section has concentrated primarily on medical education, its students and teachers. The following Chapter examines the educational process of a young artist's training.
FOOTNOTES

1. There are numerous accounts of daily life. I have specifically referred to: Botsford, J. B.
   English Social Life in the Eighteenth-century, part 1,
   The Georgians at Home, Longmans, Green & Co.,
   George, M. D. English Social Life in the
   Eighteenth-Century, part 1, The Sheldon Press, London
   1923. Porter, R. 'English Society in the Eighteenth
   Century Revisited', pp. 29-52, in Black, J. (ed.),
   British Politics and Society from Walpole to Pitt 1742-

2. Johnson, S. Dictionary, London 1755. see also: George,
   M. D. England in Johnson's Day, Methuen & Co. Ltd,
   Eighteenth-Century, Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co.
   Ltd, London 1925. For clubs and taverns, see
   pp. 273-275: "London life centred round the tavern
   the alehouse, and the club".
   In 1729 the proprietors of the Baker's coffee-
   house produced a Catalogue. Compare
   1807, pp.55-56: "Sir, I am to be found at such a place.


8. Wheatley, London, Past and Present, vol. II, p. 107. "One evening, at the Artists' Club held at the Turk's Head, in Gerard Street, Sir Joshua came into the room having just before seen a very fine landscape, painted by Gainsborough, with which he had been exceedingly struck, from its extraordinary merit".


10. Garlick, K. and Macintyre, A. (eds), The Diary of Joseph Farington, Yale University Press, New Haven and London 1979, vol. 1, p. 108: "At the Royal Academy Club conversed with Bonomi & Hamilton relative to Marat,- Bonomi said Zucchi became acquainted with Marat at Old Slaughter's Coffee House, St. Martin's Lane where many foreigners were accustomed to assemble".

11. MSS. JU/1/, Jupp Catalogues, Royal Academy of Arts, London.


agreeable than my daily intercourse at this period
[Spring 1820] with Irving and Newton. We visited in
the same families, chiefly Americans resident in
London, and generally dined together at the York Chop
House in Wardour Street".

Graham, H. A Doctor's London, Allan Wingate, London
1952, p. 76.

15. Taylor, (ed.), Autobiographical Recollections,
p.28. Wheatley and Cunningham, London, Past and
Coffee-house and its clients.


17. Graham, A Doctor's London, p. 64.

to Munday's Coffee-house in Maiden-lane: Wheatley,
London, Past and Present, vol. II, p. 45. For
Somerset Coffee-house in the Strand, see Idem.
vol. III, p. 268. See also Taylor, T. Leicester
Square: Its Associates and Its Worthies, Bickers
and Son, London 1874.


Farington recalls that on Monday 23rd December 1793: "From Freemasons tavern we went to Copleys who agreed to the address with a slight alteration or two. I went to Hodges to dinner who agreed to the address as it now stood. I therefore made a fair Copy of it and sent it to Mr. West at the Royal Academy, to be laid before the Council & General meeting which He has called for this evening".

21. Farington, *Diary*, vol. I, pp. 332-333 and p. 168. Also vol. II, p. 293. A large meeting of Council was held at the Freemasons' on Thursday, 30th April, 1795: "Ordered the Dinner at 12s. a head including the Desert.- The last year it was 10s. 6d. but owing to the dearness of provisions Richold said He cd. not give us so good an entertainment.- We ordered for 126. Richold said he wd. provide for 130 & take his chance".

pp. 300-301 for the Bull's Head, Clare Market: 
"Here Dr. Radcliffe was often to be found, and here was held the Artists' Club, of which Hogarth was a member". Wheatley, op. cit. vol. II, p. 305, Jenny's Whim Tavern; p.345, King's Head Tavern; p.553, Mitre Tavern; p.570, Nag's Head Tavern; p. 83, Squire's Coffee-House. Ibid. vol. III, p.207, Salutation Tavern; pp.491-493 White's Club-House a celebrated gaming-house. Timbs, op. cit. p.349, Squire's Coffee-house. Farington, op. cit. vol. I, p. 129, Academy Club: "Thanks were then moved by Mr Tyler, to Mr West, for his ready concurrence with the wishes of the 12 members who first moved on the subject of the celebration at the Academy Club, and for his activity since in what related to it".


25. For topographical analysis the following sources have been referred to. For addresses of artists see MSS:

Anderdon Catalogue, Royal Academy of Arts archives;
AND/20/25; AND/20/29; AND/20/47; AND/19/26;
AND/19/249; AND/19/189; AND/18/215; AND/18/222;
AND/18/235; AND/18/43; AND/18/24; AND/17/286;
AND/17/162; AND/17/110; AND/17/22; AND/16/255;
AND/16/239; AND/16/134; AND/16/132; AND/16/92;
AND/15/126; AND/15/171; AND/15/79; AND/19/59;
AND/19/59; AND/14/236; AND/14/198; AND/14/202;
AND/18/289; AND/14/174; AND/14/145; AND/14/128;
AND/14/159; AND/14/88; AND/14/49; AND/15/108;
AND/22/85; AND/21/200; AND/21/182; AND/20/208;
AND/21/121; AND/21/59; AND/21/8; AND/21/14;
AND/21/34; AND/20/207; AND/20/126; AND/20/124;
AND/14/18; AND/113/303; AND/13/138; AND/13/90;
AND/13/77; AND/13/17; AND/12/211; AND/12/111;
AND/12/93; AND/11/142; AND/11/247; AND/11/106;
AND/11/60; AND/11/39; AND/10/217; AND/8/27;
AND/10/121; AND/10/54; AND/9/181; AND/9/77;
AND/8/27; AND/7/213; AND/7/158; AND/6/221;
AND/6/125; AND/5/154; AND/3/115; AND/3/93;
AND/1/300; AND/7/229; AND/16/93; AND/20/119;
AND/22/85; AND/22/99; AND/26/106; AND/26/107;
AND/26/135; AND/26/240; AND/26/405; AND/22/166;
AND/22/257; AND/24/213; AND/25/47; AND/25/167;
AND/25/188; AND/25/191. Wheatley and Cunningham,
op. cit. vol. I, pp. 70-71; p. 168; p. 342.
Wheatley, op. cit. vol. II, pp. 280-281. Ibid.
County Council, vol XX, London 1940.
Bradley, R. M. The English Housewife in the
Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, Edward Arnold,
Original 1736 and 1786 maps used are got from MSS.
local history library archives, Westminster Library,
London. Wheatley, H. B. London, Past and Present,
(original hand printed edidition), vol. XI,

26. Wheatley, op. cit. vol III, pp. 151-152. Campbell, R.
The London Tradesman, David and Charles Publishers,
Devon 1969, originally published, T. Gardener 1747.
Taylor, Leicester Square, pp. 303-435 (Joshua
Reynolds No. 47); pp. 381-425
(John Hunter who lived at No. 28); pp. 435-441
(William Cruikshank and Charles Bell); pp. 335-340
(William Hogarth).


Hans looks at social backgrounds of selected medical men in this period in relation to other professional types such as lawyers, clergymen, merchants and artists (see Table III).


29. Farington, Diary, p. 169. The diaries of Dr John Green Crosse are housed at Norwich Public Library. Anonymous medical student diaries can be got from the Chetham's Library, Manchester.

   
The following refer specifically to early teaching and the hospitals:
   
   Bynum, W. F. "Physicians, Hospitals and Career structures in eighteenth-century London", in
   
   Lawrence, S. C. *op. cit.* Russell, K. F.
   
   


37. Lecture time-tables were advertised from anything between one week to one day prior to classes commencing. Morning Chronicle, 15th January, 1774, advertised six days prior to lectures commencing on the 20th at Guy's Hospital, and again advertised the same lectures two days beforehand. All newspaper advertisements referred to are got from archives at Colindale, The British Museum.

38. Morning Chronicle, 24th January 1791; 19th January 1792; 21st January 1792 "Dr Orange to begin". "Medical lectures - The Spring Course of Medical Lectures at the London Hospital begin as follows. On Materia Medica by Fox on Thursday next, at nine; on Chemistry, by Dr Hamilton, at ten; and on Friday next on Midwifery, by Dr Denson, at nine; and on the Theory and Practice of Physic, by Dr Cooke, at ten o' clock, London Hospital, January 24th".
39. **Morning Chronicle**, 17th January, 1793:
"The London Hospital - Mr Blizard
and Mr Orange will begin their Course of Anatomical
and Physiological Lectures, on Wednesday next, the
23rd instant at One o'clock". 9th January 1793:
"Dr Osborn's and Dr Clarke's Lectures on Midwifery
will begin on Tuesday January 22nd. Morning Course -
Queen Street, Half-Past Ten o'clock. Evening Course -
Theatre of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, Half Past-Five".
in Inkster, I. and Morrell, J. (eds), *Metropolis and
Province: Science in British Culture, 1780-1850*,

40. **Morning Chronicle**, 4th February, 1793. Cope,
Sir Zachary. "The Private Medical Schools of London
(1746-1914)", in Poynter, F. N. L. (ed.),
The Evolution of Medical Education, Pitman, London
Profession in the Industrial Revolution*, Gill and

41. Ford, J. M. T. *A Medical Student at St. Thomas's
Hospital, 1801-1802. The Weekes Family Letters*,
Medical History Supplement no.7, Wellcome Institute
for the History of Medicine, London 1987, p. 146.
42. Ibid. p. 91. This letter to Hampton Weekes comes from his friend Owen Evans who is a medical student at St. Bartholomew's Hospital. Lawrence, op. cit. (1988), p. 177: "The hospital ward-walking pupils formed a ready audience for lecture courses that supplemented their experience and personal study".

43. Feltoe, Memorials of J. F. South, p. 25.

44. Ibid. p. 25.


46. Feltoe, *op. cit.* pp. 32-33. Although Astley Cooper was generally considered to be a difficult and bombastic character within the medical world, as a teacher he is portrayed by his students as a good and influential educator is born out by South: "Can it be thought surprising that, with such endowments, Astley Cooper should have been popular, and that all those who had enjoyed the privilege of his instruction and his intercourse should have loved and cherished their memory, and have held it the highest honour to be able to say - 'I was a pupil of Astley Cooper'". (p. 57). Cooper while lecturing is reported to have been dressed in black "with short knee-breeches and silk stockings, which well displayed his handsome legs, of which he was not a little proud". Cooper, Sir A. Lectures on the Principles of Practice of Surgery, as delivered at St. Thomas's Hospital, 3rd edition, F. C. Westley, London 1832.

47. Lawrence, S. *op. cit.* (1985):

"The pupil registers confirm that Cooper attracted students to the wards at Guy's. Cooper had 26 pupils and 4 dressers, sign up with him. Cooper continued to
dominate his colleagues as a popular teacher, enrolling up to 44 pupils in one year. Although Cooper did not benefit financially more than the others from this resurgence at Guy's, since pupil money was still shared ... his professional reputation undoubtedly flourished". (pp. 309-311). This is further borne out by South's Memorials: "He [Cooper] was not a money-grabber - it is perfectly true that so long as he remained in the City money poured in upon him". (p. 56). Power, D'Arcy, "The Medical Institutions of London", The British Medical Journal, ii, July 20th, 1895, pp. 141-146.

48. Lawrence, S. op. cit. p 357.

49. Feltoe, op. cit. p. 23. South describes Henry Cline as shy and retiring: "He was very quiet and taciturn in making his visits, but was always ready to give any information when asked. He was extremely kind and attentive to his patients, took care that they were not neglected by his dressers ... But, with all such qualities, there was one drawback - he was very slow; he thought indeed that an operation ought to be done well..." (p. 48) Wheatley and Cunningham, op. cit. vol. I. p. 277: "Astley Cooper came to London (1784) to study surgery he was placed in the house of Mr. Cline, No. 3 New Bond street, one of the most
distinguished surgeons of the time". Morning Chronicle, 19th January, 1792: "St Thomas's Hospital. Mr Cline will begin his Course of Anatomical and Surgical Lectures, To-morrow, the 20th instant, at One o'clock".

50. Feltoe, op. cit. p. 49. Power, Sir D'Arcy, Selected Writings 1877-1930, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1931, p. 228: "Blizard and Home delivered the first course of lectures in 1810 and they were followed by Astley Cooper, Abernethy, Lawrence, Brodie, Wilson, J. N. Green, and others of equal reputation". Loudon, op.cit. p. 314, for biographical details of Joseph Henry Green. Grievances between Sir Astley Cooper and Joseph Henry Green ensued when Cooper wanted to take his half of the Pathological Museum at St. Thomas's Hospital to his new teaching post at Guy's Hospital. Scathing letters, both private and public, resulted in a long drawn-out battle concerning ownership. The outcome was that Astley Cooper "admitted Mr Green to half the Anatomical Lectures", whilst Mr Cline received from Green £1,000 for the Museum: "The true statement is, that Sir Astley Cooper, and not Mr Cline, received the £1,000 from me [Green]". Green, J. H. A Letter to Sir Astley Cooper, on The Establishment of An Anatomical and Surgical School at Guy's Hospital, Sherwood and Co., London 1825, pp. 53-54. Feltoe, op. cit. pp. 168-169.

51. Power, Sir D'Arcy, (1931) op. cit. p 228.
52. Ibid. p. 229.

53. Ibid.

54. Ibid.

55. Ibid. p. 232.


58. Ibid.

59. Feltoe, op. cit. p. 86.

60. Ibid. p. 86 and p. 83: "Cooper's lectures may be truly stated to have consisted of enormous masses of facts, which his large opportunities of practice had enabled him to collect, and his powerful memory to retain, and pour out."
61. Ibid. p. 87.

62. Green, J. H. Dissector's Manual, E. Cox, London 1831. This book was the culmination of Green's 'Outlines to a Course of Anatomy'. Joseph Henry Green was appointed Surgeon to St. Thomas's Hospital in 1820 when he was twenty-eight years of age. He was elected President of the Royal College of Surgeons in 1849, and again in 1858. He was also a Fellow of the Royal Society. Royal College of Surgeons of England, MS.275.h.7(11): in these archives exists a letter regarding Green and his purchasing of casts and a chimpanzee for Comparative Anatomy. Bryant, T. E. Comparative Anatomy. MS. Green's Hunterian Lectures at the Royal College of Surgeons of England, 1827.


64. 'Register of Pupils and Dressers' St. Thomas's Hospital, Pupils, 1723-1775; Dressers, 1750-1796. 'Physicians' Pupil Register', St. Thomas's Hospital, 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779, 1800, giving medical students' names. 'Register of Surgeon's Pupils', 1775-1799, St. Thomas's Hospital. 'Pupil Register', 1752-1918, St. George's Hospital, MS. Royal College of Surgeons of England.

66. For example, Susan Lawrence's findings concerning medical student intake at the major hospitals are similar to my own findings regarding art students at the Royal Academy of Arts for this period.

67. Ibid. p. 271.

68. Ibid. Chapter Eight of Lawrence's thesis examines the explicit changes in regulations and pupil enrollment showing the vitality of London hospital training in this period of reform and pressure.

69. Ibid. pp. 77-78.


71. Morning Chronicle, 10th January, 1793.


Manchester Public Infirmary was founded in 1752
what is now Victoria Station. Two years later the hospital moved to Piccadilly and Charles White, its Senior Surgeon (aged 24) helped in its establishment. White and his son Thomas delivered the first course of lectures in the rooms of the Literary and Philosophical Society in 1783. Apprentices were encouraged by Charles White for clinical instruction, and consequently four years later White and his son gave another course of lectures, this time encompassing Theory and Practice of Midwifery. These lectures were delivered in the rooms of his own museum, part of Charles White's house.


74. Lawrence, S. op. cit. (1985), p. 157: "By the 1770s, broad educational opportunities depended only on the time the pupil had to spare and the amount of money he could spend. He was not limited by ties to a single master or circumscribed by licensing or degree regulations".

75. Ibid. p. 90.

76. Feltoe, op. cit. p.42.

77. Ibid. p. 43.
78. Ibid. p. 132.

79. Ibid. pp. 44-45. Lawrence, op. cit. (1985) pp.90-161, for details of dressers and their hospital duties: "They paid a considerable premium at most hospitals for the limited number of dresserships available and signed up under particular surgeons, who retained the entire fee. Dressers routinely performed minor operations, like bleeding, and assisted the surgeons at major ones", (p. 161).

Bland-Sutton, op. cit. p. 29. On becoming a student at The Middlesex Hospital Medical School, Bland-Sutton paid a fee which made him a perpetual student, remaining "a lifelong student of the Hospital".

80. Lawrence, op. cit. (1985), p. 284, for details of John Hunter, his refusal to share incoming fees, and his colleagues: "Hunter challenged the unwritten tradition that pupil fees be shared, no matter how the actual burden of teaching was distributed".


83. Dewhurst, K. The Quicksilver Doctor, the Life and Times of Thomas Dover, Physician and Adventurer, John Wright and Sons Ltd., Bristol 1957, p. 49. "Physicians' fees were one guinea a visit, a sum which aroused envious comment from the clergy, whose stipends only amounted to between £30 and £100 annually. The Bristol clergy complained that the citizens did not 'think a physician overpaid for one guinea a visit but expect to receive a years service from a clergyman for five pounds'".

84. Porter, op. cit. (1982), p. 92. Porter also refers to fees accrued by Lord Kenyon who began life as an attorney, and as Master of the Rolls accrued fees of £80,000 over a twelve year period.


86. Prescription Fees, MSS. Royal College of General Practitioners archives. MSS. Pr/323; Pr/376; Pr/376/a;
Lord Leigh's prescription bill in 1762 was £2 11s 7d, and Mr Graff's for January, 1769, totalled £6 2s 6d. These bills were exclusive of physician's fees. Each potion was itemised giving name, dosage and price. Part of a student's work was to check their surgeon's prescriptions and to copy case-records. Such tasks trained the student in the administrative skills required in later life.

Lawrence, S. *op. cit.* (1985), p. 421. Lawrence states that Parkinson envisaged a maximum of five years in London as ideal for a student not following a hospital apprenticeship. Not all medical men were in favour of the apprenticeship system and those, such as William Renwick, had their own ideas regarding the curriculum. James Lucas, like Renwick, was in favour of the apprenticeship but only under certain conditions. Each of these men proposed that students should learn the most rudimentary skills as well as the more demanding surgical operations. There was an on-going debate surrounding medical apprenticeships. Lane, J. *op. cit.* (1985), p. 73, (Table 3.3), gives a break-down of apprenticeships served in the provinces with the percentage of apprentices and length of years served. Parkinson, J. *The Hospital Pupil, or an Essay Intended*
to Facilitate the Study of Medicine and Surgery in Four Letters, London 1800.


89. Ibid. p. 56. Lawrence, op. cit. (1985), p. 419: "James Lucas emphasized that apprenticeship provided the basic training in rudimentary skills, from making pills to minor surgical procedures like bleeding, which formed so much of general practice".

90. Feltoe, op. cit. p. 51: "As the two hospitals were so closely connected that the surgical student class went round and attended the operations at each, as they pleased". For a general reference to surgery in this period see Turner, D. The Present State of Chirurgery, London 1703.


93. Ibid. p. 58.


London 1811.

Although there are no illustrations in this small 8vo 'pocket' manual, reference is made to skill and dexterity needed both by anatomists and artists: "The position of the hand in dissecting should be the same, as in writing or drawing; and the knife, held, like a pen or pencil..." (p. 1).

98. Brisbane, J. _The Anatomy of Painting, or a Short and Easy Introduction to Anatomy_, T. Cadell, London 1769, passim. Brisbane was physician to the Middlesex Hospital from 1758 to 1773, and showed an interest in art-anatomy throughout his life.


100. Certificates belonging to George Wells, awarding body St. Thomas's Hospital, 1829. MSS. c/6/i; c/6/ii; c/6/ii; c/6/iii; c/6/iv; c/6/v. The Royal College of General Practitioners archives. For similar certificates, see Gerdt, W. _The Art of Healing_, Birmingham Museum of Art, Georgia 1981.


106. Crosse, op. cit. p. 36. The private diaries of Dr John Green Crosse (1790-1850) are located at Norwich Public Library.

107. Ibid. p. 37.

108. Ibid. p. 49. On August 13th, 1813, Crosse spent all day helping Professor James MaCartney to pack away his museum at St. Bartholomew's Hospital.


111. Ibid.


Haydon's contact with classical statues of the body was through the Elgin Marbles. There exist numerous diary entries on his first encounters with these statues. Smith, J. T.
Nollekens And His Times, Century Hutchinson Ltd, London 1986, p. 244. Joseph Nollekens was also astonished at the Elgin Marbles in the British Museum, whose fragments of male figures showed veins.


115. Botsford, op. cit, p. 224: "A tiger will sell almost as cheap as an ox".

116. Ibid. p. 222.

117. Crosse, op. cit, p. 34.

119. For example. The Culpeper microscope with its delicately shagreen cylindrical body edged with brass. The advent of the microscope during this period was both functional and a collector's item.


121. Daily Advertiser, 15th January, 1742: "Notice is hereby given that there being a publick Body at Barbers and Surgeons Hall, the Demonstrations of Anatomy and the Operations of Surgery will be at the Hall this evening and to-morrow at six o'clock precisely in the Amphitheatre".

122. Richardson, op. cit. pp. 37-38. Until the 1752 Act was passed, only six criminals' bodies per year had been made available for legal dissection. The body of a hanged criminal was taken to the Surgeons Hall where an incision was made on the chest, signifying that his body was legally ready for one of the dissecting theatres.


124. In 1730 the governors at St. Thomas's made available a room specially for dissection and
post-mortems which was separate from the dead-house where bodies were laid out to be claimed by family and friends. Lawrence, op.cit. (1985), pp. 12-.133. Ford, op.cit. pp. 92-93. A letter from Hampton Weekes to his brother (dated, 13th December, 1801) locates the young medical student at St. Thomas's Hospital "in the dead house inspecting two bodies" with Mr Davey. Tobias, J. J. Crime and Police in England 1700-1900, Gill and Macmillan, Dublin 1979, p. 144.

Tobias examines the social and physical transports of death and hanging:

Sometimes criminals were hanged at the scene of their crime, often on a portable gallows. But there were other regular hanging-grounds. The Haymarket was used for executions, as late as 1763, and until 1780 hangings were common in an open space 'at the foot of Bow Street, near Covent Garden'".

Tobias estimates that 200 people a year hanged in England, and 34 a year average for London and Middlesex by the latter half of the eighteenth-century.

125. Whitley, W. Artists and Their Friends in England 1700-1799, 2 vols, p. 52, vol. II. For references to attitudes towards crime and hanging see

Linebaugh, P. "The Tyburn Riot Against the Surgeons", in Hay, D. et al. (eds), Albion's Fatal Tree, Crime and Society in Eighteenth-Century England,
Allen Lane, London 1975, pp. 68-89. Linebaugh refers to the Tyburn hangings as a symbol of "all that is violent and brutal in eighteenth century society", all of which contradicts 'polite society', taste, refinement and culture. He sets "brutal spectacle of public hangings" and the "love of aggression of the London mob" against the back-drop of sculptured gardens like Ranleigh and Vauxhall.

Whitley, op. cit. vol. II, pp. 52-53. Reynolds accompanied James Boswell who "loved executions".


(Wednesday) 6 July 1785.
"[Boswell] Up early. Sir Joshua was before me at Mr. Herne's with his coach, which drove us to Newgate. Convicts were in the Chapel".

Smith, op. cit. p. 17. Nollekens also enjoyed attending Tyburn hangings and on Tuesday, 26th October 1774, walked "by the side of the cart all the way to Tyburn".

George, op.cit. (1928), pp. 126-127. The procession to Tyburn is thus described by Fielding, 18th July, 1752:
"On Monday last elven wretches were executed at Tyburn, and the very next night one of the most impudent street-robberies was committed near St. James's Square, an instance of the little force which such examples have on the minds of the populace".

Hogarth represented "The Idle Prentice Executed at Tyburn". Marcellus Lauron sketched 'An Execution at Tyburn' which can be seen at Pepysian Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge. Wheatley, *op. cit.* vol. III, p. 346, refers to laundress Sarah Malcolm, who was executed for murders she had allegedly committed, and whose portrait Hogarth painted in Newgate, later saying: "This woman by her features is capable of any wickedness".

Cole, *op. cit.* pp. 148-149. Shows a sketch of John Bishop, executed 5th December, 1831, which was made by W. H. Clift immediately after the execution.

Carter, H. V. "A Diary of work done, with descriptions and illustrations of particular dissections", 25th June, 1853, MS. Royal College of Surgeons of England.

127. Linebaugh, *op. cit.* p. 82. Linebaugh states that to attend a dissection cost five guineas and to perform a dissection cost seven guineas. Anatomists "loitered about Newgate prison" on hanging days hoping to buy the dead bodies. (p. 71).

Tobias, *op. cit.* p. 31, for reference to Tyburn Tickets. Wheatley, *op. cit.* vol. III, pp. 413-419, for citations on Tyburnia, Tyburn Road, Tyburn.

Forbes, T. R. *Surgeons at the Bailey, English Forensic Medicine to 1878*, Yale University Press, 1985, p. 21. For geographical placement of hangings in eighteenth-

Lettson, Dr. J. C. *Hints Respecting Human Dissections*, London 1801. This was written by Lettsom against what he called the 'Dead Body Bill' brought into Parliament in 1795, increasing fines and penalties on bodies procured for dissection. The Royal Humane Society were naturally against dissection, and mainly concerned themselves with "recovering persons apparently drowned or dead". Wheatley, *op. cit.* vol. II, p. 247.


130. MSS. Two Lectures on Dissection, from the laboratory of Dr. Gregory, performed by Dr. David, August 31st, 1761, London. Two Lectures on Materia Medica, November 17th and 22nd, 1762, London. College of Physicians
of Philadelphia archives. Although these manuscripts are fragile and the writing is small it is legible.


132. Ibid. p. 29.


Apprentices were not alone in spending many hours in the dissecting room for their mentor's did much the same thing. It is reported that John Hunter for thirty years rose at 5, o'clock in the summer and began dissecting before breakfast. Graham, *op. cit.* p. 102. Numerous accounts of dissections can be found in the archives of the Royal College of Surgeons of England. For example, Hansbrow, G. "Notes of Dissections made by George Hansbrow" (and sketches), July 1845. Account (The), of the dissection of the Body of the Honourable Mr. Howard aged 9 months, 1789, MS. Box 3(4). The Royal College of Physicians archives: "Dissection of morbid parts", 1787-1833, record of post-mortem examinations made by
James Wilson, F.R.S., containing the account of Dr. Samuel Johnson's body being opened on 15th December, 1784.


135. The executions generally took place at 8, o'clock on Mondays, with the 'cut down' taking place one hour later. The body was then taken in a cart to the Surgeons Hall, where it was the duty of the City Marshal to see the 'anatomised' body. A crucial incision in the chest was enough to satisfy the City Marshal. The body was then removed by the surgeon and taken to a dissecting theatre.

Bailey, J. Diary of a Resurrectionist 1811-1812, Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd, London 1896, pp.26-29. The Royal College of Surgeons of England has in its collection a series of drawings of murderers made by the Clift family (father and son). These drawings were undertaken as dead bodies were delivered to the College for the ritual incision.
136. Richardson, op. cit. p. 54.


139. For Great Britain grave-robbing became the main source of cadaver availability primarily for medical teaching. Germany, Austria, Italy, Portugal and Holland did not resort to immoral or illegal sources. For a more detailed account see Bailey, *op. cit.*, pp. 120-123. Cole, *op. cit.* p. 7.

140. Ibid. p. 99. This statement was used by Dr Southwood Smith at the trial at the Old Bailey of Bishop, Williams and May. *The Trial of Bishop, Williams and May, at the Old Bailey, December 2nd, 1831*, London 1931, p. 199. The concept of the body as a commodity, both alive and dead, has been explored by a number of writers, see Scott, R. *The Body as Property*, Allen Lane, London 1981. Cole, *op. cit.* p. 11, "there was no property in a dead body". Linebaugh, *op. cit.* pp. 52-72. Social class is usually linked to ownership, commodity/property rights, and paupers during this period unable to buy lead coffins, feared for their lives at being dissected. Rose, M. *Curator of the Dead, Thomas Hodgkin (1798-1866)*,

141. **The Trial of Bishop, Williams, May**, p. 35.

John Collins Warren whilst a student at the 'United' Hospitals wrote to his father:
"Dissection is carried out in style: twelve or fifteen bodies in a room; the young men at work on them in different ways. The people called resurrection-men supply us abundantly". (p. 13)


Feltoe, *op. cit.* pp. 93-94.


Entries in this diary show that summer evenings were not conducive to nocturnal grave-robbing.

"Tuesday 25th. At home all day, at Night met at Jack to go to Haarps. The moon at the full. could not go". (p.155)

Joshua Naples kept a diary describing daily activities of a resurrectionist. The 'gang' consisted of Bill Harnett (favourite of Astley Cooper and Henry Cline); Jack Harnett, nephew to Bill; Tom Light; and Holliss, who was originally a sexton.
143. **Ibid.** p. 148. Joshua Brookes, founder of the Blenheim Street Anatomical School regularly procured cadavers from such grave-robers. Mr. Carpue of the private Dean Street Anatomy School also obtained cadavers in this manner, and was cited in the Bishop, Williams and May trial. Bailey, *op. cit.* p. 158; Bishop stated that he offered a cadaver to Carpue in the lecture-room, "then he asked me if it was fresh, I told them yes". Bishop asked ten guineas for the subject but was only given eight, and told to deliver it to the school the following morning at ten o'clock.

144. Grave-robbing became increasingly lucrative as can be seen on Saturday 4th, 1812, Naples recounts that they "Met and settled £108 13s 7d. each man's share £18 2s.3d. And Similarly at another meeting of the previous year "each man's share £8 16s 8d". *Ibid.* p. 160; p. 144.


146. Cole, *op. cit.* pp. 4-5. Part of the attraction for medical students in choosing one lecturer rather
than another, was the practical anatomy, which naturally required a constant supply of cadavers. Bailey, op. cit. p. 149, delivered a cadaver to one of Astley Cooper's lectures in 1812. Ford, op. cit. p.130. Dr Robert Knox, renowned anatomist in Edinburgh was pleased at finding 'fresh subjects' and consequently would pay any price. However, Benjamin Brodie disagreed with this, stating that "it is a dangerous thing to society" that grave-robbers "should be able to get ten guineas for a body", (p. 114-115). Bailey, op. cit. the diary mentions a number of visits to Edinburgh between 1811 and 1812.

147. Newman, C. E. The Evolution of Medical Education in the Nineteenth-Century, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1957, pp. 38-41. A Parliamentary Committee was set-up in 1828 to investigate the teaching of anatomy and the prevention of further illegal sources being used. Sir Astley Cooper was the first to give evidence, and emphasized the need for practical anatomy in teaching. Benjamin Brodie also gave evidence at the Bishop, Williams and May trial, and like Cooper, advocated the need for cadavers and practical anatomy. Brodie, B. C. The Works of Sir Benjamin Collins Brodie, Longman, London 1865.

149. Newman, *op. cit.* pp. 38-41. In 1831, Warburton introduced a Bill which abolished the dissection of criminals and provided for the licensing of schools and teachers of anatomy. A year later, the Bill was passed has been since known as the 1832 Anatomy Act. The supply of bodies to medical schools in London rose from 300 to 600 in a year and all from legitimate sources. Warburton's Act was one of the most successful in helping medical education, and it stopped body-snatching. Richardson, *op. cit.* pp. 198-215. See *An Act For Regulating Schools of Anatomy*, [1st August 1832], George Edward Eyre and William Spottiswoode, London 1850.
Chapter Two

An Artist's Education at the Royal Academy Schools: the Life Class, its Students, Visitors and Curriculum, circa 1768 to 1810.

The legacy of the private sixteenth-century academia for artists could still be found in the eighteenth century. These informal group gatherings similar to those once attended by Leonardo and Baccio Bandinelli, continued to attract artists two centuries later throughout Europe. Not unlike the Renaissance academia, these drawing schools included drawing from the life, anatomy and écorché studies. Early eighteenth-century England saw many satellite schools and private schools of art, but the first British academy of art appears to have been Sir Godfrey Kneller's academy of painting (founded in 1711), which was succeeded by William Hogarth's St. Martin's Lane Academy. This academy (circa 1750), became the main centre for studying the human figure, though in the academy itself there was barely room "for a naked figure to be drawn after by thirty or forty people". Many artists were trained here, and, although there was no formal curriculum, emphasis was placed on studying the human body. William and John Hunter, both renowned medical men of their day, gave anatomical instruction to artists at the St. Martin's Lane School, and John Hunter subscribed to Hogarth's The Analysis of
Beauty (1752). As early as the 1750s John Hunter refers to cadaver-casting and his connexions with artists in obtaining cadavers for them. 8

Quite independent of St. Martin's Lane Academy, yet run simultaneously, was Dr. Mead's academy. 9 This well-known collector encouraged copying at his house in Great Ormond Street (mornings only) allowing students freely to draw and paint from statues and paintings adorning his galleries. The students who had once frequented Hogarth's academy eventually became dissatisfied and gathering themselves as a group in 1765 formed the 'Society of Artists', 10 which later became 'The Incorporated Society of Artists of Great Britain', with over two hundred members. 11 Although this Society eventually dissolved, the members had a new academy in their grasp: the Royal Academy of Arts. 12 On the 10th December, 1768, George III agreed to give Royal patronage to the first regular school of art in England. 13 The Academy was clear from the outset that the teachers were to "advise and instruct", 14 whilst endeavouring to cultivate taste. Consequently the students would turn their attention "towards that branch of the arts for which they shall seem to have the aptest disposition". 15 Meanwhile, visitors were paid 10s. 6d. for "each time of attending" and failure to attend classes cost them a fine of the same. They were expected to teach for "at least two hours", and the enforced rotation-style teaching protected against any one house-style. The first meeting of the General
Assembly of the originally nominated Academicians was held on 14th December, 1768, when officers, Council and visitors were elected. Three days later, appointments were made: Edward Penny, Painting Professor (1768-1782); Samuel Wale, Professor of Perspective (1768-1786); and Dr William Hunter, Professor of Anatomy (1768-1783). Naturally, as the Academy began to establish itself further appointments were created; and a meeting held on 20th December saw the newly-formed Council agreeing upon additional laws, which included some governing the conduct of students. These were accepted and transcribed into the General Assembly Minutes of 2nd January, 1769. These minutes outlined general details and rules; vacation times; hours of working; life and plaister academy rules; laws for keepers and visitors; student probationary periods; testimony of moral character of students, and their conduct. The Schools were open every day except Sunday and in addition: "The Winter Academy shall begin at six o'clock in the evening, except on Lecture nights, when it shall begin at five o'clock". The Summer Academy, as with the Winter School, was open for two hours each evening, consequently the "summer Academy [began] at five o'clock in the Afternoon". Evening classes proved popular with students and many eminent figures gave evening lectures to crowded lecture-halls. The first President of the Academy, Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723-1792), heralded the dawn of the Royal Academy with his opening address on 2nd January, 1769, to visitors and students alike.
Academy was set on a course of educational training and students as well as professors were to embark on a voyage of discovery under the leadership of Joshua Reynolds. In 1768 the Instrument and Laws of the Royal Academy outlined conduct and behaviour of students whereby "decorum" and reverence in observing the regulations delivered by the Keeper were to be adhered to at all times, and "no student shall presume to introduce any person to see the Royal Academy" without permission.

The Academy offered students incentives by way of 'Premiums' which were awarded for outstanding "Drawings and Models from the Life", these being awarded on merit. The students competed for Gold or Silver medals: premiums and privileges went hand-in-hand. A student who also gained the most coveted Gold Medal, was "in peace times" able to "pursue his studies on the Continent for the term of two years". The sum of £60 was given for the trip which usually began in Italy, with an additional £100 for annual expenditures. Art works completed by students for the Premiums had to be undertaken in the various Schools which included: painting, life model, the antique, and architecture, and on completion "[were to] be left with the Keeper" (see Appendix I for list of students and Premiums). Not only did premiums create incentives for some of the young students but along with premiums went status and encouragement. Educationally, it proved to be cleverly contrived on the premise that if a student worked hard and
produced results he was aptly rewarded. The newspapers also took an interest in students' development with regard to premiums, as can be seen on 15th December, 1807:

RA - At the last meeting of the Members of this Institution, the 10th instant, Mr Woodforde was admitted to the honour of Royal Academician... a Silver Medal to H. D. THIELKE, S. LINNEL and H. CORBOULD, for the best Drawing of an Academy Figure; a Silver Medal to Mr. Buxton, for the best Model of an Academy Figure.

One of the earliest students to have obtained a Gold Medal was the painter Mauritius Lowe who entered the Academy on 15th June, 1769, and whose entry was entitled 'Time Discovering Truth' (painting and sketches). It was also suggested by Farington and other academicians that an additional bonus of winning a Gold Medal was that students then became Honorary Members of the Royal Academy Club.

On entering the Academy, students had first to be recommended by a referee giving testimony to their moral character. Admission into the Academy meant that students had to show "proficiency as will enable them to Draw or Model well". The student first became a probationer and only on attaining a certain degree of proficiency could he then be granted further admission. Having been put on 'probation' the student then produced particular drawings from Life as laid down by Council: "An acquaintance with Anatomy (comprehending a knowledge of the Skeleton, and the Names, Origins, Insertions, and Uses of, at least, the external layers of Muscles)".
These requisites were deemed to be "indispensable" by the President and council for artists wishing to "pursue the branches of Painting, Sculpture and Engraving". On the approval of Council, the student then: "shall receive his Ticket of Admission, signed by the Secretary of the Academy, certifying that he is admitted a Student in the Royal Schools". Attaining a 'Ticket of Admission' meant that the student would attend the Academy for a rather lengthy period, though there appears to have been no set period of studentship. Hutchison's The History of the Royal Academy 1768-1986 stipulates however that: "The term of studentship was at first 6 years. This was increased to 7 years in 1772 and to 10 in 1800 and it remained at 10 till 1853. These figures must be regarded, however, only as years of eligibility".

I : Probationers, Students and the Life Class

The 'Admissions Cards' were rectangular and pocket-size (5" x 3"), and usually had names of recipient and sponsor. For example, Edward Edwards is the first student to enter his name in the Academy Register for January 1769, and was granted his Admissions Ticket a month later:

To the Keeper of the Royal Academy.
Sir/Admit Mr Edward Edwards to be a Student in the Royal Academy, subject
The ticket has a rather large red wax seal marked 'ROYAL ACADEMY, LONDON 1768'. Although there is no date on the certificate, a note accompanying it, written by Edwards, mentions that this was given in March 1769. Having attained status as a fully-fledged student, bringing with it certain rights and codes of behaviour, the next stage was to acquire authorisation to undertake studies in the various Schools. However, as this thesis deals primarily with the life academy, plaster academy and anatomy class, I have foregone the in-depth analysis of other schools such as architecture, the antique, painting, perspective and chemistry.

Investigations into the life academy and anatomy class, two dominant schools within the Academy, have led me to examine all the admission registers from 1769 to 1810. By analysing each student who gave name, subject of study (painting, drawing, engraving, architecture) and date of entry, I have assimilated the information showing students throughout this period attending the life academy.

My aim in following the students of the life class is to cross-reference them with Dr William Hunter and his anatomical class at the Academy. No anatomy register exists and whether one ever did is debatable. It is more reasonable to assume that a register does not exist because of the very nature of
the lectures; unlike the daily life classes, the anatomical lectures were attended by students and professors in possession of lecture tickets, and consequently no register needed to be signed. Each School within the Academy had its own register for students to sign each day of attendance. Currently housed in the archives of the Royal Academy library are the following registers: Antique Academy, 1795-98 (3 vols); Plaister Academy, 1791-93 (4 vols); Painting Academy, 1790-97 (5 vols); Library, 1799-1801 (1 vol); and the Life Academy, 1790-1799 (9 vols). Life Academy registers, as with all others are long and slender (14½" x 4½"), with a hard marbled backing. Each register follows on consecutively by date, either month to month or year to year. Volume One of the life register is dated July 21st, 1790, and the first name to appear is that of J. Williams. As with most students eager to begin their art studies sometimes a scrawl has to be deciphered for a name. The classes met every day and from the registers it is easy to see days showing lack of attendance as well as days when the life class must have been overflowing with students. For instance, 17th August, 1790, only has three students present, "H. Howard, H. Chalon and J. Godefroy". And again, on the 30th September, 1797, Joseph Farington writes: The Life Academy is ill attended. Whereas, on 16th October, 1792, there are forty-one names entered for the same class. The ten year span of the registers indicates the growing popularity of drawing from the life. In gathering information on those who
attended this class, I have compiled a list of names taken from the registers and have identified when each student first attended the class. Naturally, if the students attending the class fail to sign their names, there is no way of identifying them otherwise. However, I am confident that the list compiled is virtually comprehensive and as can be seen by the lists, I have also included date of entrance into the Academy (see Appendix II for student names). With cross-indexing the manuscript material at my disposal, it has been possible to identify the length of time a student was a probationer, and in doing this have found huge discrepancies. Some students waited merely weeks before receiving their 'Ticket of Admission' whilst others waited years. From the records of another manuscript document used by the Royal Academy, dated 1800, it would appear that another list of life class students was kept recording the transition from probationer to student. This includes those admitted to draw from the life, the dates of obtaining Student Tickets and date of their Admission (see Appendix III for analysis of probationers to students). However, there proves to be a large discrepancy between the names signed in the Class Register and those identified as having obtained admission into the life academy. Further analysis shows that only 50% of students on the official list attended the life classes. I believe that the life class register is more accurate as to the students per head, those actually drawing from life. Under supervision by the visitors,
students (one can presume) felt obliged to sign in before taking their allotted places around the model. As stated in the Laws of the Academy: "Students attending the School of the Living Model, shall write their names in books placed in the respective rooms".52

Drawing appears to have been a pre-requisite for entrance into any of the Schools, so it is not surprising that most students were given Admission Tickets for the life class. Such a card was printed for Matthew Wyatt "to be student in the Royal Academy" dated 23rd October, 1800, and signed by J. Richards, R.A. with an additional postscript on the reverse stating: "admitted by Council to draw in the Life Academy, 3 Feb, 1801 (signed) Jos. Wilton, Keeper".53 James Ramsay (1786-1854), received his Ticket of Admission by order of the Council on 29th March, 1805. However, according to another Admission Ticket, Ramsay was also admitted "to the Life. (signed) H. Fuseli. July 22, 1807".54 Also written on this; "Ramsay a Probationer this year". Fuseli also refers to this student in a letter to an unknown addressee, dated Wednesday 22nd, 1807 (same day as ticket administered), where he signs himself, 'H. Fusel. (Visitor)'.55 Further analysis using life class registers, between 1769 and 1801, shows that of the 183 students who attended, the break down of subject specialisms are is follows:

| PAINTERS  | 115 |
| ENGRAVERS | 36  |
| SCULPTORS | 14  |
The highest percentage attending the life classes are painters, but interesting to note is that the engravers had the second largest percentage. Therefore, we can deduce that those engravers attending life classes also attended William Hunter's anatomical lectures at the Royal Academy (see Chapter Three), especially as we know that Hunter employed engravers to carry out anatomical drawings and/or engravings for his medical folios.

Investigation into the age of students attending the life class show that in some cases the boys were fairly young. The Royal Academy Admissions Register reveals that on entry into the Academy Schools on 13th March, 1794, George Dawe, painter and engraver, was only thirteen years of age. Likewise, an entry dated 27th March, 1792, reads that Stephen Rigaud (painter) was fourteen years of age. Amongst the eldest students attending the life class are J. F. De Cort (painter), entrance date 2nd February, 1799, aged thirty-one years, and Humphrey Hopper (sculptor), entrance date, 3rd February, 1801, aged thirty-four years. 56
AVERAGE AGE OF STUDENTS ON ENTRY INTO THE R.A. 1769-1801.

*ONLY THOSE TAKING THE LIFE CLASS HAVE BEEN ASSESSED.

Figures below indicate student numbers in class between ages:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18 years &amp; under</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19-22 year olds</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23-25 year old</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 years &amp; upwards</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Students have been taken from the LIFE REGISTERS, using signatures. #
# Students did not give their age on entry into the Academy.
# See APPENDIX IV for list of Students and Age of Entry.

The discrepancies in the ages of students attending the Academy in some way reveals their intentions as artists. For those younger pupils, the Academy was probably nothing more than an apprenticeship, whereas older students, having already tried various employments, saw themselves as 'artists'. They came to the Academy with the intention of furthering their career in high art. And if not in high art, at least, as working artists in London and surrounding counties. For younger students aged between 13 and 18 years, attending life drawing and plaster classes must have awakened their creative abilities.

Occupations of the students having attended the Academy for six or seven years were various and far-reaching; many became practising artists, supplementing their incomes by teaching and
executing works for print-sellers such as Boydell. Others found employment with tradesmen and industry within the art world. The following section examines the apprenticeship system in relation to students pursuing a Royal Academy training.

II : Art, Apprenticeships and the Academy

The education available to a student of art varied depending on social background, economics and gender. Although female artists were able to exhibit their works of art at the Academy's annual exhibition it was in fact very rare that females were students or Academicians. Discrepancies exist during this period between those females who exhibited paintings and those who were educated. This is borne out by taking a sample of seventy-four known female artists showing at the Academy: only two of them were students (and Founder Members) of the Royal Academy. Angelica Kauffmann and Mary Moser were the exceptions rather than the rule. (see Appendix V for list of female artists). However, an education in drawing, painting and engraving for boys could be sought in a number of ways. Firstly, an apprenticeship system was available to those young pupils who wished to study under an established artist or tradesman in the pursuit of drawing and engraving.
with parental consent and a Premium, a young boy could find himself learning the trade with 'hands-on' experience. Apprenticeships of this kind were usually advertised in daily papers such as the *Morning Chronicle*, as can be seen in the issue of Friday, 8th January, 1773:

> A pupil wanted in a department of the polite arts, where a genius for drawing, as it is the first requisite, so will it be the first recommendation, to any youth of an affable disposition, and reputable connections...\(^5^7\)

Any boy interested in such employment was to apply to "Young Slaughter's Coffee House, St. Martin's Lane". A premium would also be expected. Three years later we see a similar advertisement for an "Apprentice to an Artist of established reputation".\(^5^8\) Emphasis on all apprenticeships advertised in this way was for young male pupils. Many of the advertisements address themselves to parents and guardians, with an "ingenious Boy, who has a Taste for Drawing, and whose Education and Connexions are respectable".\(^5^9\) Another such advertisement, 15th January, 1793, in the *Morning Chronicle*, appeals to: "a youth of good temper and morals, who discovers a taste for DRAWING, as an Apprentice to a genteel and advantaged profession".\(^6^0\) Application was to be made to drawing-master, Mr Simpson, who can also be identified as the publisher of *A New Book of Sketches from Nature* (1793).\(^6^1\) Young artists were also known to advertise for apprenticeship employment as can be seen on 11th January, 1791, again in the *Morning Chronicle*: 
A YOUNG GENTLEMAN of genteel years wishes to engage for two or three Years under an Artist of eminence, for instruction in the principles of Drawing, Painting or Architecture. A Premium will be given.

It would appear that most apprenticeships involved drawing and engraving but very rarely painting.

The apprenticeship system was but one way for young students to learn an artistic trade. Such practical experience interested some pupils for life and they progressed from apprentice to business owner. Others, it would appear, used the knowledge of their apprenticeship to further their need for artistic training and so attended private drawing classes and frequented art studios. The pre-education of students attending life classes at the Royal Academy is varied and diverse; while some pupils came from privileged and well-educated backgrounds, others were self-taught or came from apprenticeships to tradesmen. By taking a sample of students attending the Academy Schools and its life class, one may compare and contrast the pre-Academy years of such young men.

William Hamilton (1751-1801), born in London and descending from a Scottish family, became a student at the Royal Academy in 1769. He travelled to Italy as a pupil of Antonio Zucchi, and having spent many years in Rome he returned to England as a portrait painter. It is known that during his life he executed designs on panels for Lord Fitzgibbon's state coach, for which he received 600 guineas. A number of pupils
were apprenticed in this way to tradesmen, and for many it was their first experience of artistic training. For most students, it was the first step on the educational ladder. Alfred Edward Chalon (1780-1860), was born in Geneva but at a young age moved to London with his family. As a youth he was apprenticed to tradesmen but having a great love of art, founded "The Sketching Club" which first consisted of many amateur artists like himself; during its forty years existence included C. R. Leslie, Thomas Uwins and Joshua Cristall. Chalon entered the Royal Academy as a student in 1769 and as his name appears in the life class register it is possible to identify him as a regular attender. He was later to be known for his portrait painting and his friend and 'Sketching Club' colleague Joshua Cristall also attended life classes at the Academy where they established a life-long friendship with C. R. Leslie. Leslie often refers to Alfred Chalon's artistic power, stating that when at Chalon's house he always felt himself at a school of art. Another student joining the Academy Schools in 1791 first started his education as a glass painter. Thomas Phillips (1770-1845), born in Warwickshire was apprenticed to a glass painter named Edington, in Birmingham. In 1790 he came to London with a letter of introduction to Benjamin West R.A., who found him similar employment painting on glass in St. George's Chapel, Windsor. The following year he enrolled at the Royal Academy. While a student, Phillips attended life classes and in 1825 he was appointed Professor of Painting, in
succession to Henry Fuseli. William Hogarth, Robert Smirke and Richard Westall had all been apprenticed in the trade of heraldic scenes. Richard Westall, R.A., (1765-1836), like Hogarth, had been apprenticed to an heraldic engraver on silver, named Thompson, residing in Gutter Lane, Cheapside. Whilst working as an apprentice, Westall was spotted by a miniature painter, named Alefounder, who immediately recommended that he adopt painting as a profession. After attending an evening school of art, Westall became a student at the Royal Academy in 1785, and continued as a practising artist for the rest of his life, executing numerous works for Boydell's Milton and Shakespeare Galleries. Another pre-Academy student apprenticed to heraldic painting was Robert Smirke R.A., He became a student at the Academy in 1772, and both before and after entering the Academy Schools pursued heraldic painting as his chosen profession.

William Theed (1764-1817), the son of a wig-maker, entered the Royal Academy Schools in 1786 as a painting student, and practised as a painter of historical subjects and occasional portraits. Theed also attended life classes during his period at the Academy, although later in life he spent several years in Rome befriending John Flaxman, the sculptor, and Henry Howard, the painter. These talented artists had such an effect on Theed that he turned from painting to modelling, and whilst in Rome he copied a number of classical statues under the watchful eye of Flaxman. On his return to England
in 1793 Theed began designing and modelling, as Flaxman had done previously, for Wedgwood. He subsequently went on to execute designs for Messrs. Rundell and Bridge, the jewellers, for whom he constructed the models for presentations in gold and silver, and here he worked for fourteen years. Theed continued exhibiting at the annual Royal Academy Diploma exhibitions, though no longer as a painter for which he was trained, but as a sculptor displaying large-scale statues and bronzes. It was not uncommon for students to enrol for one particular subject and then in later years change fields altogether. John Bacon (1740-1799) entered the schools in 1769 and was the first student of sculpture to be awarded a Gold Medal for his bas-relief of 'Aeneas escaping from Troy'. Bacon was born in Southampton into a family business of cloth-workers and after a short school education the young boy was apprenticed to his father. By 1755 he was apprenticed to Mr Crispe, a porcelain manufacturer in Bow churchyard, from whom he learned the art of painting on china, and also that of modelling little ornamental figures. The discovery of modelling and designing was the turning point of Bacon's artistic career and by 1768 he began working in marble, inventing new tools along with methods by which to transfer the form of the model to the marble while maintaining its exactness. The year he entered the Academy Schools he also began working at Coade's artificial stone works in Lambeth, where he executed groups and statues, keystones, wreaths of
flowers, and other ornamental works; here they were modelled, moulded and burnt. Gathering professional acclaim during his career as an artist in 1777 he was commissioned to execute a monument for Guy's Hospital. This monumental commission was one amongst many that Bacon executed during his life-time.

Not all students entering the Academy Schools had been fortunate in having a pre-Academy apprenticeship; some were self-taught. One such person was Abraham Cooper (1787-?) born in Red Lion street, Holborn. His father, a tobacconist, having lost all his money, the family business and the house, was forced to remove his son from school when he was thirteen years of age. This meant that Abraham Cooper was compelled to find work where he could, which entailed a series of unfulfilling posts. It was not until he was twenty-one years of age that he made his first attempt at painting. Having found his artistic gift he endeavoured to become a skilful animal painter and through this he earned his reputation. Another self-taught artist was Edward Bird (1772-1819), who was born in Wolverhampton. Although his father was a clothier it would appear that Bird was never apprenticed to this trade, and indeed was given a good basic school education. His love of painting was not repressed by his father who encouraged his son to become apprenticed to Messrs. Jones and Taylor, tin and Japan ware manufacturers in Wolverhampton. Edward Bird's task was to ornament and embellish tea-trays, but this for someone like Bird, was monotonous, mechanical work. Bolstered by
confidence in his own artistic skills he set-up as a drawing master in Bristol. Meanwhile he had improved his knowledge of the nature and uses of colour, had studied the human figure, and made many sketches of natural and domestic scenes; and now Bird embarked on teaching others. By 1807 his self-discipline and artistic abilities began to show and he held an exhibition in Bath, where his pictures sold for thirty guineas each. Abraham Cooper and Edward Bird were two men who, though self-taught, made a name for themselves, so much so that they were able to live as artists, regularly selling their works. As can be seen, the kinds of schooling that was undertaken in their formative years by pupils of the Academy differs greatly. The Royal Academy created an atmosphere of equality in some ways, for no matter what pre-education had been undertaken, students with artistic ability were given a chance to prove themselves. Some came from good educational backgrounds, such as Anker Smith, David Wilkie, William Owen and John Hoppner.

Anker Smith (1759-1819), was educated at Merchant Taylor's School in London and then articled in 1777 to his uncle, Mr John Toole, an attorney in whose office Smith amused himself by copying line engravings with a pen. Apparently these copies were so fine that James Heath, the engraver, mistook them for prints, and consequently Anker Smith was persuaded by Heath to learn engraving professionally. After receiving instruction for three years, between 1779 and 1782, from an engraver named Taylor, he became James Heath's
assistant. Another conventionally well-educated Academy student was David Wilkie who was born in Fifeshire on 18th November, 1785. It is said that he was interested in nothing but drawing, and it is reported that he could draw before he could read, and paint before he could spell.78 In 1799 he attended the Trustees' Academy (Edinburgh) and it was here that Wilkie began to flourish as a young painter. John Burnet, a school-friend writes thus: "Though behind in skill he surpassed in ability and that from the first - all his companions in comprehending the character of whatever he was set to draw".79 Wilkie became a student at the Royal Academy in 1805 where he befriended another new pupil, Benjamin Robert Haydon. Born in Plymouth, Haydon longed "to go to London and enter the Royal Academy as a student".80 It took long and protracted persuasion before his family allowed Haydon to fulfil his dream, and showing his single-mindedness, he went to a sale and bought a valuable copy of Albinus's \textit{The Explanation of Albinus's Anatomical Figure of the Human Skeleton and Muscles}, (1754), in order that he might understand the workings of the human form. With Reynolds's \textit{Discourses} under his arm, and "his eyes wild with want of rest and excitement", it was agreed that: "the boy should be allowed to go up to London and study at the Royal Academy for two years on trial".81 "One fine May evening (14th, 1804), Haydon, with all that eager feeling of immortality peculiar to youth, left home".82 A student at the Academy some years earlier than Wikie or Haydon, was William
Owen (1769-1825). Born at Ludlow in Shropshire he was educated at a local grammar school and showing great ability for painting was sent in 1786 to London and placed under Charles Catton, a Founder Member of the Royal Academy. Through Owen's imitations of Reynolds' paintings he and the President eventually met, and the latter's useful advice appears to have enabled Owen to enter the Academy Schools in 1791 as a painting student. It is known that at the beginning of his career as an artist he lived at 5 Coventry Street, and he subsequently took a painting-room in Leicester Square. Another pupil at the Academy was John Hoppner (1759-1810), who was born in London of German parentage. His father was the attendant in the King's household at St. James's, and his son was privileged to have the patronage of George III, who gave directions as to the boy's education. In 1775, at the age of sixteen, he became a student at the Royal Academy, and in 1782 received a Gold Medal for one of his historical paintings. Hoppner attended the life class and William Hunter's anatomy lectures both as a student and later as a professor.

It was quite common for young pupils to be apprenticed to artists, as can be seen in the case of William Owen. Usually after a few years either at a school or apprenticed to tradesmen, the young men would seek employment under an eminent artist in London, and then entry to the Academy Schools. Henry Howard (1769-1847), was one such Academy student who had previously been apprenticed to the painter and Academician,
Philip Reinagle. Howard had become Reinagle's pupil at the age of seventeen and in 1788 became a student at the Royal Academy. Reinagle himself was no stranger to the Academy as he was a Founder Member and was in close contact with other teachers at the Schools. Howard excelled under Reinagle's guidance and became a very successful artist during his time at the Academy, and was the first student to receive at one time the two highest premiums awarded - the first Silver Medal for the best drawing from the living model, and the Gold Medal for the best historical painting (awarded 10th December 1790). The following year Howard travelled to Italy with an introduction to Lord Harvey, the British Minister at Florence, and whilst in Rome he met with John Flaxman and John Deare, both attending sculpture classes at the Royal Academy.

On his return to London Howard was appointed Secretary to the Academy, and later, in 1833 was appointed Professor of Painting. Henry Howard was not alone in his exotic travels and the holding of prestigious Academy posts later in life. On reading many of the diaries and biographies of these students it becomes evident that it was common-place to travel to far-off places such as Russia, India, and the Far East. Robert Kerr Porter (later to be knighted), who was at one time an Academy student, lived for several years in Russia and married a Russian Princess. Ozias Humphry (1742-1810), apprenticed as a painter to Joshua Reynolds and later to Samuel Collins, travelled and lived in India between 1785 and 1788. During his travels through
India he painted the courts of Moorshedabad, Benares and Lucknow painting portraits of princes, nabobs and other distinguished persons.

**Premiums, Patronage and Professionalism**

Premiums, patronage and professionalism were inevitably linked to art education during the eighteenth-century. Notably a number of artists were in a position to enter the Academy Schools because of premiums or prizes they had won for painting and drawing. Nicholas Thomas Dali (fl.1748-1776), settled in London in 1760 after leaving his birth-place in Denmark, and obtained the Society of Arts first premium for the best landscape painting.90 His fellow artist John Hamilton Mortimer (1741-1776), was apprenticed to Thomas Hudson who charged £100 as a premium for the task of tutoring this young man.91 This liaison however proved to be unsuccessful and Mortimer left to study under John Pine. Through drawing from the antique in the Duke of Richmond's Gallery, Mortimer met Founder Academician John Baptist Cipriani and George Moser.92 Encounters and chance meetings such as these nurtured the London art world and its educators. The social and professional interplay of apprentice and artist were bound together by premiums and patronage. Whilst a student at the Academy, John Jackson
(1778-1831), was patronised by Sir George Beaumont, who, it is said, showed great kindness by giving him an allowance of £50 per year, together with lodgings in his town house, so that Jackson might attend the Academy Schools. Jackson entered the Academy in 1805; and not only did Beaumont provide financial support but also a social network cultivating artists in and around London. Jackson met a variety of interesting artists at the patron's home and thus made up for all that was deficient in his pre-Academy training. In contrast to Jackson's background is Thomas Banks (1735-1805), who was the son of a land-steward of the Duke of Beaufort. His father planned that Banks should become an architect and he was accordingly apprenticed to William Kent. Banks remained apprentice architect for seven years, but, having a preference for sculpture, and stimulated by the Society of Arts premiums for models, he devoted himself to the study of sculpture for which he won a number of honours from the Society. Until the opening of the Royal Academy, Banks appears to have been self-taught and in 1769 he entered the School as a sculpture student; the following year he was awarded the Gold Medal for his bas-relief of 'The Rape of Prosperine'. In 1771 he travelled to Rome where he stayed for three years and on his return to London took up residence in Oxford street.

Life class and anatomy student Samuel Woodforde (1763-1817), born in Somerset was patronised by Mr Hoare, of Stourhead, when he was only fifteen years of age. He became
a student at the Academy in 1782, and in 1786 his patrons
financially supported his visit to Italy where he especially
studied Michelangelo's and Raphael's designs. It is known
that in London he also attended John Sheldon's anatomical
lectures while a student at the Academy, and furthermore was
known to William Hunter. A fellow life class attendant was
John Russell (1745-1806), who entered the Academy Schools in
1770, having previously been privately tutored by Francis
Cotes, a Founder Member of the Academy. Russell had studied
crayon drawing under Cotes and continued to execute portraits
in the manner of his teacher whilst a student. Another young
pupil under the tutelage of eminent artists was Michael Angelo
Rooker (1743-1801), who was the son of an engraver of
architectural subjects, and a native of London. Through his
father's instruction in the art of engraving, and subsequently
as a student of Paul Sandby who taught him landscape and water-
colour painting, Rooker was well prepared by the time he
entered the Academy Schools in 1769. From Michael Angelo
Rooker's background of family teaching, we now examine other
students who came from similar backgrounds, where family and
patronage featured largely in pre-Academy years. As with those
students already examined, it is enlightening to see the
sequence of events leading them to the Royal Academy. William
Westall (1781-1850), was the younger brother of Richard Westall,
already identified in this chapter. William Westall studied
under his brother until 1801 when he participated in a long
voyage to Asia, Australia and China, and on his return in 1808 he exhibited a number of water-colour drawings. William Ward (? -1826), like the elder Westall taught his younger brother James drawing and engraving. William Ward was renowned for his mezzotint engravings and transcribed into this medium many works done by his brother-in-law, George Morland. James Ward (1769-1859), was a painter and engraver who worked chiefly in London throughout his artistic career.

The next two students, George Dawe and William Hamilton, both attended the Academy and were primarily concerned with anatomical studies, and both had artist fathers. George Dawe (1781-1829), was born in Golden-square, London, where his father Philip Dawe, appears to have raised him in the same profession, and at the age of fourteen George was already executing mezzotints. In his early life George was apprenticed to the father of George Morland who was a painter working primarily in crayons, and in 1794 Dawe entered the Academy as the youngest pupil, being only thirteen years of age. Not satisfied with attending the life class only, George Dawe sought public anatomy lectures as well as practising dissection at home. In addition to this he studied moral philosophy and metaphysics, and in 1803 was awarded the Academy's Gold Medal for the best historical painting. Dawe's talents lay chiefly in his portraits, one of which, a full-length of Mrs White, the wife of an eminent surgeon was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1809. Not only interested in
physiology, he was also intrigued by physiognomy, as his exhibit of 'The Demoniac' in the Diploma Show for 1814 shows. Throughout his life he often travelled to Russia, painting portraits of eminent princes and Officers. A student with a similar background to that of George Dawe was William Hilton (1786-1839). Hilton was born in Lincoln, received lessons from his father who was a portrait artist, and in 1800 became a private pupil of John Raphael Smith, the crayon painter and mezzotint-engraver. Hilton wanted to devote himself exclusively to high art and in 1806 became a student at the Royal Academy, where he feverishly embarked on life class and anatomical studies. Richard Redgrave describes him thus: "He entered as a student at the Royal Academy in 1806, and applying himself zealously to anatomy, soon made himself master of the figure". Like Dawe, Hilton too frequented anatomical lectures and was interested in dissecting cadavers.

A further source of pre-Academy education came from students already attending both day and evening classes at private drawing schools. A number of pupils enrolled for Academy training after spending a short time at the well-known St. Martin's Lane Academy which specialised in anatomical and life drawing; consequently, those students continuing their education at the Royal Academy entered the life class without delay. Edward Edwards (1738-1806) was the first student to enter the Academy Schools in January 1769. He was the first student to receive his student Admission Ticket, dated 30th
January, 1769, receiving it only one month after enrolling. Edwards entered the Academy as a painter, though he came from a family whose specialism was carving. He was born in Leicester Square where his father was employed as a carver, and for a short time Edwards also learnt this craft. Edwards eventually took drawing lessons from an art instructor, and in 1759 was admitted a student at the Duke of Richmond's Gallery; from here he became a student at the St. Martin's Lane Academy. He was best known for painting historical pictures, portraits and landscapes, like most of the talented students he was later in life a visiting lecturer; and in 1788 was appointed teacher of perspective. His fellow colleague Francis Wheatley (1747-1801) received his first artistic instruction at Shipley's drawing school and whilst still a young boy obtained several of the premiums awarded by the Society of Arts. Wheatley entered the Royal Academy as a painting student on 13th November, 1769, and as a professional artist, later in life, was known for rural scenes with figures and portraits. Wheatley found employment in painting scenes and portraits for Alderman Boydell (contributions to Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery) and it seems he was paid very handsomely for those. Many of the Academy students went on to seek employment at Boydell's, either drawing, making prints or paintings. Indeed, many of the artists resident in London worked freelance in this way, supplementing their incomes either from teaching or selling works of art. William Pars (1742-1782) was born in
London and first learnt the rudiments of art at Shipley's drawing school. He continued his studies at the St. Martin's Lane Academy and on the opening of the Royal Academy he became a painting student on 27th November, 1769. Both he and Edward Edwards entered the Academy Schools in the same year, coming from similar pre-Academy schooling. Pars was an excellent draughtsman and his understanding of the human figure was outstanding. Pars was only sixteen years of age when he executed a study in red chalk which was awarded the Society of Arts premium in 1759. It is reasonable to assume that he had previously studied under John Hunter at the St. Martin's Lane Academy, and later under William Hunter at the Royal Academy. As with most art students during this period, Pars went on the Grand-Tour, taking in Italy and Switzerland, and was fortunate to be chosen by the Dilettanti Society as their draughtsman to accompany an expedition travelling to Greece. Throughout his life he was best known for his portraits and classical statues; it was whilst travelling abroad that he became ill and died in Rome at the age of forty. Another outstanding student, referred to by Richard Redgrave as "a hero of another class", was Richard Cosway. Richard Cosway (1740-1821) became a student at the Royal Academy on 9th August, 1769, having previously been a pupil of Thomas Hudson and a student at the St. Martin's Lane Academy. Cosway began life as a teacher in Parr's drawing school, earning money drawing heads for shop-fronts. Later in his career he became a
visitor to the life and painting classes at the Academy and married his wife, Maria, who was also a practising artist.

A large number of students at the Royal Academy in the early years came from Shipley's and St. Martin's Lane schools, and William Parry (1742-1791) was no exception. Born in London, he first learnt drawing at Shipley's, and continued his studies at the Richmond Gallery until he finally became a private pupil of Joshua Reynolds. Whilst a student of Reynolds he also attended the St. Martin's Lane Academy and, on the 14th February, 1769, he entered the Royal Academy as a painting student. As a painting student he was very successful and earned several premiums from the Society of Arts, whilst also gaining the patronage of Sir W. W. Wynne through whose generosity he travelled to Italy in 1770. After four years he returned to London and in 1776 was elected Associate of the Royal Academy. Parry earned a living painting portraits whilst in England, but becoming dissatisfied he returned yet again to Italy in 1778, where lived for several years.

The exploration of students' social backgrounds and pre-Academy education has uncovered a variety of training which can be grouped together as I have shown. On entering the Academy Schools the students brought with them disparate and diverse experiences. Some students had already been exposed to anatomical and life studies before attending the Royal Academy, whilst others came from copying only statues or landscapes. Consequently, the Academy Schools were made-up of individually
talented artists making the Academy an unusual mix of individuality and group identity. This formal structuring of art education enabled students and visitors to use the system affectively, and for those who enjoyed this kind of art training, they achieved great public acclaim. The Academy cultivated the talents of students who had previously been apprenticed or patronised by tradesmen or wealthy individuals. However, the Academy was at the same time setting standards for art education, nurturing individual talent, whilst encouraging equality, giving each student the same opportunity.
Anonymous drawing, 'Study of the male nude', n.d.
The Royal Society of Arts.
III : The Life Academy and the Living Model : Students' Life Drawing

How much anatomical and figurative knowledge the students already possessed as they entered the life academy at the Royal Academy will become evident as this chapter evolves. As we have already seen, students came from a wide variety of artistic backgrounds, and naturally those students coming from Shipley's drawing school and the St. Martin's Lane Academy would have a greater advantage in the life class compared to those coming from trade apprenticeships or being self-taught. A handful of drawings at the Royal Society of Arts represent anatomical and life studies executed by students before entering the Royal Academy. These drawings, executed either at Shipley's or St. Martin's Lane, were carried out by students in the respective life classes. The drawings are either taken from the life or from classical statues, and in most instances are very competent, revealing knowledge of muscular development, nuances of bodily tensions, gesture and accurate proportion. Both William and John Hunter taught at these academies on an irregular basis, but it was not until 1769 when William Hunter was appointed first Professor of Anatomy at the Royal Academy, that regular anatomical lectures were specifically directed at artists, and some of the students Hunter taught at the Academy were already known to him.

As can be seen from a number of figure drawings executed between 1730 and 1769, life classes resulted in the production
of a variety of male models in different attitudes and rendered in a multiple of mediums.124

John Pye (1746-after 1789), entered the Royal Academy as an engraving student on the 31st March, 1777, at the age of thirty-one. (This is not however the eminent engraver who lived between 1782 and 1874). A pre-Academy chalk drawing of a 'Male Nude' (1759), shows a detailed back-view of a seated nude-warrior with helmet (see over the page). This drawing suggests Pye's familiarity with anatomical representation as his rendering of the nude embraces highly defined muscular development in torso, arms and legs.125 The back muscles and spine are nicely textured with nuances of the inner anatomical machinery of man, which William Hunter discusses in his Academy lectures (see Chapter Three). There is a solidness and a confidence about the sketch that reveals Pye's knowledge of physiology.

Abraham Raimbach (1776-1843), entered the Academy as a painting student on the 12th August, 1797, where he became a student in the life class whilst also attending Hunter's anatomical discourses.126 Raimbach was the son of a line-engraver of Swiss ancestry, though whilst still a young boy he settled in England with his family.127 He later became known for his line engravings, although he studied painting at the Academy, gaining a Silver Medal for a 'Drawing of Academy Figure' (1799).128 Like others, he came to the Academy Schools having won premiums from the Society of Arts for figure drawing, and throughout his life engaged in painted portraits.
William Woollet, 'Study of the male nude', n.d. c.1750s
The Royal Society of Arts.
Another student, Robert Freebairn who enrolled on the 2nd April 1782, also studied the figure prior to Academy training. One of his surviving sketches shows a three-quarter page pen and ink study of figures, probably for a projected painting: the figures are clothed and do not show any obvious anatomical awareness. Freebairn, like Raimbach, also attended the life academy, though later in life he specialised in landscape and figure painting. William Woollet (1735-1785), executed this academy 'Male Nude' drawing (see over the page), probably at the St. Martin's Lane Academy. There is no evidence that he attended the Royal Academy life class, but he may well have done so. Woollet's red chalk drawing shows the back-view of a male resting on both knees with weight and tension on left arm. There is fluidity of line harnessed to delightful structure of soft contours using full use of the page.

Hunter often compared the skin to a "quilt", protecting man's internal machinery underneath, made-up of various parts. In his lectures to art students, Hunter constantly stresses the need for harmony between inner and outer man, advocating that artists should be familiar with those muscles in the body that depict tension, action, relaxation and friction, which change the overall structure of a human figure. Only when an artist's eye has been trained to see and know these anatomical 'truths', could they represent the body correctly.

Although a number students attended both anatomy lectures and life classes I have favoured looking at the work of William
William Artaud, 'Study of the male nude', n.d. from The British Museum Prints & Drawings Room.
Artaud, John Agar and John Deare, three students at the Royal Academy. I have chosen these students for examination as they represent three separate disciplines available to students at the Academy: painting, engraving and sculpture. Not only did they specialise in the human figure, but continued to paint, engrave and model figures and portraits for the rest of their lives. From drawings and sketch books belonging to these students it has been possible to examine the influence of the life academy and their command of anatomical knowledge.

William Artaud (1763-1823), entered the Royal Academy on the 31st December, 1778, at the age of fifteen. He was a painting student at a time when Joshua Reynolds was President, William Hunter was Anatomy Professor, Edward Penny and James Barry were Professors of Painting, and George Moser and Agostino Carlini were Keepers of the Academy. Artaud excelled at the Academy Schools, and in 1783 he was awarded a Silver Medal. Three years later he won a Gold Medal, and in 1795 he was sent abroad with the financial support of the Academy. He specialised in portraits and exhibited eighty-five times at the Royal Academy, between 1780 and 1822. Most of Artaud's surviving drawings reveal his craftsmanship in drawing from life.

A number of his drawings and paintings show male nudes, well-proportioned, depicting muscular structure, displaying both full-length figures as well as fragmented studies of hands, feet and arms. The drawing over the page executed by Artaud is a charcoal study of a 'Male Nude' (academy figure). The attitude of the man is upright and he is holding a bar with
both hands, showing tautness of muscles with well-defined chest and arm muscles. The drawing was most certainly executed in the life class at the Royal Academy; a companion-piece to this male is a 'Female Nude', also rendered in charcoal. This drawing (see over the page) represents a seated female taken from the life with arm loosely swinging over the back of the chair. The body is well-proportioned, and though it shows no particular anatomical knowledge, is nevertheless a competent drawing, especially for a student. The 'Female Nude' lacks the drama and strength of character that Artaud's male nude possesses. Examining these and other figure studies by this art student, one feels that he has a sound knowledge of anatomy, especially in representing the human body in various positions and gestures.

John Samuel Agar (1770-1858) became a student of engraving at the Royal Academy Schools on the 31st December, 1792, when he was twenty years of age. Agar studied anatomy under John Sheldon who succeeded Hunter as Professor of Anatomy. During his studentship, Benjamin West succeeded Reynolds, Joseph Wilton and Henry Fuseli were Keepers of the Academy, and James Barry and Henry Fuseli were Professors of Painting. Agar won a Silver Medal in 1798 and exhibited portraits at the Academy between 1796 and 1851. From two remaining sketch books and some unmounted drawings belonging to Agar, it has been possible to glean first-hand knowledge into the student days of this artist, providing a rare insight into the artistic practices of a young art student at the
John Agar, 'Man and Skeleton', n.d. from The British Museum Prints & Drawings Room.
A small pocket-size leather-bound sketch book reveals pencil, chalk, ink and wash drawings showing fragments of life studies after Leonardo Da Vinci: some have shading, giving solidity, whilst others are linear sketches. The sketch books reveal the initial stages of an artists' first ideas, those sketches and studies from life that become larger paintings or engravings. Prominent throughout the books are figures in various poses showing hand and body gestures explored to the full. In addition, there are various physiognomical studies of heads and facial expressions. The drawing shown over the page, reveals his knowledge of Hunter's 'inner' and 'outer' man, as the study depicts a living male and a skeleton in the same attitude. Agar's grasp of the human structure, even in a quick sketch such as this, proves his working knowledge of art and anatomy, and also his concern for the harmony between the inner (skeleton) and outer (skin). This is further verified by a letter written on the last page of this sketch book, addressed to: "The Editor - The Royal Academy, this British Institution, the Patrons of Art, the Professors of Art-". Agar goes on to recount his philosophical understanding of the 'internal' and 'external':

Man is divided into two parts, the first external, the second internal senses,- External sense is a visible object, power of the Mind, which is fed upon by the first degree of mental spontaneity evolving the variety into the unity previously received by the receptivity. The power of the receptivity like that of reflection in the mirror receives the variety. The spontaneity then examines ([illeg] activity) its Dimension and Form and conveys it to the Mind and an external
John Agar, 'Three nudes', n.d. from The British Museum Prints & Drawings Room.
Agar's second slightly larger, leather-bound sketch book is filled with more complete drawings. Again, using the same medium, he represents the human form in various attitudes, showing on one page a 'Male Nude', expressing a dramatic pose, probably executed in the life class at the Royal Academy showing superficial muscles of arms, legs and torso. Amongst his individual drawings, separate from his sketch books, are numerous figure drawings and portraits. Three life studies exhibit Agar's power and command of anatomical understanding of the living form (see over the page). The top figure on the page shows a line drawing quickly sketched, full of movement and life. Agar's few notated outlines express gesture and feeling, representing the action vividly. The bottom left-hand drawing is a more detailed study of a male figure, and though a small drawing, shows muscular detail. The drawing expresses arm gestures dependent upon varying bodily action, reminiscent of Hunter's doctrines. And the bottom right-hand sketch shows a slight drawing in outline of three figures, probably envisaged for a future painting or engraving. From his allegorical scenes to his drawings of nude models, Agar constantly reveals his interest in the human form, whether it be still and silent, or gestural and loud: its rendering is always competent.

John Deare (1759-1798) entered the Royal Academy as a
John Deare, 'Seated Nude', n.d. from The British Museum Prints & Drawings Room.
sculpture student at the age of eighteen. He entered the plaster academy and was taught by Joseph Nollekens and Agostino Carlini, and in 1780 won the Gold Medal for a bas-relief. Although there is no evidence that Deare attended the life academy, it is probable that he attended Hunter's lectures on anatomy. Deare was both a sculptor and wax modeller and explored the human figure both two and three-dimensionally. The fine drawing belonging to him (see over the page), most likely executed whilst a student at the Academy, shows two sketches; one of a pensive male figure seated on a corner, and the other, a study of two nude youths. The 'Study of Two Nudes' (pen and ink) uses cross-hatching and is well crafted. The muscles of torso and shoulders are clearly defined and the body is well-proportioned, and Deare allows the line to dominate the whole drawing.

Having identified the drawing abilities of the Academy students we now turn attention to extra-curricular activities: for instance, the role of the life model, student behaviour, and student attitude towards the Academicians who taught them.
The Life Academy and its Activities: the Pupils' View

In the "School of the Living Model" only "drawing and modelling from the Nude is exclusively taught" - as laid down in the Laws of the Academy. Drawing alone was permitted in the life class and the length of the course depended entirely on the student. Aptitude and ability were judged by the performance of drawings submitted before Council, and in Council minutes, 30th December, 1768, it was agreed that "four models of different characters" would be provided by the Keeper and visitors. There was a Winter Academy (Michaelmas to 9th April), and a Summer Academy (26th May to 31st August), wherein:

No Student under the age of twenty shall be admitted to draw after the female model, unless he be a married man.

Student behaviour whilst attending the life class is explicitly outlined in the Instruments of Foundation (1768): that the student shall not speak to "nor attempt to alter the position" of the model, and that "the model shall be set by the Visitor, and continue in the Attitude two hours (by the hour glass) exclusive of the time required for resting". J. T. Smith provides an insight into Joseph Nollekens's attitude toward life models:

When Visitor to the Royal Academy, he would turn down the hour-glass whenever Charles, the model, got up to rest himself; in order that the students
might not be deprived of one moment of the time for which the model was paid.142

(The model identified is Charles Cranmer who later gave up modelling to become a student at the Academy).

Students drew lots for their places around the model, scrambling to get the best position. Some students like Thomas Stothard, did not like to sit in one place making detailed studies of the figure, preferring to make slight sketches of the model from several angles. Redgrave recalls that Stothard was "a close observer of nature, but felt cramped by the stiffness of the posed model", and strove rather to attain "motion and grace, relying upon the truth of the first impression".146 It was minuted at a Council meeting, 30th December, 1768, that male models were to be paid five shillings per week as a retaining fee with an additional one shilling for each night employed.147 Female models had been referred to in Section XVIII of the Instrument but it was not until 17th March, 1769, that female models were provided for.148 Consequently, a female model was to be employed "three nights every other week", and two months later the Council minutes for 20th May, 1769, read: "That the Female Model be paid half a guinea each night she sits".149 Towards the end of December of the same year, Farington recalls that Edward Edwards, visitor, proposed to "apply to the Council to increase the pay of the Men Models from 2s 6d. a night to 3s."150 However, Edwards was not successful and it was not until 3rd December, 1801, that
Thomas Rowlandson,
'Drawing from the life at the R. A.', 1808.
Council agreed to grant John Flaxman's wishes and increase the models' fees to 3s. 6d. 151 Joseph Farington in his Diary, in an entry of 31st December, 1795, identifies accounts and expenses of the life academy as "Visitors and expenses of model, £187-0-0." 152 It would appear from Council minutes that models for the life class were highly thought of as Council resolved on the 23rd January, 1823, that the model's life room: "be cleaned and kept in order, and provided with a Carpet, and that a Lamp be kept there burning, during the time that the model is sitting". 153 Models were in great demand and Academicians believed that models employed for the life class should be as diverse in character as possible: for instance, it was once required that there be provided "as speedily as possible two additional Male Models for the Life Academy the one a more youthful character, the other in the prime of manhood". 154 Care was also taken in the choice of model as can be seen from a Council meeting, 8th June, 1815, when a candidate who was the son of a previous Academy model offers his services to the life class, although he was unsuccessful:

Samuel Dickenson Strowger having offer'd himself to serve as Assistant Porter and Model in the Academy the Council proceeded to inspect him and Resolved, that his figure is not sufficiently good for that of a model. 155

The criteria used by Council rested on the shape and form of the male, showing well-defined superficial muscles, visually useful to artists, and it would suggest that Academicians were meticulous in their choice. Henry Fuseli's personal
correspondence illuminates the fact that General Robert Barton had no objection to the two privates being engaged as Models in the life class. The Academy thought modelling such an important job that they were willing to go to any lengths in securing those with good bodies:

"Mon. Clias, Professor of Gymnastics, from Berne, having offer'd to instruct one of the models of the Academy in various exercises for the purpose of developing his form - Resolved, that M. Clias be engaged for that purpose at the rate of 50 guineas for 6 weeks, and requested to commence with Thos. Bromhead immediately."

Employment as a model at the Academy Schools would appear to have been lucrative compared to private modelling for individual artists, especially task-masters such as Joseph Nollekens. Inspired by his female models at his own studio, he would sometimes place models in precisely the same attitude on his days as visitor at the Academy. Although Nollekens was strict regarding punctuality and decorum in the life academy, he also appears to have been affable and well liked by the students.

The life academy was primarily the place where drawing the living model took place and until John Flaxman felt that some visual anatomical representation should be placed in the life class, there was nothing in the room except the model. Separation of the life academy and its counterpart, the anatomy class, had always been divided. Little is known of William Hunter's involvement with the life class directly, though his
lectures would have been attended by a percentage of life class students. If this were so, Hunter probably did not feel the need to frequent the life class, except for his own personal curiosity. He always had a living model present when he gave his anatomy lectures, and as the life academy met every day and anatomical instruction was arranged more formally by Monday evening lectures, this created a further separation. At a Council meeting, 1st December, 1809, in trying to resolve this discrepancy, Flaxman moved that for facilitating studies in the living model academy: "A Skeleton with an Anatomical Cast from Nature shall be placed to remain in that Academy, for the students to refer to on all occasions".162

Students at the Academy, irrespective of specialism, had to familiarise themselves with the human form and its inner workings. Therefore, it was inevitable that the life and anatomy classes would encroach upon each other in some way. The life and anatomy schools had been working side by side since the founding of the Academy and Flaxman sought to redress this discrepancy by using visual aids such as skeletons, anatomical models and écorchés, bringing together studies in life and death. Hunter's successor, John Sheldon, made an application to Council on the 6th March, 1806, for a new skeleton, the one in the Academy "being much decayed".163 This application was successful and a new skeleton was purchased from "Mr Andrews of Greek Street, which he agreed to, for Six Guineas".164 During this period, anatomy, high art and figure drawing were deemed the fount of all artistic acclaim and this
was nowhere truer than at the Royal Academy. At a Council meeting on 19th February, 1800, it was resolved that students in the life class not recommended by Council be transferred back to the antique academy for additional supervision, being insufficiently "prepared by previous study". The lists were as follows:

Students in the life academy, QUALIFIED to remain

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Student Name</th>
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<th>Student Name</th>
<th>Student Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wm. Walker</td>
<td>A. Wyatt</td>
<td>D. Riviere</td>
<td>A. Pugin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. Smirke</td>
<td>R. Jones</td>
<td>H.P. Bone</td>
<td>R.K. Porter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pierre Conde</td>
<td>S.J. Stump</td>
<td>P. Turnarelli</td>
<td>C. Cranmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Noel</td>
<td>J. DeCort</td>
<td>Wm. Findlater</td>
<td>A. Raimbach</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Students in the life academy, NOT QUALIFIED and return to the antique academy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Student Name</th>
<th>Student Name</th>
<th>Student Name</th>
<th>Student Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>J. Cawse</td>
<td>J. Dadley</td>
<td>W. Brown</td>
<td>H. Meyer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Corbett</td>
<td>H. Rouw</td>
<td>W. Evans</td>
<td>J.R. Smith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Burrows</td>
<td>J. Barker</td>
<td>G.F. Pidgeon</td>
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</table>

Life academy students were monitored not in terms of their work alone but also by their behaviour. Council meeting, 6th April, 1792, submits a complaint made by Mr Rigaud, a visitor, concerning "the insolent treatment he had received in the Academy, when the Model was sitting, from Jno. Godefry". Council agreed that Godefry be not admitted into the Academy again until he made "a proper confession" and in the presence of his class-mates. Godefry had entered the Royal Academy on 31st March, 1789, specialising in engraving, and begun taking
life classes a year later, by which time he was twenty years of age. He must have apologized to John Francis Rigaud, Academician and painter, as his name appears continually in the life academy register (signed 'Godefroy'), whilst simultaneously attending anatomy lectures. It was part of the Treasurer's job to see that all life classes were paid for, and in one such instance, a letter to an unnamed life class student concerning his attendance of some twelve months' ago, remained "still unpaid". A similar encounter to that of Rigaud's took place between Agostino Carlini (Founder Member) and a student. Carlini reported to Council that "Thomas Burgess, one of the Students had grossly insulted him in the execution of his Office as Visitor on the 4th instant". The outcome was that Burgess had to send a letter of apology to both Carlini and Council. It is speculative as to which Academy School created the most chaos, for students of all the schools appear to have been disruptive from time to time. However, on 26th December, 1794, Farington writes in his Diary:

Hamilton says the Life Academy requires regulation: but the Plaister Academy much more. The Students act like a mob, in endeavouring to get places.

This situation in the plaister academy was partly due to the statues and models not presenting the best angles to students, so the scramble was for best place. However, the following year saw students from the plaister academy continuing to behave "very rudely" by "throwing the bread, allowed them by
As the "Bill for Bread" often amounted to sixteen shillings a week, Council resolved on 31st December, 1795: "That hence forward, No Bread, be allowed in the Academy for the Students". It seems that the students of the plaister academy were forever being brought before Council either for mob-like behaviour or individual misconduct. A report from the Keeper and Francesco Bartolozzi, Visitor, went before Council on the 29th November, 1793, regarding "an imposition having been practiced on them, by Peter Carey". Peter Carey (1776-1795), entered the Academy in 1792, aged sixteen years of age as a painting student, and after only four months as a probationer was given his Ticket of Admission. However, while a plaister academy student he tried to obtain a ticket to advance him to the most important class: the life academy. A paragraph directly underneath this report in Council minutes has been crossed out, though it states that Carey will not be admitted into the life class. This exclusion did not take place and Carey continued to attend the classes as his name appears in the life academy register for this period.

Henry Fuseli was at various times Visitor, Keeper and Professor of Painting, and in keeping with his responsibilities was often asked to present reports concerning the conduct of students and the state of the schools. One such report, written by Fuseli in 1816, is a lengthy paper addressing the behaviour of students, the quality of specimen drawings and paintings offered to Council for premiums, decreased numbers in
the Schools of painting and the life, and the mis-use and mutilation of casts. Fuseli also condemns the painting school for undertaking studies at night for painting without natural light. Even so, Fuseli commends to Council those "youths at present under my tuition" having "desirable talents" and "can truly say that [the antique academy] is orderly and attentive during my presence". Any irregular conversation by students is easily "checked" and "silence necessary for Study" prevails once again. One grievance chiefly relating to his School "is the want of respect for the Casts", which have been frequently mutilated, ruptured and injured beyond repair. Fuseli's task was also to convince Council that the handful of drawings laid before them for student transition from the antique to the life academy, was not representative of all students' work in the Academy: some had produced better drawings than those submitted. We constantly see Fuseli acting as advocate for the students, and in 1807 he was rewarded for the "excellence and utility of his instruction, and his affability and attention upon every occasion", as the Academy students presented him with an inscribed vase.
The Life Academy and its Activities: the Teachers' View

Although some overlap may occur in discussions regarding students and teachers at the Royal Academy it has been necessary to distinguish these roles either as teachers or students, consequently this section deals with them as teachers. Though not all Professors and visitors were equally gifted, nor equally anxious to fulfil purposes for which they were elected, nevertheless they all had one thing in common - they were all practising artists as well as teachers. Artists bring with them various talents and abilities which influence their everyday interaction with students. Nor can the best teacher tease out the genius in a student if it is not there to begin with: not all pupils become great artists. In its most perfect state an Academy of art can only offer students technical skill, experience and knowledge; art teachers can be a vehicle for knowledge regarding colour, expression, form and content, composition, perspective and subject matter. But given all this, the student will finish masterly works of art, as John Agar pointed out, when the mind and intuition are working well together. Many of the students at the Academy during this period not only rivalled, but sometimes surpassed the works by their teachers, later becoming Professors themselves. William Sandby's insightful grasp of teaching and its principles led him to write:

It is not always he who exhibits the greatest proficiency, or displays the most conspicuous genius in the practical department of art or science, who is best qualified to impart judicious
principles in connection with its theory, or trace out the most effective course of study to be followed by those who seek to devote themselves to its cultivation.182

The Instruments of Foundation (1768) stated that "Professors of Painting, shall read Six Lectures", for which they were paid £30 per year.183 The role of Professor was not only to act as figure-head to the individual Schools but also to impart "the principles of composition, to form [students'] taste of design and colouring, to strengthen their judgment, to point out to them the beauties and imperfections of celebrated works of art, and the particular excellencies and defects of great masters".184 Although each School was governed by a Professor, a large percentage of the teaching was carried out by visitors who, too, were artists. Visitors attended the Schools on a rota basis and those servicing the painting academy also taught in the life academy. A strict territorial division between the two Schools prohibited painting in the life class; only pencil, charcoal, and occasionally ink and wash were allowed. Council minutes for 7th January, 1771, reveal that "Visitors had drawn Lots for their Attendance".185 Moreover "that for the future, the Lectures shall begin at seven o'Clock in the Evening, and that the Academy on those Nights shall begin at five o'Clock".186 Academy lectures were publicly advertised, giving information as to time, date and speaker, and Academicians were "supplied with 80 Lecture Tickets for the season, the President
At a Council meeting held on 30th December, 1775, it was resolved that the "Visitor shall be considered Master of the Living-Academy; and that neither the Keeper nor any other Academician shall presume to enter the Room whilst the Visitor is setting the Model". Visual aids and illuminations accompanied also some evening lectures. And a list of names concerning those students qualified to draw from the life was placed in the library for reference.

From the surviving Life Visitor's registers I have analysed the numbers of years' teaching each artist undertook in the life class. Joseph Nollekens taught for eighteen years, between 1769 and 1801, and is the longest serving member for this period. Three visitors teaching for sixteen years each Barry, Burch and West, and during this period one-year teaching posts were held by John Flaxman, Martin Shee and Samuel Wale. (see Appendix VI, for yearly analysis). The total number of visitors employed by the Academy between 1769 and 1801 is forty, and individual specialisms* are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TOTAL NUMBER OF LIFE CLASS VISITORS EMPLOYED 1769 and 1801</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PAINTERS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ENGRAVERS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCULPTORS</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

* see Appendix VII for individual subject analysis.
Edward Burch and Agostino Carlini not only taught in the life academy but also in the plaister academy where they furnished William Hunter with anatomical models (see Chapter Five). Burch was elected Academician in 1771 during the presidency of Joshua Reynolds, and in the following year Joseph Nollekens was also elected.

Nollekens (1737-1823) was born in Soho where his father was a painter. After a short period at Shipley's drawing school, he was apprenticed at the age of thirteen to Sheemakers, the sculptor, whose studio was in Vine Street, Piccadilly. In 1759 he gained the Society of Arts premium of fifteen guineas and in the following year a further thirty guineas for submission of a bas-relief. After spending ten years in Italy, Nollekens returned to London and created a studio and gallery in his house in Mortimer street. It was not uncommon for visitors to have their own studios and in certain circumstances lectures and classes were held in the studios rather than the Academy. Samuel Wale, R.A., (1721-1786), first Professor of Perspective, between 1768 and 1786, was granted permission by Council on the 11th June, 1786:

To be indulged with giving his Lectures at his own House, and that Notice be put up in the Academy accordingly. Mr Wale to begin on Monday ... the Lectures to be continued every Monday and Thursday.

(Wale, also a painting instructor, has signed his name in the students' Life Academy register for 10th December, 1790.)

It was common for Academy students to become visitors
later in life and Thomas Stothard and Richard Cosway were no exceptions. Thomas Stothard (1755-1834), was born in Long Acre and later sent to boarding-school in Essex. After following an apprenticeship as a pattern-drawer he entered the Royal Academy as a painting student, and in 1796 began teaching in the life school; and by all accounts he was a very conscientious teacher. Colleague Richard Cosway also a former student, came from the Shipley's drawing school and began teaching in the life class in 1780, continuing for the next ten years. William Whitley portrays Cosway as a "dandy of the extremest type", who was constantly in the newspapers either through his dress-sense or his quarrels with fellow Academicians. Though quarrels did take place from time to time, the majority of visitors appear amicable, interacting courteously both on a social and professional level. Not only did Cosway entertain "musical parties" but Academy dinners also became social events.

John Opie (1761-1807), became Professor of Painting three years prior to his death. He had also been life visitor from 1788 for at least seven years. Redgrave says of him, that: "at the age of ten he was capable of instructing and at twelve he set up an evening school, where he taught scholars of twice his own age". Opie had friendships with a number of medical men not only in London but also in Truro (his birth-place) where he met Dr Wolcot (known as Peter Pindar) Cited in the Life Academy register for 1st November 1790, amongst student names, is "BANKS VISITOR". Although there is no mention of
Thomas Banks having been officially designated to the life class, he must have taught there sporadically. Thomas Banks, R.A., was a sculptor who taught in the plaster academy and in 1785 was elected Academician under the presidency of Joshua Reynolds. In 1801 a cast of the anatomised body of a murderer (James Legge) fastened to a wooden cross, was obtained for the school. It had been skilfully made by Thomas Banks under the direction of surgeon-anatomist Joseph Constantine Carpue, to simulate as nearly as possible a crucified figure.

It has been shown already that it was not unusual for visitors whilst teaching at the Academy also to have private pupils in their studios. Banks was no exception, and indeed had a number of students, one of which was William Mulready (1786-1863), who at the young age of thirteen applied to Banks for both apprenticeship and admission into the Royal Academy. Mulready continued to draw in Banks' studio for almost twelve months at the end of which, after submitting a drawing of a Michelangelo to Council, gained entrance to the Royal Academy in October 1800, aged fourteen years and six months. Later in life Mulready also became a teacher in the life academy, and Redgrave quotes him as saying: "I have, from the first moment I became a Visitor in the life-school, drawn there as if I were drawing for a prize". Mulready was always a willing and diligent visitor in the life school, and like Etty constantly worked from the model whilst teaching. William Etty (1787-1849) entered the Academy Schools as a painting student on 15th January, 1807, at twenty years of
He enjoyed painting large scale figures and immediately "became wholly absorbed in the study of the Nude, which qualified him for admission to paint from the Life". He was a student of Sir Thomas Lawrence, and Redgrave recalls the grandiose style, even as a student, that became Etty's trade-mark throughout his life:

[Etty's] drawing is grand and large; there is not the slightest appearance of mere posed models; there is no pause in the action; the muscles are in full play, starting with the energy of the strife. The modelling and painting of the flesh are very fine, and place Etty high as a colourist.

G. D. Leslie recounts that Etty, "whether he was Visitor or not, would come to the Life School, would seat himself beside the students and paint from the model". It was not uncommon either for visitors and students to sit side-by-side drawing the model; Nollekens, Copley and Fuseli regularly positioned the model to suit their own studies. In some ways it set an example to students, placing both Professor and pupil on the level of artist; this however, did not affect the didactic approach that other Academicians preferred.

One of the most disruptive and passionate teachers at the Academy was James Barry (1741-1806), who held the post of Professor of Painting between 1782 and 1799. He succeeded Edward Penny when the latter resigned through ill-health. Barry was known for his monumental historical paintings and was a visitor to the life school for sixteen years. A chronicler of 1816, writing ten years after Barry's death, recounted the strange habits of this solitary painter:
There are many persons who remember Barry in a suit of dirty red with his constant companion, an old great coat, on his arm. Yet, such were the charms of his conversation that, in a state of apparently insane mendicity, he has been seen walking arm in arm with two youthful beauties, women of fashion who disdained not the ragged coat for the soul which sometimes inhabited it.215

Despite his unkempt appearance, Barry gained some success both as artist and teacher, and whilst living in Suffolk Street (1773-1776), he advertised in the Public Advertiser, 4th June, 1774, informing the "young nobility and gentry" of private drawing lessons to be held at his house twice a week.216 Lessons cost three guineas per month and took place on Wednesdays, Thursdays or Fridays.217 It is well known that Barry's lectures created discord and his unreliability within the Academy was minuted, 31st December, 1783, that: "A letter be sent to Mr Sandby to request that he will give the first Lectures on Monday 12th Jany. Mr Barry not being ready".218 It has been said of him that as Professor of Painting he was aloof, keeping himself apart from other Academicians, and with the failing health of Thomas Sandby it was suggested by Edward Edwards that Barry might read his lectures instead.219 Increasingly Barry's lectures scathingly attacked lack of student talent and the apathy of bad visitors: he condemned "students for want of ability - but accused Academicians as cause".220 However, it should be said that not all Academicians were against Barry and it is recounted via Farington that Northcote "did not see objection to Barrys
When Barry's lectures turned towards art he discussed design from the Greeks to present day, parallels between poetry and painting, compared differences between concept of description and expression, and expounded the facets of unity and beauty. His lecture conducted on Monday, 15th January, 1798, is remembered by Joseph Farington thus:

Barry's lecture I went to, Coombes, Northcote, Banks, P. Sandby, - began 1/4 past 10 - began with design - Greeks advantage over all others because minds of Artists more elevated - better instructed - The Abstract of nature produces perfect form.

Fuseli says he "is afraid" of Barry; other visitors "talked of Barry - agrees of stupidity of lecture". By July 1798, visitors and students were reporting his bad temper and behaviour, commenting that "Barry was in a passion", or "he made a point of commanding his temper". A year later, after numerous reports and vehement discussions, Council decided on 15th April, 1799, that James Barry should be removed from the post of painting Professor and expelled from the Academy.

Another equally dominant figure, was Henry Fuseli (1741-1825), who was born into a family of painters at Zurich, and taught in the life academy from 1791. Apart from holding various posts within the Academy he devoted himself to the teaching and application of high art and was a popular visitor with the students. In 1799 he was appointed Professor of Painting, succeeding James Barry, and in 1810 filled this appointment once again, this time succeeding Henry Tresham. Abraham Raimbach, whilst a student of Fuseli, characterised him
as "a man of undoubted genius, though as a painter, his claims
to pre-eminence may be disruptive". Benjamin Haydon
reiterates Raimbach's sentiments:

On the whole Fuseli was a great genius, but
not a sound genius, and failed to interest the
nation by having nothing in his style in common
without natural sympathies.

Nevertheless, Haydon recalls "delightful hours" spent with
Fuseli in "one continued stream of quotation, conception,
repartee, and humour". Fuseli's temper "was terrible and
violent, but appeased in an instant". Haydon speaks highly
of Fuseli as a lecturer and like other Academy students, relied
on his artistic judgment:

The Royal Academy may get a Keeper who may
be better in handling the chalk, or improving
the regulations of its Councils; but they will
never get another who will have the power to
invigorate the conceptions, enlarge the views,
or inspire the ambition of the students as
Fuseli did.

Descriptions of Fuseli portray him as a man of strange habits,
strong language, love of literature and art, and a profanity
both for kindness. C. R. Leslie says that "Fuseli paid
little attention to the students":

That under Fuseli's wise neglect, Wilkie,
Mulready, Etty, Landseer, and Haydon
distinguished themselves, and were better
for not being made all alike by teaching.

Fuseli's premise was that "art may be learnt, but cannot be
taught", which probably suited some students better than
signed 'JR': 'Back View of Fuseli in the Royal Academy Schools', n.d.
Commenting on a painting (consisting of twenty figures) executed by George Henry Harlow, one of his students, Fuseli advised: "Because you have not shown one leg or foot; this makes it very defective. Now, if you do not know how to draw legs and feet, I will show you." And taking hold of the crayon, began drawing the desired anatomical parts.

Fuseli's outstanding gift as a teacher and his ability to move freely with the students did not go unnoticed and an article in *The Artist* (1807), commends these attributes. It appears that Henry Fuseli's worth at the Academy was primarily as a teacher and not as an artist. His style of painting had a degree of "wildness which, in dreamy or terrible subjects, was often grand and impressive." Again, Haydon speaks complimentary of Fuseli as a man and teacher, but of him as an artist he says: "I abhor Fuseli's mind, his subjects and his manner."

Fuseli was conscious of artistic differences between himself and other Academicians, as he observed:

> If you would have a picture of Nature as she is, you must go to Opie; if one as she has been, go to Northcote; but if you wish to possess representations which never have been nor ever will be, come to me.

*The Herald* (1803), called his style of painting an "extravaganza", while others disliked the exaggerated proportions and "convulsive muscular action", often to be found in his works. Like Barry, Fuseli was dissatisfied with certain elements of the Academy and sought new ways to improve teaching methods, facilities and direction for students.
His first lectures were delivered in 1801. They were well attended and in their delivery he was frequently interrupted by applause.243 A letter from Farington to Fuseli, 31st March, 1801, indicates the speaker's growing popularity as the lecture hall "was more crowded" than the previous week.244 Fuseli interacted both socially and professionally with colleagues, and though out spoken about politics, religion and art to the annoyance of some, he was admired both by students and visitors alike.

Life academy visitors brought with them differences in attitude, behaviour and capabilities. Some already mentioned were acknowledged for their teaching abilities, others for their mastery of paint. Between the fixed lectures held on Monday evenings and the daily life classes, students and visitors were expected to participate in all aspects of school life. The Academy became the life-force for many of its inhabitants. This chapter so far has concentrated on the pupils' and teachers' view; the following section examines the core content of life class activities: what might loosely be called the curriculum. We can presume that the life academy did not restrict itself to the human torso alone, but focused also on portraiture and bodily gestures and expression. The use of physiognomical and phrenological teaching methods will be examined in detail, as with the question of whether, in fact, such medical and scientific methods were employed in the life academy at all.
The Life Academy: its Curriculum and Methodology

Besides the usual teaching about medias, grounds, paint application, colour theory and perspective, the visitors were also responsible for widening the scope of students' artistic awareness. Museums and galleries played their part in making the past accessible to students but in addition to these, the library was also a necessary channel to other art works. The library at the Royal Academy had a small holding of books, folios and prints, though until 1802 no record was kept, except in Council minutes, of its contents. It would appear that between 1768 and 1801 very few books were actually purchased, and little money was put aside for this purpose. The Academy was fortunate in that many books at this time were donated by artists, medical men and patrons. Eighteenth-century medical atlases were too expensive for students to purchase and apart from the patronage of art connoisseurs opening their houses as drawing schools, there were very few opportunities for students to view such folios. John Russell, a life visitor between 1790 and 1791, published a pamphlet entitled *Elements of Painting with Crayons* (1776), which he donated to the library.245 At a Council meeting on 22nd December, 1796, it was resolved that "the subscription to Mr Metz's publication" be continued, and that subscription be made for "Mr Chamberlaine's publication from the Anatomical Drawings of Leonardo da Vinci".246 In addition, a number of donations were made by medical men, such as William Hunter, John Belchier, Peter Brown, Dr Levett, and
Dr Brisbane. And it was minuted on 14th February, 1769, that: "The Academy do write a letter of thanks to Dr. Brisbane for the Present made to the Academy of his Book of Anatomy". It was rare for the Academy to purchase books, though occasionally they made exceptions, in the case of Rymsdyk's and George Stubbs' Anatomy, purchased in 1784 and 1791 respectively. Not only a pioneer of the life class but also of the library, John Flaxman proposed in 1801 that a catalogue of library acquisitions be written and that each member of staff be given a copy. Consequently, by 1802 the library recorded a number of anatomical and physiognomical publications, housing eighteen books on anatomy alone, and two specifically on physiognomy. (see Appendix VIII for list of library acquisitions).

To some degree a library reflects the teaching and its curriculum and the Academy's holdings reveal that dominance of high art, drawing and anatomy. With this in mind, the next section examines the teaching of portraiture and physiognomy, concentrating on Fuseli's influence on the life class, both as artist and teacher especially as his own work dealt with studies of heads and expressive figures. Like Flaxman, Henry Fuseli was concerned to build a library that would be useful to students, acquiring books relating to the course content of the life academy, and at a Council meeting, 13th December, 1808, it is revealed that:

Mr Fuseli produced the Bill for Lavater's Fragments of Physiognomy; and the President gave an Order on the Treasurer for payment, £27-0-0d.
During this period, artists, scientists and laymen alike believed, to varying degrees, that external man revealed his inner nature. The practice of character-reading through scrutiny of facial expressions was known as physiognomy. Closely related to this was phrenology, which confined itself to variations in head shapes. Phrenology was concerned with the study of personality and character as indicated by the forms of the skull. The practice of both disciplines usually overlapped. Mary Cowling has investigated the use of this type of visual schema in relation to nineteenth-century artists, such as William Powell Frith, who is known to have been interested in 'reading' criminal types.  

For most of the eighteenth century Charles Le Brun's pattern-book Expression des Passions was widely copied. Le Brun's canvasses were minutely detailed with gesture and body posture, transmitting a clearly understood message. Darwin portrays 'laughter' as a graduated series from violent to moderate laughing, sometimes making it visually difficult to see the difference between the tear-stained face of an unhappy person to that of a person laughing excessively.  

Physiognomically these two reactions look very similar and in Meditations on a Hobby Horse (1978), Gombrich warns against this type of confusion, mistaking "response with understanding, expression with communication". Joshua Reynolds was one of the first at the Royal Academy to address himself to the problems and ambiguities of pictorial expression, and to this end spent a great deal of time painting the human figure. In
Discourse XII (1784), Reynolds warns the students against the pitfalls of not understanding nature properly, citing as an example the figure of a Bacchante leaning backwards\textsuperscript{254}. The figure has been used both to display "a frantick kind of joy" as well as "a frantick agony of grief": two opposite emotions visualised in the same way\textsuperscript{255}. Reynolds asserted: "it is curious to observe that the extremes of contrary passions are with very little variation expressed by the same action"\textsuperscript{256}

In 1753 William Hogarth referred to Expression des Passions as "that common drawing book of Le Brun", something that every art student should know\textsuperscript{257}. Hogarth is referring in this instance to Le Brun's generally accepted rules of physiognomy and like Le Brun, Hogarth was interested in the forms of expression and its uses and influence on the beauty of the body, incorporating symmetry and proportion\textsuperscript{258}.

The artist, according to Le Brun's treatise, had to observe and trace the source of every outward manifestation in the human face, whilst discriminating between general and particular expressions of individuals. The latter, he argued, gave personal characteristics to a face on the canvas. Artists should know the most appropriate way of portraying each emotional state, Le Brun advocated, while rationally formulating rules for expressing such emotions. If there was a 'norm' for every passion it had to be found and objectified. However, Fuseli was against such rigid schemata, saying that Le Brun's French School was "limited by Academical rules"\textsuperscript{259}. 

IV: Physiogomy and its Followers: Henry Fuseli, the Neo-Classicists and Charles Bell

Charles Bell an anatomist living in London wrote to his brother George in 1805 regarding Charles' *Essay on the Anatomy of Painting* (1806): "I am almost angry, after drawing this figure, to find that Fuseli had given one almost the same in Lavater's Physiogomy". A year later Bell sent a copy of his publication to Fuseli and Flaxman, and in return Fuseli gave Bell "three very beautiful engravings". Bell's theories on neurology and facial expressions were at the time pioneering, although he accepted that mistakes could be made, especially when depicting the insane. Lavater was not interested so much in the physiognomies of the mentally ill, though a number of artists and medical men, including Esquirol, Géorget and Géricault became increasingly fascinated by the facial expressions of the patients in asylums.

Benjamin Haydon and David Wilkie regularly attended Charles Bell's drawing and dissection classes, as an entry in Haydon's journal shows:

> Wilkie and I got up a Class - 16 at £2. 2. a head, and he gave those beautiful lectures on Expression & Anatomy. Wilkie drew for him the 'frightened man'.

Haydon says that Bell is "truly the Painter Anatomist - I never go there but there is something new, some new animal, some new scheme - or some new arrangement that stimulates enquiry and
William Blake (1757-1827) befriended Fuseli and although their friendship dates from about 1787, they became closest during the 1790s. Describing one of Fuseli's paintings shown at the Academy in 1806, Blake comments on the figure of 'Count Ugolino':

His innocent and venerable madness, and insanity, and fury, and whatever paltry cold hearted critics cannot, because they dare not, look upon. Fuseli's Count Ugolino is a man of wonder and admiration, of resentment against man and devil.

Blake praises this picture for being "truly sublime", shunning the critics who call the colouring "black and heavy". Blake believes them to be "blind to the gloom of real terror".

In a letter dated c.1809, an unnamed Irish student describes in great detail his feelings towards Fuseli and Blake:

He [Fuseli] has a great admirer and defender, I believe the only one, in a Mr W Blake, a miserable engraver, and one of the most eccentric men of the age. This man has hailed him as the modern Michael Angelo.

Though the letter goes on to praise Fuseli's teaching as showing "much genius, ability, and depth of thought and reading", the student describes Fuseli's character as having "moroseness and haughtiness in the spirit", with manners both "forbidding and disgusting", where on numerous occasions his pride "gets the better of his reason". The student then examines Fuseli's 'Night-Mare' which, he writes, has certain merit:

Every figure appears to be grave and mysterious caricature. The faces of his men are generally very livid, with their
Dominant in Fuseli's pictures were facial expressions, bodily gestures and exaggerated caricature-like attitudes, and despite "his wise neglect" as a teacher it is reasonable to assume that he offered the same artistic practices to students in the life academy when called upon, using the wealth of paintings, engravings and books on physiognomy housed in the Royal Academy. Moreover, the very ingredients of neo-classical art were theatrical, over-exaggerated bodily and facial expressions, usually capturing some Shakespearian scene or mythologised Greek drama. Fuseli executed a number of works incorporating the powerful portrayal of fanciful, yet macabre subjects. The "pathology of portrayal" gave artists and followers of physiognomy much scope in the representation of extreme passions, such as insanity and fear. Artists and medical men alike were interested in the phenomenon of wild and untamed lunacy.

Edward J. Anson entered the Royal Academy as a painting student on 31st December, 1791, aged between sixteen and seventeen. A drawing entitled 'Head of the father of a Lunatic Child' is primarily linear, with some deviations mainly in dominating features expressing the look of madness. (see over the page). Dominating features are eyes, eye-brows, nose and nostrils, where Anson has rendered shadow and tone, giving
John Hamilton Mortimer,
a drawing of 'Heads',
n.d.
importance to these physical and inner characteristics. The eye is wild, staring straight ahead, showing the whites; the mouth is dry with corners pulled downwards by superficial muscles lying underneath. Melancholia and madness are represented both physiognomically and emotionally. Artists representing madness portrayed extreme feelings by facial expression and/or bodily attitudes either reflecting rage, or, as Charles Bell observed in the cells of the madhouses, blank expressions with no muscular action. Fuseli's pictures are of sombre tones, representative of fear, terror, grief, madness and melancholy. His paintings may serve as a link between neoclassicism and early nineteenth-century romanticism, and his female subjects especially verge on the erotic and death-inspired ideas of contemporary romantic literature. Academy student John Hamilton Mortimer is said to have "placed great emphasis on the sublime and terrible elements in the classics." Mortimer, like Fuseli, was described as being passionate and unpredictable, "a fascinating and dangerous companion", preferring violent and menacing subjects to Reynoldseque portraits. For both Blake and Fuseli reason was subordinate in art: Fuseli insisted that expression was supreme, and Blake staked all on imagination.
John Hamilton Mortimer,
mezzotint, n.d.
The British Museum Prints &
Drawings Room.
Portraits, Physiognomy and the Life Class

A letter from Frederica Lock to Frances Burney, dated 15th December, 1789, mentions Fuseli, who has:

Bought Lavater's 'Phisiognomy' the original German - he is an intimate Friend of Lavaters and to assist in a new work which is to be translated into English on Phisiognomy - Fuseli explained and remarked on the engravings which belong to this work with infinite entertainment.278

Johann Caspar Lavater (1741-1801), only a few months younger than Henry Fuseli and like him a native of Zurich, made a reputation throughout Europe as a physiognomist, eventually becoming the most renowned ambassador of this new scientific philosophy.279 Published in 1824 was An Introduction to the Study of the Anatomy of the Human Body; particularly designed for the use of Painters, Sculptors, and Artists in general, which contained twenty-seven lithographic plates and was dedicated to Henry Fuseli.280 Lavater on his visits to London often met with Fuseli, when lengthy discussions on art monopolized their time, leading Lavater to write:

Observing on the grandeur and the peculiar character of painting were suggested to my mind ... which I beheld your creative hand draw forth frequently from the delusive obscurity of Nature, the real form of which the eye of genius alone is capable of discerning.281

Lavater's book Physiognomische Fragmente (1775-78), was translated by Henry Hunter and a monthly magazine called it
Johann C. Lavater, 'Visage of Satan', taken from *Physiognomy*, 1783-1787.
"the finest book which has ever appeared in this or any other country". William Blake executed three plates for this translation as well as the frontispiece for a 1788 edition of Lavater's Aphorisms of Man, which the artist annotated with favourable comments.

Both Charles Bell and Johann Lavater advocated the division and arrangement of the passions, according to their gradation. Both men thought that each passion, every emotion of the individual, visually altered the lines of the face in a particular manner, and by co-operation of the nerves, vessels and muscular fibres, the observer could 'read' the feelings and mental state of the subject. Bell ascertained in The Anatomy and Philosophy of Expression as Connected with the Fine Arts (1806), that understanding individual limbs, or muscles of the face in isolation from each other was not sufficient, and artists would benefit from studying the parts in relation to the whole. Lavater proposes how an artist might use these insightful observations:

What character may not the artist give to his figure, for example, merely by the expression of the eye; but its vivacity, dulness, languishing; by representing it more or less open; by the turn of the pupil; and in particular by the cut of the eye-lids ... how much do not the change of colour of the cheeks, the wrinkling of the mouth, the wrinkling of the forehead, the bending of the nose, and the form of the chin and ears, contribute to the same.

Lavater translates his theories into actuality in a letter to Sir Thomas Lawrence, dated 6th March, 1810; here he describes
either a painting or drawing executed by Lawrence. It is interesting to examine Lavater's lengthy appraisal of the work of art, but whether or not such an interpretation met with Lawrence's approval is not stated. However, in contrast to Lavater's scientific analysis is Lawrence's own procedure for painting a portrait which, as described by Joseph Farington, employs no pathological schemata at all. Farington recounts: "This morning I sat to Lawrence when He drew in my portrait with black chalk on the Canvas, which employed him near 2 Hours. He did not use colour today - This is his mode of beginning".

An artist ignorant of anatomy, Lavater claimed, "merely covers figures of straw with drapery", and is incapable of giving life or warmth to any living figure. He praised William Hunter for his teaching of anatomy at the Royal Academy and Great Windmill Street School:

I am astonished that the benefits of his lectures and Picturesque Anatomy have not instigated other professors of the science to attempt similar.

In two of his anatomical lectures to Academy students, William Hunter addresses himself to the problems of expressing specific emotions in relation to portraiture. His lectures describe emotions such as mirth and grief, stipulating that "artists must adapt themselves to the state of human nature, according to the different power of producing weaker or stronger effects". When representing mirth, the artist "may chuse
the most stimulating subject, and may use every power of rendering the effect striking". Alternatively, with "Grief, and all its Sister Passions", the artist should "keep judiciously within bounds, both in the Choice of his subject, and in the exersion of those powers which give force to the Effect". "In the able hands" of artists, Hunter advised:

These are powerful Instruments [that] make strong impressions: they strike the sense, yet leave some scope for the imagination. But to have such effects a picture must be excellent.

In a second lecture he discusses the relationship between Nature and the "imitative arts", posing such questions as, how far should art copy Nature? and the concept of "likeness". Hunter proposed that if a portrait is a "precise imitation of nature" it can be "too natural", appearing to be "supernatural"; on the other hand, art imitating nature should include within it some "point of realizing". The problem as Hunter saw it, is for the artist to agree on the "pitch of delusion", which is most apparent in a portrait when likeness and representation are more obvious. A portrait is finely balanced between rendering it "like" the person, and it "becoming" the person. Hunter concludes: "A portrait in order to be excellent must not appear to be the person but something that is only like him".

During the eighteenth-century artists supplemented their incomes by executing commissioned portraits, and teachers such as Fuseli, Barry and Nollekens introduced portrait painting
techniques and principles into the life academy. It was not unusual for students on leaving the Academy to advertise their portrait painting skills, as can be seen in the *Morning Chronicle* of Thursday, 3rd January, 1793:

**PAINTING STRONG LIKENESS** - in a quarter of an hour in Miniature, and finished in one day, at CHARLES, no. 130, opposite the Lyceum, Strand. A MOST PERFECT resemblance of the Face taken in Fifteen Minutes ... 299

George Romney (1734-1802), executed large scale portraits and was able to make a living from such commissions. Whilst resident in Cavendish Square he charged fifteen guineas for a head life-size, and proportionately for half and whole-lengths. Alongside physiognomic texts, medical folios and daily life classes, students were encouraged to look at portraits executed by past Masters adorning the walls of the Royal Academy. Academy student Henry Pierce Bone (1755-1834) was well-known for his portraits and whilst at the Academy specialised in this subject. Bone entered the School as an engraver and painter at the age of sixteen, on the 27th February, 1796, and one month later received his Admission Ticket, allowing him to draw from the life. On Friday, 28th February, 1794, two years prior to him becoming a student, he called on Joseph Farington, "to desire to copy my portrait by Opie in enamel". Fellow student Edmund Coffin entered the Royal Academy on 14th October, 1785, aged twenty-four, and became a sculpture student, later winning a Silver Medal for his modelling in 1795. He entered the life class in October
Lewis Pingo, 'Portrait', n.d. from The Royal Society of Arts.
1790, and also attended Hunter's anatomical lectures, and throughout his time at the Academy continued to exhibit wax busts and portraits there. Whilst a student of Fuseli, Nollekens and Burch, it was said of him that his "work shows great delicacy of treatment". Edward Burch (1730-1814), was renowned for his portraits and life-size figures executed in wax and plaster, and not only did he attend the life class as a regular visitor for at least sixteen years, but also assisted William Hunter with his écorchés and cadaver-casting moulds. Another of Fuseli's students was Thomas Webster (1800-1886), and although "he was not sufficiently forward to become a student in the Academy school", Fuseli nevertheless saw talent in his early drawings and gave his "permission to draw in the great hall from the antique models". With the help of Fuseli and his own artistic abilities, Webster eventually gained a Studentship.

Engraving student Lewis Pingo (1743-1830), the son of Thomas Pingo, the medallist, entered the Academy Schools on 20th January, 1770. On entering, Lewis had already won several premiums for medallions awarded by the Society of Arts in 1759 and 1760; in 1776 he succeeded his father as an assistant engraver at the Mint and three years later was appointed Chief Engraver, a post which he held until 1815. Pingo exhibited medals and wax portraits at the Society of Arts and at the Free Society, and a study in charcoal executed by him can be seen over the page. Pingo's facial sketches were most probably preliminary drawings for his three-dimensional
models. As a student Benjamin Haydon executed numerous sketches of fellow-artists, and in particular of his friend David Wilkie. A quick profile drawing portrays Wilkie in an argument with eye-brows and forehead in a frown, and with eyes vexed. Two other pen sketches by Haydon reveal profiles showing 'intelligence' and 'ignorance', (see over the page). 'Intelligence' is portrayed by dominant nose and nostrils, with a severe mouth and strong chin, whereas 'ignorance' is depicted by small and feeble features. It is quite clear from John Agar's sketch book (already mentioned, above) that he was transcribing rules of physiognomical and phrenological schemata to his drawings. Pasted into one of his sketch books is a 'Phrenological Chart', outlining various 'faculties' of expression with "Man know Thyself, then Others Learn to Know" as a postscript.

Art seeks to represent not only those "visible parts of Nature" that are self-evident, but also those emotions embedded in the mind and spirit of man. Le Brun's physiognomical schema "distinguishing between the general and particular expressions" allows for individual and personal characteristics to a face. Fuseli reiterates Le Brun's principles in his Lecture V (1805), when he speaks of expression and characterisation: "To make a face speak clearly and with propriety, it must not only be well constructed, but have its own exclusive character". The unison of art and physiognomy evolved properties which were particular to the visual arts. The general characteristics of representation that physiognomy heralded, and the particular,
Benjamin Haydon. 'Intelligence' and 'Ignorance' (pen sketches) (c.1812)
individual traits of artistic representation (i.e. portraiture), welded themselves together through pictorial devices. Each artist as we have seen, has a unique manner of portrayal concerning the 'general' and the 'specific' of the sitter. If we accept Bell's and Lavater's theories of mind/body, emotions/expressions, soul/body, then we accept that the countenance either facially or bodily will display each fleeting feeling, each movement, whether it be the blinking of an eye, or the exaggerated movements of an arm. Consequently, we not only illuminate ourselves from inside out, but we reflect ourselves through others: we are simultaneously a mirror-image of each other and ourselves. With this in mind, it is enlightening that it was Alexander Pope who lyrically incorporated this mirror-image concept into his literature. Belinda, in Pope's *Rape of the Lock*, is both painter and sitter, she is adorning and adorned, and through "puffs, powders [and] patches" the self-portrait both resembles her inner feelings and outer expressions. The portrait transcends all these emotions, and more, becoming almost supernatural. Art-anatomy images used this metaphorical device concerning the objectified self and its mirror-image, as can be seen over the page with an illustration taken from Berrettini da Cortona's *Tabulae Anatomicae* (1741). This shows a dissected muscle-man with a portrait of himself.

The "pitch of delusion" as Hunter calls it, is the perennial problem for a portrait artist. For example, should a painting capture the 'soul', or merely a 'likeness'? Lavater
P. Berrettini da Cortona, 'Cadaver and portrait', from Tabulae Anatomicae, 1741.
believed that "every emotion of the soul" has its external counterpart. Indeed, Samuel Pepys, describing a portrait by Lely, had written: "On the animated canvas stole, The sleepy eye, that spoke the melting soul".316

Hunter's lectures on the 'passions' refer to the embodiment "of soul" within the nature of the portrait. For a portrait, though it "resembles" and is "like" the sitter, is also a means of "immortalizing the memory of the person".317 Reynolds's Discourse V (1772), refers to preserving beauty "in its most perfect state", in addition to which "you cannot express the passions, all of which produce distortion and deformity, more or less, in the most beautiful faces".318 Winckelmann's History of the Art of the Ancients (1764), had also advocated that "expression detracts from beauty".319 Henry Fuseli however, disagreed with both men, believing "that beauty without expression is nothing at all".320

The life academy became a meeting place for both students and visitors alike, pooling together theories and practices of physiognomy, relying on doctrines from Leonardo, Charles Le Brun, William Hunter, Joshua Reynolds, Charles Bell, Johann Lavater and Henry Fuseli. If portrait and figure painters used pathological schemata at all then it came from a variety of sources. Furthermore, the teachings of Lavater filtered into Fuseli's lectures to the students, even if Lavater did not actually teach. Similarly, to Hunter's doctrines infiltrated the painting and life classes. Physiognomy was not an educational device solely for Academy teaching and had farther-
reaching consequences outside the realm of art education. The science of physiognomy and its visual 'reading' of man infiltrated neo-classical art, anatomical understanding and literature. Artists that went onto specialise in neo-classical art had studied portraiture at the Academy Schools and though portrait painting had seemingly little to do with the exaggerated facial expressions of the neo-classical figures, nevertheless, teachings of portraiture and physiognomy complemented each other.

Summary.

This chapter has been primarily concerned with the education and apprenticeship that an artist might follow in London during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, giving attention to the art curriculum and methodology. Its teachers naturally played an important role in forming not only the curriculum but also creating an atmosphere conducive to students develop in. Gender differences can be seen operating in the early years of the Royal Academy to the point of near exclusion of women. Discrimination between the sexes, education and exhibiting reveal cultural attitudes towards
power and achievement. For although the Royal Academy allowed females to exhibit works of art they were more reticent in allowing them to have an art education comparable to their male counterparts. The life academy was exclusively male dominated and Angelica Kauffman and Mary Moser were not allowed to draw here. Kauffman tried to counteract this by having male models (semi-clothed) at her studio/house; this was only socially acceptable because her father, also a painter, was present in the same room. The restrictions put upon female artists impinged on their rights as artists and consequently made their task of studying the human form even more difficult.

The life academy was the hub of energy and activity at the Academy and it is to its companion school we now turn our attention: the anatomy class. Anatomy lectures dealing with man's inner and outer physiology complemented the life academy and William Hunter, a skilled communicator, taught the students to look beyond the external boundaries of the skin. His teachings enabled the artist's eye and hand to understand the internal workings of the human body and to grasp the structure beneath; to know how and why a knee moves in the way it does, to ask questions as to colouring of the blush of a cheek, and to know what happens to a muscle in action. Questions such as these guided figure and portrait painters in their search for capturing human life on the canvas.
FOOTNOTES

1. At the age of about twelve a boy could enter a painter's workshop as an apprentice, and would in two to six years' learn everything necessary from colour-grinding and preparing grounds to drawing and painting. For a comprehensive account of early workshops in the Renaissance period see Pevsner, N. Academies of Art, Past and Present, Da Capo Press, New York 1973, pp. 30-35.

For further investigation into these guilds, Macdonald, S. The History and Philosophy of Art Education, University of London Press Ltd, London 1970, pp. 20-21, 'Medieval Guilds'.

See, Browne, A. Ars Pictoria: Or an Academy Treating of Drawing, Painting, Limning and Etching. To which are added 30 Copper Plates Expressing the Rules of Symmetry, J. Redmayen for the author, London 1669.

2. Pevsner, Academies, pp. 36-37. The teachings and theories of Leonardo seemed to call for a more academic education and his place at the beginning of the history of art education remains unchallenged. It was his theories that laid the foundation for all subsequent systems of academic instruction at least up until the nineteenth century.

employed by Charles II and James II, and was later made a baronet. He was a renowned painter of his day. He resigned as Governor of the Great Queen Street Academy and Thornhill succeeded him. When Kneller died in 1723 Thornhill decided to set up his own school the following year. For this purpose he used his own house in Covent Garden but despite free admission it was not a success and eventually petered out. James Thornhill at this time submitted to Lord Halifax, then Prime Minister, a detailed proposal to establish a royal academy of art, however this was not successful. see Macdonald, S. History of Education, p. 28, for a further account of satellite schools before 1768. Pevsner, N. Academies, p. 125. Meanwhile, John Vanderbank and Louis Cheron took over the old Great Queen St. Academy and moved it to rooms in St. Martin's Lane, and from October 1720 opened its doors at a subscription rate of two guineas.

A newspaper notice appeared in October 1722 stating: This week the Academy for the Improvement of Painters and Sculptors by drawing from the Naked, open'd in St. Martin's Lane, and will continue during the Winter as usual.

William Hogarth was one of its members. Life drawing was taught on Tuesdays, Wednesdays, Thursdays and Friday from October until Spring each year with a female model available.

This Winter 1753 an Academy for drawing from the life set up in St. Martin's Lane where several artists go to draw from the life. Mr Hogarth principally promotes or undertakes it.

Pevsner, Academies, p. 125. Hogarth refused to be regarded as Governor of this new academy and therefore it had no directors as such. Hogarth wanted every member to enjoy the same collective rights.

Lindsay, J. Hogarth - His Art and His World, Granada Publications Ltd, London 1977, pp. 96-97. The site of the new academy was that of the past academy run by Vanderbank and now each subscriber paid two guineas for the Winter season for the first year after that only a guinea and a half was required. However, prior to the opening of St. Martin's Lane academy George Michael Moser along with fellow artists had established a small drawing academy in Salisbury Court (circa 1735), but this eventually became absorbed into Hogarth's successful academy.

6. Ibid. p. 96. After collecting enough money from subscriptions Hogarth presented his artists with "a proper table for the figure to stand on, a large lamp and benches in a circular form". Artist William Burgess (1749-1812), also established a well respected Drawing academy in Maiden Lane, where he produced "many able claimants for the Society's awards".


8. Ibid. p. 34. Kemp, M. *Dr William Hunter at the Royal Academy of Arts*, University of Glasgow Press, Glasgow 1975, p. 16.

9. Dr Richard Mead's academy was situated in Great Ormond Street. Mead (1673-1754), was a well-known London physician, a collector and patron of the arts. After his death his large collection of paintings was sold. Zuckerman, A. *Dr Richard Mead (1673-1754): A Biographical Study*, Ann Arbor Press, Michigan University 1980.

11. By 1765 the 'Society of Artists' obtained a Royal Charter and became 'The Incorporated Society of Artists of Great Britain' with over two hundred members.

12. Hutchison, *History of the Royal Academy*, p. 40. The Society was never trouble free and there was much dissension within it. Eventually some defects in the constitution could not be overcome by its members and it was dissolved. Many of its members became Foundation Members of the Royal Academy.

13. A Memorial was signed by twenty-two artists and their patron George III, on 28th November 1768, stating:

We, your Majesty's most faithful subjects, Painters, Sculptors, and Architects of this metropolis, being desirous of establishing a Society for promoting the Arts and Design.
There are twenty-six paragraphs outlining the membership of the Academy, giving rules for the election of new members, the appointment of officers, professors, the conduct of the schools, library and annual exhibition and general administration of the institution.


14. This covenant of rules and regulations were outlined in the *Instrument of Foundation* (1768), pp. 8. Only the "ablest artists" were selected:

"nine persons, who shall be called Visitors; they shall be Painters of History, able Sculptors, or other persons properly qualified; their business shall be to attend the Schools by rotation each month".

15. *Ibid.* pp. 6-9. The Secretary was paid £50 a year, and the Keeper one hundred pounds.
16. MSS. RA, General Assembly Minutes, 1768, and 2nd January 1769. All references to Academy affairs, elections, appointments of Officers, resignations, and amendments to laws mentioned in this chapter have been got from manuscripts at the Royal Academy archives. I should like to thank Academy archivist Helen Valentine for her help in retrieving many of the manuscripts used.


19. Ibid.


21. Reynolds opening speech to the Royal Academy delivered, 2nd January, 1769, see Wark, R. R. (ed.), Sir Joshua
The principal advantages of an Academy is, that beside furnishing able men to direct the Student, it will be a repository for the great examples of Art. These are the materials on which Genius is to work, and without which the strongest intellect may be fruitlessly or deviously employed.


23. Ibid. Although I do not deal with the buildings of the Royal Academy, see Needham, R. and Webster, A. Somerset House, Past and Present, T. Fisher Unwin, London 1905. Croft-Murray, E. 'Decorative Paintings for Lord Burlington and the Royal Academy', Apollo, January


26. Garlick, K. and Macintyre, A. (eds), The Diary of Joseph Farington, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1979, vol. I, p. 265. Three Historical Pictures were offered for the Gold Medal the subject, Cassandra coming into the Council, vide Troilus & Cressida - candidates, Philips,- the pupil of West ... it was put to Ballot whether the Medal should be given. No, by 13 to 7.

28. MSS. RA, 'List of Students of the R.A. who obtained, Premiums of Gold and Silver Medals in Painting, Sculpture and Architecture' [pages not numbered].

29. Farington and fellow colleagues agreed:
   That it would be liberal and proper, to admit such students of the Academy as had rec'd gold medals, and had been abroad at the Academys expense, to be Honorary Members of the Club.
   But to be admitted but by Ballot.

   Farington, *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 279, 19th December, 1794.

   Joseph Nollekens was a member of the Royal Academy Club and paid two guineas a year subscription. Smith, J. T. *Nollekens and His Times*, Century Hutchinson Ltd, London 1986, p. 142.


   No Student shall be admitted into the Schools till he hath satisfied the Keeper of the Academy, the Visitor for the time being, and the Council of his abilities; which being done, he shall receive his ticket of admission, signed by the Secretary of the Academy, certifying that he is admitted a Student in the Royal Schools. (p. 14)

33. *Ibid.* p. 14. If Council gave approval then the student should make a drawing or a three-dimensional model from a group within the Academy. This should go before Council with:
Outline drawings of anatomical figure and skeleton, not less than 2 feet high, with lists and references to each drawing of the several muscles, tendons and bones contained in it.

34. *Instrument (1768),* p. 28.

35. Hutchison, *History of the Royal Academy,* p. 44.

When a Student is admitted, he shall receive an Ivory Ticket, marked with his name and the date of his admission.

37. MSS. RA, Jupp Catalogues; JU/1/79 vol. 1.
Admission Cards also exist for George Turner, admitting him both into the Schools and to the life class, signed by Barry, Newton and Moser, 5th and 7th January 1782.
MSS. RA, Royal Academy Scrapbook; SB/58d.

38. MSS. RA, Jupp Catalogues; JU/1/79 vol. 1.

39. MSS. RA, Jupp Catalogues; JU/2/84-5, vol II.

41. MSS. RA, Student Registers still in the Academy archives are as follows: Plaister Academy [10 vols], Attendance Register, 1790-1798; Antique Academy [2 vols], Attendance Register, 1795-1796; Life Academy [9 vols], Attendance Registers, 1790-1801; Painting Academy [5 vols], Attendance Registers, 1790-1797; Library [vol. 1], Register, 1799-1801.

42. MSS. RA, 'Registers of students admitted to R.A. Schools', these are arranged alphabetically, giving; name, age, profession and date of entry of each student, with notes of medals won.

43. Instrument (1768), p. 28. When he attends Schools, the Lectures, or the Exhibition, he shall produce his Ticket to the Doorkeeper, or to any of the Officers of the Academy who may require it, to identify him as a Student.

44. MSS. RA, Student Registers.

45. MSS. RA, Life Registers of Students: vol. 1, 1790-1791 (July to August); vol. 2, 1791-1792 (December to November); vol. 3, 1792-1793 (November to February); vol. 4, 1793 (February to October); vol. 5, 1793-1794 (October to January); vol. 6, 1794-1794 (January to August); vol. 7, 1794-1795 (August to January);
vol. 8, 1795-1796 (December to August); vol. 9, 1799-1799 (February to November).


47. MSS. RA, Life Register, vol. 1, 17th August, 1790.

See MSS. FAR, Joseph Farington papers at the Academy.

49. MSS. RA Life Register, vol. 2.

50. Each student signed in the Life Register and I have taken signatures on first time of attending.
MSS, RA Life Registers, 9 vols; see Appendix II.

51. MSS. RA, 'Students admitted to draw in the Royal Academy. The Dates of their Obtaining Student Tickets and of their Admission into the Life Academy by the Committee of 1800 and the Council'.


53. MSS. RA, Miscellaneous letters and papers; MIS/WY/1, 1800. Admission Card for M.C. Wyatt, admitting him to also draw from the life. In 1813 Wyatt won the Royal Society's Silver Palette for a chalk drawing of
the 'Discobolos', this is still in existence. MS. RSA, Folio II.

54. MSS. RA, Anderdon Catalogues; AND/13/128 vol. XIII, card admitting Ramsay to draw from the life, signed by Henry Fuseli. AND/12/236 vol. XII, Admission Ticket into the Academy as a student.


56. MSS, RA, 'Student Admission Register'.

57. Morning Chronicle, [Friday], 8th January, 1773. British Library, Colindale archives.

58. Morning Chronicle, [Tuesday], 23rd January, 1776: WANTED - An Ingenious YOUTH, as an Apprentice to an ARTIST of established reputation. He must have a genius for drawing. A genteel premium is expected. Letters addresses to A.B. at Mr Shatwell's, Stationer, in the Strand, will be attended to.

59. Morning Chronicle, [Friday], 13th January, 1792: FINE ARTS TO PARENTS AND GUARDIANS, WANTED as an APPRENTICE to an ENGRAVER, an ingenious Boy, who has a Taste for Drawing, and whose Education and Connexions are respectable. As he will be employed in a capital Line on the best Work only, and will besides have other Advantages, not to be had elsewhere,
none but those of real Abilities need apply, in proportion to which a Premium will be expected, — apply: Mr Whittow, Copper-plate Maker, Shoe-Lane, Holborn.

60. Morning Chronicle, [Tuesday], 15th January, 1793: TO PARENTS AND GUARDIANS, WANTED a youth of good temper and morals, who discovers a taste for DRAWING, as an Apprentice to a genteel and advantages profession. Enquire of Mr Simpson, Drawing-Master, St. Paul's Church-yard.


72. Ibid.


75. Ibid.

76. Ibid.


82. Ibid.


85. See Chapter Three of this thesis for analysis of those who attended Hunter's R.A. lectures.


91. Sandby, *Royal Academy*, vol. I, pp. 243-244. Mortimer died at the age of thirty eight from a severe attack of fever. Waterhouse, *Dictionary*, p. 249. His paintings and mezzotints were neo-classical in subject, often employing dramatic gestures and exaggerated facial expressions of his 'romantic' figures.


96. MSS. RA, 'Premiums List', 1769.


99. See Chapter Three of this thesis for Woodforde's involvement with Hunter and his lectures.
100. Sandby, Royal Academy, vol. I, p. 204. Russell, J. Diary, London 1764. This contains extracts from his diary as a painter, giving biographical accounts of his life and works and his involvement with other members of the Royal Academy. For his existing drawings, see; MS. RSA, C83 [top]. Russell, J. 'Letters from a Young Painter from Abroad to His Friend in London', London 1748, MS. British Library.


105. Ibid.


107. Ibid.

108. MSS. RA, 'Premiums List', 1769-1810.


119. Ibid. p. 171. Wood, History of the Royal Society of Arts, p. 172. Cosway won premiums at the RSA, between 1755 and 1760. The RSA still have a pencil and chalk drawing by Cosway, MS. C64. This is taken from a statue and is a skilful drawing for a student.


122. Ormond, and Rogers, (eds), *British Portraiture*, vol. II.

123. MSS, Royal Society of Arts. Although I examine only a few artists in detail, a number of drawings still exist at the RSA for circa 1750 to 1770. A percentage of these artists did not go onto the Royal Academy for further training and continued to practice as artists in and around, making enough money through commissions to survive in this way. Artists I have not examined in full, and yet premium drawings at the RSA are still in existence, include: MS. A66-68, Aliamet; MS. C25, Barrow; Barth; Bauke; MS. Folio 12, Blanchard; MS. D50, Blore; MS. D55, Bone; Brewster; MS. C19, Carr; MS. C71, Cartwright; Cecil; MS. B35 & 53, Chinnery; MS. C40, Collard; Cox; MS. B39, Davies; Dixon; MS. C96, Durno; MS. C56, 72, 76, 87, 67, Earlom; MS. D55, Eastlake; MS. A97, Ellis; Fairland; MS. D50, 52, Farey; MS. D55, Finden; MS. D46, Findon; MS. D55, Freebairn; MS. Folio 8, Green, V; MS. C54, 65,69, B43, B7, Gresse; MS. Folio II, Harding; Hart; Hurst; MS. Folio 6, Landseer; Langdon; MS. C27, 35, Martin; Matthews; MS. A57, Miller; MS. C35, Morten; MS. C62, Nollekens; Page; MS. D34,
Parke; MS. C57, Parsons; MS. C68, Peters; MS. A5-6, B40, Pether; MS. D38, Pocock; MS. C3, Porter, J.A; MS. A29-31, A32-34, A45-46, Ravenet; Rimbault; Robson; MS. D27, Romney; Russell, C; Say; Shepheard; MS. D16, Ryland; MS. B5, C63, Smith, N; Staunton; MS. A101, Taylor; Theobald; MS. D40, Thielke; Thomas; MS. C70, Trotter; MS. C46, Vanderbon; MS. A27, Van Rynsdyk; MS. B70, Vivares; MS. D10, Ward; Warner; Weatherhead; Williams; MS. C1, Wood; MS. D33, Woollett, J.

124. MSS. RA, 'Admission Register'. Drawings exist for Sherwin, MS. RSA, C93 [bottom]; Liart, MS. RSA, C41 and A62-64. For biographical details of Henry Pickersgill, see Sandby, Royal Academy, vol. II, pp. 47-49.

125. MSS. RA, 'Admission Register', 1777. MSS. Royal Society of Arts, Folio 6 [Trial Drawings], 'Chalk Drawing of Nude', 1759. Illustration shown in chapter.

126. MSS, RA, 'Admission Register', 1797. MSS. Royal Society of Arts, D30 [top right], two identical engravings, small in size, in the style of Fuseli and Blake showing three bodies but no anatomical detail.

128. MSS. RA, 'Premiums List', 1799.

129. MSS. RA, 'Admission Register', 1782. MSS. Royal Society of Arts, D55; three-quarter page study in pen and ink showing clothed figures, probably sketches for a larger painting [d. 1810].

130. MSS. Royal Society of Arts, C31 [drawing in red chalk of back view of seated male nude]. William Woollett was the brother of equally renowned artists George and John. Woollett became a respected engraver and executed a number of George Stubbs' animal pictures. Redgrave, A Century of British Painters, pp. 37, 45, 79, 136.

131. MSS. RA, 'Admission Register', 1778.

132. MSS. RA, 'Premiums List', 1783, 1786.

133. Waterhouse, Dictionary, p. 32.

134. Very few drawings executed by Artaud exist. The British Museum Prints and Drawings Room have a few. No drawings exist that he executed whilst a student at the Royal Academy. MS. [British Museum], 1973-12-8-77, is a drawing of a hand and cup. This is a fine drawing executed in pastels, well controlled use of colour with nice detail of hand and fingers. A
similar study from the life depicts a study of 'Two Hands' (crayon), and explores the various gestures a hand is capable of making. MS. [B.M.], 1973-12-8-70. MSS. [British Museum], 1973-12-8-71, this is a charcoal drawing by Artaud of a portrait of a young man, probably a fellow-student at the Academy Schools. Other drawings include: MS. 1973-12-8-79; MS. 1973-12-8-67; MS. 1973-12-66; MS. 1973-12-8-81; MS. 1973-12-8-68; MS. 1973-12-8-72 [his sister].

135. MS. [British Museum], 1973-12-8-74 (n.d.), 'Male Study' shown in this chapter. MS. [British Museum], 1973-12-8-76, 'Female Study', (n.d.), also shown in this chapter.

136. MS. RA, 'Admission Register', 1792. MS. RA, 'Premiums List', 1792. Ormond, and Rogers, (eds), British Portraiture, vol. II. Wood, History of the Royal Society of Arts, p. 162. Agar was also awarded the Silver Palette in 1793 by the RSA for an historical drawing.

137. MSS. [British Museum Prints and Drawings] Case 199* a.9. leather bound with gold inlay sketch book. 'Man and Skeleton' [drawing shown], MS. 198-5-4-7 (14).

13. Ibid.
139. **Ibid. MSS. Roy, 10; Roy, 8 (3); 8 (4); 8 (5).** These are the three figure drawings on one page shown in this chapter. For the second larger sketch book, see MSS. Case, 198* a 17.


141. **Instrument and Laws, (1768), p. 21.** Resolved. No student shall be allow'd to paint from the living Model, excepting those who have obtain'd a Gold Medal, or the First Silver Medal in the Life Academy, without previously making a Drawing as a proof of his sufficient advancement in that School, to be laid before the Council for their approbation.

Council Minutes for 30th August, 1821.

142. MS. RA, Council Minutes, 30th December, 1768.

143. **Instruments and Laws, (1768) pp. 9-12.**

144. **Instrument and Laws, (1814), pp. 9-12.**

146. There are a number of rules laid down in the *Laws of the Royal Academy*, (1814) appertaining to the life model. *Instrument and Laws* (1768), p. 22.


147. MS. RA, Council Minutes, 30th December, 1768.


149. MS. RA, Council Minutes, 20th May, 1769.


151. MS. RA, Council Minutes, 3rd December, 1801.

    Minutes were unanimously passed at another Council Meeting for 10th December, 1810, that both male and female models were to be granted further increments. Male models were raised to 5s. Od. and female models to 12s. Od. per night. By 1812, Council resolved that in "future the allowance for Female models be one guinea per night, and for Male half-a-guinea".


153. MS. RA, Council Minutes, 23rd January, 1823.
This was Strowger, junior, for we see earlier in 1802, Samuel Strowger, senior, also being employed at the Academy as a life model. It would appear that his son did not follow in father at the Academy. For the father we read, [MS. RA, Council Minutes, 20th November, 1802]: John Withers, Senior Porter ... now rendered incapable of the duty required; therefore that he be allowed to retire on his Salary. And that Samuel Strowger who has been a Model in the Academy some Years, be appointed in his place.

As a porter Strowger was to be paid fifty guineas per year.


157. MS. RA, Council Minutes, 29th November, 1822.

158. Smith, Nollekens, pp. 24-25, 38, 144, 232-3, 242-3, for references to Nollekens and his models. According to Smith, female models brought to Nollekens studio suffered long hours of strenuous and tiring work for little pay. Another model at his studio recalls: Why the girl is hardly able to move a limb to-day. To think of keeping a young creature eight hours in that room, without a thread upon her, or a morsel of anything to eat or a drop to drink, and then to give her only two shillings to bring home! Neither Mr Fuseli nor Mr Tresham would service me so.
Angelica Kauffmann was also known to have models at her private studio. One of the earliest models at the Academy, Charles Cranmer not only acted as model and porter but later became a painting student. He also sat for Kauffman at her house in Golden Square, as J. T. Smith recalls:

[Cranmer] only exposed his arms, shoulders and legs, and that her father, who was also an artist, ... was always present. (p. 46).

Charles Cranmer entered the Royal Academy Schools on 18th February, 1791 at the age of 17, and became a life class pupil in October, 1792. However, whilst a student he must have kept-up some employment with the Academy, for Council Minutes, 17th July, 1802, reads: Charles Cranmer, one of the Porters, who has been afflicted some Months with a painful disorder, prays for leave of Absence, two or three weeks in the Country, changes of Air having been advised by his Surgeons. However, two years later at a Council Meeting, 3rd April, 1804, it was agreed that: "The Porters shall not be used as Models, or for any other purposes..."

On one occasion whilst working on a female statue later to be executed in marble, Nollekens on positioning the female model in his studio, cried out across the room, "Stop, don't move; I must model you as you now sit". The next time he was Visitor to the life class, he placed the model in the exact attitude of the model for his statue. Smith, Nollekens, p. 307. On certain occasions when models were not readily available, friends of Nollekens would step in and pose, as J. T. Smith recalls:
I never received directly or indirectly, the slightest remuneration from him, though whilst I was with him I have often stood to him as a model.

160. A certain incident at the Academy meant that Nollekens's good-nature as a teacher was ridiculed by one of the students who imitated him by wearing an "old brown worsted-stocking, similar to one worn by the R.A. when he had a sore throat". The majority of students thought this disgraceful behaviour and sent the student in question "to Coventry - refusing to speak to him for twelve months". Smith, Nollekens, p. 102.

161. MS. RA, Council Minutes, 1809, vol. IV, p. 61. Flaxman proposed some additions to the life class:
Three Anatomical Tables shall also be painted in the front, sides and back view of the first course of Muscles shall be described in distinct outlines, the numbers in each part to be explained by an annexed Catalogue of the Muscles and Bones, these figures to be three feet high and painted in black and white; which are also to remain for reference in the Living Model Academy.

162. Ibid.

163. MS. RA, Council Minutes, 8th March, 1806, vol. III.

164. Ibid.

It was reported of Thomas Rowlandson who was admitted as a painting student in 1772, that he was mis-behaving in the life class by disturbing the model with a peashooter.

MS. RA, Council Minutes, 6th April, 1792, vol. II.
MSS. RA, 'Admission Register' and Life Class Registers.
Drawings still exist by Godfroy; MS. RSA, A69 and A94.

MS. RA, Jupp Catalogues; JU/7/12 vol. VII. Letter to unnamed addressee, dated 26th June, 1823:
I am sorry to hear that your attendance in the Life Academy some twelve months ago remains still unpaid - I can only assure you that I have never been informed of the debt and request you will let me know the time of the attendance that it may be entered in the Accounts and immediately paid.

Robert Smirke was at this time Treasurer to the R.A.


This scramble for the best place could also be seen in the life class, where George Cruikshank on one occasion asked Fuseli if a new pupil of his might attend. Fuseli
replied: "Oh, very well he must fight for a place".
MS. RA, Anderdon Catalogues; AND/13. This might very well be referring to William Mulready when he was stabled with Cruikshank as an apprentice.


174. MS. RA, Council Minutes, 29th November, 1793, vol. II, p. 190:
From a Report of the Keeper and Mr Bartolozzi, Visitor of an imposition having been practiced on them, by Peter Carey a Student in the Plaister Academy, to obtain a Ticket, to admit him in the Life Academy.

[A paragraph underneath this states that he will not be admitted into the life academy but this has been crossed out]. However, Farington writes of the mis-understanding between Carey, Wilton and Bartolozzi:

Mr. Carey stated to me this afternoon a misunderstanding of Mr. Wilton with regard to his being admitted into the Life Academy, to which a week since, Mr. Wilton & Mr. Bartolozzi the visitor, consented. The Council directed Mr. Wilton to order the attendance of Mr. Carey upon them at the next meeting.

175. MS. RA, Life Class Registers.
176. MS. RA, Henry Fuseli: letters and papers; FU/4/4. This is not dated though watermark on the paper reads 1816.

177. Ibid. The illustration shown in this Chapter of Henry Fuseli in the life class has been wrongly attributed to George Dance by David Irwin. The bottom left-hand corner are the initials 'JR'. The print can be got from the Prints and Drawings Department, The British Library. See Irwin, D. English Neoclassical Art. Studies In Inspiration and Taste, Faber and Faber, London 1966, Figure 27.

178. Ibid. For further references to student conduct and standard of drawing see; Weinglass, (ed.), Letters of Fuseli, pp. 477-478. This is a letter from Fuseli to Henry Howard, [Friday] 10th January, 1823, regarding the life and painting classes. For references to Howard as artist and teacher, see Regrave, A Century of Painters, p. 272. And congratulatory letter on his post as Professor of Painting to the R.A., see MS. Jupp Catalogues, JU/16/175.

Smirke replies:
I am directed by the Council to inform you, that they have taken into their consideration the neglected state of the Schools of the Academy, and do request that you will perform the duties of Keeper ad interim, for the preservation of Order, and to give the benefit of Instruction.


181. British Press, 11th June, 1807, [The Royal Academy]: The Students of the Royal Academy yesterday waited upon Henry Fuseli, RA., Keeper of the R.A. at his apartments in Somerset House, for the purpose of presenting him with a Vase, as a token of their gratitude ... The scene concluded with the Students drinking health, happiness and long life, to Mr Fuseli ... The Vase is executed in Silver [designed by Flaxman]... with the following inscription:-'To Henry Fuseli, Esq. Keeper of the Royal Academy, by the Students, 1807'.


183. Instrument and Laws, (1768), p. 10. However, by November 1802 Council agreed that Professors of Painting, Architecture, Perspective and Anatomy should be paid sixty pounds a year for their six lectures. MS. RA, Council Minutes, 27th November, 1802, vol. II, p. 163. Seven years later it was agreed that their salaries should rise a further ten pounds, giving them annual salaries of seventy pounds a year. MS. RA, Council Minutes, 3rd July, 1809, vol. IV, p. 135.

185. MS. RA, Council Minutes, 7th January, 1771, vol. I, p. 95. Resolved: "That the Visitors had drawn Lots for their Attendance". MS. RA, Council Minutes, 8th November, 1811, vol. IV, p. 310: Resolved that Cards containing the order of the Lectures for the Season be annually printed and sent to all the Members, and with them, a Note to each of the Professors referring him to the same for his instruction; and that another Notice of a fortnight be sent to each Professor previous to the time when his Lectures are to begin.


189. Farington, Diary, vol. III, [Monday] 16th October, 1797, p. 907: "Illuminations at night, as on Friday and Saturday".


192. Joseph Nollekens spent ten years in Italy and on his return to London took a house in Mortimer Street. Here he created a studio for himself, a workshop for assistants and a gallery for statues and casts. Throughout his life-time he was never short of work and was regularly commissioned to execute monumental statues. Sandby, *Royal Academy*, vol. I, pp. 217-220.


197. It is reported of Stothard that several months before his death, when deafness and infirmity took hold, he continued to attend meetings and lectures, and perform his duties as librarian of the Academy.

198. MS. RA, Visitors Register, 1769 to 1801. Hutchison, Royal Academy, pp. 34, 41-42, 55, 63, 74.


200. Ibid. p. 115-116. It is reported that: That Academicians were all dressed in honour of the day, but Richard Cosway, Esq. was the only man present who mounted a bag-wig and sword. The elegance and dignity of this Gentleman Artist, so visible in his person and manner, induced all the company to approve of his giving so excellent a figure every suitable distinction and ornament.


Further references to Royal Academy Club dinners can be
Mr Turnerelli is the Artist whose musical abilities afforded so much pleasure at the meeting of the R.A. on Wednesday last, at the Crown and Anchor. There are few professional singers whose voice and musical taste are equal to what were displayed by this gentleman.

Turnerelli the above mentioned artist was a student at the Academy Schools, attending life classes.

201. MS. RA, Visitors Register, 1769 to 1801.
Further references to major artists during this period from; Beckford, W. Biographical Memoirs of Extraordinary Painters, J. Robson, London 1780.


203. Ibid. Throughout Farington's Diary, he describes a number of meetings taking place with Academicians, for instance, 11th and 12th January, 1797:
Finally, we agreed that Cosway, Rigaud, Opie, Hoppner, Sothard, Smirke and myself should meet him [Provis], at Wright's Coffee House tomorrow evening at 8 o'clock.

It appears that Opie was familiar with a number of eminent medical men in London and it is reported that "in his last illness he was attended in his by Pitcairn and Baillie, physicians, and Cline and Carlisle, surgeons". Wheatley, H. B and Cunningham, P. London Past and Present, Its History, Associations and
His death was reported in the newspaper, the Daily Journal, 1807:

Thursday morning a few minutes before four o' clock, at his house in Berner's street, died the able artist, Mr John Opie. He was a Royal Academician and Professor of Painting, and every way one of the greatest ornaments of the British Academy. His malady was sudden, and his sufferings extreme.

MS. RA, Anderdon Catalogues; AND/13.

204. MS. RA, Life Class Register, 1st November, 1790.

205. Hutchison, Royal Academy, p. 58.

206. Ibid. For other works by Thomas Banks see Gunnis, British Sculptors 1660-1851.


208. Ibid.


217. Ibid.


221. Ibid. [Friday] 12th January, 1798, p. 966.


223. Ibid. pp. 968-969. Barry's third lecture for that season took place on Monday, 22nd January, 1798, and was attended by Farington: The subject Drawing - remarked on the excellencies of Mich. Ango. and Raph. in these respects - read a short applicable quotation from his printed Quarto new publication.


225. Ibid. p. 971. For student drawings belonging to Barry, see; MSS. Royal Society of Arts, Folio 6.

226. Ibid. p. 1039.

227. The rules for expulsion as laid down in the *Instrument and Laws of the Royal Academy*, (1768), reads thus:
If any member of the Society shall, by any means, become obnoxious, it may be put to the ballot in the General Assembly, whether he shall be expelled; and if there be found a majority for expulsion, he shall be expelled; provided his Majesty's permission be first obtained for that purpose. (p. 14)

Throughout the Academy's history, Barry's has been the only expulsion. Seven years after his expulsion he died at Joseph Bonomi's house, 22nd February, 1806.

MSS. RA, Jupp Catalogues; JU/4/123-4, vol. IV.
MSS. Anderdon Catalogues; AND/12, this manuscript concludes:

James Barry no longer RA, to the dishonour and Scandel of his conduct, died in the deepest misery - He had committed himself by impolite words nodoubt misguided probably, coarse address to the President, of course indignantly expelled by his supporters, and in their rage they slew him forth as Macbeth says ...


230. Ibid. p. 93.

231. Ibid.

232. Ibid.
"One night in the life", when Fuseli was visitor, William Etty recalls: "I threw aside the chalk, took up my palette set with oil-colour, and began to paint the Figure". Painting in the life class was usually prohibited but it seems that this time Fuseli was generous. Hutchison, Royal Academy, p. 69.


Ibid.

Redgrave, A Century of Painters, p. 248. Taylor, (ed.), Autobiographical Recollections, p. 39: "Allan Cunningham has said truly that Fuseli was liked by the students, notwithstanding the occasional violence of his temper".

The Artist, June 1807.

The Artist, June 1807, The Royal Academy of Arts archives.


241. The Herald, 3rd May, 1803: "Mr Fuseli exhibits but little this season to attract public attention, his friends say that he too has been differently employed, and yet in the 'extravaganza style'!". The Morning Chronicle, 10th January, 1791; regarding his Tempest picture. Whitley, Artists and Their Friends, vol. II, p. 178.

242. Farington, Diary, vol. III, p. 929: [Fuseli] thinks the Academy in a bad state as to educating youth. - Intends to draw up some directions for a course of studies. The great fault qualified by study and drawing in particular is neglected.

243. Sandby, Royal Academy, p. 209. Sandby says of Fuseli's lectures that "they contain some of the best fine art criticism in our language; and the earnestness of his manner, combined with the eloquence with which he was gifted, rendered his addresses highly popular among the students". Mason, E. C. The Mind of Henry Fuseli, Selections from his Writings, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London 1951, pp. 82-84, for 'Edinburgh Review' on Fuseli's lectures, July 1803.

244. Weinglass, (ed.), Letters of Fuseli, pp. 234-235. MSS. RA, Henry Fuseli: letters and papers; FU/4/5, part of a lecture written by Fuseli on brown paper,
[n.d. but paper watermarked 1804]. MS. RA, FU/2/1, letter from Farington to Fuseli [d. 7th December, 1800], agrees that the Professor of Painting is more important than the other posts, but does not think it right to increase Fuseli's stipend above the others.

245. Russell, J. Elements of Painting with Crayons, London 1776. For further references, see; MS. RA, AND/7/71.
Edward Burch was often reprimanded by Council for not being attentive enough:
  Burch, as Librarian has been very remiss in attendance, having frequently left the Academy during the Hours of his attendance for 2 or 3 Hours altogether, leaving the Book Cases open to the Pupils.


250. MS. RA, Council Minutes, 13th December, 1801, vol. IV, p. 82.
251. Attempts to develop systematic treatise on physiognomy from the Classical period is indebted to 'Physiognomica' attributed to Aristotle, wherein human characteristics [both mental physical] are related to those of animals, showing also differentiation between the sexes and the different races. Although physiognomy is thought to pre-date Aristotle, it was only during the nineteenth-century that it acquired an apparent degree of systematisation together with scientific respectability. It also became more available and popularised by 'rules' and guide-lines which were widely disseminated in the form of books and journals from the mid-nineteenth century. Butcher, S. H. (ed.), Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art, 4th edition, Dover Publications, Inc., U.S.A. 1951. Hussey, E. Aristotle's Physics, Books III and IV, Clarendon Press, Oxford, and Oxford University Press, New York 1983. Aristotle proposes, in 'Physiognomonica', that as passions change creating a change in the soul, these changes reveal themselves in outward signs - through gestures, sounds and facial expressions. The most popular beliefs in the nineteenth-century regarding physiognomy and phrenology was that the forehead formed the seat of the intellectual organs, and that its size and shape indicated their degree of development. For example, that the apex of the head formed the seat of moral qualities, and its hindmost
part, the seat of the passions. Cooter, R. 'The Cultural Meaning of Popular Science: Phrenology and the Organisation of Consent in Nineteenth-Century Britain', PhD. Cambridge University 1978. Hippolyte Taine applied such visual 'readings' of the people he saw in London:

To note each face, or very salient expressions, and to follow its shades, its debasements, and its combinations; to verify its repetition in several individuals; to separate in this way the leading characteristic traits, comparing, interpreting, and classifying them.


both in text and in paintings to his belief and understanding of criminal types and their pathological portrayals.


Bunting, J. *Charles Darwin - a Biography*, Baily Brothers and Swifen Ltd. England 1974. Charles Darwin (1809-1882), attempts to analyse human faces as the result of man's evolutionary heritage, thereby confronting interpretations based on theories already established by people such as Lavater and Bell. Many gestures and facial expressions were due, Darwin proposed, to the force of habit, from generation to generation, eventually becoming a 'fixed' characteristic of a race. Darwin, C. *Expressions of the Emotions in Man and Animals*, T. Murray, London 1872. In the introduction he refers to Bell and his work on expression, and to Le Brun's 1667 publication saying that it was "the best known
ancient work, and contains some good remarks", (pp.1-3). Darwin arranged photographs shown in sequence, illustrating the stages of muscular contraction. Thirteen reproductions of grief, despair, and weeping, for example, argued his case more effectively than any written material. One of the main photographers used by Darwin was Duchenne, who published his own book *Mécanisme de la Physiognomie Humaine* (1862), showing photographs of various facial expressions. Darwin had a large number of Duchenne's photographs copied for his own book *Expressions of the Emotions*. Gilman, S. 'Darwin Sees The Insane', *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*, 15, 1970, pp. 253-262. Darwin also makes reference to Peter Camper's, *Discourse par Pierre Camper sur le moyen de Representer les Diverses Passions*, Paris 1792.


Reynolds discussion on laughter and weeping:
During excessive laughter the whole body is often thrown backwards and shakes, or is almost convulsed; the respiration is much disturbed; the head and face become gorged with blood, with the veins distended;... Tears are freely shed. Hence, as formerly remarked, it is scarcely possible to point out any difference between the tear-stained face of a person after a paroxysm of excessive laughter and after a bitter crying-fit.

Leonardo also examines the differences, if any, between laughter and weeping, see Treatise on Painting, Chapter CLXXII:
Between the expression of laughter and that of weeping there is no difference in the motion of the features either in the eyes, mouth, or cheeks; only in the ruffling of the brows, which is added when weeping, but more elevated and extended in laughing.....

255. Reynolds, pp. 221-222. For earlier references to art and physiognomy, see Peacham, H. The Art of Drawing with the Pen and Limning in Water Colours, London 1606. Man's countenance, according to Peacham, has "such pleasing varietie...that among ten thousand you shall not see one like another" (p. 34). Contrary to Darwin's later theories.

256. Reynolds, pp. 221-222. Baccio Bandinelli used this same figure, borrowing and adapting this pose for his own purpose, for one of the Mary's in his drawing 'Descent from the Cross'. In this drawing the figures expresses grief, the opposite emotion form the original figure. The use of Pasticcio compositioning was common practice
during the eighteenth-century, that of various 'excellent' parts in other works of art being used for one's own purposes. This led to a great deal of re-interpretation being placed on the various expressions. For a comprehensive collections of Da Vinci's thoughts; Richter, I. A. (ed.), The Notebooks of Leonardo Da Vinci, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1980, pp. 175-177 'The Expression of the Spirit'. Leonardo believed that a knowledge of anatomy was not sufficient and the artist must penetrate deeper, observing actions as well as faces and gestures that reveal states of mind. The human body, he proposed, was an outward and visible expression of the soul:

A good painter has two chief objects to paint, man and the intention of his soul; the former is easy, the latter hard, because he has to represent it by the attitudes and movements of the limbs. The knowledge of these should be acquired by observing the dumb, because their movements are more natural than those of any other class of persons.

Baxandall, M. Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1984, pp. 56-71. Baxandall looks at physiognomy during this period in paintings, referring to depictions of Christ and the Virgin. Physical expression of the mental and spiritual is one of Alberti's main preoccupations in his treatise (p. 60). For a discussion between Alberti's influence of his _della Pittura_ (1435), and Leonardo's treatise, see Clark, K. Leon Battista Alberti on Painting, [Annual Italian Lecture of the
British Academy, London], Oxford University Press, Oxford 1944.

257. Farington, Diary, p. 444. For discussions on the use of physiognomy, antiques and anti-classical mannerisms in Renaissance art, see O'Malley, C.D. (ed.), Leonardo's Legacy - An International Symposium, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1969, pp. 2-10. Höllander, E. Plastik und Medizin, F. Enke, Stuttgart 1912, p. 331, for discussion of grotesque heads in relation to Da Vinci's interests in the same. See also Barasch, M. 'Character and Physiognomy: Bocchi on Donatello's St. George: A Renaissance Text on Expression in Art', Journal of the History of Ideas, 36, 1975, pp. 413-417. Bocchi used Aristotle's distinctions between 'ethos' and 'pathos' when describing the expressive qualities of Donatello's sculpture. For example, if a student wished to represent the wrath of Hercules, he might study the face depicting 'anger' in Le Brun's system of expressions and then arrange a similar face on his canvass. For 'anger' the student would observe that the eyes should be red and inflamed, the eyebrows lowered, the forehead creased, the corners of the mouth drawn slightly open and the whole face swollen. For each of Le Brun's drawings are captions indicating which emotion they
are expressing, for instance, joy, grief, hope, despair, love or hate, and any other principle emotions, singly or in combination. With these rules as guidance it was thought that artists could portray detailed discriminations of all human expression. Benthall, J. and Polhemus, T. (eds), The Body as a Medium of Expression, Allen Lane, London 1975.


262. Bell's theories on neurology were, at this time, very advanced and Bell having studied the human body put man's emotions and physical attributions into categories.

I must have madness incorporated in my book. It strikes me that something good may be said upon it. I have made a drawing of moody madness - a crouching, whole figure.

Bell's investigations into madness led him to visit asylums, putting his theories to the test. He believed madness to be "mixed expression - a fierceness united to terror", and could be physically characterised thus:

Sooty black, stiff, bushy hair, - large deep-coloured veins, muscular, rigid, - his skin bound, - his features sharp, - his eyes sunk: his body is shrunk altogether as if afraid ... a want of wildness in his eyes.

However, on seeing the insane, Bell re-thought his original premise. For example, rather than bearing a rigid and muscular brow, the in-patients bore a smooth one "as these [had lost] their action". See Gilman, S. 'The Mad Man As Artist', The Journal of Contemporary History, vol. 20, no. 4, October 1975, pp. 575-597.

263. The later works of Theodore Géricault (1791-1824) consisted of ten oil paintings of 'Portraits of the


265. Ibid. vol. I, p. 130.

Lavater. Farington, *Diary*, vol. II, pp. 588-589; Fuseli speaks of Blake and his designs: "Fuseli says Blake has something of madness about him".


270. Ibid.

271. Ibid.

272. Sandby, *Royal Academy*, vol. I, pp. 206-207. Literary interests were pursued alongside the visual arts, and he assisted Cowper in his translation of Homer, editing the English version of Lavater's work on Physiognomy. Fuseli was also employed on Boydell's Shakespeare, and painted eight pictures for this series, i.e. 'The Witches', 'The Ghost appearing to Hamlet', 'Give Me The Daggers' [shown in this Chapter].

273. A pupil of Nollekens, John Thomas Smith (1766-1833), mentioned his own involvement with the in-mates of
Bedlam and his studies of them:
I have a portrait of her in her grey hairs, which I drew when I was studying the various expressions of insane people in Bethelham Hospital, of which institution she was an unfortunate inmate.


Morning Chronicle, 4th July, 1791, advertisement by "Dr. Perfect" for "medical treatment of Lunatics", to be consulted at his apartments opposite the Oxford Coffee-house, the Strand.


274. MS. RA, Council Minutes, 31st December, 1791, vol. II, p. 150: "The Keeper produced some Drawings done from Plaister, in the Academy - where the following
were admitted - Wm Porter, Wm Chalmers and Edward J. Anson.


277. Grigson, G. 'Painters of the Abyss', *The Architectural Review*, vol. CVII, 646, October 1950, pp. 215-220. For specific reference to Mortimer, pp. 217-220; Mortimer who died when he was only thirty-eight, according to
Grigson, "lived anything but a sentimental life". Mortimer is further described as: "Strong, good-looking, extravagant, dissipated, a 'fascinating and dangerous companion'".


279. Fuseli and Lavater became friends in the autumn of 1762 whilst still in Zurich, later having travelled extensively together, Lavater returned to Zurich and Fuseli travelled to London. They did not meet again until October 1778, when Fuseli revisited his native town for the first and last time. However, throughout their distant liaisons between 1772 and 1779, Lavater provided Fuseli with both financial and emotional support. During their separation Fuseli constantly wrote to Lavater addressing him, "Friend of my Soul"; and Lavater's 1788 edition of his publication Aphorisms on Man contained illustrations executed by Fuseli. MSS. RA, Anderdon Catalogues; AND/7/111. For one of Fuseli's obituaries, see The Gentleman's


282. *The Gentleman's Magazine*, February LXXI, 1801, pp.122-5. While numerous accounts of Lavater's work appeared in travel reports, essays and periodicals in the 1780s, English readers had to wait until 1789 before they could obtain a reliable translation of the *Fragmente*. Lavater, J. C. *Physiognomische Fragmente*, Leipzig 1775-8, this was later translated by Thomas Holcroft,
Essays on Physiognomy, London 1789. In his 'Physiognomical Essays', Lavater confessed: "I understand but little of physiognomy, and continue daily to be mistaken in my judgment".


284. Lavater categorizes seven divisions into principle classes: sorrow, joy, pain, sluggishness, imbecility of soul and body, energy of body and mind and pleasure. Bell in contrast selected principle emotions into twelve divisions: pain, demoniacs, convulsions, fear, terror, despair, admiration, joy, jealousy, rage, remorse and madness.

285. Bell, C. The Anatomy and Philosophy of Expression as Connected with the Fine Arts, [small pocket size edition of the original 1806], London 1912. For example, the study of the muscles of the "face when affected in emotion", or being able to distinguish "appearances which pain or death present". Bell, Gericault and Lavater used text and illustrations to capture 'the face of death'. Lavater, Essays, (1789), pp. 163-251. The dead cannot move, so cannot lie.
Eugène Delacroix grieved at the loss of Gericault, especially as he had posed for one of the foreground figures in the 'Raft of the Medusa'; on seeing his friend dead Delacroix wrote:

I have seen the death mask of poor Gericault. What a grand memorial! I was tempted to kiss it. His beard, his eyelashes ... And his sublime 'Raft'. What hands and heads! I feel I cannot express the admiration I feel.


Thomas Holloway (1748-1827), who was admitted as an engraving student at the Royal Academy on 9th November 1773, executed engravings for Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery and undertook major supervision of the 800 plates for Henry Fuseli's edition of Lavater's Essays on Physiognomy (1789-1798).


287. MSS. RA, Sir Thomas Lawrence: letters and papers; LAW/1/230. Letter from Lavater to Thomas Lawrence, 6th March, 1810, [extract]:

This head compos'd of too many jarring parts has in it nothing of Grandeur - to constitute which Mirror and Simplicity are essential. In the upper part of the Forehead indeed there may be a something of promise and the bones of the Brown and formation of the Eyes indicate what might be Genius were it not enfeebled by romance and wasted by Indolence and Languor ...
In the lower part of the Cheeks and the play of Muscles round the mouth there are Passions powerful to ruin, to debase or demote the character. The mouth itself has strong but impetuous determination and there is some appearance of fortitude in the Chin but wholly unconnected with Reason.

288. Farington, *Diary*, vol. I, pp. 186-187. For a further letter from unnamed to Thomas Lawrence regarding portrait painting and Lavater, see; MSS. RA, Sir Thomas Lawrence papers, LAW/2/112.


291. MSS. H46 (20), Hunter Papers, Glasgow University.


295. MSS. H46 (19), Hunter Papers, Glasgow University.

297. MSS. H46 (19), Hunter Papers, Glasgow University.

298. Ibid.


301. Richard Cumberland remembers Romney before he became famous, when "he was poorly lodged in Newport Street, and painted at the small price of eight guineas for a three-quarters portrait". Cumberland, R. Memoirs, printed for Lackington, Allen and Co., London 1806, p. 30. Bradley, R. The English Housewife in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, p. 300. Turberville, A. S. English Men and

302. Concerned individuals not only donated books but also drawings and paintings for student use. Sir James Wright "having observed how much Crayon painting is fallen off", bequeathed a portrait by F. Cotes of Bromfield, the surgeon, "as a lesson to the Students". Farington, Diary, vol. III, p. 722.

303. MS. RA, 'Admission Register', 1796.


306. Ibid.


309. Ibid. Drawings still exist at the Royal Society of Arts belonging to Pingo. MSS. RSA, C88, C21, B51, B44, B31, [C88 and C21] are red chalk drawings of a head and a male nude.


311. MSS. [British Museum], 198*. a.17; taken from the larger of the two sketch books.

312. Ibid. 'Phrenological Chart' includes: domestic affections, protecting faculties, moral regulating faculties, imaginative powers, observing faculties, knowing faculties, reflecting faculties, observing [memory], sanguine.

that are themselves disagreeable and uneasy". For references to Hogarth, see: Chapter Four, pp. 54-66.

314. Flam, J. D. *Matisse on Art*, Phaidon Press, Oxford 1978, p. 44; Matisse quotes Ingres on painting a portrait, emphasizing the specific and general: Never in drawing the head omit the ear. If I do not insist upon this I do remind you that the ear adds enormously to the character of the head, and that it is very important to express it carefully and fully, not to suggest it with a dab.


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Chapter Three

William Hunter, The Royal Academy and Private Anatomy Schools in London

James Barry referred to William Hunter as "that ornament of our Academy", ¹ Reynolds looked upon him as a "friend and colleague", ² and Council proclaimed their "satisfaction and appreciation" ³. Dr William Hunter (1718-1783) was appointed Professor of Anatomy in 1768, however Reynolds had befriended him prior to this in 1755.⁴ Hunter was a man well respected in his own medical world, but who also pursued his interest in fine art, as he mentions in an opening address to the Academy: "I welcome the opportunity to enter the different world of painters and sculptors and engravers, and to enlarge my knowledge of those Arts which formerly had been only my amusement and not my study".⁵ He looked upon art-anatomy teaching as a new challenge, and Reynolds's decision in appointing him was not without some professional expertise for Reynolds too had previously studied anatomy.⁶ Before the artist was apprenticed to Thomas Hudson at the age of eighteen, he had intended to become a surgeon and had taken lessons from his father.⁶ Professionally, Reynolds and Hunter complemented each other, each bringing to the other new dimensions of expertise, taste, visual appreciation and the love of imparting knowledge and skills.

William Hunter was born in East Kilbride, Lanarkshire,
and the "fifth surviving child" of a family growing up "in an atmosphere of financial anxiety". Hunter's professional meteoric rise is thus described by Roy Porter:

For, though not born with the silver key in his mouth which would automatically have opened all the doors leading up to a top hospital appointment, the council of the Royal College and perhaps even a Knighthood, Hunter enjoyed a real success story, becoming the doyen of his profession.  

Our main insight into Hunter as a medical teacher is taken from students' notes of his lectures, for although he proposed to publish his lectures, he never did. His medical students were expected to work long hours as he lectured six days a week, two hours a day. Times and durations of lectures in London during this period were very important; for not only were other medical men vying for 'prime time' lecturing, they also had to compete against the theatre:

[Hunter] lived at the period when Garrick was in his zenith, he soon discovered that he stood no chance with the actor, for whenever Garrick lectured, the anatomical lectures were neglected.  

Hunter wore a number of professional hats: he was a trained surgeon, a practising man-midwife, a patron of the arts and an entrepreneur. Indeed, such was Hunter's standing in the medical world that without holding a mainstream hospital appointment William Wadd referred to him as "the father of the anatomical schools in London". The nature of both his character and his professional career appear to have thrived on
diversity, allowing him to accept the professorship at the Academy in conjunction with other medical research and teaching. His lectures, like Reynolds's Discourses, assimilated theory and practice, examining themes such as beauty, nature and the mortality. During 1767 and 1770 Hunter purchased a plot of land in Great Windmill Street where he had a house built large enough to contain a lecture room, operating theatre, and dissecting room with space left over for a substantial museum. He then moved his School of Anatomy from Covent Garden into these new premises where he remained until his death in 1783. The School was widely known as the Hunterian School, and William Hunter anticipant of his new School being a success, wrote to Dr. Cumings (9th October, 1782): "If we all live in health till next summer, my Museum will be in order for you; and you will find it much improved".

Hunter's Royal Academy diploma as Professor of Anatomy has inscribed on it: "To our trusty and well-beloved William Hunter, Doctor of Physick", and Council on 27th December, 1768, resolved that he should be granted "free access to all General Assemblies". Council further advises him on the 14th
February, 1769, of his forthcoming time-table but only if it is "agreeable to him":

That Dr Hunter be acquainted with the time the Lectures are to begin, and that he be desired after that time to appoint such Days for his Lectures as may be most agreeable to him, and if equally convenient to him, the Academy wish he would begin his Lectures on a Monday and at three o'clock.

Other professors of the Academy were requested by Council to present their lectures "one Month before the time of reading them in the Academy", except "those on Anatomy". Council possibly felt unqualified to assess anatomy lectures, and, confident in Hunter's abilities, did not require a pre-reading of them. (This law, made effective from the School's foundation, has remained unchanged up to the present day).

Hunter attended a Council meeting held on 17th March, 1769, where he presented his lecture time-table and its contents:

Dr Hunter ... proposed to give three Lectures on the Skeleton and that the first Lecture should be on the fourth Monday in October next, to begin at One o'Clock and end at two-

It appears that Hunter was not the only person interested in skeletal anatomy, for a month later (4th April 1769), a certain Mr Addison made an application to Council "for the use of the Skeleton", and it was agreed that the "Skeleton be delivered to him". This was the Academy skeleton used by Hunter in his
teachings and made available to students and artists, and two years later on 11th January, 1772, the same Mr Addison sold his 'Layman' for £90 to the Academy.  

Like the medical world, the Academy also advertised its weekly lectures. These were advertised every Saturday in the Daily:

Royal Academy ... Day of ... Notice is hereby given to the Members and Students of the Royal Academy that [Dr Wm Hunter], Professor of [Anatomy] will give his [first] Lecture [for this Season], on Monday next in the Academy, at ½ past five o’Clock in the Afternoon.

Academy lectures were seasonal in the same way that hospital medical lectures were and, although supposedly constant, lecture time-tables were changed from year to year. In September 1777 "lectures for the evening Season shall begin at Eight o’Clock: instead of seven", and lectures begin "on Monday the 12th January, 1778, and continue every Monday until finished", except in the case of Hunter who: "[was] desired to fix the Number of his preparatory Lectures and to have anytime for reading them so that they may be completed before Xmass". A year later [9th October 1778], again choosing his own time and day, Hunter was "requested to give one on the Living Model", and to be "finished before Christmas". At a Council meeting held on 11th October, 1782, it was ordered that "Dr Hunter be desired to begin as usual", which he did for that season's lectures, although he died the following year.

Anatomy lectures were held in a room located in the Royal Academy building where admission tickets were necessary for
entrance, as the Academy had strict rules concerning allocation of tickets and seats. A Council meeting for the 10th January, 1771, resolved: "That forty Chairs be placed, and out of those, twelve to be allotted for strangers of Distinction and to be marked with the Letter 'V' the rest with the Letters 'RA'." 26 Hunter's lectures were written and delivered by him and appended with a variety of visual aids such as the living model, écorchés, anatomical folios, medical atlases, a skeleton and, when necessary, a cadaver. In one of his earliest lectures he writes:

In my lecture I then showed in the different parts of the body in turn how the anatomical disposition, especially of the bones and muscles, affects the outer appearance. So for the forearm I showed that while it undergoes variations in form with every movement, which are hardly noticed by indifferent artists and but imperfectly caught by the most skilful, taking one form when executed, another when bended and twenty others in the intermediate states, and each of them changed by any resistance offered to prevent the movement; and so for the shoulder, the trunk, the neck, the lower limbs. 27

In dealing with Hunter's lectures I have organised them accordingly: preliminary thoughts and discourses; bones and muscles (in action); fragments of anatomy (arm, leg, feet, shoulders, chest); the vascular system (arteries, lymphatic glands); and theories, concepts - the philosophy of Hunter. These categories differ slightly from those of Martin Kemp who has also transcribed these lectures. 28 Hunter's addresses to the students were always complimentary to the visual arts whilst also asking their guidance for the "most instructive
thoughts, or the best order, and manner of delivering them".

Furthermore:

I will endeavour, to improve, to share in the pleasure of learning; and shall think myself much obliged to any of the members of the Academy, who may be present, if they will favour me with any useful hints, that may occur to them on the Subject of my Lectures.  

William Hunter acknowledges Reynolds and the Council for allowing artists to benefit from the "study of anatomy", making it available and "a part of the plan of Education in this Academy". A lecture, first delivered by him on Monday, 4th October, 1769, discusses "the general Idea of the composition of the Human Body", describing the body as "one, great, complicated system" made up of 1) a vascular system, 2) a nervous system, 3) connecting substances, 4) bones and 5) muscles. Knowledge of each of these parts was dependent of the others, and necessary for the artist's understanding of systems hidden within the fabric of the human structure:

A Student of Painting confines himself to the exteriors of the body. He requires therefore an accurate knowledge of the bones and of the external muscles only and some general knowledge ... We shall examine in their order, beginning with the Bones; they shall be demonstrated upon a Skeleton; and their appearance occasionally pointed out in the Living Figure.  

As both a medical man and patron of the arts, Hunter was aware that artists did not need the same education as a medical student, and therefore adapted his knowledge and lectures accordingly. Artists, he thought, did not need to know the
workings of the intestines or circulation of the blood; above all, artists required knowledge of the superficial muscles. The muscular system which included vessels, absorbent fluids and lymphatic glands, namely "invisible orifices", were "absolutely invisible in the Living Body; and therefore need not to be more particularly described to this Company". Understanding the muscles and bones in action was, however, paramount for artistic training. In lectures concerning bones and muscular action, Hunter not only had a life model and skeleton in view, but also a cadaver, giving students first-hand knowledge of man's inner structure:

The other Lectures on the Muscles to be at such times as a Body can be procured from the Sherriffs, to whom he recommend that Application should be made.

As we have seen (in Chapter One) the Sherriff at this time was Alderman Boydell (founder of Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery), well-known to artists at the Academy and, therefore, ready to make the purchase of corpses easy. Whether lectures dealing with the bones and muscles took place only when a cadaver was available is not stated in Hunter's papers. However, the first of this type of lecture must have taken place within the next two months as a request by Hunter is dated after his first address and "a Body is expected" towards the end of November. Two months later we see Joshua Reynolds acting on behalf of Hunter, making:
An Application to the Master of the Surgeons Company for a Body to be dissected in the Royal Academy by Dr. Hunter.

From this we can infer that Hunter not only used cadavers as visual appendages to lectures on bones and superficial muscles but also undertook to operate and dissect on Academy premises. On the 29th March, 1770, it was resolved by Council:

That the Secry do wait on Dr Hunter to reimburse the Expenses of the Body and that a Letter of thanks be sent to him from the President and Council.

We can assume that between the 15th and 19th March, 1770, Hunter procured a cadaver from the Surgeons' Hall or by some other more unsavoury method (see Chapter One) allowing him to give a lecture on muscles and internal organs. From an undated receipt, signed by Keeper George Michael Moser, it is evident that Hunter paid £2 4s 0½d. for his dead subject, for which the Academy agreed to reimburse him.

The Anatomy Lectures

William Hunter acted as both lecturer and demonstrator to the Academy Schools, and after twelve months' employment Council wrote to him expressing their praise for the "great advantage the Arts have received" from his services,
contributing not only to the "advancement of the Students" but also for the "honour of the Academy". Hunter graciously accepts the Academy's praise.

One of the professor's lectures solely demonstrated muscular action as it affected poses and attitudes, for "these forms are constantly changing. They are produced by the action of Muscles; and muscles cannot act uniformly for any length of time". He accuses artists of making the living body appear static and 'dead' by not representing the "muscles that are all relieving one another". Sometimes these changes are the result of "quick and transient Actions of Muscles", which the artist cannot see but nevertheless must be familiar with. He goes on to explain that an "exact imitation" of such muscular changes "requires an eye so perfectly Master of Anatomy as to observe and retain an instantaneous effect of muscular action". Whenever necessary, Hunter used a life model, and one particular model was shared by Reynolds and himself, both "observing the majestic head and the muscular dignity of his figure". This majestic specimen was known to Hunter and the Academy artists as 'Old George', and Hunter "never suffered an opportunity to escape him for the improvement of anatomical science" to which he was "enthusiastically devoted". Hunter thought:

Old George the finest muscular subject he had ever seen, and in consequence had him at his theatre in the course of his lectures, in order, by comparison, to elucidate the superficial anatomy of the human system.
Hunter distinguished between those cadavers worthy of casting or those fit for dissecting, he would never dissect a body worthy of preservation, trying to anatomise only those bodies with no external and visible use to artists. On such an occasion, rescuing two hanged criminals from the Surgeons' Hall for the Academy, he refrained from dissecting the second body as the "muscular development was so remarkable".46

Understanding the vascular system (arteries, vessels, nervous system and absorbent tissues) was beneficial, Hunter thought, only in relation to the colour of the skin or blush in the cheeks. For "a Painter had not much business with the Vascular System of the human body". However, the artist "should know" the colours of veins and blood, those which appear nearest to the skin transmitting "the warm, the carnation, the red colours".47 Again, Hunter differentiates between the core of man, his intestinal and circulatory systems which are not for the artist's eye, and those more 'visible' forms enhancing either a portrait or figure:

If a painter were to neglect the several characters arising from such sources the fault might escape a common eye, yet there would be something wanting in the expression, of Nature, that is, in the natural appearance: that so far at least the picture would be defective or absurd.48

A number of his lectures emphasize particular parts of the anatomy, fragmenting and isolating organs such as arms, legs, feet, thighs, shoulders and chest, differentiating between the general and the particular as an artist would. The bones as
opposed to the muscles, "determine the height of the body,— not breadth.” Hunter informs the students, and that motion of the body is directed and strengthened by various isolated bones, ball-and-socket, or hinge joints. The spinal structure can "only be seen in Living Bodies" and concerning the trunk one must consider "size, strength, immobility and central situation." The trunk consists of "Pelvis, for what?; and Chest, for what? and Spine, for connection of these and support". The spine in particular is the "Pillar of bones, for, 1) Support; 2) Inflexion; 3) Protection of Spinal Marrow".

The painter and student Samuel De Wilde entered the Academy Schools on 9th November, 1769, at the age of twenty-eight and attended not only life classes but also Hunter's anatomy lectures, and a letter from De Wilde reveals his interest in anatomy. The letter is not dated except for "Monday morning, October", and the student must have recently attended Hunter's lectures on the spine, having "the pleasure of hearing [his] Lectures upon Anatomy in which I take great Pleasure." De Wilde studied anatomy and figure drawing at the Academy and later in life became one of London's most celebrated and fashionable painters, executing many theatrical portraits of well-known artisans. De Wilde seeks Hunter's advice: "not being in Circumstances to purchase a few Bones", he found "some in a church yard some time ago":

One of which is avery Remarkable one, it is apart of the Spine of a Back - Six of the Vertebra and two of the long Ribs all joined together not with the Cartilage but with
De Wilde must have listened attentively to Hunter's lecture as he uses correct medical terminology when describing the "Curious thing". Another letter from James Northcote while a student at the Academy to his brother Samuel, dated 29th March, 1772, also proves that good oral teaching is more effective than bad text-book teaching. He frowns upon William Cheselden's anatomy book "because the plates are too few though they are well drawn, but not so fully explained". In contrast, after attending Hunter's lectures, Northcote can now "plainly see... the exact situations of those muscles in the Anatomy figures and in the Living Figure". It is clear that Northcote's former deficiency in anatomical understanding and terminology which showed "vast Ignorance of anatomy" was rectified by good anatomical teaching.

After listening to the Professor of Anatomy, Northcote felt confident enough to make informed judgments on medical folios by criticising Cheselden's publication and favouring "Brown's Anatomy". William Hunter goes to great lengths in explaining
the individual movements created by muscles and bones as these affect the "whole" structure of man. He further describes bodily movements and gestures of the hand: "Variety of fingers - Actions, The King of Instruments Next to the face, the Strongest expression of the Mind".61 In order to fully grasp Hunter's doctrines it is necessary to understand the cultural aspects of science, medicine and art dominant in the eighteenth century, and especially the role that aesthetics played in cultivating taste.

II : Eighteenth-century Aesthetics and William Hunter

As the thesis is concerned with ideas and interpretations of the human body, any discussion on aesthetics is directed at discourses surrounding perceptions and attitudes toward the figure, and consequently it does not attempt to examine other aspects of artistic practices. The human body or "the physical" as Rousseau states in *Emile*, "leads us unaware to the moral",62 and the majority of aestheticians, scientists, medical men and artists constructed the human form in terms of divine, mechanistic, symmetrical, beautiful and well-proportioned icons. Art was able to transmit a moral message, as Diderot professed: "Frighten me, if you will, but let the terror which you inspire in me be tempered by some grand moral
G. A. Borelli, 'Man and Machine', from De Motu Animalium, 1685.
idea. The natural philosopher and scientist Condorcet attempted to understand l'esprit humain, advocating that man's future could be calculated by scientifically looking back to where he had come from, and by such means forecast the future species:

If there exists a science of predicting the progress of the human species, of directing and accelerating it ... the history of the progress that mankind has already made must be its first foundation.

Scientific attitudes such as these directed medical understanding of female biology, leading Norman Hampson to write: "It was in biology that the idea of change was perhaps of most immediate relevance to men's picture of the universe ... Ignorance of the very complicated processes involved in sexual reproduction was a no less formidable obstacle.

Research by Thomas Laqueur also addresses this new mechanically-observed reproductive process by examining the work of Fontenelle. Medical and scientific thought eventually began affecting art, advocating that artistic judgment, taste and appreciation could be measured in scientific terms. Alexander Gerard's An Essay On Taste (1759) argues that science and beauty through reason can happily co-exist. Taste however, plays a large part in cultivating art-anatomy practices:

But taste, when under the entire control of reason, and used only as its assistant, is highly useful in science. It judges, not only of the manner in which science is communicated, but also of the matter itself ... By its approbation, it confirms the deductions of reason, and, by making
G. A. Borelli, 'Man and Balance', taken from De Motu Animalium, Naples 1734.
us feel the beauty, heightens our conviction of
the truth, of its conclusions. 67

Reynolds, in Discourse VII, echoes Gerard's thoughts when he
proposes that art is not completely a divine talent, nor merely
mechanical but has a strong foothold in scientific and artistic
principles:

As our art is not a divine gift, so neither
is it a mechanical trade. Its foundations
are laid in solid science: and practice, though
essential to perfection, can never attain that
to which it aims, unless it works under the
direction of principle. 68

Like many of his contemporaries, Gerard laid great emphasis on
taste governing nature, art and science, for: "[whilst] reason
investigates the laws of nature, taste alone discovers its
beauties", and further argues that taste can only be achieved
through harmony which for him encompassed rationality,
"regularity, order and proportion". 69 Such visual images
observed, embodied and represented scientific matter: the human
figure. Eighteenth-century taste, authority, education and
morality are examined in Iain Pears's The Discovery of Painting
(1988), connecting such issues to their social origins:

The debate on taste, through its close links
with morality, education and notions of
perception, impinged on basic questions of
social relationships, altering the legitimation
of the socially eminent and the way in which
their position was viewed ... Taste was the
product of education in its widest sense ... 70
The seventeenth century saw Italian aestheticians interpreting painting and sculpture as physical embodiments of 'imagination' and 'fancy', but it was the power of scientific thought like that of Descartes that was radically to change cultural ideologies throughout the following century. Like Descartes in France, John Locke in England professed to recognize "no form of spiritual elaboration save reflexion on the senses".

Exactness and fidelity in copying "Nature herself" (Hunter) were the scientific and artistic laws on which the Royal Academy was founded. It should be noted however, that the radical idealism held by William Blake and John Mortimer was contrary to the majority of Academicians, whose political and philosophical ideologies were more in keeping with Reynolds and Hunter who were supporters of scientific and mathematical canons. Blake abhored what he saw as Reynolds's lack of artistic expression, further adding: "God forbid that Truth should be Confined to Mathematical Demonstration!". Reason, for Blake, was limited and could never be wholly responsible for making art:

Blake hated all those thinkers who denied the existence of a truth beyond the power of human reason. His argument is that man by means of his senses can do, no more than perceive the physical world.
Hunter's grasp of human anatomy and his ability to teach this to art students poses questions as to his underlying philosophy, or at least, his beliefs. Some of his lectures echo Reynolds's instruction to observe and copy art from art, selecting from "the better Masters". Moreover, students should first begin by "studying the Works of Art and of Nature, by comparing them together, and finding out all the Sources of excellence in the best Artists". However, deeper investigation into Hunter's doctrines reveal a tripartite system of philosophical thought. Firstly, he uses God the 'divine', to signify nature, truth and reality which to him transcend the Beautiful. Secondly, he introduces Descartes and metaphysical ideologies in relation to "man as machine", presenting the human body as a set of systems. And thirdly, he refers to man's immortality being captured on the canvas.

Nature, the divine, and the beautiful are represented for Hunter by the visual arts but only when there is harmony, resembling the original reality: "likened to Nature herself". Only when a work of art transcends beauty can it be viewed "not less than the contemplation of that finest work of God", and only then does an artist attain truth. Both Hunter and Reynolds appear to agree on definitions of nature, imitation and beauty, believing that what is good, harmonious and truthful will please our senses (as in the tradition of the
Sensationalists such as Locke and Burke. Nature, for Hunter, is his teacher:

> What imitates Nature most, all things else being equal, will strike us most: and will be more pleasing too, provided that subject be properly adapted to our passions.

Hutcheson's *An Inquiry into the Original of Our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue* (1726) also calls for the re-evaluation of nature to be regular and uniform, constituting beauty and harmony. Like Reynolds, Hunter believed that elegance, grace and smoothness transports the beautiful as opposed to the distorted, menacing and exaggerated expressions that become Sublime. Burke and Hogarth both addressed issues of beauty, its irregularities and the Sublime. Hunter's lecture on muscles in action reveals what aesthetics meant to him:

> I apprehend that there be more elegance and beauty in the form, more grace in the figure, and more dignity in the Character. Distortions of Face and Limbs, it will be said, express an inferior character; and when the Muscles and Tendons are made to start out from their places by Strong Action, they produce an ugly form....

It is clear from such remarks that Hunter was against art that gave precedence to imagination, exaggerated the human body and dealt with the Sublime or anything that was not directly faithful to nature. Such aesthetic doctrines dismiss anything that cannot be reasoned and expressed accordingly. Reynolds too, in *Discourse VII* (1776), advocates that, "reason is something invariable and fixed in the nature of things. Now
taste has likewise invariable principles".\textsuperscript{84} For Hunter and Reynolds, taste or "real substance" (Reynolds), is fixed and established in the natural order of the Great Chain of Being, and consequently man's faculty for imagination and the "passions of men are affected" by regular causes.\textsuperscript{85} The modern art historian, John Barrell, investigates eighteenth-century life through taste, standards and fundamental aesthetic principles which are, as Reynolds says, "fixed and established in the nature of things".\textsuperscript{86} Barrell interprets such statements by Reynolds as incorporating political overtones as well as referring to the artistic security provided by the Royal Academy of Arts. Not all artists of this period however accepted the conservative rule of taste, and artists such as Fuseli, Blake and Mortimer adopted far from scientific methods. Objective truth, rational behaviour, reasoned intuition and controlled methodology meant that art at the extreme became a logical and scientific act. The rigours of learning anatomy were for art students yet another set of aesthetic laws to adopt and practice.

While Hunter often dealt with the mortal body of man both in and out of the dissecting room, he constantly refers to man's immortality. In dealing with the bones and muscles he is moved by the fragility embodied in nature, even in its decomposed state, as can be seen in a letter in which he writes that: "We will not even be satisfied with the approbation of present times. We must strive (and Heaven assist!) to leave something of a more incorruptible nature than the flesh and
bones of which, as yet you have seen, we are all composed". Hunter's final goal in educating artists, helping them to capture the beautiful through "the imitative arts", was to preserve immortality, administer posterity and nurture genius. He looks back to Graeco-Roman art: "Genius is not confined to the latitude of Athens and Rome. Why should not posterity be able to say, that the later half of the Eighteenth Century was the most distinguished". From immortality, Hunter turns his thoughts to mortality, comparing the human body to a machine, and like Borelli before him, he believes that man can be explained through mechanistic parts. Hunter instructs the artists thus:

Now, to illustrate our Subject, let us suppose that this is some mechanical machine, to which we mean to compose the human body, made up of a number of pieces which move on one another so as to produce a great variety.

Hunter's mechanical philosophy described in scientific terms further states, that "this machine is closely covered all over with a quilt and sheet", with mechanical parts acting as internal structure and a "quilt-like" sheeting pulled tightly over, protecting the inner components. It is in this sense that anatomical studies are of use to artists: "The Bones and Muscles answer to the machine itself, and the fat and skin answer to the quilt and sheet which we have supposed cover it".

Dissection for Hunter was merely the "uncovering" of the machine, revealing "the internal parts upon which the variety
in the human figure, principally depends". Practical anatomy simply strips naked the machinery, making accessible those components normally hidden. Hunter's thesis on man and machine echoes La Mettrie's *L'Homme Machine*, (1747), and Descartes's thoughts on human anatomy and mechanical organisms. William Hunter, like Descartes, acknowledges God's existence whilst simultaneously understanding man's anatomy as "external" and separate from the mind (including intellect and thinking): "We are really just minds or thinking things united with bodies distinct from ourselves". Man's senses or sensory system is shadowed by mind/intellect as portrayed by Descartes. Accordingly: "What identifies it is not what the senses bring to one's notice, but what can be grasped by the intellect as belonging to body". It was Hunter's talent in medicine and his gift for teaching that enabled him to impart "anatomical studies useful to painters". Moreover, he was able to operate on many levels as mentor, for: "It would be particularly useful to him when he [the artist] wishes to make designs of that machine - in imaginary positions or attitudes".

Throughout his discourses Hunter explains anatomy in simple terms, creating visual pictures easily grasped by the art students. As a student De Wilde felt comfortable enough to write and ask Hunter's advice, and one of Hunter's obituarist spoke of his talents for teaching:

To consider him as a teacher, is to view him in his most amiable character; perspicuity, unaffected modesty, and a desire of being useful, were his peculiar characteristics; and, of all others, he was most happy in blending the utile with the dulce, by introducing apposite and pleasing
98 stories, to illustrate and enliven the more abstruse and jejune parts of anatomy; thus fixing the attention of the volatile and the giddy, and enriching the minds of all with useful knowledge.

That Hunter was a good teacher is borne out by students like James Northcote who thought anatomy was "strings like ropes" and muscles akin to "stuffing to fill up the skin", and yet, after attending anatomy classes, was able to use and understand medical terminology. It is also evident from special privileges, letters and invitations bestowed on Hunter by Council that this body was pleased with his teachings. Council meeting on 20th April, 1769, ordered that: "Dr Hunter be acquainted that he has the right as Professor of Anatomy to visit the Exhibitions whenever he pleases". Furthermore, Edmund Burke recommended to James Barry whilst the latter was a student in Italy that he should "study with his knife in his hand", for this alone develops one's anatomical knowledge.
III : The 'Anatomical School' and its Students

Attending anatomy lectures was by invitation or by obtaining an admission ticket and this applied to both visitors and students alike. As became apparent in Chapter Two life classes were attended daily once the student gained full admission to the Royal Academy and subsequently obtained a life academy ticket and signed the official class register on each attendance. Because of the nature of William Hunter's lectures and the formal setting in which they took place there is no record of who attended. Nevertheless, one may trace those students from class registers who specialised in either portrait or figure painting. Although Hunter's art-anatomy lectures attracted medical men, literary figures, and London's 'polite society', the anatomist was aware that they were primarily for students: "Whatever company may happen to honour this place with their presence, it must be remembered that the Lectures are calculated for the students, and addressed to them only". 101

Mauritius Lowe (1746-1793), entered the Royal Academy as a painting student on the 15th June, 1769, and won the first Gold Medal to be awarded by the Academy for his painting 'Time Discovering Truth', and his reward for winning the premium was a visit to Italy. 102 Although there is no mention of him attending the life class (which he must have done at some time), reference is made to him frequenting Hunter's lectures. Lowe was befriended by Samuel Johnson, a close friend of
Reynolds who appointed him Professor of Ancient Literature (1770-1784) at the Royal Academy. Johnson thought Lowe's paintings quite outstanding, and, on one occasion when Lowe was ill, requested that William Hunter might visit the artist at his home in Wardour street. But, despite Johnson's patronage, Lowe died in poverty and squalor. It is difficult to understand the extent to which Johnson supported Lowe, as the artist has been described as a "very bad history and portrait painter", and in fact, the Scholarship awarded to him by the Academy was discontinued in 1772 on account of his insolent behaviour. Other artists attending Hunter's lectures are identified in Appendix I. Many have already been dealt with in Chapter Two in relation to their figure drawing and anatomical classes. There is little evidence showing drawings and paintings executed by art students after attending the anatomy lectures, except for those drawings and engravings executed by artists some from the Academy in collaboration with Hunter for his anatomic folio, (see Chapter Four). It would be a false picture of eighteenth century art training however if we were to presume that all artists were in favour of anatomical studies: many students at the Royal Academy attended neither lectures on anatomy nor the life class. Many were interested only in genre or landscape painting. During the 1850s, the anatomist Robert Knox scathingly attacked painters at the Academy calling it the "Anatomical School", where too much energy was devoted to drawing and painting dissected bodies, and, although his account stops at the
beginning of the nineteenth century, these same structures could be transferred back to Hunter's reign as professor of anatomy. Knox accused their canvasses of depicting nothing but "death-like dissected figures". Nevertheless, Knox believed in practical anatomy, and used dissection as a major component in his own teachings. His lectures in Edinburgh were always well attended by medical students, as he was renowned for having large numbers of corpses to 'anatomize'; as a surgeon, he was particularly interested in the relation of anatomy to art, and thought nothing of incurring large debts to pay for cadavers. He often referred to the Vesalius folio, impressing upon his students the importance of "appealing to nature for knowledge of structure". When describing the heart, Knox told them:

Do not look for its anatomy upon the walls of a class-room glaring with reds, yellows and blues study this beautiful piece of mechanism in-situ.

Artists he advocated should acquaint themselves with "Nature's Masterpiece", the human body, and in 1852 he published Great Artists and Great Anatomists, using the Leonardo studies as examples:

Follow Da Vinci. Draw the dead as dead - the living things as living; never depart from the truth. The dissected muscle, besides being dead, is quite unlike the living in form.

The Royal Academy became increasingly known for its anatomical studies, and was praised in the press (11th June 1807),
claiming that at the Academy Schools one "will find that Anatomy, the ground-work of the arts" was thriving such as "never ... before".\textsuperscript{112}

It is well-known that, as an Academy student, Benjamin Robert Haydon frequented his much-loved 'painter anatomist' Charles Bell's anatomy classes, and there are numerous entries in his diary concerning these meetings:

\begin{quote}
I have gained great knowledge of the animal, -

to which I am indebted to Charles Bell, as I am for many other opportunities of information and knowledge ... I have for the last fortnight been dissecting, drawing and studying the Lion ...
\end{quote}

Bell's private gatherings gave Haydon additional opportunities outside the Academy Schools to dissect, and he felt that Bell "fully understood the application of anatomy to the purposes we wanted".\textsuperscript{114} The sculpture student Matthew Wyatt, like Haydon, was interested in dissecting and modelling animals. Wyatt, referred to as "an able comparative anatomist", executed a model for an equestrian statue as well as a picture "with figures the size of life", depicting the "well-known attack of the lioness upon one of the Horses in the Exeter Mail Coach", on the evening of 20th October, 1816.\textsuperscript{115} He attended the life academy and anatomy lectures given by John Sheldon, Hunter's successor. Comparative anatomy was not new to either eighteenth-century artists in general or to the Royal Academy in particular, and William Hunter was an advocate of comparative anatomy studies.\textsuperscript{116} (The Hunterian Museum shows his vast collection of comparative anatomy). Like Hunter,
George Stubbs (1724-1806), was deeply interested in natural history and comparative anatomy. Stubbs had studied human anatomy in York under Charles Aitkinson, who encouraged Stubbs to give lectures to medical students as his understanding of anatomy was so good. The artist became Associate of the Royal Academy in 1780, though, prior to this in 1758, he had already begun preparations for his great work on the Anatomy of the Horse (1766), which took eighteen months to complete with no assistance other than that of his niece Mary Spencer. Similar to Tintoretto's method of hanging wax figurines in his studio, Stubbs specially erected in his studio an apparatus by which he could suspend the body of a dead horse, enabling him to alter the positioning of the limbs as though in motion. Stubbs' treatise was well received by the public as it was one of the first to define in great detail the anatomical structure of this animal. Both William and John Hunter patronised George Stubbs in his pursuit of comparative anatomy from the 1750s onwards, and later the artist executed anatomical drawings for them. Moses Haughton jnr. (1772/1774-1848), an engraving and painting student at the Royal Academy, entered the Schools on 31st July, 1795, at the age of twenty-one, having previously been a pupil of Stubbs. He not only attended the life academy but also frequented anatomy lectures at the Academy. Haughton was also a friend of Henry Fuseli, and attended his life classes whilst a student, although in January 1801, he was obliged to request reinstatement as an Academy student and submit drawings for approval. The Academy Schools enjoyed such
a reputation in the early years that its students were often asked to visit private galleries and museums. On one such occasion the students were invited by a certain Mr Sowerby to "inspect his Museum of Natural History, upon bringing a Card from any of the Academicians".\textsuperscript{121}

The 'Anatomical School' and its Successors, 1783-1825

William Hunter held the post of professor of anatomy until his death in 1783 and his successor was John Sheldon (1752-1808). Sheldon was born in London where his father was a surgeon-apothecary who practised in Tottenham Court Road. At an early age, John Sheldon was apprenticed to Henry Watson the anatomist, who taught him to experiment with various methods of injecting bodies, especially with an embalming process.\textsuperscript{122} His clinical training was undertaken at the Westminster and Lock Hospitals, and in 1774 he succeeded William Hewson, after the latter's sudden death, as resident pupil to John Hunter, whilst still attending William Hunter's School. He received his Diploma at the Surgeon's Company in 1775 and over the next two years lectured on anatomy at Hunter's Great Windmill Street School.\textsuperscript{123} At the age of thirty-one he became Professor of Anatomy at the Royal Academy, though not without competition as William Cruikshank also submitted an application. Council
minutes for 18th June, 1783, read thus: "Mr Cruikshank and Mr Sheldon having proposed themselves as Candidates to succeed the late Dr. Hunter", resolved that an "Election will be on Thursday 17th July" - this was normal procedure when employing a new teacher for "all these Professors shall be elected by ballot", stated the Instruments and Laws of the Royal Academy (1768). Sheldon was victor and began his teaching in October 1783: according to the minutes it was "Resolved - That Mr Sheldon be desired to begin, and give his first Lecture on Monday, 27th Instant". William Cruikshank however did not give up easily, and on hearing of Sheldon's illness some years later, whilst still teaching at the Academy, he attempted yet again to secure the position of Professor of Anatomy. Sheldon petitioned against this and continued lecturing to the art students even though his health was failing. He is portrayed as an affable and zealous character:

He was humane, active in every intercourse of friendship, though of so animated a character, mild, forbearing and affable. His conversation was lively as well as erudite and he had a strong sense of humour and great ingenuity in displaying it.

A Council meeting held on 30th January, 1786, resolved that future lectures be given in the following order: "Anatomy, Six weeks before Christmas, Painting, First Monday after the Hollyday, Architecture to follow on the 7th Monday". Both Hunter and Sheldon took professional advantage of residing at the Academy, giving them access to the plaister academy and its
sculptors, and I suggest that William Hunter made use of these facilities for cadaver-casting and that Sheldon used casting techniques which he probably learned through his interaction with artists (see Chapter Five). Like Hunter, Sheldon was interested in embalming and wax techniques and on the 31st December, 1785, it was recorded that: "Mr Sheldon having made a Cast of the Anatomy of the Horse, Resolved - That the Cast be sent to the Royal Academy". \(^\text{131}\) Sheldon's cadaver-casting methods were used on both human and comparative anatomy, and in this instance he made the moulding not at the Royal Academy but at his own private theatre. This is borne out by Samuel Woodforde, who, while a painting student at the Academy, attended Sheldon's anatomy lectures and made this entry in his Diary, 13th December, 1785: "Went to Mr. Sheldon's Theatre in Queen Street to see a Horse dissected". \(^\text{132}\) Sheldon's ability as a teacher-anatomist however was probably better than his casting skills, for after a Council visit on 17th February to "see the state of the horse", it was reported a few days later on the 24th February, 1785 that:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{The said Cast is in so mutilated and defaced} & \\
\text{a Condition that it would require great expense} & \\
\text{and the exertion of the Abilities of an able Sculptor} & \\
\text{to repair and set it together so as to be of use} & \\
\text{and Credit to the Academy.} & \quad \text{\textsuperscript{133}}
\end{align*}
\]

Artists Joseph Wilton, John Bacon and Samuel Rigaud concluded their report and found the cast "worthless tho' some Parts are in excellent Perfection" declining to accept it for Academy use. Nevertheless, Council was grateful to Sheldon for his
interest and reimbursed his expenditure. Whilst holding the post at the Academy Sheldon continued to teach and dissect both at his own anatomy theatre and in the London hospitals.

It was reported for the year 1795 that "General Expenses" of the Academy included "Models, and Incidental Expenses", which most probably refer to expenses incurred through the purchase of cadavers. Sheldon and Hunter both used living and dead figures in conjunction with their lectures, and it was resolved by Council on 22nd December, 1796, that "a Flannel Covering be provided for the Model, while attending the Professor of Anatomy, at his Lectures". During 1801 Sheldon and Flaxman instigated making anatomy lectures more interesting and accessible to all students. Flaxman proposed at a Council meeting (9th February) that "Lectures in Anatomy be more useful, and the Professor of Anatomy be consulted". Seven months later, Council received from Sheldon "some Articles for the Academy to possess" which he thought necessary "for the illustrating of his Lectures". In donating the articles, books and folios, Sheldon thought they might produce a "better explanation of his Lectures". A month later Sheldon attended a Council meeting to discuss these new proposals: "Mr Sheldon then proceeded to explain his Propositions for the improvement of the Study of Anatomy in the Royal Academy". The minutes fail to record what Sheldon actually proposed, though it most probably involved the purchase of anatomical folios, text-books and fugitive sheets. However, he must have
suggested additional casts and statues because he was later reimbursed by Council:

Jno. Sheldon, Professor of Anatomy, desiring that Five Guineas be paid to Mr Jos. Taylor for the coulered Cast of an Anatomy Figure.142

Like Hunter, Sheldon was frequently invited by Council to attend meetings, Academy dinners and various celebratory activities undertaken at the Royal Academy, and, although there does not appear to be great friendship between him and Academicians as in Hunter's day, genuine interest and respect was shown on both sides. On Monday 12th November, 1804, both Sheldon's lectures and the life class were to commence.143 Unfortunately, Sheldon's health was now failing, and during the next four years there was to be a gradual decline, and numerous entries in Council minutes prove that, although he tried many times to continue with his lectures, ill-health prevented him.144 Such an incident took place in December 1804, where he failed to deliver his course of lectures and yet regardless of this, Council agreed to pay him a year's salary.145 With Sheldon's death in 1808 the Academy needed to find a replacement urgently as they wanted continuity with the lecture programme. A Council meeting, on 25th November, 1808, reveals they had several contestants for the post, receiving: "Letters from Joshua Brookes, Anthony Carlisle, and Charles Bell, Esq., offering themselves Candidates for the Professorship of Anatomy".146 Although Anthony Carlisle was appointed he was not overwhelmingly first choice with either the artists at the
academy or medical colleagues. Many favoured Charles Bell, who it must be said, seemed the most obvious choice and was a favourite with artists and anatomists alike. The Annals of the Fine Arts (1818), used Bell's defeat to attack the Royal Academy, because in their view Bell was the better candidate:

When the late Professor of Anatomy died, they did not elect Charles Bell, a man who had always written in favour of the use of anatomy in the art; but Mr Carlisle, who had written in The Artist that it was no use at all. 147

The publication referred to is Bell's The Anatomy of Expression (1806), which is taken from the lectures delivered by Bell at his own school together with drawings from dissections executed on the premises. 148 With this publication and his increasing fame as the 'painter-anatomist', many people anticipated that he would naturally be Sheldon's successor. During this period Astley Cooper wrote to Sir William Beechey, R.A., regarding this matter:

Bell, of all the men I know, beyond all comparison merits the situation of Professor of the Royal Academy. He adds to a very extended knowledge of anatomy and a perfect acquaintance with the principles of painting, and I feel the strongest conviction that if he is elected he will do infinite credit to himself, and be an invaluable acquisition to the Royal Academicians. 149

A letter from Thomas Lawrence to Joseph Farington, dated 10th October, 1808, describes his views concerning Anthony Carlisle and the professorship:

There are points about him that we both think disagreeable; but it cannot be denied that he is qualified for the Situation - That in his own
Profession he is of the foremost ... and from his literary connections by which I mean the Society in which he moves. As a Member of both Societies at Somerset House, will rather bring additional Credit to the Academy ...  

Benjamin Haydon's Diary, (July 1831), supports the evidence given by Thomas Lawrence that it was the portrait painters "finding their rise to wealth and rank & honours" who elected Carlisle.151 This minor yet very important detail of the social acceptability of professionals won Carlisle the professorship. Both men were equally talented and skilled in their medical standing and yet being known to London's literary circles and a patron of the arts, or, as Lawrence describes, "A Member of both Societies", Anthony Carlisle had the advantage. The conservatism and snobbery of the Royal Academy led Academicians to elect professors who were of similar socio-political standing and this social advantage was so great that it won Carlisle his appointment. Charles Bell (1774-1842), was regarded as a radical and therefore would not have seemed suitable; or, as Adrian Desmond points out, Bell was "not a typical figure in RCS affairs", and consequently was not part of the establishment, favouring nonconformist medical education.152 Anthony Carlisle on the other hand "had gained his Royal Academy chair through carefully cultivated connections", and his feuds with the democrats at this time were well known.153 Still, though Dr Batty, who was a frequent caller to the Farington household, "spoke highly of the ability of Mr Carlyle (sic)"154 not all medical men felt the same, and
Carlisle's incompetence at the Westminster Hospital was reported in The Lancet, which asked for his resignation.\textsuperscript{155} Whether Anthony Carlisle proved himself competent as an art-anatomy teacher is a matter for speculation, though he did show tremendous enthusiasm throughout his professorship, and whether Charles Bell's style of teaching would have suited the Royal Academy students better is questionable. After much debating between Academicians, Council reported on 13th December, 1808: "that [Carlisle] should be prepared to enter on the Duties of his Office after the Middle of January".\textsuperscript{156} On the 28th December, 1808, Carlisle was officially elected as Professor of Anatomy and would continue teaching "in the room of John Sheldon, deceased".\textsuperscript{157} Carlisle was swift to make his mark as professor, and by the middle of January, 1809, he was "making such alterations and preparations" in the Great Room as he thought necessary.\textsuperscript{158} Seven days later (19th January) Carlisle attended a meeting "and with the Council went into the Great Room and [the Council] approved of the preparations for giving his Lectures".\textsuperscript{159} Over the next twelve months (1809-10), he proposed numerous changes to the style of lectures, their content and accommodation. Council records (15th December 1809), that Carlisle's plans for the "Seats and Lighting of the Lecture Room, are approved by the Council", and on the 5th January, 1810: "Council withdrew into the Lecture Room and expressed their highest satisfaction with the arrangements, preparatory for the Lectures".\textsuperscript{160}

The social and professional hierarchies existing in
London were to be found on a microcosmic level inside the world of the Royal Academy, especially in the stratification of the seating plans of the Great Room. Unequivocal prestige was given to students studying the life model, and this seating arrangement symbolizes the dominant position that portrait, figure and anatomy students had in the Academy Schools. And we have already seen the power portrait artists had in choosing teachers within the Academy. Entrance to lectures was by ticket only, although exceptions were made and tickets made available on request by members of the beau monde, literary figures and eminent medical men. On 25th November, 1811, Council arranged:

That 24 Lecture Tickets be sent to Mr Brooks, the Surgeon, with a letter acquainting him that in future, he will annually be supplied with 48 tickets for the course of Anatomical Lectures in the Academy, in consideration of his liberal attention to Students in the Arts of Design.

It is clear from this that Brookes wanted the lecture tickets for his medical students and house-pupils, which indicates that artists and medical students interacted not only at anatomy theatres and private houses but at the Royal Academy also. Joshua Brookes invited the art students to inspect his private anatomy theatre in Blenheim Street, while also acknowledging the supreme role that the Academy and fine arts played in fusing together the artistic and medical communities:

No circumstance has ever occurr'd to me more flattering, than the very distinguish'd manner in which the President and Council have testified their approbation of my efforts to
Anthony Carlisle (1768-1840) delivered his first anatomy lecture to the students on 23rd January, 1809, only months after Sheldon's death. Benjamin Haydon was in the audience:

"Went to hear Carlisle's first lecture - a very clever one - but if what he said last night is truth, what he wrote in "The Artist" [4 July 1807], is a falsehood. He denied the Greeks knew Anatomy, and then said there was a Grecian who boasted he had dissected six hundred bodies, and was called the butcher. Is not this a flat absurdity?"

The article, written by Carlisle when he was a young man, making many artists' turn against him, was published in The Artist (1807) entitled, "Connection Between Anatomy and the Fine Arts". Here he expresses the opinion that a small degree of anatomical knowledge was not sufficient for artists. Having once been offered a place at the Royal Academy of Arts Carlisle rejected becoming an artist, turning instead to surgery.

Carlisle offered "additional Instruction in Anatomy" to the students if Council saw fit to agree, whilst continuing with his Monday evening lectures. When lecturing he is reported to have dressed in "old fashioned bagwag, cocked hat and lace wrist ruffles", according to G. D. Leslie. On one occasion he brought into the life class "half-a-dozen naked Guards to demonstrate muscle action", doing sword
At another life class he entertained the students by showing muscles in action, using oriental jugglers and acrobats. Carlisle also enlivened his more formal lectures by handing round the audience a dissected human heart and brain. Such visual aids accompanied his lectures on human emotions. It is evident that by the time Anthony Carlisle became professor, anatomical teachings were changing and becoming even more of a spectacle than in Hunter's day. What had begun with William Hunter and his visual aids had evolved into audience participation and quasi-theatrical events. Carlisle capitalised on making art-anatomy lectures one of London's spectacles. David Wilkie who attended Charles Bell's private dissecting classes also frequented Carlisle's lectures, as Haydon recounts:

[Wilkie] heard a very sensible lecture from Anthony Carlisle, introductory to his Course of Anatomy. When this was concluded, he began to demonstrate the general divisions of the human body on the living figure, for which purpose he had Gregson in the room, who is a well made man.

This introductory lecture, entitled "The Indispensable Connection which Exists Between the Sciences and the Fine Arts", appears not unconnected with his original thesis published in The Artist. His second lecture was on "Taxological Theory", with the remaining lectures purely "technical, and illustrated on the skeleton, with detached bones, portions", with a life model constantly in view, preferring life models to corpses.
These spectacles of anatomy that Carlisle presented must have delighted his audiences, although an onlooker refers to his demonstrations as:

... well calculated for his auditors; and a numerous attendance of Academicians, Associates, Students, and Exhibitors bore witness to the opinion they entertained of his instructions.\textsuperscript{173}

Advertising anatomy lectures continued throughout Carlisle's professorship, as a letter dated 14th November, 1815, from Henry Fuseli to John Soane reveals: "The advertisement in the Newspapers can only relate to Mr. Carlisle's lecture".\textsuperscript{174}

Carlisle placed great stress on understanding the living body, and used the skeleton, bones, organs, medical texts and anatomical casts to give detailed analysis. And he proposed to Council in December, 1810, that he might make "some improvements in the anatomical education of the Students" by providing a wider variety of visual aids.\textsuperscript{175} Not only did Council agree to finance a new "descriptive catalogue of bones and muscles" to be placed in the life class, but in addition:

An articulated Skeleton, and a complete series of bones to be placed in the Living Academy - [and] directions to place the color'd Anatomical Cast in the same room.\textsuperscript{176}

Although Carlisle preferred not to use cadavers as an educational tool he amply made up for this by the array of other visual material accompanying the lectures. Each lecture had a theme, which involved elaborate stage sets, as may be
deduced from a receipt paid by Council on 23rd March, 1815:
"Carpenter's bill of £11-7-0 for Machinery used in the
Anatomical Lectures". However, all the spectacular
demonstrations summoned by Carlisle could not appease the art
students, who preferred to learn from dissections. Anthony
Carlisle was attacked in The Annals of the Fine Arts for not
subscribing to dissection:

It is painful to hear from the Professor's
chair that 'dissecting is the disgusting part
of anatomy, and that it is altogether unnecessary
for the artist'.

The Academy's history of anatomical education had been founded
on cadavers and dissecting. Indeed, Hunter's dissecting
sessions were as spectacular as Carlisle's theatrical dancers,
fire-eaters, jugglers and acrobats. Now it appeared that
Carlisle favoured the living to the dead. However, although he
 refrained from using whole cadavers, he did not object to using
parts of the internal organs: "At the second lecture this same
Mr. Carlisle, who complains of the indelicacy of dissecting,
brought a human heart, explaining the circulation of the
blood"; and "This was the Professor who abstained from
bringing the dissected muscles of an arm, or any part of the
body ... by way of proving how delicate he is, brings a human
heart torn from a human bosom". Whether the "half sickened
audience" found it entertaining, amusing or disagreeable is not
stated but the professor of anatomy often used shock treatment
such as this. Anthony Carlisle was the first to change
anatomical instruction at the Royal Academy since Hunter's reign, and, though both these two men were equally well-educated and skilled anatomists, their perceptions of art-anatomy practices were somewhat different. Hunter advocated the necessity of dissection, showing man's internal and external structure, whilst Carlisle paid little attention to the inner components of man's 'machine', preferring to concentrate on his external being. Both anatomists taught visual observation and the function of the human body but employed diverse methodologies.

Anthony Carlisle resigned from the post in 1824 after a period of sixteen years, and the Academicians found themselves yet again appointing a new professor. Haydon was outraged that Bell was still not given the post:

Shocking but true! 3 times did Sir Charles Bell struggle to get lecturer to the Academy, and failed; three times did I, and failed likewise. Bell said he was convinced the Old Members wished to obstruct.

That it was the Academicians who "wished to obstruct" Bell from securing the professorship is more than likely true, and again his application was rejected. Haydon has only praise for the 'painter-anatomist':

Bell has the most easy, indolent, pleasant manner, of enhancing attention and communicating knowledge of any being I ever met with; an unaffected, even childish way he has, [so] that things, the result of the deepest investigation come from [him] like a tale.
Haydon and Bell enjoyed a close friendship throughout their lives, and this was partly due to their social status. Both men were outspoken, radical in their ideas on art and medicine, seeking alternative methods of education. Consequently, their political views often cost them social acceptance and professional advancement. Academy students familiar with Bell's private art-anatomy classes would have favoured him as their professor, but established Academicians preferred Joseph Henry Green, as Haydon confirms:

There is certainly no man so well adapted as Bell, - he has given his mind to that part of the Subject we need; and the Students have attended his three courses of Lectures, and therefore know his qualifications, and have all derived the little knowledge we possess from him.183

The other candidates for this professorship included Joshua Brookes, George Simpson, Joseph Constantine Carpue, Joseph Henry Green and Herbert Mayo, all surgeon-anatomists who had either published medical treatises or were known to the Academy, (see Appendix II). The Annals of the Fine Arts (1818) hailed Brookes as "the celebrated Professor of Anatomy" who was "painted by desire of the students under his tuition".184 Even praise such as this was not sufficient in securing Brookes the appointment, partly because he was seen as being a member of the nonconformist and alternative medical group in London: medical men who set up their own private schools. The appointment at the Academy was given to Joseph Henry Green (1791-1863), who gave his first anatomy lecture in the Great
Room in 1825. Haydon refers to Green after attending a lecture by him on the 19th November, 1825:

The new Professor of Anatomy in the Academy, commenced last night. As usual he affirmed the Greek artists did not know muscular anatomy, because the medical professors were so ignorant. This is no argument but for the clique. Because the medical men knew little, is that any proof that the artists knew nothing? Certainly not.

Like Carlisle before him, Green was a man of the establishment, and he in particular held Coleridgean ideas on romanticism, nature, culture and politics. Green and Coleridge were against the "lecture bazaars" founded by nonconformist anatomists such as Carpue, Brookes, Grainger and Brodie. Although both Green and Coleridge agreed that medical education should be reformed they did not reject the already existent constitution and called for non-radical moves within medicine and science. It is not surprising that the Academicians preferred Green, since he held values in keeping with the Academy's own ethos, as had the majority of past professors.
IV: Institutions of Art and Science: London and the Provinces

Throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, institutions of art, science and medicine became increasingly popular as interaction between professionals became easier. The scientific age of rationality and its influence on aesthetics meant that artists and scientists were joining forces socially and professionally, and this can be seen operating in the clubs and institutes in and around the metropolis. While Joshua Reynolds called for there to be science in art, Humphry Davy called for ideologies of romanticism and the Sublime to illuminate chemistry. In his 1802 introductory lecture at the Royal Institution, Davy said that "the study of nature must always be more or less connected with the love of the beautiful and sublime", and referred to chemistry's appeal to the 'soul'.

It is easy to see Coleridge's influence on both Davy and Joseph Henry Green, for Coleridge not only attended lectures at the Royal Institution but also gave lectures there himself. Both Green and Coleridge had spent time in Germany, and their shared interests in medicine, science, nature, philosophy and the arts created a bond between them. Similarly Davy and Coleridge became good friends after first meeting in Bristol. What has been described as the new Age of Romanticism brought about new affiliations not only with established figures but within Academies of art and science. Charles Leslie the painter went to hear Coleridge's lecture on Milton and Shakespeare with
tickets given to him by the poet, though he "was sorry his London audiences [were] much smaller than those at Bristol".\textsuperscript{192} Furthermore, the Academy student Anker Smith asked a friend to accompany him to a chemistry lecture similiar "to one of those ... they went to last year".\textsuperscript{193} A large percentage of the scientific academies established during the eighteenth century could be located throughout Great Britain.\textsuperscript{194} Scientific institutions and artistic academies were not solely to be found in London and a number of these were formed in Manchester, Liverpool, Bristol, Newcastle, Dublin and Edinburgh.

Science and art came together not only by means of lectures, private galleries, and teaching but through the subscriptions of institutions. The patronage system can be seen operating in the setting up of academies and institutes by means of annual subscription and a number of the art societies and institutions were financially supported by politicians, medical men, scientists and royalty. The Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce was founded in 1754, and the early subscription list includes nobility, politicians and medical men: the Earl of Shaftesbury sent ten guineas, and four other members sent two guineas each.\textsuperscript{195} The original meeting included physiologist Stephen Hales, the banker Gustavus Brander, the optician and astronomer James Short, the watchmaker Nicholas Crisp, and the surgeon Husband Messiter. The meeting was held on 22nd March, 1754, at Rawthmell's Coffee House, Covent Garden, to establish the aims
and objectives of the Society. The precursor of the London Society of Arts and its Dublin and Scottish counterparts was the Royal Society (fd. 1662) promoting various branches of science, both pure and applied.

Although both the Royal Society of Arts and the Royal Academy dealt with pictures, students, premiums and patronage, they did not rival each other, and the two institutes undertook different educational roles. So that the two art institutions could happily co-exist, the Royal Academy confined itself to instructing young artists, whereas the Royal Society of Arts promoted competition and incentives to win prizes. Although primarily regarded as supporting the 'polite arts' (drawing, painting and sculpture) the Society also encouraged agriculture, manufactures, mechanics, chemistry and colonies and trade. A number of the students attending the Academy Schools won prizes from the Royal Society which provided them with prestige, money and incentives. Other institutions and societies such as the Free Society, the British Institution, Dr. Williams Library and, later, Sir John Soane's Museum and the National Gallery provided other educational sources for students.
The Early Academies and the Provinces

Professional connexions between the metropolis and other parts of the country were not unusual, and a great deal of national interaction took place in the late eighteenth-century and Bristol, Manchester and Liverpool were important places during this period for artists and medical men. Like London, Liverpool managed to integrate professional men from different classes, and united them through common interests. Liverpool for example, saw the founding of a Society of Arts, an Academy and an exhibition, and a number of its practising artists left Liverpool seeking training at the Royal Academy in London, (see Appendix III for list of Liverpool artists in the eighteenth-century). Like the London Society of Arts, the Liverpool equivalent included among its patrons medical men, politicians and scientists. The first Liverpool Art Society was founded in 1769 with twenty-one members and most probably inspired by the Royal Academy of Arts, which opened its doors a year earlier. This first group included artists, Dr Michael Renwick who in 1773 gave a lecture on chemistry to this Society and John Wyke a watchmaker.201 By 1774 another group of artists gathered themselves together and formed 'The Society of Artists in Liverpool' and, although this survived for only twelve months, the Society did manage to put on the first exhibition in Liverpool in 1774. A second exhibition was held in September 1784 and from 213 exhibits 31 works of art came from London artists including Fuseli, Reynolds, Paul and Thomas
Sandby, Dominic Serres, Angelica Kauffmann and Thomas Stothard; 117 works came from local artists including the Tate family, John Deare (who later went on to the Plaister Academy at the Royal Academy), and William Roscoe; and eight exhibitors from other parts of the country one of whom was Joseph Wright of Derby. Although many artists continued to work in Liverpool, there was not another organised group until William Roscoe instigated 'The Society for Promoting Painting and Design in Liverpool' in 1783, with an annual subscription of one guinea. Interaction of artists and patrons between London and Liverpool was lively, and artists like George Stubbs and patron William Roscoe, both born in Liverpool, either lived in the metropolis or kept in regular communication. Whilst at the Royal Academy Henry Fuseli and William Roscoe constantly kept in touch as existing correspondence shows.204 William Roscoe (1753-1831), businessman, writer and reformer also patronised Fuseli and the artist executed a number of engravings and paintings for him; consequently they not only become business partners but friends. Fuseli in particular looked to Roscoe as a benefactor, confidant and colleague. Fuseli's letter dated, 20th August 1811, mentions The Liverpool Academy and its first president George Bullock. However, despite all the difficulties of establishing a variety of art societies the first Liverpool School of Painting was founded in 1810 and was instituted along the lines of London's Royal Academy. Bristol, Norwich and Manchester established similar art academies as well as setting
up scientific societies such as the Royal Society of Manchester (founded in 1781).208

There was also a strong contingent of Scottish and Irish artists working in London during the eighteenth century. In conjunction to this was the opening of scientific and medical institutions like Dublin's Royal Society founded in 1731. From a sample of eighty-eight Irish-born painters working in the eighteenth-century, ten of these were students at the Royal Academy in London who continued to exhibit both here and in Ireland, (see Appendix IV for list of Irish painters).209

Although the Irish connexions were important it was Edinburgh and Glasgow outside of London where pioneering educational reform was taking place. Medical education was on the increase during the eighteenth century and many of its best students eventually left the provinces to seek fame and fortune in London. As Christopher Lawrence writes: "The trip to London became a must for many Edinburgh students".210 Scottish-born John and William Hunter, Charles Bell, William Cullen, Thomas Monro, William Smellie, and Matthew Baillie were leading figures in medicine. They all left Scotland for London, and on doing so found financial gain, social acceptance and professional gratification.211 Similarly, in the art world a number of leading Scottish artists left their home towns to live in London, either to attend the Royal Academy or take a private studio and exhibit, living off portrait commissions (see Appendix V). Many of the best Scottish artists in the eighteenth century came either from The Foulis Academy in
Glasgow or Edinburgh's Academy of Design where in 1772 the painter Alexander Runciman took over the presidency, eventually succeeded by portrait and history painter David Allen.212

Runciman (1736-1785) lived for a short time in London, and, whilst in Italy between 1767 and 1771, befriended James Barry and Henry Fuseli.213

It is interesting that many eminent Scottish medical men and artists moved to London between 1750 and 1810 giving good reputations for themselves. This national context of artistic and medical communities established affiliations not only across professions but also in terms of fusing together geographical and cultural differences. These communities encouraged and supported new art-anatomy ventures, especially where financial patronage was needed in order to publish large and expensive folios. With the nonconformist private anatomy theatres and the wealth of diversity in hospital time-tables, the constant supply of cadavers and the best teachers, it is not surprising that medical students preferred London. Likewise, with the patronage of the Royal Academy, prizes and financial support from the Society of Arts, annual exhibitions, access to private collections, drawing and anatomy schools, and the interaction with many Continental artists living in London, it is obvious that the best art students would favour the city. Although, as Ian Pears points out, London's over-population of artists meant that some had to seek work elsewhere, citing as examples the painters Arthur Pond and Thomas Beach.214
V : Private Drawing Schools and Private Anatomy Theatres in London

The interface of art and medicine did not solely rely on the appointment at the Royal Academy for, as will become evident, other private institutions played an important part in the formation of art-anatomy practices. Those medical men unsuccessful in securing the Academy position continued with their own private schools of anatomy in London. Advertising became increasingly important as professional boundaries shifted, keeping art-anatomy information circulating and updated.

To supplement their incomes, artists such as Alexander Cozens, Thomas Gainsborough and J. M. W. Turner made their drawing and painting skills commercially available. Farington recalls a conversation with Turner, "[who] told me He is determined not to give any more lessons in drawing. He has only had five Shillings a lesson."\(^1\) According to Redgrave, Turner charged as much as ten shillings a lesson, making private tuition a lucrative business.\(^2\) Parents willing to pay for drawing lessons for their children sought Farington's advice.\(^3\) By the middle of the eighteenth century, advertising was a means of promotion for both the medical and artistic sectors, as can be seen in the Morning Chronicle, for 4th, 15th and 19th July, 1791:

PIMLICO, near the Queen's Palace. Mr PERKS informs the Public, that his School opens again the 25th instant. Terms Twenty-One Guineas,
Between 1795 and 1797 the going rate for individual drawing lessons ranged from 5s. 3d to one guinea per week.219

One of the most frequented private gatherings was run by Dr Thomas Monro, who lived at Adelphi Terrace from 1794 until 1820.220 Dr Monro was a patron of the arts and physician to Bethlem Hospital and was referred to by Turner as the 'good doctor'. It was at his house that a number of young artists and medical students could be found, using it as a studio.221 Turner describes Monro's habit "of giving half-a-crown each for their night's drawing, and a supper afterwards",222 and William Henry Hunt's obituarist (February 1864) refers to Dr. Monro's house thus: "At this place he drew with what might be called the 'Little Academy' and met many men of note".223 Farington recounts this scene: "Steers says Dr. Monro's house is like an Academy in the evening. He has young men employed in tracing outlines made by his friends".224 According to Farington in 1797 Monro's house was "full of drawings" many of which were attributable to artists such as Hearne, Barrett, Smith, Laporte, Turner, Wheatley and Girtin - all of whom were regular visitors to Adelphi Terrace.225 Thomas Monro appears to have been quite an exceptional man in his concern for young artists' well-being and careers, for in November 1795, he acted on behalf of art student Thomas Girtin:

Dr. Munro wishes to obtain admission to the Royal Academy for Girtin, a young man of 20 years of age, as a student. [Farington told him
Richard Regrave refers to Girtin's acquaintance with Monro: "He [Girtin] was indebted for good examples to study, for companionship with some of the rising youths of the day, and for sound advice as to the practice of the art he soon resolved to follow". Monro was known for encouraging "young artists to sketch from nature, and to work them into pictures at these evening meetings", and Girtin and Turner were employed by the doctor for three years, drawing at his house each evening from 6 o'clock until 10 o'clock:

Girtin drew outlines and Turner washed in the effects. They were chiefly employed in copying the outlines or unfinished drawings of Cozens etc. of which Copies they made finished drawings.

While a life academy student, Joshua Cristall specialised in portrait and figure painting and also frequented Dr. Monro's 'Little Academy' where so many of the "best water-colour artists were formed". Academy students felt no exclusive loyalty to the Royal Academy and sought extramural classes from both artistic and medical sources, and someone like Thomas Monro not only served these needs as patron but in many instances acted as their physician.

In contrast to these private drawing schools, we now turn to the medical equivalent, the private anatomy schools founded during this same period, circa 1750 to 1810. A number of
medical institutions were privately run by medical men who preferred the role of entrepreneur, which facilitated the advertising of courses, making practical anatomy and lectures available to a wider audience. Many of the anatomist-surgeons applying for the professorship at the Academy spent the majority of their time setting up their own anatomy schools. The new medical entrepreneurship of the eighteenth century brought freedom, reform and choice, allowing students to choose from a number of medical lectures. Artists, like medical students, were able to 'buy' their way into dissecting rooms, increasingly becoming more involved in the medical world and having more say in the type of education they wanted.

'Extramural' Activities of the Medical Profession: its Courses, Time-table and Advertising

As can be seen from the location of these private anatomy schools, they were all within easy reach of the Royal Academy (see map over the page). The mainstream anatomy lectures for medical students became extramural pursuits for interested art students. Susan Lawrence remarks on the private medical partnerships established at this time:

At one end lay the solo lecturer, who worked unaided from his home, lecture room, or theatre.
PRIVATE SCHOOLS OF ANATOMY in relation to the ROYAL ACADEMY OF ARTS (c. 1750-1810).

A: Dr. Marshall
B: Dr. John Sheldon
C: Anthony Carlisle
D: Joshua Brookes
E: William Hunter
F: Charles Bell
G: Royal Academy of Arts.
He was the most mobile and had the most control over his lecturing activities. Other men formed dual partnerships, sharing lecture rooms, dividing the responsibility for one or more courses and advertising together. 232

Private anatomy schools were established by medical men such as Joseph Else, John Sheldon and Dr. Marshall who advertised his spring course in the *Morning Chronicle*, between 1792 and 1793:

Theatre in Barlet-court, Holborn, DR. MARSHALL, will begin the SPRING COURSE of his Lectures on Anatomy, NEXT MONDAY, the 23rd instant, at Two o'Clock ... PRACTICAL ANATOMY is continued at THAVIES INN. 233

Dr John Douglas, a surgeon and a teacher, gave anatomical lectures and demonstrations using cadavers; Joshua Brookes advertised not only his course of practical anatomy but also for house-pupils, another source of private income. 234 Those house-pupils who assisted in making anatomical preparations had access to regular dissecting. Brookes the proprieter of the Blenheim Street School, Great Marlborough Street, chose to open his school all year round. 235 He provided corpses for dissection, and, in 1814, an advertisement informs the public of his "Theatre of Anatomy":

The Summer Course of Lectures on Anatomy, Physiology, and Surgery, will be commenced on Monday, the 6th of June, at seven o'clock in the morning. By Mr. Brookes - Anatomical Conversations will be held weekly ... when Mr. Brookes attends to direct the Students and demonstrates the various parts as they appear on Dissection. 236
Brookes appears to be appealing to the large number of Continental medical and artistic figures in London by favouring the Italian conversationes instead of its English spelling. A medical student Joseph Flint South, observes that Joshua Brookes "was without exception the dirtiest professional person", further describing his "inherent love of dirt". Another private anatomy school was "conducted by a clever but very eccentric person Joseph Carpue", who is further commented upon as "a very good anatomist"; he had a few pupils, establishing his own school at 50 Dean Street, Soho. Prior to his opening Dean Street School, he had delivered lectures and undertaken dissection at his house in Leicester Square. Edward Grainger, also famous for his "Theatre of Anatomy" in Webb Street, Southwark, was the middle-man in bringing together medical courses:

Edward Grainger's success as an anatomical teacher was deservedly very great, as he was a very able and assiduous practical instructor, and devoted his whole time to his pupils, who within a few years after his establishment became a very large class.

Over the page is a proposed time-table that might well have been undertaken by an art student attending the Academy Schools whilst also frequenting 'extramural' lectures at one of the private anatomy theatres. The location of many of the private anatomy schools within walking distance of the Royal Academy in the Strand and, as a large proportion of the anatomy lectures were held in the evenings, this would not have interfered with
### A Time-Table Devised to Suit a Royal Academy Student Pursuing Life Class and Anatomy Studies, c.1768-1810.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DAY</th>
<th>TIME</th>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
<th>VENUE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>10.am-5pm</td>
<td>Life Drawing</td>
<td>Royal Academy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6pm-10pm</td>
<td>Anatomy Lect/Painting lect/Perspect.Lect/</td>
<td>Royal Academy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>10.am-5pm</td>
<td>Life Drawing</td>
<td>Royal Academy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6pm-</td>
<td>Dissection &amp; Drawing</td>
<td>Charles Bell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>10.am-5pm</td>
<td>Painting Class</td>
<td>Royal Academy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6pm-</td>
<td>Anatomy</td>
<td>Joshua Brookes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>10.am-5pm</td>
<td>Life Academy</td>
<td>Royal Academy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6pm-</td>
<td>Anatomy &amp; Preparations</td>
<td>Wm Hunter or John Sheldon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>10.am-5pm</td>
<td>Painting Class</td>
<td>Royal Academy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6pm-</td>
<td>Dissection &amp; Drawing</td>
<td>Dr. Marshall or Edw. Grainger.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td></td>
<td>Life drawing and painting at home or studio.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Visit to private art museums, collections and private pathological collections for drawing.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td></td>
<td>Joshua Brookes private anatomy school.</td>
<td>Charles Bell's house in Leicester Square.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>John Sheldon's private anatomy school.</td>
<td>Dr. Thomas Monro's 'Little Academy'.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Academy classes.

John Green Crosse, a surgeon who had completed five years' apprenticeship before arriving in "London to learn anatomy and to walk the hospitals", eventually worked under Charles Bell at the Great Windmill Street School. He was a house-pupil to Bell from October to May 1811-12, where he undertook dissection and preparation of specimens for the museum. It is reported that after attending Bell's 'Introductory Lecture', Crosse "drank tea with the Bells in the drawing room for the first time". Adrian Desmond's *The Politics of Evolution* (1989) examines the politics of early nineteenth-century medical entrepreneurship, especially in relation to private anatomy schools and its teachers. Desmond describes these "lecture bazaar" activities of the radicals as creating an even wider gulf between establishment figures and those anatomists seeking medical reform, and says that by 1832 there were 17 private schools of anatomy in London alone.
Charles Bell, William Hunter and the Great Windmill Street

School

William Hunter began teaching naval surgeons in Covent Garden when he first came to London, whilst also teaching anatomy and midwifery. Hunter's early advertisements for his anatomy lectures offered "the opportunity of gentlemen learning that art of dissection during the whole winter season" in the Parisian method of dissection.244 He begun lecturing in 1746, as an advertisement in the London Evening Post shows:

On Monday, the 13th of October, at 5 in the evening will begin a course of anatomical lectures to which will be added the operations of surgery with the application of bandages, by William Hunter, Surgeon.245

Each of Hunter's lectures lasted approximately two hours and 112 meetings extended over a 3½ month period.246 His medical lectures were not dissimilar to his lectures at the Royal Academy in that he showed "curious anatomical preparations" and used dissection.247 The honorarium paid by pupils was ten guineas to become a 'perpetual' student, seven guineas for the first half and three guineas for the remaining, and the school for practical anatomy was open throughout the winter:

Here students see everything that is going on, both dissections and all the arts of examining diseases and making preparations; and with their own hands dissect as many bodies, make for themselves as many preparations, and perform as many operations of surgery as they please. In this school so many subjects are dissected in the course of a winter.248
William Hunter took up residence at Windmill Street in June 1768 and for a time was unrivalled: "On Thursday October 1st 1767 Dr. Hunter and Mr. Hewson's Course of Anatomical lectures will begin at their theatre in Windmill Street, near the Haymarket". John Sheldon later became Hunter's assistant on the death of Hewson. Henry Watson, an early pupil of Hunter's and Reader in Anatomy and surgeon to the Middlesex Hospital, lectured in his own private anatomy theatre from 1762, using a collection of anatomical specimens as well as assisting Sheldon. However, the anatomy museum was destroyed by a mob during a period when Sheldon gave anatomy lectures there.

Each year saw further increases in lecture options for medical students, providing more employment for medical men such as Francis Sandby, John Haughton, James Wilson, John Taunton, Thomas Denman, Matthew Baillie and William Cruikshank who all taught anatomy and/or midwifery. Dr. Andrew Thynne advertised his course of lectures in the Morning Chronicle (Wednesday) 13th July, 1791, to be held at his private school:

DR THYNNE will begin a COURSE OF LECTURES on the THEORY & PRACTICE OF MIDWIFERY, and the Diseases of Women and Children, at his Theatre, No. 1 Crown Court, Old Change, St. Paul's, TOMORROW, July 4th, at Two o'Clock.

Although a number of private anatomy institutions were established during the early half of the eighteenth century, it was the development of Hunter's Great Windmill Street School that was taken as an example of how private tuition from fee-paying pupils could prosper. The surgeon and anatomist
Charles Bell established a consulting practice in 1807 in a large house in Leicester Square, London. Bell was born in Edinburgh and was trained in anatomy and surgery, studying practical dissection under his older brother John at Surgeons' Square, Edinburgh. The relationship between John and Charles Bell is similar to that of William and John Hunter: the younger brother in both cases served his apprenticeship in the dissecting rooms of the elder.

In Autumn 1804, at the age of thirty, Charles Bell left his home town for London, hoping to gain access to the Hunterian circle. Evidence of this can be found in a letter sent to his brother George, a lawyer in Edinburgh, in which Bell states that his "first object was to introduce [himself] to the several schools, with the expectation of being taken as an assistant in Windmill Street, in the School of the Hunters". The first few years in London were "days of unhappiness and suffering", Bell wrote, though he remained productive and always had a "subject to study". At this time he was preparing his publication, later to be known as the Anatomy of Expression (1806), while also making "anatomical studies in the Westminster Hospital". In 1807 he purchased a house on the west side of Leicester Square, where a number of distinguished artists and medical men had already resided, among them Reynolds, Hunter and Cruikshank. It was here that Charles Bell first became acquainted with London's artists and, as his house was situated in the centre of town, it soon became a private school of anatomy, recruiting both medical and art
students. As a teacher Bell revealed his talent for presenting anatomical facts to non-medical people in the tradition and style of William Hunter, and a pupil of Bell’s recollects that he was a "kind and encouraging Master". Anatomical sketches which Bell often made "for illustrations, on the back of a letter, or any paper at hand" executed "with the stump of a well worn pen" were thought of as "masterly" by his students. These drawings were said to have "artistic beauty which added greatly to their surgical significance" and the drawings were so sought after that the students would intercept them as they were passed around the class. Whilst a painting student at the Royal Academy, Benjamin Robert Haydon regularly attended Bell's classes on anatomy and is reported to have often worked twelve or fourteen hours a day on his anatomical drawings. Haydon recounts his first encounter with the anatomist:

At this time, a Scotchman, Charles Bell, came to town, and [David] Wilkie, taking considerable interest in his success, asked me if I would attend a class ... for a course of lectures on anatomy. I was delighted; we beat up sixteen pupils at two guineas each, and here I concluded my anatomical studies.

Haydon admired Bell's knowledge of art-anatomy and thought Bell "fully understood, the application of anatomy to the purpose" required by artists. The source from which Charles Bell obtained his cadavers is not revealed in his correspondence, but diary entries made by London's grave-robbers often cite Bell as one of their regular customers (see Chapter One).
large portion of his income must have been spent on purchasing cadavers for his daily classes. In 1806 Bell wrote of the painters in his "great room, with each their little table, drawing from the skulls and skeletons", and in his journal Haydon writes:

Charles Bell sent to me to say that he had a lioness for dissection. I darted at it at once and this relieved my mind. I dissected her and made myself completely master of this magnificent quadruped. It was whilst meditating on her beautiful construction, and its relation in bony structure to that of man, that those principles of form since established by me arose in my mind.

In 1816 Haydon's own pupils, who were well advanced in anatomical drawings, were helped by "demonstrations on a subject at Bell's" being "thoroughly versed in human construction". As part of his own teaching technique Benjamin Haydon would sometimes employ male models so that he could more vividly explain muscle and bone structure failing this he would use the blackboard and chalk, making rapid sketches as his audience watched. In 1809 Charles Bell charged £3 3s Od. for dissection classes and £5 5s Od. for anatomy and surgery lectures. He opened his dissecting rooms to students from 7a.m to 5p.m. daily, lecturing on anatomy at 2p.m. and on surgery in the evenings. Bell's early years in London brought hardship and he could barely manage to live on his income from teaching. However, as he became established and successful, his financial situation improved. As he informed his brother George, in February 1806: "My surgical
pupils have brought me £82; my painters will give me £25".  \(^{271}\) In 1812 James Wilson sold the Great Windmill Street School and museum to Bell for £7,000 and in the spring of 1814 Bell became surgeon to the Middlesex Hospital. \(^{272}\) However, on the founding of London University Hospital in 1826, Charles Bell became its first professor of surgery and gave up Great Windmill Street. \(^{273}\) Originally consisting of two small houses in Windmill Street, the hospital was founded in August 1745 as the Middlesex Infirmary and a year later re-named Middlesex Hospital. On 29th June, 1835, Bell wrote:

> We have founded a School in the Garden of the Middlesex Hospital. The building will be a complete little thing - theatre, museum, clinical class-room, and dissecting-room ... I promise to the extent of sixty lectures ... The building will cost £2400. \(^{274}\)

Through examination of private drawing schools in the art world, and private anatomy schools in the medical sector, some overlap will inevitably occur. This professional overlap and fusing together of disciplines will be discussed in the final section of this chapter.
VI : Professional Cross-Fertilisation of Artists and Anatomists: Surgeons become Artists

This section concentrates upon specific points at which artists and anatomists cross professional boundaries and undertake each others' practice of drawing and dissection. Royal Academy artists were medically advised and treated by London's top physicians and surgeons. For instance William Cruikshank was physician to Fuseli, Farington and the engraver Thornwaite; Dr Warren and Dr Mead attended Joshua Reynolds; John Hunter both Gainsborough and George Morland. The surgeons Anthony Carlisle and Henry Cline attended painter John Opie, as did Pitcairn and Baillie and Sir Thomas Lawrence's post-mortem was carried out by Joseph Henry Green. Farington cites numerous cures passed on to him by the medical men around him. It is quite clear that Joseph Farington's daily acquaintances included not only artists and Academicians but also medical men (see Appendix VI for a list of medical men known to him). One surgeon in particular mentioned by Farington is Mr John Heaviside (1748-1828), who not only practised but also kept a museum of pathological specimens in London. In The Picture of London (1806), his museum is described thus:

Mr. Heaviside, of Hanover Square, has a Friday evening meeting every week during the winter and spring of gentlemen of the medical profession and others in his noble museum of anatomy and natural history.
Heaviside retained an interesting collection of morbid anatomies which is borne out by one of his house-pupils, John Howship (1781-1841), who made his own paintings and drawings from this collection. A book of painted specimens by Howship is dedicated to John Heaviside, having been taken: "From the extensive Collection of preparations with their histories, preserved in Mr Heaviside's invaluable museum, with the care of which I have for many years been entrusted". Howship praises his friend and mentor who from the very "first commencement" of professional life patronized his medical career. (Drawings and paintings from Howship's book are discussed in Chapter Four). It is reasonable to assume, in the light of John Heaviside's large museum together with his weekly meetings, that artists and medical students were encouraged to meet at his house and paint from life as he himself had done. John Howship later became surgeon to Charing Cross Hospital and St. George's Infirmary and held memberships of other Royal Colleges. It is quite clear from Howship's 1833 'Hunterian Oration' that his interest lay in fine art, citing Leonardo, Michelangelo and Raphael on the advantages of art and anatomy: "The importance of Anatomy [and] the study of painting [is] reciprocal. Anatomy can scarcely stand alone, better than painting." Howship further advocates that the medical profession should strive towards having its own "Professor of Design". His aspiration for a "Professor of Design" for medical students was not so far-fetched, as the Royal Academy established the equivalent professor of anatomy in 1768. On
one such occasion a lecture admission ticket was given to a Dr. Rainer, authorised by artist Edward Bird (10th January, 1814), permitting him to attend anatomy lectures at the Royal Academy. Friendships were formed by means of such professional interaction, as can be seen from correspondence between James Edwards and William Roscoe: "When you visit London pray come to see us - you shall then be introduced to our excellent friend Dr Butler whom Fuseli allows to be among the unequalled in Society".

Farington makes constant reference to a Mr. Knight, a London surgeon who, too, was interested in art and attended Royal Academy dinners. A Dr. Jenner, like Dr. Rainer, also attended Royal Academy functions as well as sitting "for a profile drawing, which [Richard] Smirke began yesterday". Farington further reveals to what extent the artistic community kept up to date with medical affairs, recalling that a certain Dr. Mead "made about £5000 a year" and that "medical practise said Heaviside is very different from what it was formerly".

The social and professional interface was not found in the metropolis alone but can also be located in the provinces especially in places such as Bristol. Michael Neve's research to some extent uncovers the medical and artistic networks in operation and submits as an example, the physician John King (Johann Koenig) a Swiss refugee born in 1766, who it has been said, was "a skilful engraver and painter". Not unlike London's social milieu Bath, Bristol, Manchester and Liverpool
operated parallel networks of medical clubs and art societies, attracting men from both professions. George Simpson, surgeon and member of the Royal College of Surgeons, taught anatomy to a society of artists based in London also known as the Artists' Anatomical Society. Although there is no evidence of this society's activities apart from Simpson's reference to lectures in his publication *The Anatomy of the Bones, and Muscles designed for the Use of Artists, and Members of the Artists' Anatomical Society* (1825), there is information to suggest that it met at the Freemason's Tavern in Great Queen Street, where the Anatomical Club frequently met giving lectures to artists and medical men. This is additionally supported by the fact that the Royal Academy of Arts used this tavern as their headquarters for the majority of Academy dinners and informal meetings. The Medical Art Society during this period also held exhibitions and meetings at the same venue. Farington often cites Dr. C. Fisher with whom he met socially and is the surgeon who in 1784 completed his Course of lectures on Anatomy, Physiology and Surgery under John Sheldon, who at this time taught at the Anatomy Theatre in Great Queen Street and was professor of anatomy at the Royal Academy.

Investigation shows that there is greater cross-fertilisation of ideas and skills between the two professions than is immediately apparent. George Hume Weatherhead, a surgeon trained in Edinburgh, issued proposals for delivering a course of lectures on the 'Anatomy of Painting and Sculpture'. Also when Dr Robert Knox acted as examiner for
a 'School of Drawing' in the Midlands he re-named it a 'School of Design', believing the drawings he saw to be too mechanical and not expressive. Though a practising anatomist in Edinburgh he had very fixed ideas concerning art, and thought that squares and triangles had nothing to do with the "organic world" as the objects a young mind sees should pictorially represent: "Man, and animals, and plants, and rivers and lakes, and shelving rocks: these are the objects [a child] ought to first be taught to draw, to copy, to imitate; what he sees is nature [this is] what he instinctively understands." Although a small number of anatomists executed artistic drawings, someone like Benjamin Haydon undertook practical anatomy. Having once been an Academy student and a loyal follower of Bell, Haydon eventually became a teacher in his own right. Like Robert Knox, Haydon condemned the "academic squareness in drawing" believing it to have "ruined or misled the hopes of half the academies in Europe", entreat ing his students to get a perfect knowledge of nature "as she is" rather than what they think she "ought to be". These principles of art and nature echo the sentiments of Reynolds and Hunter. The Landseer brothers, Charles and Thomas, were among the first of Haydon's pupils, and it was arranged that they "should come every Monday" to dissect and draw. Their brother, the well-known animal painter Edwin Landseer, also participated in this schooling, as Haydon recalls:

Edwin took my dissection of the lion, and I advised him to dissect animals,— the only mode of acquiring their construction, as I had dissected men, and as I should make his brothers
As artists had their paintings and galleries, surgeons had their pathological museums and anatomical folios, and yet neither was exclusive to its own needs. The chart on the following page outlines the point at which both professions become dependent, nurturing qualities found in each field of specialism.

A number of the private anatomy schools, as we have already seen, were run by Hunter, Sheldon, Carlisle, Carpue, Brookes and Bell. Each of these men at one time or another applied for the post of professor of anatomy at the Royal Academy. Although only three out of the six was successful, it proves that medical and artistic underworlds existed through the interaction of private anatomy theatres and private drawings schools. From the chart it is possible to see that the professional lives of both communities was not so dissimilar, and cross-fertilisation of ideas and venues existed. Though he did not run his own medical school, George Simpson was intimately known to Academicians and also applied for the professorship. William Clift, who was originally apprenticed to John Hunter without a fee in 1794, and having qualified as a surgeon, became the first conservator of the Hunterian Museum. He never lost his "taste for drawing", and often made detailed portraits of executed men before dissection.
PRIVATE MEDICAL AND ART EDUCATION, c.1750 to 1810.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>ANATOMISTS</strong></th>
<th><strong>ARTISTS</strong></th>
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<tr>
<td>ANATOMY SCHOOLS</td>
<td>ART SCHOOLS</td>
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<tr>
<td>PRIVATE THEATRES/HOUSES</td>
<td>PRIVATE DRAWING SCHOOLS/HOUSES</td>
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<td>PUPILS: majority medical</td>
<td>PUPILS: artists</td>
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<td>some artists</td>
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<tr>
<td>TEACHERS: medical men</td>
<td>TEACHERS: artists &amp; anatomists</td>
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SUBJECT: dissection \(\rightarrow\) SPECIMEN PREPARATIONS \(\rightarrow\) ANATOMY LECTURES

drawing \(\rightarrow\) dissection/drawing

ANATOMISTS BECOME ARTISTS
ARTISTS BECOME ANATOMISTS

The cross-fertilisation of professions is nurtured during student days through the education systems of art and medicine.
began. Anatomical drawing and dissection are connected, whether they are undertaken by artists or anatomists. For example, as a medical student, G. Washburn Charleton of Gloucester purchased:

```
12 sheets Rough Imperial @ 7s. 0d.
1 oz of Red Chalk @ 1s. 2d.
1 oz of Italian Chalk @ 1s. 6d.
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These items for the dissecting room could just as easily have been purchased by an art student of the Academy Schools. Both professions relied on visualising physical phenomena whether it be in the life class, dissecting room or museum. Many privately-run anatomy schools also advertised their pathological museums as a bonus for medical students. These museums were available to artists in conjunction with library sales at auction houses, as in the case of Dr. William Cullen's collection advertised after his death in the Morning Chronicle, Thursday, 5th January, 1792.

It was not uncommon, either, for surgeons to exhibit their art-anatomy drawings. Farington mentions that a Mr Abbot, who was by profession a surgeon, also exhibited drawings regularly both in London and Exeter where he lived. Likewise, the surgeon J. B. Sharpe who published The Elements of Anatomy had been admitted as a student to the Royal Academy, where he executed drawings later to be shown in his book. He was at the time compared with Charles Bell and given favourable reviews. It was not unknown, either, for artists to come from medical backgrounds. Both Joshua Reynolds' and John
Hoppner's fathers were surgeons.307 Such associations were commonplace: the Academician Philip Jacob De Loutherbourg was acquainted with Dr. Jenner and John Hunter, the latter presuming to give advice (which, however, fell on stonyground):

While Loutherburg was painting one day
John Hunter remarked that a certain part
was too green, 'not green enough' said Loutherburgh, & dipping his pencil in
the strongest green colour put it on the Canvass.308

The skills of a surgeon relied on eye and hand co-ordination, as did an artist's. As a dissecting room demonstrator, John Bland-Sutton was expected to draw almost as well as he dissected. It was a great advantage to a medical lecturer "to be able to sketch on a blackboard".309 Having realised the importance of drawing, teaching and dissecting, he watched the "men who make chalk drawings on the pavement for alms".310 He goes on to say:

I soon became facile at this sort of work on a blackboard with coloured chalks. It has often amused me to remember that my foundations in Art were laid by pavement artists!311

Whilst at St. Thomas's Hampton Weekes makes reference to "a few Caricatures to enliven ye. walls of ye. Surgery", and drawings executed by him in the dissecting room are further described in a letter to his father (9th February, 1802):

I have sent you one more drawing of my own, with a sheet of ye. original french explanations marked by me ... I found it did not shew well at all ye. Ink upon ye. red Chalk - Mr Birch (2nd surgeon) saw me drawing them & he told me he would
if I called upon him shew me a fine brazen figure of ye. Muscles. 312

Eminent eighteenth-century surgeons produced anatomical folios and many of these folios relied on art-anatomy drawings of dissection, though not all were undertaken by artists. One such practitioner was Astley Cooper who had "for thirty years been industriously engaged in collecting the histories of Surgical Diseases", and executed "numerous drawings" of these cadavers and post-mortems "made at the time of the inspection of bodies". 313 In contrast, paintings were made of John Abernethy's 'plates of the male pelvis'. 314 A number of instances reveal the necessity of surgeons executing drawings whilst in dissecting theatres and likewise, artists needed to be able to rely on their own powers of practical anatomy. 315
Summary

This chapter has not only concentrated on William Hunter's professorship at the Royal Academy but has also examined the availability of extramural courses and their venues. By means of investigation into private anatomy theatres and drawing schools, it has been possible to draw parallels between a medical student's education and that of a young artist. Education acted as a catalyst between artists and anatomists, who were able to buy themselves a place in the education system. Advertising increasingly became an important outlet in helping private schools recruit new students and increased student numbers meant additional incomes for artists and medical men. William Hunter's appointment at the Royal Academy not only brought him additional income but it allowed him to interact on a more personal and professional level with artists. This was yet another opportunity for artists and anatomists to meet in addition to the already existent social and residential networks in the metropolis.

The establishing of private institutions not only provided meeting-places for both art and medical communities but allowed the exchanging of roles, giving artists first-hand knowledge in how to dissect, whilst presenting anatomists with the chance to study the human form with pencil in hand, and not only the scalpel. It is to the renderings of the human form that attention is now given; the following Chapter examines the two-dimensional representations of art-anatomy practices with
close observation of eighteenth-century medical folios and their function. The education of practical anatomy did not solely rely on oral teaching; many lecturers visually described their theories with text-books, art-anatomy treatises and three-dimensional models. This style of teaching, begun in the Renaissance, remained almost unchanged throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.
FOOTNOTES

1. Kemp, M. *Dr William Hunter at the Royal Academy of Arts*, University of Glasgow Press, Glasgow 1975, p. 25.


3. MSS. RA, Jupp Catalogues, JU/1/78, letter from Francis Newton to William Hunter, 30th March, 1770.


6. Northcote, J. *Memoirs of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, printed for Henry Colburn, London 1813, pp. 3-14: "Reynolds first came to London to be inspired by the genius of Hudson!". Penny, N. (ed.), *Reynolds*, Royal Academy of Arts in association with Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London 1986, pp. 17-42 'The Career and the Achievement of Sir Joshua Reynolds'. For early years in London see Whitley, W. *Artists and Their Friends in England, 1700-1799*, vol. I, Medical Society, London and Boston 1928, pp. 149-152, p. 283. [London, September 21st, 1771] Miss Reynolds informed me one day at dinner that Sir Joshua was not placed with Hudson till he was eighteen years old, as he was intended always for a surgeon and had studied anatomy under his father for that purpose, but a gentleman seeing some of his drawings advised his friends to let him study painting.


9. MSS. H45, Glasgow University Library [Hunter Papers]. However, 'Two Introductory Lectures' have survived
which were read by Hunter on 1st and 2nd October, 1767, at his anatomy theatre. Students notes still exist of Hunter's lectures see The Royal College of Physicians, spring course 1778; The Royal College of Surgeons of England, 1775; The Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh possesses five sets of notes; The Royal Society of Medicine possesses seven sets.


12. Dictionary of National Biography, vol. X, pp. 302-304. Hunter had succeeded Dr Samuel Sharpe as lecturer on the operations of surgery to a Society of Navy Surgeons in their rooms in Covent Garden and by their invitation Hunter had extended his lectures to include


15. MSS. SB/30, Royal Academy Scrapbook.


18. Ibid.


   Visitors attended ... request to examine the Layman made by Mr Addison, having made their report, it was agreed that the Sum to be given for it should be determined a Ballot ... was as follows - No 4 for £80; No 5 for £90; No 2 for £100... it was agreed that the Sum of Ninety Pounds should be paid to him for the Layman ...

   This is presumably Robert Addison whose Layman had "the Motions of the human Body and to be complete in every respect". This 'man-machine' figure appears to have had movable parts.


   MSS. RA, Anderdon Catalogues, AND/1/239, AND/7/204.
   MSS. RA, Ozias Humphry: letters and papers, HU/2/36, HU/2/36 and 38, HU/2/40, 41, 42, HU/3/43, 55, 61, 98.
   MSS. RA, James Northcote: letters, NOR/44.
   MSS. RA, Royal Academy Scrapbook, SA/36/1, SA/36/8.

23. MSS. RA, Council Minutes, 30th September, 1777, vol. I, 1768-1784. Also for 4th October, 1776:
"Order'd - That the Lectures begin 14th October next, and that Dr Hunter be desired to begin-".


27. Although Illingworth cites this as being Hunter's Inaugural lecture (p. 92) I am hesitant to make such a sweeping statement. There is no evidence from the original manuscripts that this in fact was Hunter's Inaugural lecture and the nearest manuscript source is H46 (5), Glasgow University [Hunter Papers].

28. Throughout the chapter all reference to Hunter's lectures will be taken from the original manuscripts at Glasgow University, unless otherwise stated. Professor Martin Kemp's classification of the content of Hunter's Academy lectures includes the following:
   1) Introduction, preliminary remarks on art and
anatomy; 2) The five systems of the body, [vascular, nervous, connective tissue, bones and muscles; 3) The relationship between the imitative arts and Nature, [passions in the arts, poetry and drama, detailed anatomical accuracy]; 4) Later and alternative drafts on the imitation of Nature; 5) Matters to be considered in the lectures upon the bones and muscles.

Kemp, *William Hunter at the Royal Academy*, pp. 31-47.

29. MSS. H46 (18), Glasgow University [Hunter Papers].

30. MSS. H46 (5), Glasgow University [Hunter Papers].

I suggest that this is Hunter's Introductory speech at the Royal Academy:

This Institution carries with it the strongest proof of its utility. It is the institution of a Prince who has relished and cultivated the fine arts; who with the advice of some of the best living Artists, and all the experience arising from the knowledge of what has been found to be useful in other countries, has made the study of anatomy a part of the plan of Education in this Academy. [extract]

31. MSS. H46 (4), Glasgow University [Hunter Papers].

32. Ibid. [final part of lecture].

33. MSS. H46 (1), Glasgow University [Hunter Papers], n.d. This lecture is not cited by Kemp as it has only recently been detached from other notes.


38. MSS. SB/47, Royal Academy Scrapbook, Bill of Expense amounting to £2. 4s. 0½d. for the purchasing of a cadaver at the School. See also chapter six of this thesis for detailed accounts of the plaister academy and its use of cadavers.


40. MSS. RA, Jupp Catalogues, JU/1/78 Hunter's reply to Council [n.d.]. Hunter's reply to Council:

I say happy, because it is indeed my ambition to serve the public as well as I can; and if it be vain or ridiculous to wish to deserve well of mankind, I have been so long in a wrong road, that I despair of even getting into the right
road ... for I have the pleasure of observing that all the Academy are going the same road.

41. MSS. H46 (9) and H46 (12), Glasgow University [Hunter Papers] lectures on muscles and muscular action.

42. MSS. H46 (8), Glasgow University [Hunter Papers].

43. Ibid.


45. Ibid.

46. Whitley, *Artists and Their Friends*, vol. I, p. 277. The preserved body was that of a smuggler and was from this day referred to by Academy students as 'Smugglarius'. Sculptor Carlini had it transported to the Academy where he took a cast from it. The figure of 'Smugglarius' is still in the Academy.

47. MSS. H46 (3), Glasgow University [Hunter Papers].

48. Ibid.

49. MSS. H 46 (16), Glasgow University [Hunter papers].
50. Ibid.

51. MSS. H 46 (15), Glasgow University [Hunter Papers].

52. Ibid.

53. Ibid.

54. MSS. H46 (a), Glasgow University [Hunter Papers].

I am indebted to Dr Helen Brock for bringing this to my attention.


56. MSS. H46 (a), Glasgow University [Hunter Papers].

57. MSS. RA, James Northcote: letters, NOR/8, letter from James Northcote to brother Samuel, 29th March, 1772. Roy Porter further verifies Hunter's talent for teaching:

The fact that he communicated his anatomical teaching not in textbooks but as lectures, delivered orally but never printed, shows how far his self-image as captain of an anatomy school shaped Hunter's identity, even in his approach to the standing of knowledge.


Hazlitt, W. The Round Table, George Bell and Sons, London 1903, 'Conversations of Northcote'.


59. Ibid.


61. MSS. H46 (13), Glasgow University [Hunter Papers]. This lecture also discusses leg movements and the bones and muscles used [fibia, tibia, patella, motion and joints]. For additional reference to arm and hand movements see MSS. H46 (11), Glasgow University.


65. Hampson, N. The Enlightenment. An Evaluation of its Assumptions, Attitudes and Values, Penguin Books,

"Put a Dog Machine and a Bitch Machine side by side, and eventually a third little machine will be the result, whereas two Watches will lie side by side all their lives without ever producing a third watch".


68. Reynolds, *Discourse VII*, p. 117.


    Hampson, The Enlightenment, p. 203, Hampson shows the intellectual shift during the eighteenth-century: "It was Locke's sometime pupil, the Earl of Shaftesbury, who transferred the centre of aesthetic enquiry from the object to the creative process by which it came into being". Bernstein, J. A. 'Shaftesbury's Identification of the Good with the Beautiful', Eighteenth Century Studies, 10, 3, Spring 1977, pp. 304-325.


75. MSS. H46 (21), Glasgow University [Hunter Papers].

76. MSS. H46 (10), Glasgow University [Hunter Papers].
In this lecture Hunter brings together art and poetry, contrasting their different properties, for a contemporary discussion of these as aesthetics see Lamotte, C. An Essay Upon Poetry and Painting, London 1730. Bloom, H. The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry, Oxford University Press, London 1975.

77. MSS. H46 (2), Glasgow University [Hunter Papers].

78. MSS. H46 (2), Glasgow University [Hunter Papers].
It is easy to demonstrate the advantages that a painter will reap from the Study of Anatomy: but to be particular upon this subject in the beginning of a course of lectures I would have to consider its qualities because the demonstration of that Truth would require a previous knowledge of what we are now proposing to learn.

origin. pub., 1784, University of Southern California, Los Angeles 1930.

80. MSS. H46 (6), Glasgow University [Hunter Papers]: In this part the Artist requires much judgment both in the choice of the Subject, and in the Management of it. This is the station where a happy Genius distinguishes itself. By playing with her skilful cunning hand upon our Passions, she charms and fascinates.


83. MSS. H46 (9) Glasgow University [Hunter Papers].


We may therefore conclude, that the real substance, as it may be called, of what goes under the name of taste, is fixed and established in the nature of things; that there are certain and regular causes by which the imagination and passions of man are affected....


86. Barrell, J. *The Political Theory of Painting from Reynolds to Hazlitt*, Yale University Press,
The Image of Newton and Locke in the Age of Reason, Sheed and Ward, London and New York 1961:

Reason, Law, Nature: these are ever-recurring themes in the writings of our period, whether in political tracts or in discourse on taste, beauty and art as in the writings of Sir Joshua Reynolds...


87. MSS. RA, Jupp Catalogues, JU/1/78, letter from Hunter to the Royal Academy Council, [n.d.].

88. MSS. H46 (5), Glasgow University [Hunter Papers].

89. For eighteenth-century philosophies of man and machine see Bussey, G. C. Man as Machine, Open Court

Natural History, [orig. in French 1749-89],

Borelli, G. A. De Motu Animalium, 2 vols in 1,
P. Vander and others, Leyden 1685. *Idem. De Motionibus
Naturallibus a Gravitate Pendentibus Liber*, D. Ferri,
Reggio 1670.

See the illustration in this chapter visually showing
'mechanical man'.

90. MSS. H46 (2), Glasgow University [Hunter Papers].

91. Ibid.

92. Ibid.

93. Ibid.

94. Sorell, T. *Descartes*, Oxford University Press,
[orig. pub., 1747] Princeton University Press,

95. Sorell, *Descartes*, p. 92. For background information
on pre-Enlightenment thinkers see Garrison, Fielding H.
An Introduction to the History of Medicine,
W. B. Saunders Company, Philadelphia and London 1924,
pp.241-316. For references to science, man and
culture see Hankins, T. L. Science and the
Enlightenment, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge
1985, pp. 113-157. Rousseau, G. S. and
Porter, R. (eds), The Ferment of Knowledge, Studies
in the Historiography of Eighteenth-Century Science,
Opper, J. Science and the Arts: A Study in
Relationships from 1600-1900, Fairleigh Dickinson

96. Sorrell, Descartes, p. 87. Vartanian, A. Diderot
and Descartes: A Study of Scientific Naturalism in
the Enlightenment, Princeton University Press,
New Jersey 1975.

97. MSS. H46 (2), Glasgow University [Hunter Papers].


99. MSS. RA, Council Minutes, vol. I, 1768-1784,
20th April, 1769. MSS. RA, Jupp Catalogues, JU/1/80:
Your [Hunter] company is desired, to dine with
the President, and the rest of the Academicians,
at the Royal Academy, in Somerset House, on
Saturday next the 4th of June, to celebrate His
Majesty's Birthday.

Hunter accepts the invitation.


101. MSS. H46 (17), Glasgow University [Hunter Papers].

And as we are obligingly informed that we can be of use to them, we may be allowed to treat them with freedom, either in communicating knowledge, or in recommending the pursuit of it.

MSS. H46 (6), Glasgow University [Hunter Papers], also relates to student participation:

First. As we may now presume that the Students present have conceived a general Idea of the composition of the human body, and of what was intended by reading Anatomical Lectures to them, I will finish the business of this first meeting with some observations on painting which I hope will clearly show the advantages which may be drawn from Anatomical Knowledge.

102. MSS. RA, Council Minutes, 21st January, 1771, and 28th January, 1771, vol. I, 1768-1784, regarding money and Lowe's visit to Italy. MSS. RA, Council Minutes, 10th January, 1771, regarding his Gold Medal for a painting.


106. Ibid.


108. Ibid. Lonsdale, H. A Sketch of the Life of Robert Knox, Macmillan and Co., London 1970. Knox was born in Edinburgh in 1791 and became a most dramatic figure in the field of medicine. After a course of anatomy at John Barclay's School in Edinburgh he graduated in 1814. Eventually, after various medical posts here and abroad, in March 1825 Knox became a partner with his former teacher Dr Barclay. It is thought that Barclay was the first in Scotland to give a systematic course on Comparative Anatomy. For a description of Barclay's teachings see Barclay, J. Introductory Lectures to a
Course of Anatomy, Maclachlan and Stewart, Edinburgh 1827.


The new-born infant brings with it into the world much of the embryo forms, which are not strictly human; hence the great masters always avoid drawing or sculpturing the new-born infant. It ought never to be represented by the chisel or pencil.

110. Lonsdale, A Sketch of Robert Knox, p. 4.

111. Knox, Great Artists and Great Anatomists, pp. 165-166.


115. *Annals of the Fine Arts*, ii, 1818, pp. 282-283. I am grateful to William Schupbach at the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, London, for a number of references in the *Annals*.

116. William Hunter's former teacher James Douglas was interested in comparative anatomy and although never published his works some drawings and manuscripts are housed at Glasgow University, Hunterian Collection. MSS. Douglas Papers, Glasgow University, these include: course syllabus, lectures, notes on dissection, notes on surgery, materia medica, medical practice, botany and botanical drawings, zoology, anatomical preparations. See Brock, C. H. (ed.), *An Exhibition of Books and Manuscripts*, Glasgow University Press, Glasgow 1975.

117. Thornton, J. L. and Reeves, C. *Medical Book Illustration: A Short History*, Oleander Press,


119. Brock, *William Hunter A Memoir*, p. 62. For additional references to Hunter and comparative anatomy see


121. MSS. RA, Council Minutes, 17th October 1809, vol. IV: This offer was conveyed in a letter from Mr Carlisle wherein also in Mr Sowerby's name the President and Council are requested to remove for the Academy his work, an 'Elucidation of Colours' in Quarto.... Order'd The Secretary to return their Thanks to Mr Sowerby for his book and his liberal offer. A notice was put up in the main hall of the Royal Academy for students to go if they wished.


125. Ibid.


129. Ibid. p. 233.


Woodforde, D. H. (ed.), Woodforde Papers and Diaries, Peter Davies, London 1932, p. 95. For additional information on Woodforde and his family background see Beresford, J. (ed.), The Diary of a Country Parson The Reverend James Woodforde, 5 vols, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1981. Vol. I, p. 208, 5th July, 1777: Sam brought his violin with him and played several tunes to us - his is amazingly improved both in Painting and in Musick - he is a very clever youth. Gave Sam this afternoon 0. 2. 6...

Many of the letters are between Samuel and Nancy his sister concerning everyday events. For example, 5th June, 1784, vol. II, p. 138: Nancy recd a Letter from her Brother Sam this Evening which gave her great Spirits, he having lately been introduced to the Queen and presented her a Picture of his Painting being her Son Prince Frederick. Sam talks of great things, of being soon knighted. Am very glad that his Lot fell in so fortunate a Soil - And his Merit is deserving the same.


MSS. RA, Council Minutes, 24th February, 1786, vol. II.
See MSS. RA, Council Minutes, 17th February, 1786, vol.II.

MSS. RA, Council Minutes, 24th February, 1786, vol. II.

136. MSS. RA, Council Minutes, 3rd October, 1795, vol. II.

137. MSS. RA, Council Minutes, 22nd December, 1796, vol. II.

138. MSS. RA, Council Minutes, 9th February, 1801, vol. III.

139. MSS. RA, Council Minutes, 23rd October, 1801, vol. III.

140. MSS. RA, Council Minutes, 10th November, 1801, vol. III.

141. MSS. RA, Council Minutes, 26th November, 1801, vol. III.

142. MSS. RA, Council Minutes, 31st December, 1801, vol. III.

143. MSS. RA, Council Minutes, 7th November, 1804, vol. III:
Resolved, That the Model Academy be opened on Monday next of 12th. And that Mr Sheldon's Lectures commence on that Day.

144. There are a number of references to Sheldon's failing health both in relation to his post at the Westminster Hospital and the Academy. Petitions from Academy artists and surgeons from the hospital support him during this period. MSS. RA, Council Minutes, 3rd August, 1787:

Read a letter from Mr Sheldon involving the following certificate -
Whereas a Report has been circulated that

Mr Sheldon was removed from the office of Surgeons to the Westminster Hospital, this is to certify that such Report is entirely void of foundation, and that Mr Sheldon is still in possession of the situation.
[signed by surgeons Pyle, Watson and Lynn].

Also for the same date Council read a Memorial signed by artists Nollekens, Barry, Banks, Richards, Moser, West, Copley, Peters, Cosway - requesting a reconsideration of the Business relating to Sheldon. MSS. RA, 10th October, 1788: "Resolved, That enquiry be made about Mr Sheldon". A year before Sheldon's death Charles Bell wrote to his brother regarding the Chair of Anatomy:

You ask if the election for this Professorship is likely to be soon. The man is alive, but he cannot lecture; a vacancy is not likely to be soon. [p. 119].
145. MSS. RA, Council Minutes, 12th December, 1804, vol. III:
Read a Letter from Jno Sheldon, Esq. stating that he came to London last year, for the giving of his Course of Lectures; but by ill Health, could not stay to give them. He therefore makes this application, for that years Salary,—[which was agreed].

On Sheldon's death a donation of £50 was given to Sheldon's wife although she and a solicitor had asked for a year's salary. MSS. RA, Council Minutes, 25th November, 1808 and 15th February, 1809.

146. MSS. RA, Council Minutes, 25th November, 1808, vol. IV.


150. MSS. RA, Sir Thomas Lawrence: letters and papers, LAW/1/199. Letter from Lawrence to Farington, 10th October, 1808:
I believe we have both to appear at least to pledge ourselves in His Favour, and on all these accounts may not our prejudices or unfavourable impression yield to superior consideration....
MSS. RA, Sir Thomas Lawrence Papers, LAW/1/202, LAW/4/310. LAW/5/291 for additional references to Bell.


153. Ibid. p. 239.


156. MSS. RA, Council Minutes, 13th December, 1808, vol. IV.

157. MSS. RA, Council Minutes, 28th December, 1808, vol. IV.
William Beechey moved that three distinctions shall be made in the seats of the Lecture Room for the students of the Living Academy, the Plaister Academy, and Probationers; the Life Students immediately after the Associates and so forth—"


166. MSS. RA, Council Minutes, 2nd March, 1810, vol. IV.


168. Ibid.

169. Ibid.

170. Ibid.


173. Ibid. p. 365.

175.  MSS. RA, Council Minutes, 22nd December, 1810, vol. IV.

176.  Ibid. See also MSS. RA, Council Minutes, 8th November, 1811, vol. IV:
The Professor of Anatomy attended and communicated his proceedings in respect to the Skeleton, and bones which he had been requested to procure, and suggested a course of anatomical instruction in the Schools which he conceived might be very useful to the Students, offering his further assistance.

177.  MSS. RA, Council Minutes, 23rd March, 1813, vol. V.
Fawcett, T. 'Visual Facts and the Nineteenth-Century Art Lecture', *Art History*, vol. 6, 4, December 1983, pp. 442-443. Fawcett writes: "Carlisle added to this idea a few years later by arranging the seating in the form of raised tiers and also improved the lighting for the benefit of illustrated lectures during dark winter evenings".


179.  *Annals of the Fine Arts*, 3, 1819, pp. 604-607: On Monday the 9th. of Nov. 1818 Professor Carlisle commenced his series of lectures on Anatomy. At the second lecture this same
Mr. Carlisle, who complains at the indelicacy of dissecting, brought a human heart, and in explaining the circulation of the blood, came to the part of the heart, wherein he said, with great feeling for the stomachs of his auditors, that the cook usually puts the stuffing! This is professor Carlisle, who wears weepers and complains of the delicacy of exhibiting a naked model! One of the poor unfortunate students, whom we suppose had a heart for dinner that day, overcome with the crowd of associations, that must have rushed into his head at this information, fainted away and was carried out.

180. *Ibid.* A further example of Carlisle's gimmicks: In his first course we perfectly remember one night, when everybody was beginning to yawn Carlisle produced a blank piece of paper which he rubbed with a sponge: a skeleton drawn with sympathetic ink appeared.


182. Pope, (ed.), *Haydon's Diary*, vol. 1, p. 94.
183. Ibid. p. 22.


185. MSS. RA, Joseph Gregson Collection, GR/15 [see Appendix II of this chapter].


187. Desmond, Politics of Evolution, pp. 152-275, gives a comprehensive account of men, radicals, science and medicine for 1820 to 1850.

188. Garrison and Fielding, History of Medicine, p. 346. William Hunter was the only professor not holding an establishment position in the medical world, however, that does not appear to have undermined his standing at the Royal Academy. His professional and social status was such that he was beyond reproach in terms of both medical and cultural respectability and is thus described by Stephen Paget: "He never married; he had no country house; he looks, in his portraits, a fastidious, fine gentleman; but he worked till he dropped and he lectured when he was dying".
I do not see why the study of physics should crush the flowers of poetry. Is truth such a poor thing that it is unable to tolerate beauty?


MSS. RA, Jupp Catalogues, JU/6/35, vol. VI, note from Anker Smith to unnamed, 30th December. The Royal Academy also gave lectures on chemistry. Professors of Chemistry included Frederick S. Barff, Sir Arthur Herbert Church, Arthur Pillans Laurie. Hutchison, The Royal Academy, p. 271.

Hankins, Science and the Enlightenment, pp. 170-173, the Paris Academy of Sciences was founded in 1666 and "was a small, exclusive group of professionals salaried by the state." Berlin Academy (1700), Russian Academy (1724), Gottingen (1751), Bologna (1714), Turin (1757), Munich (1758), the Swedish Academy at Stockholm began as amateur in 1739.


Ibid. pp. 11-14.

Ibid. pp. 151-161.

Ibid. Another powerful society that did not rival either the Royal Society of Arts or The Royal Academy was the Dilettanti Society see Cust, L. and Colvin, S. The History of the Society of Dilettanti,

MSS. RA, Sir Thomas Lawrence: letters and papers, LAW/5/230 for Society of Dilettanti.


p. 108. MSS. RA, Jupp Catalogues, JU/9/55, 7th July, 1844, a letter from Benjamin Robert Haydon to unnamed concerning the spiteful behaviour of the British Institution for rejecting his painting of Alexander killing a lion. MSS. JU/9/54 a letter baring Haydon's signature.


203. Ibid.

205. MSS. Roscoe Papers, 1593-1648, for letters from Fuseli to Roscoe regarding everyday events in London, engravings, latest pictures, friends, meetings. For printed letters see Weinglass, Fuseli's Letters, pp. 48-53, p. 571, with specific reference to Roscoe.

Roscoe, W. The Life of Lorenzo de Medici called the Magnificent, orig. pub., 1795, 10th edition, George Bell and Sons, London 1884.

MSS. Roscoe Papers, 1635, 15th June, 1796 a letter from Fuseli to Roscoe congratulates him on his book- "a handsome bargain".

206. MSS. Roscoe Papers, 1613, 26th February, 1794, a letter from Fuseli who is driven by despair to ask for Roscoe's help and has no work but the Milton pictures [presumably for Boydell]. Does not ask for money but asks for help and advice.

MSS. Roscoe Papers, 1622, letter from Fuseli, 15th January, 1795, Fuseli is obliged to live chiefly on hope and fears, he may fall prey to his landlord.

MSS. Roscoe Papers, 1624, 20th March, 1795, Roscoe gives Fuseli money.

MSS. Roscoe Papers, 1633, 24th December, 1795, letter from Fuseli who is despondent at not having heard from Roscoe and attributes it to the lack of success in showing his pictures, especially in Liverpool if they
have not sold. Should have undertaken the business with Manchester connoisseurs Mr Philips or Mr Hardman.


MSS. Roscoe Papers, 571, letter from George Bullock to Roscoe, May 1811, enclosing a copy of a letter from the Prince Regent's Secretary to Mr Creevey signifying the Prince's willingness to become a patron of the Liverpool Academy.

MSS. Roscoe Papers, 1962, letter dated 12th August, 1819, from Roscoe to Moses Haughton regarding the silver ticket for the Royal Institution in Liverpool and wishes Wyon the sculptor in London to proceed with the modelling as soon as possible.

[Newcastle]. MSS. Roscoe Papers, 1318, letter dated 20th April, 1811, from Thomas Eagles to William Roscoe concerning the arts in Bristol.


214. Pears, Discovery of Painting, p. 150:

Even in the mid-eighteenth century Arthur Pond, one of the more successful of his
trade, went to the country to find work, as did the painter Thomas Beach almost every year until near the end of the century. Some painters left London to find new business on a more permanent basis, as we have seen for example with Medina in Scotland, and John Michael Wright's cousin in Ireland, while others went even farther afield to prospect the new markets of the Empire.

Chapter Two of this thesis re-emphaizes both the national and global context in which eighteenth-century artists both travelled and worked. Lippincott, L. Selling Art in Georgian London, The Rise of Arthur Pond, published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, New Haven and London 1983. Although Pond did not go to the Royal Academy he was never without patronage of some kind or another.


219. The going-rate for lessons varied somewhat:
"Nancy now teaches several young Ladies of fashion at 5s. 3d. a lesson -". Farington, *Diary*, vol. III, p. 904, p. 802, "Cranmer Junr. called to thank me for recommending to teach Miss Hussey to draw. He is to attend her tomorrow at 4 lessons for one guinea". Farington, p. 908: "Emanuel has 2 guineas a quarter from Scholars who have 2 lessons a week".


223. MSS. RA, Anderdon Catalogues, AND/13. For biographical details of William Hunt see Binyon, L. *A Catalogue of


231. See Gelfand, T. 'Invite the Philosopher, as well as the Charitable': Hospital Teaching as Private Enterprise in Hunterian London', pp. 129-151, in Bynum, and Porter, (eds), William Hunter.

233. Morning Chronicle, 17th, 21st, January 1792, and 19th January 1793. [British Museum, Colindale].

234. Lawrence, 'Science and Medicine', p. 400:

Joshua Brookes repeatedly advertised room for boarding pupils at his Theatre of Anatomy on Blenheim Street. Such boarding pupils assisted in making anatomical preparations used for lectures, as well as having extra time to dissect and to have the personal attention of their 'landlord'.


242. Crosse, A Surgeon in the Early Nineteenth-Century, p. 34: "Bell lectured for two hours daily on anatomy, physiology, pathology and surgery according to the advertisement and common custom in the schools of London; and on three evenings in the week he lectured on surgery specially".


244. Peachey, G. C. A Memoir of William and John Hunter, Brendon, Plymouth 1924, pp. 80-94.

245. Ibid. pp. 90-91


247. White, C. Hunter's Lectures of Anatomy, Elsevier Publishing Co., Amsterdam 1972. Manuscript material regarding lectures, house and theatre can be found at the Royal College of Surgeons of England see MS.42.f.19-20, MS.42.c.42-44, MS.42.d.35, MS.42.d.5. MS/vol.VII letter relating to the purchase of the
museum 1783. MS/vol.6 Hunter-Baillie Collection
relating to family documents, diplomas, family history,
letters. Stark, J. N. (ed.), An Obstetric Diary,
1762-1765, A. Macdonagall, Glasgow 1908.


249. Ibid. p. 121. Lawrence, 'Science and Medicine',
pp. 128-130.

250. Peachey, A Memoir of William and John Hunter,
pp. 122-123. Lawrence, 'Science and Medicine',
p. 134.

Linebaugh, P. 'The Tyburn Riot Against the Surgeons',
in Hay, et al. (eds), Albion's Fatal Tree Crime and
Society in Eighteenth-Century England, Allen Lane,
London 1975, pp. 64-117.

252. For biographical details of these medical men see
Desmond, Politics of Evolution, pp. 417-429.
Simmons, S. F. An Account of the Life and Writings
of the Late William Hunter, M.D., W. Richardson for
Bailey, Diary of a Resurrectionist, p. 141.


256. Gordon-Taylor, G. and Wallis, E. W. Sir Charles Bell His Life and Times, E. & S. Livingstone Ltd, Edinburgh and London 1958, p. 28. The house that Bell purchased was thought to be haunted by a beautiful girl who died whilst engaged to be married and whose body had been dissected by different London surgeons. Bell told several stories of these hauntings in the house and because of this some of the house-pupils preferred
their bedrooms to be "as far as possible from the Anatomical Theatre".

257. Tait, H. P. 'Some Edinburgh Medical Men at the Time of the Resurrectionists', *Edinburgh Medical Journal*, 55, (2), 1948, pp. 120-125. Both John and Charles Bell were talented anatomists and artistic draughtsmen, though John eventually relinquished anatomy for surgery in 1799 and went on to become well known for surgery.


263. Ibid.

264. Elwin, M. (ed.), The Autobiography of B. R. Haydon, pp. 37-38. An entry for 1804 states: Drew at anatomy until eight, in chalk from my casts from nine to one and from half-past one until five ... dined, and to anatomy again from seven to ten and eleven. (p. 21).

265. Ibid. pp. 37-38. Haydon has nothing but praise for Bell especially as Bell repeatedly played the role of patron to Haydon: Charles Bell, who was very sincerely attached to me, was very unhappy indeed. He knew my distresses, he had before this paid me five guineas for a sketch to help me, and wrote me next day this letter. (p. 177)

The letter which Haydon refers to is filled with kind and encouraging remarks from Bell.

266. Bell, G. Letters of Sir Charles Bell, p. 66.


268. Ibid. p. 301.


271. Bell, G. Letters of Sir Charles Bell, p. 65. Crosse, A Surgeon in the Early Nineteenth-Century, p. 31: "Here I [Crosse] found Mr Shaw and one house pupil, Mr Smith. Mrs. Bell made tea for us in our own room."


Lindsay, J. *Gainsborough - His Life and Art*,

276. Wheatley, and Cunningham, *London Past and Present*,
vol. I, pp. 169-170. MSS. RA, Thomas Lawrence Papers:
letters and papers, LAW/5/417, post-mortem
examination of Sir Thomas Lawrence by Joseph Henry
Green, 10th January, 1830 [three-page analysis of
the post-mortem carried-out].

277. Farington, *Diary*, vol. II, pp. 590-611, [bath waters],
vol. III, p. 895, [Berwick aged 104].

278. Farington, *Diary*, vol. I, p. 72, p. 96; vol. II,

was trained at St. Bartholomew's Hospital and lived in
Oxford Street until 1780 and then Mortimer Street,
Cavendish Square.

280. Howship, J. *Practical Observations in Surgery, and*
*Morbid Anatomy*, Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown,
London 1816, v-viii [preface]. This book is medium
size and apart from 2 or 3 pages of drawings is all text and nothing like the painterly folio which resides in Philadelphia. MSS. Z10/92 The College of Physicians of Philadelphia archives see Howship, J. Drawings of Morbid Anatomy, London 1804. Large folio bound in calf and originally sold for £5.00, this book has the original paintings in it. See Chapter Four of this thesis for discussion of these paintings.


282. Peachey, John Heaviside, p. 23, for biographical details of John Howship. Howship joined the Army Medical Service as hospital mate in 1800 and was afterwards assistant surgeon from 1805 to 1808. He was one of the six original founders of Charing Cross Hospital and Medical School, to which he was assistant surgeon between 1834 and 1836, and surgeon in 1836 until his death on 22nd January, 1841, aged 60 in Savile Row. Howship is described in Heaviside's obituary as his pupil, assistant and successor.

284. Ibid. p. 412. This book is to "assist the diligent student", and is all text with no illustrations. Concerning his remark on the Professor of Design Howship says: "That as the Royal Academy of Painters has its professor of anatomy, we may one day see the Royal College of Surgeons have also its professor of design".

285. MSS. RA, Anderdon Catalogues, AND/15/201, lecture admission ticket for Dr Rainer signed Edward Bird.


287. Farington, *Diary*, vol. II, p. 335, p. 526, p. 532, for references to Mr Knight the surgeon.


289. Farington, *Diary*, vol. III, p. 925: Dr. Gisborne now President of the College of Physicians, has been directed by the 4 Censors, to refuse him an examination for Licentiate Man-Midwife, the pretence is, that He has not studied 2 years at the place where He took his degree, St. Andrews. - The fact is, the Physicians of little practise have found that the Physician man-midwife run[s]
away with too much business. Dr. Pitcairne & Dr.[blank] recommended Batty for his degree.

Dr. Mead only recd. half guinea fees: and it was the custom at that time for Physicians to attend a Coffee House in the evenings where they met a number of Apothecarys who described Cases to them and the Physicians were paid what they called Council fees for the advice they gave.


292. Ibid. p. 53: "Suspicious of a figure like King but finding social milieu - art socities, medical clubs such as Park Street medical club - where a man like King might be included". The Bristol Institution was a meeting place for lectures and art exhibitions, attracting artists and medical men. Thomas Beddoes, who was King's teacher, had been educated at Oxford in the late 1770s and 1781 studied under John Sheldon in London. Stansfield, D. A. and Stansfield, R. G. 'Dr Thomas Beddoes and James Watt: Preparatory Work 1794-96 for the Bristol Pneumatic Institute', Medical History, 30, 1986, pp. 276-302.


306. Annals of the Fine Arts, 4, 1819, pp. 458-460, review of J. B. Sharpe, Elements of Anatomy:

The author of these elements is a surgeon by profession, and from having been admitted a student in the Academy we presume draws well enough for a surgeon, judging him comparatively (Charles Bell excepted) with his brethren. From this we suppose he is qualifying for the anatomical chart at the Academy.


310. Ibid.

311. Ibid.


313. MSS. Royal College of Surgeons of England, Volume of Drawings of Surgical Cases with Notes, [n.d.], Sir Astley Cooper.
314. MSS. Royal College of Surgeons of England, dated 1804, explanation of the paintings taken from Mr Abernethy’s plates of the male pelvis, and other anatomical parts.

315. For additional references to medical men drawing see MSS.10a/57 2 vols, The College of Physicians of Philadelphia archives. These sketch books belong to William Ellery Hughes (1857-1944), recording dissections that took place in the anatomy theatre at Pennsylvania University:
Offered in Competition for the Prize to be awarded by H. Lenox Hodge, M.D., Demonstrator of Anatomy in the University of Pennsylvania.

All the drawings were executed by Hughes "Member of the Graduating Class of 80".