

'MacDonald is that rare  
and precious commodity:  
a crack historian with a  
taste for the bizarre'  
Mary Roach  
*The New York Times*  
Book Review

# POSSESSING THE DEAD

THE ARTFUL SCIENCE OF ANATOMY

HELEN MACDONALD

MELBOURNE UNIVERSITY PRESS

An imprint of Melbourne University Publishing Limited  
187 Grattan Street, Carlton, Victoria 3053, Australia  
mup-info@unimelb.edu.au  
www.mup.com.au

First published 2010

Text © Helen MacDonald, 2010

Design and typography © Melbourne University Publishing Limited, 2010

This book is copyright. Apart from any use permitted under the *Copyright Act 1968* and subsequent amendments, no part may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted by any means or process whatsoever without the prior written permission of the publishers.

Every attempt has been made to locate the copyright holders for material quoted in this book. Any person or organisation that may have been overlooked or misattributed may contact the publisher.

Text design by Phil Campbell

Cover design by Hamish Freeman

Typeset by TypeSkill

Printed by Griffin Press, South Australia

National Library of Australia Cataloguing-in-Publication entry

Possessing the dead: the artful science of anatomy / Helen MacDonald.

9780522857351 (pbk)

Includes index.

Bibliography.

Body snatching—History—19th century.

Cadaver—History—Case studies.

Dissection—History—19th century.

Post-mortem examinations—History—19th century.

364.1



**Australian Government**

**Australian Research Council**

This research was supported under Australian Research Council's Discovery Projects funding scheme (DP0557592).



**Australian Government**



This project has been assisted by the Australian Government through the Australia Council, its principal arts funding and advisory body.

## TRUGANINI'S SKIN

Valuable specimens that are collected and then vanish sometimes surface again. Years pass and institutions' priorities change. In 2002 English newspapers reported one such find. The Royal College of Surgeons had discovered fragments of skin and hair that had been removed from a Tasmanian Aboriginal woman, Truganini, when she had died in Hobart Town in 1876. She was then believed to be the last person of her race, which at the time was viewed as being extinct—as scientists had been predicting it would surely become for decades.

Reports of the fragments being found contained a potted history of notable aspects of this woman's life, as she had sought to make her way in the new world Tasmanian Aboriginal people faced after the British colonised their island in 1803.

She helped in one controversial round-up of tribal Aborigines, and at other times may have actively fought colonial authorities. She died in Hobart aged about 73, already a curiosity ... Her fears that her body would be used in a museum display were realised, and her skeleton was put on display at the Tasmanian Museum in

Hobart until 1947. With changing attitudes, these remains were finally cremated 100 years after her death, and her ashes scattered in tribal waters in southern Tasmania. Until recently there was little trace of her overseas.

When Truganini's skin and hair were discovered in England a Tasmanian Aboriginal man, Rodney Dillon, was there discussing the repatriation of other Aboriginal body parts. 'We had no idea', he informed the media, that some of Truganini's remains were in England. 'How many of our people are there pieces missing from? We don't know.'

No one believed that soft tissue had been cut from Truganini's corpse, because her death and burial appeared to have been well chronicled at the time. All that was known of her body after its interment was that two years later the Fellows of the Tasmanian Royal Society persuaded the government to allow them to exhume it so that they could harvest the skeleton for their museum.

There should have been no skin, for that resurrection occurred long after any useful tissue could be obtained from the corpse. So the discovery of those fragments changes history. To understand their existence it is necessary to return to Hobart Town in 1876 when Truganini's body lay in a hospital outhouse for two days while scientists tried to negotiate access to it.



Truganini's death was a noteworthy event. In London, the *Gentleman's Magazine* published a story by lawyer and journalist Dr Langford, recently returned from Hobart Town where he had visited the 'sable princess'. Langford narrated Truganini as a vain old woman quite as fastidious about her dress as any London belle despite the fact that she was short and rather stout with strongly marked facial features, a flat nose, a decided moustache and whiskers. Langford took some care in relating Truganini's colour to his readers. She was 'not black, but of a



Truganini, by H.H. Baily. Truganini is pictured here close to the time Dr Langford visited her on 3 March 1876, two months before her death. He admired the necklace she wore, which had been made in the Tasmanian way from 'many-tinted, rich-hued, brilliantly polished, and sparkling Fijian shells' of a kind prized as much 'by the fair ones of the civilised world as by their dark sisters of barbarous tribes'. Wrongly cast as the last woman of her race, Truganini later assumed a mythic status that came to rival that of Burke and Hare. She features in fiction and non-fiction, in paintings and photographs, in poems and songs, on medals and a postage stamp. (Courtesy: National Library of Australia)

dark-brown colour inclining to black'. Her eyes sparkled and, despite her age, she was as 'merry as a cricket'.

During this visit Truganini talked to Langford of her past, or rather she answered the questions he asked her in fair but broken English, telling her interrogator that she was surprised at how few people from the outside world came to see her. She remembered George Augustus Robinson—who had died several years earlier in Bath, England—and her adventures with him on his long and dangerous mission during the 1830s to persuade Tasmania's Aborigines to give themselves up to the government's protection. Robinson was something of a hero to many settler-colonists for in doing so he had led the Aboriginal Tasmanians into exile and possession of their island thereby changed hands. According to Langford, Truganini's eyes lit up at the mention of Robinson's name. That man, she told him, had been a 'true friend of herself and her people'. Perhaps that was how Robinson had appeared to Truganini during the 1830s, given how other white people were dispossessing them in more immediately brutal ways. Truganini told Langford that in her time she had seen many people killed—white folk and black. Mrs Matilda Dandridge, whom the government paid to care for Truganini, informed him that the woman sometimes spoke at great length of her past, relating deeds of violence and murder, 'night attacks of the blacks on remote settlements, cruel slaughter of the inmates—men, women and children—and equally cruel retaliations of the whites' as well as tales of wandering through the bush and suffering from want of food, from cold and from fatigue. Langford thought it a great pity that no one had recorded Truganini's stories as related in her own words. When he left he shook her hand and posed some last foolish questions to her.

'Was she glad we had been?'

'Yes.'

'Would she like to see us again?'

'Yes.'

'Was she happy?'

'Yes.'

'Did she like white people?'

'Yes.'

'Then, good-bye.'



Truganini died in Mrs Dandridge's house on 8 May 1876. Several days earlier she had been paralysed by a stroke, and she was being attended by two medical men, Dr Henry Butler (one of the General Hospital's honoraries) and Dr John Macfarlane, the hospital's junior resident medical officer. Truganini is said to have begged Butler to make sure that when she died her corpse would not be 'cut up' as William Lanney's had been seven years earlier. She asked him to see that she was buried behind the mountains instead. That was the second such request Truganini had made. Soon after the Lanney affair she had implored Reverend Henry Dresser Atkinson to see that her remains were disposed of in the deepest part of D'Entrecasteaux Channel.

Almost immediately after Truganini's death her corpse was removed to the General Hospital although, as Henry Butler knew, that was not a safe repository for Aboriginal remains. Apart from the Lanney affair, in 1867 when Patty, another Aboriginal woman, had died there, the Royal Society men had first made a cast of her face then reduced her corpse to a perfect skeleton for their museum, with the government's consent. Truganini's body was removed to the hospital only because she was Aboriginal. Usually when people died in their homes, as she had done, that is where the corpse stayed until it was buried. Something else was unusual. Generally when corpses were brought into the hospital after deaths elsewhere, this admission was noted in the institution's death register. Truganini's was not.

The body gone from her house, Matilda Dandridge sat down to write a letter to Colonial Secretary George Gilmore to inform him of the death and ask that he send instructions regarding the funeral to the hospital where the corpse now lay. Gilmore assured her that he would, thanking her for her 'unremitting attention ... to the comfort of this

poor woman during the long series of years she has lived under your protection'. He next wrote to George Washington Turnley, the hospital's surgeon superintendent, instructing him to take the necessary precautions to see that no person was given access to the corpse except in Turnley's own presence. On no account was the superintendent to 'allow it to be in any way disturbed'—without the government's written instructions. That caveat seemed to indicate that the government was keeping its options open. Later, it might approve of the corpse being disturbed, but in the meantime a constable was set to watch over it. In addition, according to the hospital steward's son, remembering this episode in 1912, 'Old Bellamie', a servant at the hospital, was instructed to sleep on top of the coffin each night while it lay in the hospital.

It did not take long for the colony's scientists to make their case to the government for taking possession of Truganini's remains. On the following day physician Dr James Agnew, honorary secretary of the Royal Society, wrote to Gilmore in the following terms:

... it is well known that [this] Aborigine afforded a pure and perfect type of her race and it therefore becomes doubly necessary and of the greatest interest that this should be preserved. In the eyes of all the civilized and Scientific world it would indeed be accounted disgraceful and discreditable to Tasmania were such a type of a now extinct race allowed to be cast away as a thing of no value at present or of interest to posterity. At times like the present when the study of races occupies so much learned attention, types of this kind are of high value and it may safely be affirmed that in future years a specimen in our National Museum would possess greater interest for the learned & scientific traveller from other lands.

Then Agnew cheekily observed that if Truganini was buried 'in any ordinary Cemetery' she would not remain there for long. Indeed. In 1869 the Royal Society had proven adept at resurrecting William Lanney's corpse.



Agnew closed this missive to the government by arguing that as no relatives survived to mourn Truganini, no one's feelings would be hurt by the Royal Society taking possession of her corpse. He was using the Anatomy Act's protocol. When he and other Royal Society men subsequently visited Gilmore to reiterate their request personally, the Colonial Secretary expressed his sympathy with their desire for the corpse, promising to bring the matter before the Executive Council and assuring this deputation that in the meantime he had secured the remains. From whom, he did not say, although both the government and the Royal Society's Fellows would have had William Lodewyk Crowther in mind—even though, following the Lanney affair, Crowther had been banished from the hospital, the only participant in the disreputable event to suffer long-term professional damage for that example of antipodean body-snatching.

So at the time of Truganini's death, James Agnew and the other Royal Society Fellows might have believed that they need not fear that William Crowther would beat them to this corpse. Neither Crowther nor his three medical sons—all educated at Guy's—were a dangerous presence in the hospital in 1876. Bingham had returned to Tasmania from London to practise, but he held no hospital appointment. William Edwin, studying at Guy's when Charles Rose had died there, was himself tragically dead, having swallowed prussic acid at his brother Edward's home in Lancashire. That death had finally brought Crowther's eldest son Edward reluctantly home to assist his father, although with no intention of remaining in the colony. As the best qualified of Crowther's sons, Edward imagined his future being in England. Meanwhile, the Royal Society men would not have thought Edward a viable rival for Truganini's corpse, for he too held no hospital appointment. However, worries might have stirred in the breasts of the Royal Society's president James Agnew and vice-president Morton Allport when—on the day following Truganini's death—Edward was nominated for Royal Society membership, which gave him entrée to their meetings.



To learn how fragments of Truganini's skin could be cut from her corpse while it lay in the General Hospital under guard (and, at night, beneath Old Bellamie) it is necessary to understand the pattern of relationships at that time inside the institution. Several glimpses inside the hospital, and of the treatment that corpses received there, are provided by William Crowther's continuous fight to obtain access to the institution and, more specifically, to the bodies that lay in its dead house.

Crowther's first attempt came six months after the Lanney affair, when an Anatomy Bill was introduced into the Legislative Council, where he sat as a parliamentarian. The Bill was a direct outcome of the Lanney scandal, which had revealed to Tasmanians the imperious way in which corpses were used in their premier hospital. The government had modelled the Bill on the British Anatomy Act, but Crowther attempted to have it reworded in a way that would enable him to gain access to the hospital's dead house. Barred from it, he could not teach his students anatomy or practise his operative surgery. Crowther therefore argued that the new law must make 'any dead-house or dissecting-room attached to any Public or General Hospital within the colony' available to all legally qualified medical practitioners—not just the hospital's own honoraries; further, that the Colonial Secretary should have the power to 'assign' the bodies that were at his disposal to any such practitioner. Other parliamentarians knew that the British Anatomy Act contained no such specific provisions and saw what Crowther was about. They objected, pointing out that only mayhem would result from opening up a hospital's mortuary and dissecting room in this way. The hospital's honoraries, who had exclusive access to these rooms, would resent it, to say nothing of what hospital patients would think when they saw strange medical men and their students heading for the dead house. And the Colonial Secretary had no intention of finding himself placed in the invidious position of being a purveyor of dead bodies. Crowther lost this fight. All he managed to achieve in the Tasmanian Anatomy Act was a reduction in the time that must pass during which a corpse could be claimed, from the forty-eight hours that applied in Britain to a meagre twenty-four.

But Crowther was not the kind of man to concede defeat. After this he used his sons as stalking horses in a fight against the hospital's three honorary medical officers and members of its Board of Management—all of whom had fought since 1869 to keep Crowther out of the institution.

The first of several fierce disputes occurred in 1873 between William Crowther and Truganini's future physician Henry Butler, once colleagues as hospital honoraries and both now parliamentarians as well as medical men. There was a history between these two. When Crowther had lost his position at the hospital, Butler had agreed to teach Bingham Crowther to enable the boy to complete his preliminary training in medicine before travelling to London and Guy's, but Bingham had betrayed that generous impulse. In November 1869 he had somehow managed to take possession of a hospital patient's corpse and turn it into that skeleton from the 'Savage Islands' to send to William Flower at the Hunterian Museum. The patient had been a South Sea Island man who had died of pneumonia. Soon after Bingham reduced the body to a skeleton, William Crowther proudly wrote to Flower to inform him that the bones would soon arrive in London and emphasise that the idea for this gift had been Bingham's alone, although it gave his father 'no little pleasure to find that his mind ran in that direction'.

What Henry Butler thought of his pupil purloining this corpse so soon after the Lanney scandal we do not know. However, Butler soon revealed that he thought little of William Crowther's morals and professional standing. In February 1873 Crowther aspired to become a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons in London by election rather than examination. To achieve this he needed to obtain the signatures of two Fellows who would attest that he was a man of high standing in the profession, in terms of both his moral character and his professional attainments. Henry Butler was one of very few Fellows in Tasmania and Crowther badly wanted his signature although he would have requested it through gritted teeth, knowing how close Butler was to his enemies at the Royal Society. To Crowther's palpable fury, expressed in a subsequent letter to Flower, Butler refused to sign this document.

The following month Crowther sought his revenge by reopening his fight to gain right of entry to the hospital. This time he used another son, Herbert, to spearhead the campaign, writing to ask that Herbert be admitted to the hospital as a medical student, albeit one who was not attached to any of the institution's honorary medical officers. In effect, he was asking for young Herbert to be free to roam the hospital's wards and work in its dissecting room untaught and unsupervised. Crowther knew that the hospital's board and its honoraries would refuse this request. When they did, he took his case to the government, craftily asking whether it was right for the hospital's board to allow only its three honorary medical men to monopolise patients' bodies—and thereby students' fees—in an institution that was publicly funded. Then he unloaded his second barrel, requesting the Colonial Secretary on behalf of the government to override the hospital board and grant Herbert permission to study anatomy there—and to give right of entry to the hospital's dead house to 'any practitioner desirous of using the same', whether to instruct himself or impart knowledge to others. In other words, to grant William Crowther that right of entry, with his pupils in train.

This request was so artfully worded that it gave the government pause for thought. *Was* it right for a small and select group of medical men to monopolise the money to be made from medical teaching in a public institution? What of the young men who aspired to learn medicine but were not their pupils, given that in Tasmania hospitals were the only place in which men could be instructed in pathology and witness operations? In addition, Crowther cast a slur on the hospital's status as a medical school, pointing out to the government that although it had been recognised by London's Royal College of Surgeons as a teaching institution, very little formal teaching was actually being done by those privileged honoraries: no sessional lectures, no systematic course of dissections and demonstrations and no regular examinations were held. The Legislative Council, in which Crowther continued to sit, asked the colony's Governor, Charles du Cane, to take steps to have medical

students admitted to the hospital as *public* pupils and to give external but qualified practitioners entrée to the dead house.

Butler and his two honorary colleagues (doctors Smart and Bright) were infuriated at this assault on their privileges. They threatened that if this change was authorised they would withdraw the free services they provided to the hospital and instead charge for treating its patients. The argument raged back and forth between hospital and government for months, neither side giving an inch. Then, in January 1874, the hospital's surgeon superintendent George Turnley delivered a final blow in the form of a secret memorandum to the government. It alone, of all the letters and reports pertaining to this matter that were later printed in the parliamentary papers, was not reproduced. Turnley argued that admitting external medical men to a hospital's dead house was 'an innovation' that had never been sanctioned anywhere in the British Dominions, and if it was tried in Hobart Town it would have a disastrous effect, depressing hospital patients who could hardly fail to notice strange medical men visiting the mortuary. 'If the notion ever gained ground that all who died were dissected', Turnley argued, 'patients would request before death that they might be buried intact' and that, he claimed, would put an end to dissection altogether. This memo reveals that in Tasmania, as in England and Scotland, people's right to dissent from being dissected was routinely ignored—indeed, that they were deliberately deceived.

This round of Crowther's battle against the hospital honoraries and its surgeon-superintendent was unexpectedly brought to a halt soon afterwards when William Edwin died in Lancashire. His family released a cover story to the press, turning the death into an accident rather than suicide. This must have been a terrible time for William Crowther and his wife Victoire, for both knew how determinedly Crowther had sought William Edwin's return to Hobart Town from London after he had qualified there. When William Edwin came home to Hobart in 1871 Crowther had refused to see that anything was wrong with his son. In his letters to Flower, Crowther insisted that William Edwin was

settling down well to practice in Tasmania. Either he had not noticed that the opposite was true, or he thought that if William Edwin would just turn his mind to settling down he would manage to do so. That is what Crowther himself had needed to do a generation earlier, when he too had been compelled to return to Hobart from London to assist in his father's medical practice. The Crowther men had always had larger world views. Tasmania *constrained* them. As visiting writer Anthony Trollope wrote of the place at this time, 'It seems hard to say of a colony, not yet seventy years old, that it has seen the best of its days, and that it is falling into decay, that its short period of importance in the world is already gone.' Crowther's letters over the years reveal that he was among those men who believed this to be true.

The second snapshot of the hospital and the web of relationships within and surrounding it at the time of Truganini's death is provided by parliamentary investigations into the institution in 1875 and the following year. Edward Crowther had now returned to Tasmania from England, and on Sunday 22 August 1875 he behaved in an extraordinarily unprofessional way. Accompanied by his father's friend Charles Meredith, Edward made a surprise visit to inspect the General Hospital, subsequently publishing his views of it in a report in the *Mercury* newspaper. When Butler, Smart, Bright and superintendent Turnley opened their newspapers on the following Tuesday morning they read this of their hospital: that sewage seeped from its overflowing closets across hospital grounds, that ducks and turkeys roamed freely in the yard and that government invalids (ex-convicts who were too infirm to work) were being used as the hospital men's private servants. They also read of the disgusting condition of the cells in which the insane were housed, and that the private patients' ward was a dirty empty room such as would not be tolerated in an English workhouse, much less a hospital there.

These charges reflected directly on Surgeon-Superintendent George Turnley, who was in effect a government servant, expected to do its bidding. The hospital's Board of Management had by 1876 lost

the actual power to manage the institution, and its remaining members had become an advisory group of hospital visitors. Turnley quickly instituted a clean-up. The turkeys' necks were wrung, the excrement was shovelled up and tipped into the nearby creek or spread on hospital steward Charles Seager's garden. Then Turnley wrote to the government to deny Edward Crowther's charges and point out the 'flagrant breach of professional etiquette' that he had committed. Turnley made some telling points, not least that Edward's own father had been a hospital honorary for many years during which he had seemed satisfied with the condition of the hospital. But Tasmania's Premier Alfred Kennerley was an ex-chairman of the hospital's Board of Management and knew that these exposures about the institution could not be ignored. Kennerley established a parliamentary select committee to investigate them, interestingly choosing William Crowther to chair the enquiry. This gave Crowther the pleasure of calling in and questioning Butler, Smart and Bright as well as George Turnley and other hospital employees. The select committee reported that the hospital was in a most defective state and an institution greatly behind the age.

A subsequent parliamentary enquiry followed complaints received from the hospital's new nursing superintendent, Florence Abbott. These related to the kind of disputes that Florence Nightingale-trained nurses were involved in everywhere in hospitals. Medical men resented the nurses' new authority, and male underlings were rude and insubordinate, refusing to recognise their own newly inferior position *vis-à-vis* professional nursing staff. Miss Abbott refused to remain at the hospital if two of its long-term employees, steward Charles Seager and gate-keeper James Ware, remained there. More importantly for understanding the configuration of spaces and relationships in the hospital when Truganini's corpse lay in an outhouse there, this enquiry revealed the chaos of the hospital's grounds. They were crowded with residents and servants. Seager and Ware lived on the premises with their families. To Abbott's disapproval, Seager's son was intimate with one of her nurses while Ware's sons tried to entice the young women into their father's

house. Turnley's coachman and Seager's servant 'Old Sam' also lived in the grounds, as did two or three other old men of whose names and duties Miss Abbott was ignorant. Foul language flew through the air.

~

This is the place in which Truganini's body lay for two days and nights before her burial, while the Fellows of the Royal Society sought to obtain possession of it. Unlike in 1869—when they had persuaded the hospital's resident surgeon to mutilate Lanney's corpse then snatch it from its grave on their behalf—the Fellows now had less influence over hospital men. The surgeon-superintendent had been instructed by the government to guard her corpse and not allow anyone to have access to it except in his presence. Crucially, he was a government employee, rather than a man appointed by a strong hospital board, as had been the case in 1869. Turnley's interests lay in protecting Truganini's corpse against all-comers as per his formal instructions from the government. If it was mutilated he would not survive the fallout. But Turnley did not live on the premises, and he was frequently absent from the hospital, it being part of his job to treat sick people in all of Hobart's institutions. This might explain 'Old Bellamie' being stationed on top of the coffin each night. He was probably one of the invalids Turnley used as a servant and illicitly provisioned through the hospital.

The Royal Society might have hoped for some cooperation from Butler, Smart and Bright, the three honoraries. But they would be unlikely to cut into Truganini's corpse on the society's behalf, even though Butler was a Royal Society member. William Crowther's continued banishment from the hospital, with its consequent loss of status and income, well illustrated to them what might become of honoraries should they defy the government and remove specimens from this corpse.

In this context the society's only hope was to persuade the government to give the body to them. But sympathetic as the Colonial



Secretary was to their request, this government had no wish to become as tainted as an earlier one had been by a body-snatching scandal.



On the day after Truganini died, her corpse received several visitors at the hospital. Frederick Weld, the colony's Governor, arrived accompanied by Inspector of Schools Thomas Stephens. Weld was the Royal Society's president; Stephens was a society member and close colleague of Henry Butler in the field of education. He was also a friend of Royal Society vice-president Morton Allport, who had played a major role in obtaining Lanney's remains. It might seem curious that he remained in the background during the society's requests for Truganini's corpse, but there was a reason for this. While the society was busy asserting that Aboriginal bodies must be retained in the colony rather than being shipped to overseas museums, Allport had been obtaining and shipping Tasmanian Aboriginal skeletons to England and Belgium.

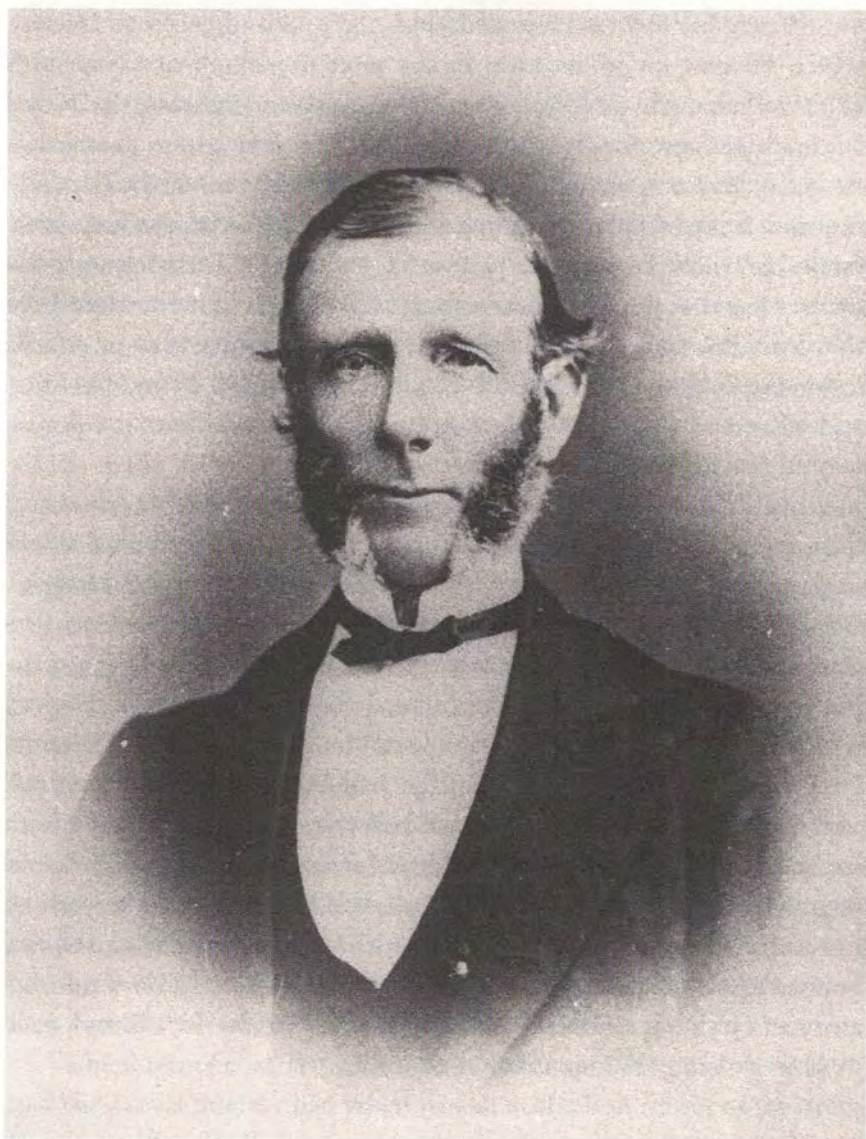
On 10 May, two days after Truganini's death, Colonial Secretary George Gilmore formally wrote to the society to deny its request for her corpse. If the body was to be made available for scientific purposes, Gilmore agreed that the society might fairly claim it, but the government instead deemed that it should be decently interred. He informed the society that, to prevent a repetition of the scandalous events of 1869, he had given instructions for the corpse to be buried in a spot where such scenes—that is, the society's grave-robbing—could not be repeated. When James Agnew received this letter he knew that the society had exhausted its formal options for obtaining Truganini's corpse. Yet the government had still not announced any funeral arrangements. Such delay was just the sort of thing to make impulsive men take matters into their own hands. Had William Crowther been on the scene in the hospital, *something* would have been accomplished by now.

Two further visitors now arrived at the institution and were permitted to view Truganini's corpse. Turnley must have been absent,

for instead his junior colleague John Macfarlane attended them. John Woodcock Graves and John Erskine Calder were men known to take a strong interest in Tasmanian Aboriginal people. They were designated their 'friends'. Graves, a lawyer, had named one of his daughters after Truganini. He had also been the man to suggest cutting off Lanney's hands and feet in 1869 to despoil the corpse, after which he had walked out of the hospital with these objects stuffed into his pockets. Calder had written several articles about the wars between the Tasmanians and the colonists, also published as *Some Account of the Wars, Extirpation, Habits, Etc of the Native Tribes of Tasmania*. 'The most interesting event in the history of Tasmania, after its discovery', Calder wrote there, 'seems to me to be the extinction of its ancient inhabitants'.

In the hospital outhouse John Macfarlane directed these two visitors' attention to Truganini's face. He claimed never to have seen one so calmly composed after death. Graves and Calder agreed that Truganini's features were 'placid and beautifully quiet'. No signs here of the cutting to which William Lanney's face had been subjected. Yet something about this visit troubled Graves and Calder, and when they left the hospital they spoke to others about it, one of whom subsequently wrote a letter to the editor of the *Mercury*. This revealed that Truganini's corpse was wrapped in a 'rude red blanket' rather than a shroud, and had been placed inside a shoe-blacked pauper's coffin that was lying in an outer room of the hospital rather than in its dead house. Why, this correspondent asked, had the government made no plans for a funeral? He also informed the public of Truganini's request to Mrs Dandridge: 'Don't let them cut me, but bury me behind one of the mountains.'

Graves and Calder went to visit Colonial Secretary Gilmore to ask him about the funeral arrangements. When they arrived at his office they found that James Agnew was with Gilmore. He must have been making a last-ditch attempt to obtain the corpse. 'After a while' Graves and Calder were informed that a funeral would be arranged. They were assured that no 'body-snatching' would be committed and that, following their suggestion, a cast of Truganini's face would be made.



James Wilson Agnew, by J.W. Beattie. Like his father, James Agnew received his degree in medicine in Glasgow. Immediately afterwards, in 1839, he left Scotland for the Antipodes. Agnew considerably improved his lot in Tasmania, practising medicine, entering politics and serving as the Royal Society's honorary secretary for twenty years. He was said to be 'a good club man'. (Courtesy: Allport Library and Museum of Fine Arts, State Library of Tasmania)

When his visitors departed that night Gilmore wrote a letter, which he sent for publication in the next morning's newspapers. It explained that the government had received, and refused, the Royal Society's request for Truganini's corpse, but had given permission for a cast to be made of her face. Then the body would be decently interred in a safe place to prevent the recurrence of the 'unseemly scenes' of 1869. For this purpose a vacant spot immediately in front of the chapel at the Cascades institution had been chosen rather than the town's burial ground. The funeral would take place at noon on the following day, organised by well-known undertaker William Hamilton, and Reverend Canon Parsons would perform the ceremony. Gilmore invited friends and sympathisers to attend.

In this letter, he went into some detail to rationalise the choice of the Cascades institution as a burial site, contrasting this with Calder's suggestion that the body be buried in front of the General Hospital. Gilmore knew that burying Truganini in front of the chapel at the Cascades was a controversial choice. The chapel was located behind the high stone walls of what had once been the colony's Female Factory, which accommodated British convicts transported to Van Diemen's Land between 1828 and 1856. One had been Mary Ann Haldane, sent from Edinburgh in the same year Burke and Hare murdered both her mother and her sister. James Agnew, armed with his 1839 medical degree from the University of Glasgow, had briefly served there as the institution's medical officer. After that it had been variously used as a women's gaol, a repository for government invalids, and a boys' reformatory and training school. From 1877 it would house the colony's male invalids and imperial lunatics.

~

While George Gilmore wrote this letter inviting the public to attend Truganini's funeral, several Royal Society men were being shown into the room in which her corpse lay to make the promised cast of her

face. As it was night time, John Macfarlane rather than George Turnley let them in.

Cast-making was not a controversial activity that needed to be performed secretly after dark. Casts were commonly made at the time, of faces famous and infamous. Besides, Royal Society members had the government's permission to make this one. And something is wrong in the timing here. Had the Royal Society intended to make a good cast of Truganini's face they should have accomplished it two days earlier. To best capture distinctive facial features, casts needed to be made as soon as possible after a death. Master modeller George Kolbe believed that they should be made before the corpse had cooled and stiffened, which made the features 'repulsive'. Certainly, a good cast would not be the result when plaster was applied after a corpse had been lying on its back for days. In such cases, had warned Thomas Stone, a critic of phrenology, erroneous data resulted. Stone found much fault in the cast made in Edinburgh in 1829 of William Burke's face. There was no point in phrenologists judging Burke's animal propensities from it, he pointed out, for when a hanged man's corpse was cut down and thrown on to its back the blood gravitated down, distending certain muscles and shrinking others.

The Royal Society men had made casts of Aboriginal faces before this. Several lay in their collection, including the one they had made of Patty when she had died in the hospital in 1867. Given that Agnew and his colleagues believed Truganini to be the final representative of her race—thus making this the last such cast they could ever make—they would surely have made it before now.

The fragments of Truganini's skin that have surfaced make it likely that the Royal Society had taken its cast at the best moment for doing so—soon after she had arrived in the hospital—and that when Graves and Calder suggested to Agnew in front of Gilmore that a cast be made, rather than tell them that this had already been done Agnew saw the opportunity that their suggestion gave him. His last attempt to persuade the Colonial Secretary to give the Royal Society Truganini's

corpse had just failed. It was to be buried on the following day behind those high walls. Now Agnew had been provided with an opportunity to enter the hospital with the government's authority to make a cast. George Turnley would be absent. Old Bellamie's duties would not begin until the Royal Society men left and Truganini was safely back in her coffin/his bed. The Royal Society men just might be able to take some soft parts from her body while they were in that room with their bucket of plaster. They could afford to wait for the bones. But once this corpse was in the ground its soft parts would turn to pulp and be lost to science.

On this reading, that cast looks like a Trojan horse.

~

By the 1870s skin formed an important discrete category in museum collections. Some illustrated pathological conditions; other specimens were of skin that had been artificially coloured by tattoos, the kind that decorated seafaring men, branded army deserters, adorned Maori faces. Guy's Hospital museum contained the 'Tattooed Skin of the Leg, from a Native of Owyhee'. Skin was neatly cut off these decorated corpses, kept and displayed. Other skin was collected for more frivolous reasons, to souvenir something of the person from whom it had been cut. In Edinburgh, when Alexander Monro had dissected William Burke's corpse some of the skin was excised and later tanned and turned into wallets. The skin of notorious criminals also bound books that related the stories of their crimes. In Hobart Town a nice little handbag had been made out of William Lanney's skin.

Anthropologists sent out calls for skin. 'Scalps', wrote Paul Topinard to William Flower in 1878, 'we should be happy to have' for the Paris Exposition Universelle: 'Papuan, Australian Negroes, Americans, Polynesians'. Guy's Hospital museum contained the scalp of a Native of Owyhee and another of a Negro. Specimens of hair like those collected from Truganini were also desired. Topinard controversially denied that the races could be divided according to whether indents in hair were

continual or interrupted. Four years later a Dr Thomas Stuart took the opportunity offered by a colleague who worked in the University of Edinburgh's anatomy rooms to section a Negro scalp to examine whether the hair follicle curved beneath the skin as well as above it. Men especially sought skin from the 'disappearing' races. 'Have we done with the Hottentots and Bosjeman race?' queried Robert Knox, before answering, 'I suppose so: they will soon form merely natural curiosities; already there is the skin of one stuffed in England; another in Paris if I mistake not.'

The questions asked of skin included how deep did colour go and whether it was immutable. An early experimental skin transplantation, by surgeon Thomas Bryant at Guy's Hospital, indicated something interesting: black skin could be grafted on to white and assimilate. Bryant successfully transplanted four small pieces of skin, taken from a black patient, on to the ulcerated leg of that patient's white friend. The cells quickly proliferated to form a healing patch and magically, new skin formed to repair an ulcer on the white patient's leg.

Skin was thought to shine light on the puzzle of race. Colour—white, black, every complexion between the two—distinguished races. Colour scales had been developed to measure these differences and draw scientific conclusions from them. Some people's skin was particularly interesting, such as that of the 'piebald negro boy' of whom there is a vivid description in the Royal College of Surgeons' *Descriptive Catalogue of the Dermatological Specimens* (1870). George Grattan had been born to black parents, but his own skin was curiously mixed. From the age of fifteen months the child had been consigned to a strolling showman, who exhibited him at country fairs and erected a monument in his memory when he died, a bright and intelligent child, aged four: 'To the memory of George Alexander Grattan, the spotted Negro boy, a native of the Caribee Islands, in the West Indies'.

It might have been skin that the Royal Society sought from Truganini's body, or they might have tried to take more substantial parts but needed to settle for skin fragments because they were caught in the act. All we know is that the government had invited the public

to attend Truganini's funeral on the following day, 11 May, at noon. Then—strangely it has until now appeared—a furtive night-time funeral was instead performed, much to the chagrin of the colony's duped newspapers and the people who lined Hobart Town's streets awaiting the advertised procession on the following day.

An explanation for this now presents itself. When those fragments were cut from Truganini's skin soon after Gilmore had announced the funeral, someone reported it to the government. Premier Alfred Kennerley and Colonial Secretary Gilmore were sufficiently disturbed by what they had heard to quickly contact Adolarious Humphrey Boyd, superintendent of the Cascades institution, giving him a warrant to demand the corpse from the hospital and take it to the Cascades that night for burial. Boyd arrived at the hospital at 11 p.m. accompanied by armed troopers. The hospital men who lived on the premises were taken by surprise, most being asleep. Some time later, when Boyd and his troopers left the premises they took a coffin with them, pulled in the cart they had brought along for this purpose.

While Boyd looked after these practical matters, Gilmore quickly contacted several respectable people to ask them to travel out to the Cascades to witness Truganini's body being buried. As troopers, cart and corpse entered the institution's gates a bell was tolling in the reformatory yard and a few officials and servants were standing nearby. Twenty-five or so other people had been hastily gathered there, government representatives (Kennerley, Gilmore), religious men (Archdeacon Davies, Reverend Spicer) and people known to have taken an interest in the Tasmanian Aborigines (John Graves, George Whitcomb, a Mr Gravenor). In addition, a Dr Lewis was present, as was a reporter for the *Mercury*. Several of these people were Royal Society men, but none had been active in the attempt to obtain Truganini's corpse. Nor were the two men present whom Truganini had begged to protect her body when she died.

While the coffin rested in the yard, its lid was opened and the shroud in which her corpse was now wrapped was turned back sufficiently to reveal her face. The *Mercury's* reporter saw 'our native



Queen' lying stiff and cold in the plainest of black coffins, with no ornamentation other than a silver plate on its lid which was inscribed: 'Trucannini. Died 8 May 1876. Aged 73 years'. This journalist repaid the government's invitation to him to attend by reassuring the public in his report that the coffin had indeed contained Truganini's remains. 'Our readers', he wrote, 'may rest assured on that point'. One unnamed lady 'of eccentric habits', invited to the funeral, touched Truganini's face. Then the coffin lid was screwed down and the spectators moved inside the chapel. Reverend Canon Parsons read the Church of England burial service, 'I am the resurrection and the life ...' A psalm was also read, then a lesson. Finally, the coffin was carried outside and placed over the grave that had been dug in front of the chapel door. Mr Gravenor touched it, impressing everyone by saying a native word that his listeners did not understand. The coffin was then lowered into the earth while Reverend Parsons read, 'Man that is born of a woman ...' and committed 'our dear departed sister' to the grave in the sure and certain hope, he intoned, of resurrection to eternal life. John Graves threw a sprig of flowers on to the coffin. When everyone was about to leave, an officer belatedly arrived clutching a bunch of native flowers and berries from Matilda Dandridge. John Calder appeared too late to participate in the proceedings. Then everyone left for town and their beds.

Except Truganini. She lay in the ground behind walls that had been built to keep Tasmania's outcasts separate from its respectable inhabitants. This was the only place in which it was thought that her corpse would be safe until resurrection day. Which, as it happened, was just two years away.

Unaware of this night's work, Hobart's residents awoke the next morning to read the government's invitation to them to attend the funeral that would mark the end of a 'remarkable epoch in Tasmania's history'. Undertaker William Hamilton arrived at the hospital with his hearse to

collect the body, as no one had cancelled his services. By noon spectators were lining the streets to witness the cortège pass by them, but an hour later it had become obvious that no funeral would take place. People stood on street corners gossiping and speculating. The thrill of another possible body-snatching episode was in the air.

On the following day details of the midnight burial appeared in the *Mercury*. Its editor Charles Davies angrily charged that he had been duped into printing false invitations to a putative funeral. He decried the fact that scientists had imposed on the government the 'cruel necessity' of burying Truganini, the last of her race, in the precincts of a gaol for fear that 'sacrilegious hands' would turn her corpse into merchandise. Davies wondered whether this strange burial had been arranged to keep from the public knowledge of 'some act of which they are ashamed'. He speculated that the corpse was already in the Royal Society's hands, but had no quarrels with that. In Davies' view only 'moonstruck dreamers' would consider that this body should have been buried rather than preserved above ground for future generations of Tasmanians. No, it was the deception the government had practised on him that outraged Charles Davies.

This was oddly out of kilter with the fact that the *Mercury's* own reporter had attended the funeral and had seen Truganini's face. Davies' comments can be understood only with reference to the earlier Lanney scandal, during which Davies' father had edited this newspaper. John Davies was a Royal Society member, a political opponent of William Crowther, and an ex-convict who often settled his arguments by physical violence. He had virulently condemned Crowther's activities on Lanney's corpse while excusing the Royal Society's. Now, his son Charles also defended the society, believing that Truganini's corpse should properly be in its possession, while hinting that fear of other, more mercenary scientists—read Crowther—were behind the secret burial.

Charles Davies did not believe that anything other than Truganini's face necessarily reposed in the coffin that his reporter had seen buried. It was indeed suspicious that the face had so pointedly been exposed

before the coffin lid was nailed down. All *that* proved was that no such crude skull removal had been perpetrated as that carried out on William Lanney's body. Truganini's face had not been cut open. Nor had her ears been turned into specimens of the kind valued by museums of comparative anatomy, to compare with specimens removed from marmosets, orang-utans, New Zealanders and Tahitians (with sometimes disconcerting results—as when a European woman's ear well showed the 'Orang type').

Besides, anatomists knew how to preserve faces to trick friends into believing that a corpse was being buried even if much had already been surreptitiously removed from behind the face. As Edinburgh-trained anatomist James Wilson would later explain when he was found to have performed such a thing in Sydney, special care must be taken when it was known that friends intended to view a body. Wilson had removed the bones of a 'Chinaman' so skilfully that when the man's friends arrived to collect the corpse they were none the wiser. Later called to account for this body-snatching, Wilson boasted of his prowess, assuring his university's chancellor that such behaviour was nothing out of the ordinary for anatomists but rather was the invariable practice in all scientific and properly equipped medical schools in the world.



Down the years stories of what became of Truganini's remains have been related. According to Charles Seager's son, the corpse was secretly resurrected by two convicted murderers in the Royal Society's employ—long before the government granted the society approval for its exhumation in 1878. Seager said that when the body was hauled from its vault all of its soft parts sloughed away, making it easy to extract the bones. Then, that the murderers had tidied everything up so that no one would notice what they had done. This is surely a fanciful tale. Men convicted of murder were hanged in 1876; no bones taken from a corpse in these conditions comprised an intact 'skeleton'; and Truganini had not been buried in a vault.

Besides, archival evidence suggests otherwise. A week after the funeral the Royal Society men were still meeting to strategise. On 18 May they considered what action to take about 'the disposal' of Truganini's remains. Precisely what they meant is unclear. It might be thought that they were deciding how to clean, articulate, mount, display or otherwise a skeleton in their possession. But no, for two months later on 12 July 1876 Agnew again wrote to the Colonial Secretary importuning him for Truganini's corpse lest 'circumstances ... arise under which this typical specimen of an extinct race may be lost to the Colony'. This was an especially important specimen as its 'entire history' was well known, and it above all others was a 'truly genuine' Tasmanian Aborigine. As the last of a race, Truganini's skeleton must 'always be unique', and no enlightened and rational community could object to it being carefully preserved, especially as all due rites of burial had now been performed, in public.

This letter, with its warning that the skeleton might be stolen, spooked George Gilmore. He instructed Superintendent Boyd not to allow the remains to be in any way disturbed without a written order from the Governor in Council, then informed Agnew that although the government was 'fully alive' to the desirability of the skeleton being preserved, it would be premature to exhume the body at this time. However, to avoid others beating the society to the corpse, the government had ordered Boyd to ensure that it was not disturbed.

After that, the government changed. William Crowther's friend Thomas Reibey became the colony's new premier, another friend, Charles Meredith, its treasurer and Crowther himself a minister with no specific portfolio. Almost at once the configuration of power in the General Hospital again changed. The Crowthers re-entered it in triumph. William Crowther regained his position as an honorary medical officer and his son Bingham was appointed its new surgeon-superintendent. George Turnley resigned, as did Henry Butler. It was a rout.

~

As for Truganini, what happened next is well known. The Royal Society requested permission to exhume her skeleton in 1878, falsely claiming not to have a perfect specimen of a Tasmanian woman. Patty's perfect skeleton already lay in their collection. The society was given permission to take possession of Truganini's bones on the condition that they were not placed on public display. For years after that the bones remained in a box in their museum. Then, in 1904, the society sent them to Melbourne, to British anthropologist Professor Baldwin Spencer, who was based at the city's university. He had them articulated into a skeleton which, on its return to Hobart Town, was displayed for more than forty years in a glass case, together with a cast of Truganini's face, some photographs, a shell necklace and other bits and pieces relating to the Tasmanians. 'An Absolutely Unique Exhibit. The Last of a Race' proclaimed the *Tasmanian Times* in 1905. According to one visitor to the museum, E.J. Brady, Truganini was 'the most interesting thing in Hobart ... famed and remembered while the important people of early Hobart sleep in neglected cemeteries forgotten and unsought'. There she was, as Ian Anderson has written, the end of the 'real thing', an emblem of extinction.

- p. 120 *offer had been refused* Gale cited in Mallett 2002, p. 139.
- p. 120 *London hospital schools* NA, MH 74/15, Gregg to Ellis, 26 May 1855, p. 366. Victoria Park Cemetery was being used by most of the undertakers and had increased its charge from 13/6d to 17/6d. In 1858 the Poor Law Board advised the Guardians of St Mary Newington that this was unconsecrated ground (CL, LMA, P92/MRY/304, 6 May 1858, p. 692).
- p. 121 *in our keeping* Mallett 2002, pp. 139–40. It is not clear whether Lawrence composed this poem.
- p. 121 *the following year* Fagge & Durham 1870, p. 547.
- p. 121 *'fine body of men'* Sheffield commentator, cited in Mulvaney & Harcourt 2005, p. 106.
- p. 122 *'we cannot kill fine young men'* NA, MH 75/13, Gregg to Holden, 5 November 1856, p. 416.
- p. 122 *at the Royal College of Surgeons* Cited in Mallett 2002, p. 142.
- p. 122 *rigorous climate* *Argus*, 25 February 1868.
- p. 123 *'sordid gains'* Cited in Sampson 2000, pp. 183–6.
- p. 123 *dealings with the press* See Sampson 2000, chapter 10.

## 6 Truganini's Skin

- p. 126 *'We don't know'* Museum Security Mailinglist Report, 4 January 2002.
- p. 129 *Then, good-bye* Langford, reprinted in *Leeds Mercury*, 7 October 1876.
- p. 129 *D'Entrecasteaux Channel Mercury*, 9 May 1876; Cove 1995, p. 143.
- p. 130 *'under your protection'* AOT, CSO 8/5/1876, Gilmore to Dandridge, 8 May 1876.
- p. 130 *government's written instructions* AOT, CSD 10/31/474, Gilmore to Turnley, 8 May 1876.
- p. 130 *lay in the hospital* Seager cited in Rae Ellis 1981, p. 154.
- p. 130 *not remain there for long* AOT, CSD 10/31/474, Agnew to Gilmore, 9 May 1876.
- p. 131 *entrée to their meetings* UT, RSC, RSA/A4, 9 May 1876.
- p. 132 *purveyor of dead bodies* *Mercury*, 8 & 9 September 1869.
- p. 132 *meagre twenty-four* At least this was longer than the twelve hours given by the only other Australian Anatomy Act in existence at the time (*An Act for Regulating Schools of Anatomy*, Victoria, 1861).

- p. 133 *'ran in that direction'* RCS, Museum Letters, vol. 2, Crowther to Flower, 6 November 1869, p. 446, & 19 April 1870, p. 65.
- p. 133 *Butler refused to sign* RCS, Museum Letters, vol. 2, Crowther to Flower, 27 February 1873, p. 118.
- p. 134 *impart knowledge to others* House of Assembly (Tasmania), *Hospital Pupils etc*, 1873, Crowther to Colonial Secretary, 12 May 1873.
- p. 135 *entrée to the dead house* House of Assembly (Tasmania), *Hospital Pupils etc*, 1873, 17 & 24 July 1873.
- p. 135 *charge for treating its patients* House of Assembly (Tasmania), *Hospital Pupils etc*, 1873, 28 August 1873.
- p. 135 *an end to dissection* AOT, CSD 7/55/1297, 'Memorandum', p. 7.
- p. 136 *'already gone'* Trollope 1875, p. 127.
- p. 136 *much less a hospital* Legislative Council (Tasmania) [hereafter LC Tas], *General Hospital Hobart Town*, 1875, p. 2.
- p. 137 *condition of the hospital* AOT, CSD 10/31/475, Turnley to Colonial Secretary, 6 September 1875.
- p. 138 *flew through the air* LC Tas, *General Hospital, Hobart Town*, Report of Commission, 1877.
- p. 138 *the case in 1869* Rimmer 1981, pp. 97–8.
- p. 139 *Inspector of Schools Thomas Stephens* 'Vice Regal', *Mercury*, 13 May 1876.
- p. 139 *England and Belgium instead* MacDonald 2005, pp. 117–23.
- p. 139 *could not be repeated* UT, RSC, RSA/B/16, Gilmore to Agnew, 10 May 1876.
- p. 140 *stuffed into his pockets* MacDonald 2005, p. 169.
- p. 140 *'its ancient inhabitants'* Calder 1875, p. 5.
- p. 140 *'one of the mountains'* *Mercury*, 11 May 1876.
- p. 140 *cast of Truganini's face* *Mercury*, 11 May 1876.
- p. 142 *sympathisers to attend* AOT, CSO 10/5/1876, Gilmore to editors of the *Mercury* and the *Tribune*, 10 May 1876.
- p. 142 *imperial lunatics* Piddock 2007.
- p. 143 *the features 'repulsive'* Cited in Kaufman & McNeil 1989, p. 506.
- p. 143 *shrinking others* Stone 1829, pp. 14–15.
- p. 144 *'Native of Owyhee'* Hodgkin 1829, item 420.
- p. 144 *turned into wallets* Roach 2003, p. 51.
- p. 144 *Lanney's skin* On souveniring skin see also Gattrell, p. 257.

- p. 144 *'Americans, Polynesians'* RCS, Museum Letters, vol. 3, Topinard to Flower, 1 May 1878, p. 54.
- p. 144 *another of a Negro* Hodgkin 1829, items 422 & 423.
- p. 145 *continual or interrupted* RCS, Museum Letters, vol. 3, Topinard to Flower, 1 May 1878, p. 54.
- p. 145 *beneath the skin as well as above it* Stuart 1882a.
- p. 145 *'if I mistake not'* Knox 1850, p. 158.
- p. 145 *white patient's leg* Bryant 1868, pp. 241–2.
- p. 145 *'West Indies'* Wilson 1870, p. 99.
- p. 147 *participate in the proceedings* This account of the burial is from the *Mercury*, 12 May 1876.
- p. 148 *no funeral would take place* *Mercury*, 12 May 1876.
- p. 148 *future generations of Tasmanians* *Mercury*, 12 May 1876.
- p. 148 *excusing the Royal Society's* MacDonald 2005, p. 161.
- p. 149 *'Orang type'* RCS, *Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue of the Physiological Series of Comparative Anatomy* 1907, p. 224.
- p. 149 *properly equipped medical schools* Turnbull 1991, p. 11.
- p. 149 *what they had done* Rae Ellis 1981, pp. 154–5.
- p. 150 *Truganini's remains* UT, RSC, RSA/A4, 18 May 1876.
- p. 150 *performed, in public* UT, RSC, RSA/B/2, Agnew to Colonial Secretary, 12 July 1876.
- p. 150 *was not disturbed* UT, RSC, RSA/B/16, Gilmore to Agnew, 19 July 1876.
- p. 151 *is well known* Cove 1995, pp. 51–3; Ryan 1996, p. 220; Frost 2001; Fforde 2004, pp. 97–100.
- p. 151 *'forgotten and unsought'* *Tasmanian Times*, 24 June 1905; Berry n.d., p. 130.
- p. 151 *emblem of extinction* Anderson 1993, p. 14.

## 7 Dr Belgrave and Humanity's Discards

- p. 153 *energy and perseverance* Waugh 1838.
- p. 154 *a fire and burned* Legislative Assembly (NSW), 'School of Anatomy' [hereafter LA NSW], Belgrave to Minister of Public Instruction, 20 October 1883, p. 951.
- p. 155 *a swot* Macintosh 1988, p. 88.
- p. 156 *Britain's young colonies* *Scotsman*, 2 August 1882.



# BIBLIOGRAPHY

## PRIMARY SOURCES

### *Archives and manuscripts*

#### ENGLAND

##### *National Archives of England*

- MH 51/533, Post Mortem Examinations—Law Officers [sic] Observations  
MH 58/497, Use of Human Tissue for Grafting: Draft Proposals for the  
Human Tissues Act 1961 and HM Circular, 1956–61  
MH 74/6, Anatomy Inspector's Outward Letters, Metropolitan District  
Letterbook (1858–81)  
MH 74/10, Anatomy Inspectorate, Outward Letterbook, Provincial  
(1842–79)  
MH 74/12, Anatomy Inspector's Outward Letters, General (1832–35)  
MH 74/13, Anatomy Office, Outletter Book, General (1835–41)  
MH 74/14, Anatomy Office, Outletter Book, General (including Scotland)  
(1841–42)  
MH 74/15, Anatomy Inspector's Outward Letterbook, Miscellaneous  
(1842–58)  
MH 74/36, Home Office and Anatomy Office, General Papers and  
Correspondence (1834–90)  
MH 74/41, Home Office and Anatomy Office, General Papers and  
Correspondence (1913–18)  
HO 83/1, Home Office, Anatomy, Volume 1 (1832–42)  
HO 44/34, Home Office, Domestic Correspondence (1773–1861),  
'Memorial of the Royal College of Surgeons in London, on the  
subject of the existing deficiency of bodies for dissection', 1839

##### *City of London, London Metropolitan Archives*

##### *Guy's Hospital Records*

- HO9/GY/A/3/010, Administration, Court of Committees, Minutes,  
Minute Book (22 June 1870–17 January 1883)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

HO9/GY/A53/2, *Regulations for the Management of Guy's Hospital*, London, Ash & Company, 1874

HO9/GY/A104/6/1, Treasurer's Letter Book (8 November 1866 – 4 November 1868)

HO9/GY/B/02/003, Patients' Records: Admission and Discharge Registers—Medical Cases (1867–72)

HO9/GY/B/26/001, Register of Deaths (1864–73)

*Southwark Board of Guardians, Records of St Mary Newington Poor Law Parish*

P92/MRY/304, General Minutes, Newington Workhouse (1856–58)

*Southwark Local History Library*

*Parish of St Mary Newington Records*

1021–2, 2/Box 4, Burial Board of the Parish of St Mary Newington, Minutes, Cashbook and Miscellaneous Papers (1852–1900)

5981, Legal Papers about the Indictment of Alfred Feist, workhouse master, for the removal of paupers' bodies to Guy's Hospital School of Anatomy, 1858

SC 352.034, Annual Report of the Vestry of St Mary Newington, 1858

*Royal College of Surgeons of England*

Annual Report, 1870

Museum Letters, volumes 1 to 3 (1862–78), Archive Letters (1909–11)

Museum Reports (1863–66, 1869, 1870, 1872, 1874)

*Wellcome Library, London*

SA/LCA, London Committee of Licensed Teachers of Anatomy, 1881–1979

SA/LCA.3/4, Correspondence with Her Majesty's Inspector of Anatomy and Other Government Departments and Officials, 1965–66

*Guy's, Kings and St Thomas's School of Medicine*

*Gordon Museum*

Lawson, George, 'Notes of a course of lectures on practical anatomy delivered by Dr Munro [sic] and Dr Mackenzie, 1839, Edinburgh University, unpublished notebook.

*King's College, London**Guy's Hospital Medical School*

G/CLR9/1-4, House Physicians' Diaries (1869-73)

G/PP1/26/1, Personal Papers of William Tiffin Iliff, 1885, 1887

## SCOTLAND

*National Archives of Scotland*

MH 3/1, Inspector of Anatomy for Scotland, Letterbook (1842-47)

MH 3/2, Inspector of Anatomy for Scotland, Letterbook (1846-51)

MH 3/3, Inspector of Anatomy for Scotland, Letterbook (1851-59)

MH 3/4, Inspector of Anatomy for Scotland, Letterbook (1860-68)

MH 3/6, Inspector of Anatomy for Scotland, Letterbook (1875-82)

MH 3/7, Inspector of Anatomy for Scotland, Letterbook (1881-85)

*Edinburgh City Archives*

SL 1/1/224, Town Council Minutes (May 1837 - September 1837)

SL 11/1/1/12, Canongate Workhouse Minutes, Minute Book (1834-47)

SL 141/1/4, Edinburgh City Workhouse, Minute Book (20 September 1834-23 March 1840)

*Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh*

GD 100/6/1, Papers of William Scott, Clerk to the College, concerning the trial of medical students for mobbing and rioting and assault, 1838

Miscellaneous Deposits, Surgeons Hall Trust Collections, Archives

MS Additional 83, William Fergusson, Account Book of Anatomy Class of Robert Knox, Edinburgh 1829-32

*University of Edinburgh**Archives*

351, Anatomy Department, Register of Bodies, Returns from School of Anatomy (December 1832-June 1834)

GB 237 Coll-496, Papers Relating to Dr Robert Scot Skirving, 'Account of the Snowball Riot, 1838' (1892)

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### *Lothian Health Services Archive*

LHB1/1/11, Royal Infirmary, Minute Book (7 November 1831 –  
25 December 1837)

LHB1/1/31, Royal Infirmary, Minute Book (5 July 1880–17 April 1882)

### *University of Glasgow Manuscript Collections*

MS Gen 1476/A/9184, Allen Thomson Papers.

## AUSTRALASIA

### *National Archives of Australia*

MS 1682, H.R. Marston Collection, Papers of Professor Archibald Watson,  
Series I, Item 38

### *Archives Office of Tasmania*

Colonial Secretary's Department/Office, Correspondence Files: CSD  
7/55/1297; CSO 8/5/1876; CSO 10/5/1876; CSD 10/31/474; CSD  
10/31/475; CSD 13/52/550

### *State Records of New South Wales*

4915/3/1807, Department of Public Health, Semi-Official Papers Concerning  
the Anatomy Act 1901, Correspondence with Sydney University

### *State Records of South Australia*

GRG 1/2/756, Attorney General's Department, Correspondence Files  
(1903), 'Dead Bodies Bill 1903'

GRG 24/67, Evidence Taken by the Board of Inquiry into Charges against  
Dr W. Ramsay Smith, 1903

GRG 24/166, Colonial Secretary's Office, 'Documents authorising  
anatomical examination of particular bodies by the School of  
Anatomy with related papers'

GRG 38/57, Notes taken before C.E. Owen Smyth, Superintendent of  
Cemeteries, papers of the Superintendent of Public Buildings as  
Superintendent of Cemeteries relating to an enquiry into the  
professional conduct of Smith, Professor of Anatomy

BIBLIOGRAPHY

*Auckland City Library, New Zealand*

Grey Papers

*State Library of South Australia*

PRG 123, Angas Johnson Papers

*Royal Prince Alfred Hospital Archives, Sydney*

Series 1, Board of Directors, Minutes of Meetings, (1882–91)

*University of Adelaide Archives*

Series 142, Reports of Committees, Faculties and Board of Examiners  
(1883–1900)

*University of Melbourne Archives*

UM 419, Registrar's Correspondence—Medical School, Box 1, Folder  
93/46

*University of Sydney*

*Archives*

G1/1/6 and G/1/1/7, Senate Minutes (September 1878–May 1888)  
G63/1, Anatomy Department Correspondence (Letterbook 1890–94)

*Personal Papers*

P162, J.T. Wilson Family Archives, Series 3, Correspondence (1883–1944)

*Rare Books Collection*

*Professor Anderson Stuart, MD* [John Shewan's notes]

*Department of Anatomy and Histology*

Anatomy Office, Inspector's Register

*University of Tasmania*

*Royal Society Collection*

RSA/A4, Minutes of Council and Monthly Society Meetings  
RSA/B/2 Letterbook, vol. 2 (January 1874–25 September 1885)  
RSA/B/16, 'Truganini'

*Printed material*

- AEP, letter to the editor, *Lancet*, 11 May 1844, vol. 43, issue 1080, pp. 231–2
- Alison, William Pulteney (1840), 'Illustrations of the practical operations of the Scottish system of managing the poor', *Quarterly Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, October
- Anonymous (1868), 'Owen's *Comparative Anatomy and Physiology: A review*', *Anthropological Review*, vol. 6, no. 22, July, pp. 301–16.
- Berry, R.J.A. (n.d.), 'Chance and circumstance', unpublished manuscript (Medical Museum, University of Melbourne)
- Blankart, James, Pye Smith, P.H. & Phillips, J.J. (1869), 'Notes on abnormalities observed in the dissecting room during the Winter sessions of 1866–7 and 1867–8', *Guy's Hospital Reports*, London
- Bowie, John (1880), *Reply by John Bowie MD to Professor Rutherford on Vivisection*, Edinburgh (National Library of Scotland, APS.2.86.11)
- Bryant, Thomas (1868), 'On skin grafting', pp. 237–42, *Guy's Hospital Reports*, London
- Burking Shop Destroyed* (1831), [www.nls.uk/broadsides/broadside.cfm/id/14564](http://www.nls.uk/broadsides/broadside.cfm/id/14564); accessed 27 January 2010
- Calder, James Erskine (1875), *Some Account of the Wars, Extirpation, Habits etc of the Native Tribes of Tasmania*, facsimile edn, Fuller's Bookshop, Hobart
- Craigie, David (1834), 'Clinical report', *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal*
- Cunningham, D.J. (1907), 'The head of an Aboriginal Australian', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. 37, pp. 47–57
- Dalrymple, Charles John, Westmacott, Alfred, Aikenhead, John (1838), *Report of the Trial of the Students on the Charge of Mobbing, Rioting, and Assault, at the College, on January 11 and 12, 1838*, Scotland Sheriff Court (Edinburgh, Scotland), A. Shortrede, Edinburgh
- Davies-Colley, N., Taylor, F. & Dalton, B.N. (1873), 'Notes of abnormalities observed in the dissecting room, from October 1870 to June 1872', *Guy's Hospital Reports*, London
- Davis, Joseph Barnard (1861), 'On the method of measurements, as a diagnostic means of distinguishing human races, adopted by Drs Scherzer and Schwarz in the Austrian circumnavigatory expedition of the "Novara"', *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, vol. 1, pp. 123–8

- (1868), 'The brain of a Negro of Guinea', *Anthropological Review*, vol. 6, no. 22, pp. 279–85
- Dearsly and Bell's *Crown Cases Reserved*, 1858, R v. Alfred Feist
- Fagge, C. Hilton and Durham, Arthur E. (1870), *Guy's Hospital Reports*, third series, vol. 15, London, John Churchill & Sons
- Flower, William Henry (1879), *Catalogue of the Specimens Illustrating the Osteology and Dentition of Vertebrated Animals, Recent and Extinct, contained in the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons of England*, Part 1: *Man: Homo Sapiens*, Linn. London, Royal College of Surgeons
- (1898), 'Anthropology', pp. 236–73, *Essays on Museums and Other Subjects Connected with Natural History*, London, Macmillan & Company
- Grosvenor Place School of Anatomy and Medicine adjoining St George's Hospital (n.d.), Wellcome Library, London
- Guthrie, George (1829), *A letter to the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Containing Remarks on the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Anatomy, and Pointing Out the Means by Which the Science may be Cultivated with Advantage and Safety to the Public*, W. Sams, London
- Guy's Hospital Gazette*, vol. 1, 1872
- Hodgkin, Thomas (1829), *Catalogue of the Preparations in the Anatomical Museum of Guy's Hospital, Arranged and Edited by Desire of the Treasurer of the Hospital and of the Teachers of the Medical and Surgical School*
- Huxley, Leonard H. (1900), *Life and Letters of Thomas Henry Huxley*, vol. 1, Macmillan & Company, London
- Huxley, Thomas Henry (1864), 'The structure and classification of the mammalia', Lecture 9, 20 February, published in *Medical Times and Gazette*, 2 April
- (1906 edn), 'On some fossil remains of man', in *Man's Place in Nature and Other Essays*, J.M. Dent & Sons, London
- Keith, Arthur (1950), *An Autobiography*, Watts & Co., London
- Keith, Arthur & Rigby, Hugh (1899), 'Modern military bullets: A study of their destructive effects', *Lancet*, vol. 154, issue 3979, pp. 1499–1507
- Knox, Robert (1850), *The Races of Men: A Fragment*, Lea & Blanchard, Philadelphia
- Life of Sir Robert Christison, Bart, The* (1885), vol. 1: *Autobiography*, William Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh

- (1868), 'The brain of a Negro of Guinea', *Anthropological Review*, vol. 6, no. 22, pp. 279–85
- Dearsly and Bell's Crown Cases Reserved*, 1858, *R v. Alfred Feist*
- Fagge, C. Hilton and Durham, Arthur E. (1870), *Guy's Hospital Reports*, third series, vol. 15, London, John Churchill & Sons
- Flower, William Henry (1879), *Catalogue of the Specimens Illustrating the Osteology and Dentition of Vertebrated Animals, Recent and Extinct, contained in the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons of England*, Part 1: *Man: Homo Sapiens*, Linn. London, Royal College of Surgeons
- (1898), 'Anthropology', pp. 236–73, *Essays on Museums and Other Subjects Connected with Natural History*, London, Macmillan & Company
- Grosvenor Place School of Anatomy and Medicine adjoining St George's Hospital* (n.d.), Wellcome Library, London
- Guthrie, George (1829), *A letter to the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Containing Remarks on the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Anatomy, and Pointing Out the Means by Which the Science may be Cultivated with Advantage and Safety to the Public*, W. Sams, London
- Guy's Hospital Gazette*, vol. 1, 1872
- Hodgkin, Thomas (1829), *Catalogue of the Preparations in the Anatomical Museum of Guy's Hospital, Arranged and Edited by Desire of the Treasurer of the Hospital and of the Teachers of the Medical and Surgical School*
- Huxley, Leonard H. (1900), *Life and Letters of Thomas Henry Huxley*, vol. 1, Macmillan & Company, London
- Huxley, Thomas Henry (1864), 'The structure and classification of the mammalia', Lecture 9, 20 February, published in *Medical Times and Gazette*, 2 April
- (1906 edn), 'On some fossil remains of man', in *Man's Place in Nature and Other Essays*, J.M. Dent & Sons, London
- Keith, Arthur (1950), *An Autobiography*, Watts & Co., London
- Keith, Arthur & Rigby, Hugh (1899), 'Modern military bullets: A study of their destructive effects', *Lancet*, vol. 154, issue 3979, pp. 1499–1507
- Knox, Robert (1850), *The Races of Men: A Fragment*, Lea & Blanchard, Philadelphia
- Life of Sir Robert Christison, Bart*, The (1885), vol. 1: *Autobiography*, William Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh



- London Medical and Surgical Journal*, 15 April 1837
- Lonsdale, Henry (1870), *A Sketch of the Life and Writings of Robert Knox the Anatomist*, Macmillan & Co., London
- MacLeod, Roy (ed.; 1988), *The Commonwealth of Science: ANZAAS and the Scientific Enterprise in Australasia 1888–1988*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne
- 'Medicus' (1829), *An Exposure of the Present System of Obtaining Bodies for Dissection and a More Consistent Plan Suggested*, J. Limbird, London
- Michie Alexander (1900), *The Englishman in China during the Victorian Era: As Illustrated in the Career of Sir Rutherford Alcock, KCB, DLC*, vol. 1, School of Oriental and African Studies, London
- Moran, Herbert (1945), *Beyond the Hills Lies China: Scenes from a Medical Life in Australia*, Peter Davies, London
- Order of the Poor Law Board*, 26 January 1856 (SLHL, Parish of St Mary Newington Records)
- Paget, James (1846), *Descriptive Catalogue of the Anatomical Museum of St Bartholomew's Hospital*, vol. 2, John Churchill, London
- 'Publicola', letter to the editor, *Medical Times*, 15 March 1841, vol. 3, no. 78
- Pye Smith, Philip Henry (1874), *Catalogue of the Preparations of Comparative Anatomy in the Museum of Guy's Hospital*, London
- Report of the Trial of Thomas Hunter, Peter Hackett, Richard M'Neil, James Gibb and William M'Lean, Operative-Spinners in Glasgow, Before the High Court of Justiciary, at Edinburgh, for the Crimes of Illegal Conspiracy and the Murder of John Smith* (1838), T. Clark, Glasgow
- Royal College of Surgeons of England (1907), *Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue of the Physiological Series of Comparative Anatomy contained in the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons of England*, vol. 3, 2nd edn, Taylor & Francis, London
- Shaw, Lauriston E. & Perry, E. Cooper (1894), *Descriptive Catalogue of the Pathological Specimens Contained in the Museum of Guy's Hospital*, 3rd edn, vol. 1, *Morbid Conditions of the Respiratory Organs and Alimentary Tract*, J. & A. Churchill, London
- Smith, William Ramsay (1904), *A Manual for Coroners: Being a Guide to Coronial Inquiries and Inquests in South Australia and Throughout Australasia and in England*, Hussey & Gillingham, Adelaide

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- (1906), 'The medico-legal aspects of infanticide and concealment of birth: An address delivered before the Justices' Association of South Australia' (National Library, Canberra)
- (1913), *Medical Jurisprudence from the Judicial Standpoint*, London, Stevens & Sons
- Stone, Thomas (1829), 'Observations on the phrenological development of Burke, Hare and other atrocious murderers', *Phrenological Journal*, vol. 3, Robert Buchanan, Edinburgh
- Stuart, T.P. Anderson (1882a), 'The curled hair and curved hair follicle of the Negro', *Journal of Anatomy and Physiology*, vol. 16, part 3, pp. 362-3
- (1882b), 'Nickel and cobalt: Their physiological action on the animal organism. Part I: Toxicology', *Journal of Anatomy and Physiology*, vol. 17, part 1, pp. 89-193
- (1894), *Anniversary Address to the Royal Society of New South Wales* (Mitchell Library, Sydney)
- (1913a), 'Annual address. The story of the rise of the Sydney University Medical Society' (Library of the Royal Australasian College of Physicians, Sydney)
- (1913b), 'Health and allied matters in New South Wales', reprinted from *A Guide for Immigrants and Settlers*, issued by the Intelligence Department, Sydney (Library of the Royal Australasian College of Physicians, Sydney)
- Tilling, J. (1829), *A General Exposition of the Present State of the Medical Profession in the Metropolis Especially; with a Plan for its Amelioration, Embracing the Question Relative to the Removal of the Existing Obstructions to the Study of Human Anatomy*, Chelsea
- Trollope, Anthony (1876, 3rd edn), *Australia and New Zealand*, vol. 2, Chapman & Hall, London
- Waugh, John (ed.; 1838, 8th edn), 'Preface', pp. 1-11, *Three Years' Practical Experience of a Settler in New South Wales*, John Johnstone, Edinburgh
- Wilks, Samuel (1862), 'Disease of the supra-renal capsules or morbus addisonii', reprinted in Wilks, Samuel (1911), *A Memoir by Sir Samuel Wilks, Bart, MD, LLD, FRS, On the New Discoveries or New Observations made during the time he was a Teacher at Guy's Hospital*, Adlard & Son, London

- (1874), *Lectures on the Specific Fevers and Diseases of the Chest*, reprinted from the *Guy's Hospital Gazette* for the years 1873 and 1874, Guy's Hospital, London
- (1879), *The Harveian Oration*, delivered at the Royal College of Physicians, 26 June
- (1911), *A Memoir by Sir Samuel Wilks, Bart, MD, LLD, FRS, On the New Discoveries or New Observations Made During the Time he was a Teacher at Guy's Hospital*, Adlard & Son, London
- Wilson, Erasmus (1870), *Descriptive Catalogue of the Dermatological Specimens contained in the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons of England*, London

### Newspapers

#### United Kingdom

*Aberdeen Journal*; *Caledonian Mercury*; *Daily Mail*; *Daily News*; *Daily Telegraph*; *Edinburgh Evening Courant*; *Glasgow Herald*; *Guardian*; *Hastings and St Leonards News*; *Leeds Mercury*; *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, Manchester  
*Times*; *Morning Chronicle*; *Morning News*; *Reynold's Newspaper*; *Scotsman*; *Sporting Life*; *The Times*

#### Australia

*Adelaide Observer*; *Advertiser*, Adelaide; *Argus*, Melbourne; *Daily Telegraph*, Sydney; *Mercury*, Hobart; *Register*, Adelaide; *Sydney Morning Herald*; *Tasmanian Times*; *Quiz*, Adelaide

### Parliamentary Papers

#### United Kingdom

Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, 1829, 1831–32, 1842, 1844, 1960, 1961  
House of Commons, 'A Bill for Regulating Schools of Anatomy' (versions  
17 December 1831, 23 January 1832, 27 February 1832, 8 May 1832,  
9 July 1832, 19 July 1832)  
House of Commons, *Report from the Select Committee on Anatomy*, 1828

#### Australia

Hansard's Parliamentary Debates (New South Wales), 1881  
Hansard's Parliamentary Debates (South Australia), 1884, 1903

- House of Assembly (Tasmania), *Hospital Pupils etc., Correspondence*, No. 99, 1873 enquiry
- Legislative Assembly (New South Wales), 'School of Anatomy' (Reports, Minutes, etc), 1884
- Legislative Council (Tasmania), *General Hospital Hobart Town: Report of Select Committee*, 1875
- *General Hospital, Hobart Town: Report of Commission, with evidence*, 1877
- Legislative Council (Victoria), *Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council on the Aborigines; together with the proceedings of committee, minutes of evidence, and appendices*, 1858–9

### Legislation

- An Act for Regulating Schools of Anatomy, 1832 (UK)
- An Act for the Further Amendment of the Laws Relating to the Poor in England, 1844 (UK)
- An Act for Regulating Schools of Anatomy, 1862 (Victoria)
- An Act for Regulating the Practice of Anatomy, 1869 (Tasmania)
- An Act to Authorize the Establishment of Schools of Anatomy and to Regulate the Practice of Anatomy Therein, 1881 (New South Wales)
- An Act to Authorize the Establishment of Schools of Anatomy and to Regulate the Practice of Anatomy Therein, 1884 (South Australia)

### SECONDARY SOURCES

- Alberti, Samuel (2005), 'Objects and the museum', *Isis*, 96, pp. 559–71
- (2005), 'Owning and collecting natural objects in nineteenth-century Britain', pp. 141–54 in M. Beretta (ed.), *From Private to Public: National Collections and Museums*, Science History Publications, New York
- (2007), 'The museum affect: Visiting collections of anatomy and natural history', pp. 371–403, in A. Fyfe & B. Lightman (eds), *Science in the Marketplace: Nineteenth-century Sites and Experiences*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago
- (2009), 'Wax bodies: Art and anatomy in Victorian medical museums', *Museum History Journal*, 2, pp. 7–36

- Anderson, Ian (1993), 'Re-claiming Tru-ger-nan-ner: De-colonising the symbol', *Art Monthly*, 66, pp. 10–14
- Anderson, Robert, Lynch, Michael & Phillipson, Nicholas (2003), *The University of Edinburgh: An Illustrated History*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh
- Anderson, Warwick (2002), *The Cultivation of Whiteness: Science, Health and Racial Destiny in Australia*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton
- Bartrip, P.W.J. (1982), 'British Government inspection, 1832–75: Some observations', *Historical Journal*, 25, pp. 605–26
- (1983), 'State intervention in mid-nineteenth century Britain: Fact or fiction?', *Journal of British Studies*, 23, pp. 63–83
- Berclouw, Marja (2010), 'The travels of Francis Galton', MA thesis, School of Historical Studies, University of Melbourne
- Boyce, James (2008), *Van Diemen's Land*, Black Inc., Melbourne
- Brasier, Angeline (forthcoming), 'Prison or paradise? An investigation into conditions in the Bermudian convict establishment', PhD thesis, School of Historical Studies, University of Melbourne
- Broome, Richard (2005), *Aboriginal Victorians: A History Since 1800*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney
- Buklijas, Tatjana (2008), 'Cultures of death and politics of corpse supply: Anatomy in Vienna, 1848–1914', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 82, pp. 570–607
- Burney, Ian (2000), *Bodies of Evidence: Medicine and the Politics of the English Inquest, 1830–1926*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore
- Burrell, Sean & Gill, Geoffrey (2005), 'The Liverpool cholera epidemic of 1832 and anatomical dissection: Medical mistrust and civil unrest', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 60(4), pp. 478–98
- Cameron, H.C. (1954), *Mr Guy's Hospital 1726–1948*, Longmans, Green & Co., London
- Chaplin, Simon (2008), 'Nature dissected, or dissection naturalized? The case of John Hunter's museum', *Museum and Society*, 6(2), pp. 135–51
- Christiansen, Rupert (2000), *The Visitors: Culture Shock in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, Chatto & Windus, London
- Clark, W.E. Le Gros (2004), 'Keith, Sir Arthur (1866–1955)', rev. Harold Ellis, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/34257>, accessed 10 April 2009

- Cleland, K.W. (1984), 'Anatomy', pp. 266–302 in John Atherton Young, Ann Jervie Sefton & Nina Webb (eds), *Centenary Book of the University of Sydney Faculty of Medicine*, Sydney University Press, Sydney
- Coley, N.G. (2004), 'Wilks, Sir Samuel, baronet (1824–1911)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/36907>, accessed 10 April 2009
- Comrie, John D. (1932, 2nd edn), *History of Scottish Medicine*, vol. 2, Wellcome Historical Medical Museum, London
- Cope, Zachary (1959), *The Royal College of Surgeons of England: A History*, Anthony Blond, London
- Cove, John (1995), *What the Bones Say: Tasmanian Aborigines, Science and Domination*, Carleton University Press, Ottawa
- Crowther, M. Anne (1981), *The Workhouse System 1834–1929: The History of an English Social Institution*, Methuen & Co., London
- Crowther, M. Anne & Dupree, Marguerite (2007), *Medical Lives in the Age of Surgical Revolution*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge
- Cummins, C.J. (2003), *A History of Medical Administration in New South Wales 1788–1973*, New South Wales Department of Health, Sydney
- Denning, Greg (1995), *The Death of William Gooch: A History's Anthropology*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton
- Desmond, Adrian (1989), *The Politics of Evolution: Morphology, Medicine, and Reform in Radical London*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago
- Dingwall, Helen M. (2005), 'A Famous and Flourishing Society': *The History of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh, 1505–2005*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh
- Driver, Felix (1993), *Power and Pauperism: The Workhouse System 1834–1884*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge
- Duncan, W.G.K. & Leonard, Roger (1973), *The University of Adelaide 1874–1974*, Rigby, Adelaide
- Durey, M.J. (1976), 'Bodysnatchers and Benthamites: The implications of the Dead Body Bill for the London schools of anatomy, 1820–42', *London Journal: A Review of Metropolitan Society Past and Present*, 2, pp. 200–25
- Dworkin, Gerald (1970), 'The law relating to organ transplantation in England', *Modern Law Review*, 33(4), pp. 353–77

- Elmslie, Ronald & Nance, Susan (1988), 'Smith, William Ramsay (1859–1937)', pp. 674–5 in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 11, Melbourne University Press, Carlton
- Epps, William (1922), *Anderson Stuart MD: Physiologist, Teacher, Builder, Organizer*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney
- Fforde, Cressida (2004), *Collecting the Dead: Archaeology and the Reburial Issue*, Duckworth, London
- Fraser, Andrew G. (1989), *The Building of Old College: Adam, Playfair and the University of Edinburgh*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh
- Frost, Lucy (2001), 'Displaying Trugernanna', pp. 69–93 in Marion Halligan (ed.), *Storykeepers*, Duffy & Snellgrove, Sydney
- Gattrell, V.A.C. (1994), *The Hanging Tree: Execution and the English People 1770–1868*, Oxford University Press, Oxford
- Griffiths, Tom (1996), *Hunters and Collectors: The Antiquarian Imagination in Australia*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge
- Guerrini, Anita (2003), *Experiments with Humans and Animals: From Galen to Animal Rights*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore
- Hamlin, Christopher (2006), 'William Pulteney Alison, the Scottish philosophy, and the making of a political medicine', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 61(2), pp. 144–86
- Handler, Clive (1976), *Guy's Hospital: 250 Years*, Guy's Hospital Gazette, London
- Harling, Philip (1992), 'The power of persuasion: Central authority, local bureaucracy and the new Poor Law', *English Historical Review*, 1992, 107(422), pp. 30–53
- Home, R. & Kohlstedt, S. (eds; 1991), *International Science and National Scientific Identity*, Kluwer Academic Publishers, Dordrecht
- Hurren, Elizabeth (2004), 'A pauper dead-house: The expansion of the Cambridge Anatomical Teaching School under the Late-Victorian Poor Law, 1870–1914', *Medical History*, 48(1), pp. 69–94
- (2008), 'Whose body is it anyway? Trading the dead poor, coroners' disputes, and the business of anatomy at Oxford University, 1885–1929', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 82(4), pp. 775–819
- Hutton, Fiona (2006), 'The working of the 1832 Anatomy Act in Oxford and Manchester', *Family and Community History*, 9(2), pp. 125–39

- Jacyna, L.S. (1994), *Philosophic Whigs: Medicine, Science and Citizenship in Edinburgh, 1789–1848*, Routledge, London
- Jacyna, L.S. (ed.; 1989), *A Tale of Three Cities: The Correspondence of William Sharpey and Allen Thomson*, Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, London
- Jalland, Pat (2002), *Australian Ways of Death: A Social and Cultural History 1840–1918*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne
- Jones, D. Gareth (1991), 'Bequests, cadavers and dissection: Sketches from New Zealand history', *New Zealand Medical Journal*, 104, pp. 210–12
- (2000), *Speaking for the Dead: Cadavers in Biology and Medicine*, Ashgate, Aldershot
- Jones, Ross (2007), *Humanity's Mirror: 150 Years of Anatomy in Melbourne*, Haddington Press, South Yarra
- Kaufman, Matthew H. (2001), 'Clinical case histories and sketches of gun-shot injuries from the Carlist War', *Journal of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh*, 46(5), pp. 279–89
- (2003), *Medical Teaching in Edinburgh during the 18th and 19th Centuries*, Royal College of Surgeons, Edinburgh
- (2004), 'Transfer of bodies to the University of Edinburgh after the 1832 Anatomy Act', *Journal of the Royal College of Physicians, Edinburgh*, 34(3), pp. 228–36
- (2005), 'Dangerous dissections: The hazard from bodies supplied to Edinburgh anatomists, Winter session, 1848–9', *Journal of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh*, 35(3), pp. 268–74
- Kaufman, Matthew H. & McNeil, Robert (1989), 'Death masks and life masks at Edinburgh University', *British Medical Journal*, 298(6672), pp. 506–7.
- Kenny, Robert (2007), *The Lamb Enters the Dreaming: Nathanael Pepper and the Ruptured World*, Scribe, Melbourne
- Kraft, Alison & Alberti, Sam (2003), "'Equal though different": Laboratories, museums and the institutional development of biology in late Victorian northern England', *Studies in the History and Philosophy of the Biological and Biomedical Sciences*, 34, pp. 203–36
- Law Reform Commission (1977), *Human Tissue Transplants*, Report No. 7, Australian Government Printing Service, Canberra



BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Lawrence, Susan (1995), 'Anatomy and address: Creating medical gentlemen in eighteenth-century London', pp. 199–228 in V. Nutton & R. Porter (eds), *The History of Medical Education in Britain*, Rodopi, Amsterdam
- (1996), *Charitable Knowledge: Hospital Pupils and Practitioners in Eighteenth-Century London*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge
- Lederer, Susan (1995), *Subjected to Science: Human Experimentation in America before the Second World War*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore
- (2008), *Flesh and Blood: Organ Transplantation and Blood Transfusion in Twentieth-Century America*, Oxford University Press, New York
- Logan, C. (2003), *Celebrity Surgeon: Christiaan Barnard—A Life*, Jonathan Ball Publishers, Johannesburg
- MacDonald, Helen (2005), *Human Remains: Episodes in Human Dissection*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton (also published as *Human Remains: Dissection and its Histories*, Yale University Press, London, 2006)
- (2007), 'A scandalous act: Regulating anatomy in a British settler colony', *Social History of Medicine*, 20(1), pp. 39–56
- Macintosh, Ann (ed.; 1988), *Memoirs of Dr Robert Scot Skirving 1859–1956*, Foreland Press, Sydney
- Mallett, Ashley (2002), *The Black Lords of Summer: The Story of the 1868 Aboriginal Tour of England and Beyond*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia
- Metters, Jeremy (2003), *The Isaacs Report: The Investigation of Events that Followed the Death of Cyril Mark Isaacs*, Stationery Office, HM Inspector of Anatomy, London
- Minchen, Hans (1976), 'Stirling, Sir Edward Charles (1848 to 1919)', pp. 200–1 in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 6, Melbourne University Press, Carlton
- Mitchison, Rosalind (2000), *The Old Poor Law in Scotland: The Experience of Poverty, 1574–1845*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh
- Mulvaney, John & Harcourt, Rex (2005; 3rd edn), *Cricket Walkabout: The Australian Aborigines in England*, Macmillan, Melbourne, & Department of Aboriginal Affairs
- Museum Security Mailinglist Report, 4 January 2002, [www.museum-security.org/02/002.html#5](http://www.museum-security.org/02/002.html#5), accessed 27 January 2010

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Nicol, Robert (1989), "A slanderous parson and soaped over pauper women": The ultimate fate of the destitute in colonial South Australia', *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia*, 17, pp. 39–61
- (1994), *At the End of the Road: Government, Society and the Disposal of Human Remains in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney
- Pellew, Jill (1982), *The Home Office 1848–1914: From Clerks to Bureaucrats*, Heinemann Educational Books, London
- Piddock, Susan (2007), *A Space of Their Own: The Archaeology of Nineteenth Century Lunatic Asylums in Britain, South Australia and Tasmania*, Springer, New York
- Playford, J. & Van Den Hoorn, R. (1986), 'The Adelaide Hospital row', pp. 215–25 in D. Jaensch (ed.), *The Flinders History of South Australia: Political History*, Wakefield Press, Adelaide
- Plomley, N.J.B. (1962), 'A list of Tasmanian Aboriginal material in collections in Europe', *Records of the Queen Victoria Museum (Launceston)*, New Series, 15, pp. 1–17
- Poignant, Roslyn (2004), *Professional Savages: Captive Lives and Western Spectacle*, University of New South Wales Press, Sydney
- Rae Ellis, Vivienne (1981; 2nd edn), *Trucanini: Queen or Traitor?* Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra
- Reinarz, Jonathan (2005), 'The age of museum medicine: The rise and fall of the medical museum at Birmingham's School of Medicine', *Social History of Medicine*, 18(3), pp. 419–37
- Richards, Stewart (1986), 'Conan Doyle's "Challenger" unchampioned: William Rutherford, FRS (1839–99) and the origins of practical physiology in Britain', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, 40(2), pp. 193–217
- Richardson, Ruth (1987; 2nd edn 2000), *Death, Dissection and the Destitute*, Penguin, Harmondsworth
- Rimmer, W.G. (1981), *Portrait of a Hospital: The Royal Hobart*, Royal Hobart Hospital, Hobart
- Ripman, Hujohn A. (ed.; 1951), *Guy's Hospital 1725–1948*, for Guy's Hospital Gazette Committee, London
- Roach, Mary (2003), *Stiff: The Curious Life of Human Cadavers*, Penguin, London

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Rosner, Lisa (2009), *The Anatomy Murders*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia
- Roughead, William (ed.; 1948), *Burke and Hare*, William Hodge & Company, London
- Ryan, Lyndall (1996; 2nd edn), *The Aboriginal Tasmanians*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia
- (1997), 'The struggle for Trukanini 1830–1997', *Tasmanian Historical Research Association Papers and Proceedings*, 44(3), pp. 153–73
- Sampson, David (2000), 'Strangers in a strange land: The 1868 Aborigines and other indigenous performers in mid-Victorian Britain', PhD dissertation, University of Technology, Sydney
- Sappol, Michael (2002), *A Traffic of Dead Bodies: Anatomy and Embodied Social Identity in Nineteenth-Century America*, Princeton University Press, Princeton
- Scott Bray, Rebecca (2006), 'Fugitive performances of death and injury', *Law Text Culture*, 10, pp. 41–71
- Stevenson, Anna (2004), 'An obscure personality called William Roberts: The later history of the Anatomy Act of 1832', BSc thesis, History of Medicine, University of London
- Strange, Julie-Marie (2005), *Death, Grief and Poverty in Britain, c. 1870 to 1914*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge
- Taylor, Rebe (2002), *Unearthed: The Aboriginal Tasmanians of King Island*, Wakefield Press, Adelaide, SA
- Turnbull, Paul (1991), 'Science, national identity and Aboriginal body snatching in nineteenth century Australia', *Working Papers in Australian Studies*, 65, London, Sir Robert Menzies Centre for Australian Studies, University of London
- (1993), 'Ancestors, not specimens: Reflections on the controversy over the remains of Aboriginal people in European scientific collections', pp. 11–35 in Riddiford, Ken, Wilson, Eric, & Wright, Barry (eds), *Contemporary Issues in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies: 4, Proceedings of the Fourth National Conference*, College of Technical and Further Education, Cairns
- Turner, A. Logan (1919), *Sir William Turner: A Chapter in Medical History*, William Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- (1937), *The Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh 1729–1929: Story of a Great Hospital*, Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh
- Waddington, Keir (2000), *Charity and the London Hospitals, 1850–1898*, Boydell Press, New York
- (2002), 'Mayhem and medical students: Image, conduct, and control in the Victorian and Edwardian London teaching hospital', *Social History of Medicine*, 15(1), pp. 45–64
- Warner, John Harley & Edmonson, James M. (2009), *Dissection: Photographs of a Rite of Passage in American Medicine, 1880–1930*, Blast Books, New York
- Warner, John Harley & Rizzolo, Lawrence J. (2006), 'Anatomical instruction and training for professionalism from the 19th to the 21st centuries', *Clinical Anatomy*, 19(5), pp. 403–14
- Whimpress, Bernard (1999), *Passport to Nowhere: Aborigines in Australian Cricket 1850–1939*, Walla Walla Press, Sydney
- Wise, Sarah (2004), *The Italian Boy: Murder and Grave-Robbery in 1830s London*, Jonathan Cape, London
- Young, John Atherton (1984), 'Second act: The medical school 1882–1889', pp. 102–70 in Young, John Atherton, Sefton, Ann Jervie & Webb, Nina (eds), *Centenary Book of the University of Sydney Faculty of Medicine*, Sydney University Press, Sydney



London, 1868: visiting Australian Aboriginal cricketer Charles Rose has died in Guy's Hospital. What happened next is shrouded in mystery. The only certainty is that Charles Rose's body did not go directly to a grave.

Written with clarity and verve, and drawing on a rich array of material, *Possessing the Dead* explores the disturbing history of the cadaver trade in Scotland, England and Australia, where laws once gave certain officials possession of the dead, and no corpse lying in a workhouse, hospital, asylum or gaol was entirely safe from interference.

With a rare blend of curiosity, delight in the unexpected and an eye for detail, award-winning historian Helen MacDonald brings to life this gruesome past to reveal the chicanery at play behind the procuring of bodies for dissections, autopsies and collections.

Helen MacDonald is the author of the critically acclaimed *Human Remains*, which won the Victorian Premier's Literary Award (History) and was short listed for the Ernest Scott History Prize. She is a Senior Fellow at The Australian Centre in the School of Historical Studies at the University of Melbourne.

MELBOURNE UNIVERSITY PRESS

An imprint of Melbourne University Publishing Limited  
www.mup.com.au

Cover design by Pfisterer + Freeman  
Cover photographs: Dod Miller/Getty Images (front); Guy's Hospital, London,  
[from a drawing by William Hyde], Images from The History of Medicine  
digital collection, National Library of Medicine, USA (above).

ISBN 978-0-522-85735-1



9 780522 857351