Historical deconstruction and re-creation by narrative illustration, evoking the multiplicity of unheard narratives within historical experience

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In this interdisciplinary practice-research project, I use drawing to interrogate historical theory and to evoke a multiplicity of potential historical narratives. I also use drawing to interrogate and challenge traditionally established assumptions about the practice of history, such as the adequacy of written language to represent the past, or the idea that historians should be objective and detached. To do this, I use an historical case study as a vehicle for my experiments: William Shaw's Bowes Academy, 1814-1840.

I distinguish between drawing (as a research method) and illustration (as a way of visually communicating an idea). In my work, I use drawing to discover, interpret, describe, interrogate, express, and process ideas, and the understandings that I create based on traces of the past. I use illustration to communicate my ideas for a broader audience, with the aim of encouraging them to explore and manipulate their interpretations of my images in order to create their own narratives, as historians would explore and manipulate their interpretations of traces of the past to create narratives.

Positioning myself as a deconstructionist historian, based on Munslow and Jenkins' categorisation of historical genres, I understand that there can be no final or single 'true' story, and that we can never know everything. I also advocate the distinction between the past (as that which is gone) and history (as ideas communicated about the past). I do not believe that the past can be adequately represented using language of any kind (visual or verbal), and, rather than supporting distanced and impersonal impartiality, I actively draw attention to my own subjectivity and presence in my work.

I present my thesis using integrated drawn and written elements, designed to be 'read' together to build a broader and more nuanced understanding of my project and the ideas that I explore in my work.

I declare that the work in this thesis was carried out in accordance with the regulations of the University of Gloucestershire and is original except where indicated by specific reference in the text. No part of the thesis has been submitted as part of any other academic award. The thesis has not been presented to any other education institution in the United Kingdom or overseas.

Any views expressed in the thesis are those of its creator and in no way represent those of the University.



Edmund Barrett, 10 May 2024

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Huge thanks and massive respect to my three excellent supervisors: Dr Katie Forrester, Professor Melanie Ilič, and Kieren Phelps. The best team to ever supervise a PhD, never mind a weird interdisciplinary practice-research one like this. I cannot adequately express (in images or words) how much your support and advice means to me.

I also want to thank those at the University of Gloucestershire who have facilitated and encouraged me, who have taken an interest, answered emails, had meetings, dealt with procedures, set up events, asked questions, and helped in a thousand other ways. Special mention to those in the Illustration and History departments.

Also thanks to my friends, my teammates from Pound, my therapist, all at CDHAS, and everyone else who's had to put up with my ecstatic cries and disconsolate groans on subjects including dead schoolmasters' dramas and the numerous entertainments of historical theory.

My deepest gratitude goes to my parents, who have seen, at close quarters, some of the fun side-effects of doing a PhD.

Onward!

Contents

Introduction 7

Chapter 1 - Methodology 44

Chapter 2 - Comics, Drawing, and History 81

Chapter 3 - Case Study: William Shaw's Bowes Academy, 1814-1840 110

Chapter 4 - The Created Nature of History 134

Chapter 5 - Decontextualisation and Recontextualisation 163

Chapter 6 - Voicelessness 212

Conclusion 240

Appendix 1 - Words Associated with the Historical Sublime 252

Appendix 2 - Images in this Thesis 255

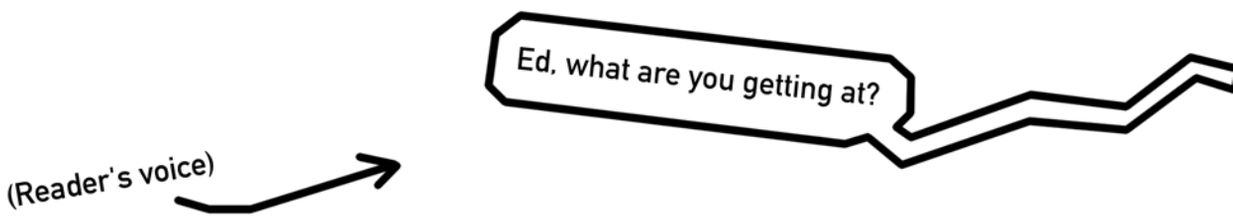
Appendix 3 - More of my Work 260

Bibliography 261

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Introduction

In this thesis, I aim to put forward that illustration, primarily drawing-based, can be used as a research method for history. I use drawing as a method of evoking multiple potential narratives and lost voices, using an historical case study as a vehicle, and I propose that drawn methods can be used to interrogate and challenge traditionally established assumptions about the practice of history.



Over the duration of my PhD, I have intended to combine methods and strategies from my home discipline, Illustration, with theories and a case study from my additional discipline, History. In this work, I want to show that illustration (specifically my illustration practice) can be used as a research method for history, taking it further than the expected and traditional usage of reconstruction drawing and decorative or supportive imagery (valuable as those are), and into new areas.[1] To do this, I use drawing-based methods to interrogate and explore historical theory, historical practice, and ideas about historiographical narrative; I also want to develop my interpretations of a specific historical case study.[2]

I designed this thesis to be read integrally: the practical element and the written element are essential to each other. The images in this document are

not an extra ingredient, something of secondary importance, intended to endorse or enhance the writing - they are of vital significance to a full comprehension of the thesis. This is in accordance with one of my central arguments: that interdisciplinarity facilitates more innovative and potentially groundbreaking research (in this instance, allowing me to interrogate aspects of both of my disciplines using an original approach), and that the blending of disciplines and practices results in new insights and fresh ways of thinking.

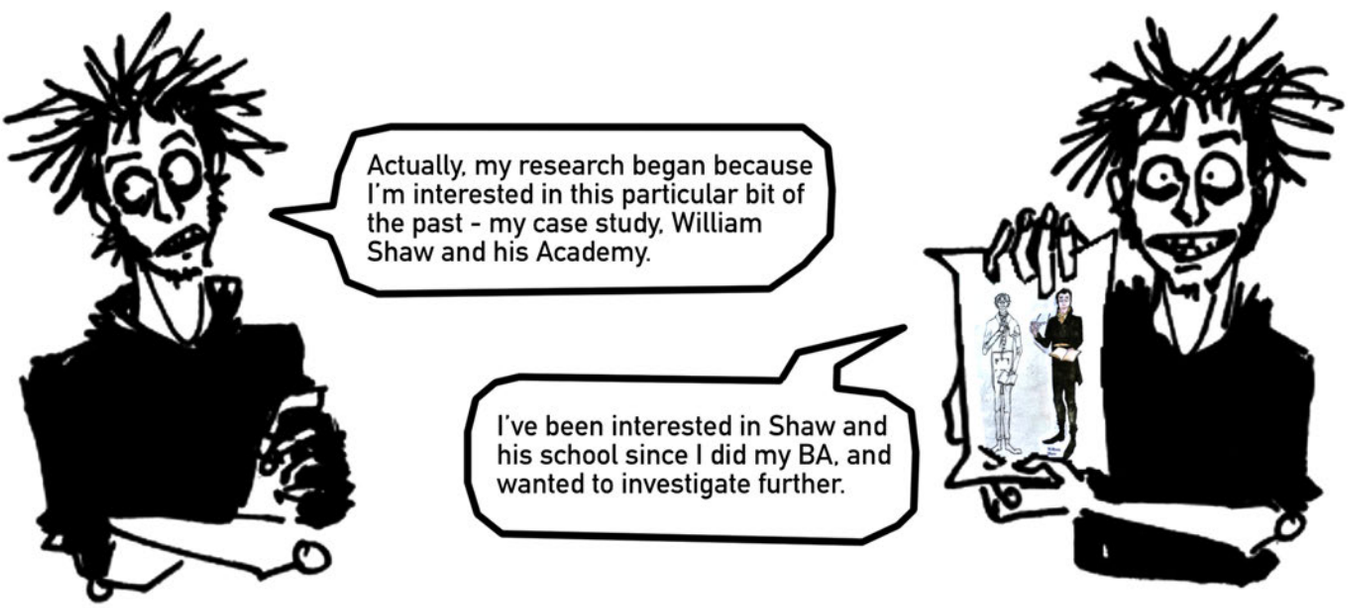
AIMS

In this project, I integrate drawing-based practices and strategies from Illustration with practices and theoretical aspects from History, in order to demonstrate that drawing can be used as a research method for history. I encourage researchers (historians, illustrators, and other practitioners, whether academic, amateur, or from another background) to use drawing as a way of exploring the vast potential of lost narratives within historical experience. Similarly, I encourage other researchers to borrow or adapt the methods I use, and to apply those (or their own interpretations) to their own work, in order to generate broader understandings of their own disciplines and those disciplines' associated narratives (extant or lost).

I used this project to investigate three things. My first aim is to explore the ways in which strategies from Illustration can be used to reveal deeper understandings of historical contexts, by evoking a sense of the experiences of multiple participants and observers in historical events. My second aim is to use illustration and its methods to interrogate traditional historiographical

practices and concepts; in my original research proposal, I suggested the prioritisation of words over images in the communication of history as an example of one of those traditional practices, and claims towards objectivity as a concept that I would like to interrogate. My third aim is to demonstrate an interdisciplinary methodology with the intention of enriching understandings of a variety of historical perspectives.

As I went on, my research increasingly focused on historiography - the theory and practice of the discipline - with specific reference to deconstructionist history, which I explore further on pp.30-32 of this thesis.[3] As a practitioner, I am simultaneously a deconstructionist historian and an illustrator.



My research is an experimental attempt at demonstrating new practices, grounded in two disciplines, in order to interrogate and experiment with historical practice and theory, and with narrative interpretations of past events. I define drawing as a research method, a way of thinking that can be distinguished from illustration, which is primarily communicative; I explore

these definitions and the uses of these practices further later in this thesis (pp.57-63). Drawing is not usually used in an interrogative capacity in the practice of history, and most illustrators (with the exception of reconstruction artists, archaeological illustrators, and a few illustrator-researchers such as Leah Fusco and Eleanor Houghton) rarely conduct research with the rigour of historians.[4] In addition, most illustrators (and some historians) are unlikely to take an interest in the theoretical and practical aspects of history.

I define illustration as the visual communication of ideas; ideas which have often been engaged with and explored using drawing, prior to the creation of the final illustration. Illustrator Darrel Rees pointed out the "presumption that drawing and illustration are one and the same thing is a common misconception", adding that "good drawing does not necessarily make a good illustrator", and exploring the relationship between drawing and illustrating in his own practice, in which he claimed that, for him, "drawing had probably always been about observing, rather than about narrating or communicating".[5] In my practice, I use drawing-based illustration to communicate narratives.

Archaeologists Colleen Morgan and Holly Wright discussed the importance of drawing to understand and explore (although sometimes appearing to conflate 'drawing' with 'illustration'), mentioned changing attitudes in archaeology regarding "the information that the illustrator was trying to convey through drawings, and in the relative importance placed on communication through illustration", and described "published illustrations" as "a final product, meant to communicate specific archaeological interpretations to a wider audience."[6] Sonya Petersson focussed on illustration that functions with (and against) another form of media, such as the words in a book, and noted that the conventional understanding of illustration is as "a mere follower

of a textual source *and* a confirmation of its deviance from that source" in contrast to the illustration's "foremost quality [which] is to expose, by virtue of its medial otherness, what the text does not say".[7] All of these thinkers refer to illustration's ability to communicate information and ideas visually, including that which could not necessarily be communicated using words.

History is what historians make of past events (narratives, analyses, and so on, usually made from the historian's evidence-based engagement with traces of the past, and influenced by an interpretive framework, along with that particular researcher's context and mentality) and what they communicate to their audience; history is distinct from the past, which is all that has gone before and that is no longer accessible. In his glossary for *Narrative and History*, Alun Munslow defined history as a "narrative representation intended to provide a coherent and ordered body of explanations and meanings about the past produced by the historian", while in *Deconstructing History,* he said that "like literature, *the past* and *written history* are not the same thing. … history is best viewed epistemologically as a form of literature producing knowledge as much by its aesthetic or narrative structure as by any other criteria".[8] Other historians, such as John Tosh, have noted that history has "two meanings in common parlance. It refers both to what actually happened in the past and to the representation of that past in the work of historians."[9] Tosh's explanation focuses on the popular understanding of history, 'in common parlance', rather than Munslow's understanding of the need to split history (being what historians do and make) from the past (being that which is no longer accessible). I consider the latter to be more nuanced and thought-provoking than the 'common parlance' understanding of history.

The term 'historiography' can be given a number of definitions: the creation of histories by historians (traditionally the writing of histories); the

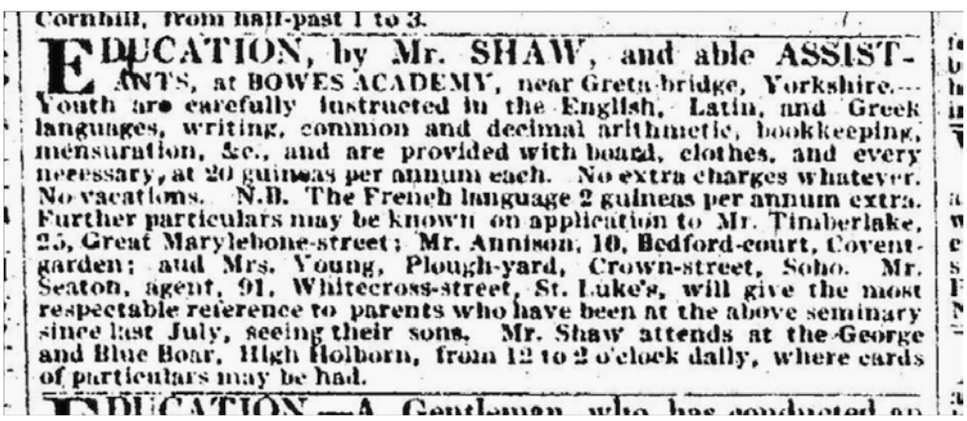
rigorous study of the communication of history and of what historians make; the theoretical aspects of the practice of history; or the artefacts of history-communication (such as books, films, articles, comics, events, and so on) surrounding a specific historical topic.[10] Munslow described historiography as "what we write about the past in order to understand it".[11] Ludmilla Jordanova acknowledged the focus on writing, but made her definition more open, saying that historiography is "the writing of history and the study of historical writings. More broadly an awareness of different ways of doing history".[12] Kenneth R. Stunkel defined historiography as "distinct bodies of historical inquiry and writing … and how such works have been researched, written, used, and passed on in different times and places" and that the "practice of history has its own history (another meaning of historiography) with many players and points of view"; he also notes that historiography (presumably in the sense of a range of what historians have made) is understood by postmodern theorists, such as Hayden White and Roland Barthes, as a kind of fiction, not referring or corresponding to the actuality of the past.[13]

In my research, historiography (which I understand as a broad term encompassing how historians do what they do) provides an accumulation of procedures, concepts, strategies, ways of thinking, and other theoretical matter that can be used to inform drawings and the production of illustrations.[14]

History, according to Richard J. Evans, has "profited immeasurably from the invasions of neighbouring disciplines".[15] In my work, I intend to show that Illustration and History can 'profit' from each other.

In this section, I provide an overview of my case study, literature relating to it, and relevant visual practitioners. I will introduce some relevant historical theorists here, and I will explore my case study in greater depth in Chapter 3.

The Yorkshire schools were made infamous by Charles Dickens in *The Life and Adventures of Nicholas Nickleby* (originally published episodically 1838-9, published as a complete novel 1839). These schools mainly operated between c.1750 to c.1850, with some in existence beyond these dates; while other boarding schools were available across the country, the Yorkshire variety


Cornhill, from half-past 1 to 3.

EDUCATION, by Mr. SHAW, and able ASSISTANTS, at BOWES ACADEMY, near Greta-bridge, Yorkshire.—Youth are carefully instructed in the English, Latin, and Greek languages, writing, common and decimal arithmetic, bookkeeping, mensuration, &c., and are provided with board, clothes, and every necessary, at 20 guineas per annum each. No extra charges whatever. No vacations. N.B. The French language 2 guineas per annum extra. Further particulars may be known on application to Mr. Timberlake, 25, Great Marylebone-street; Mr. Annison, 10, Bedford-court, Covent-garden; and Mrs. Young, Plough-yard, Crown-street, Soho. Mr. Seaton, agent, 91, Whitecross-street, St. Luke's, will give the most respectable reference to parents who have been at the above seminary since last July, seeing their sons. Mr. Shaw attends at the George and Blue Boar, High Holborn, from 12 to 2 o'clock daily, where cards of particulars may be had.

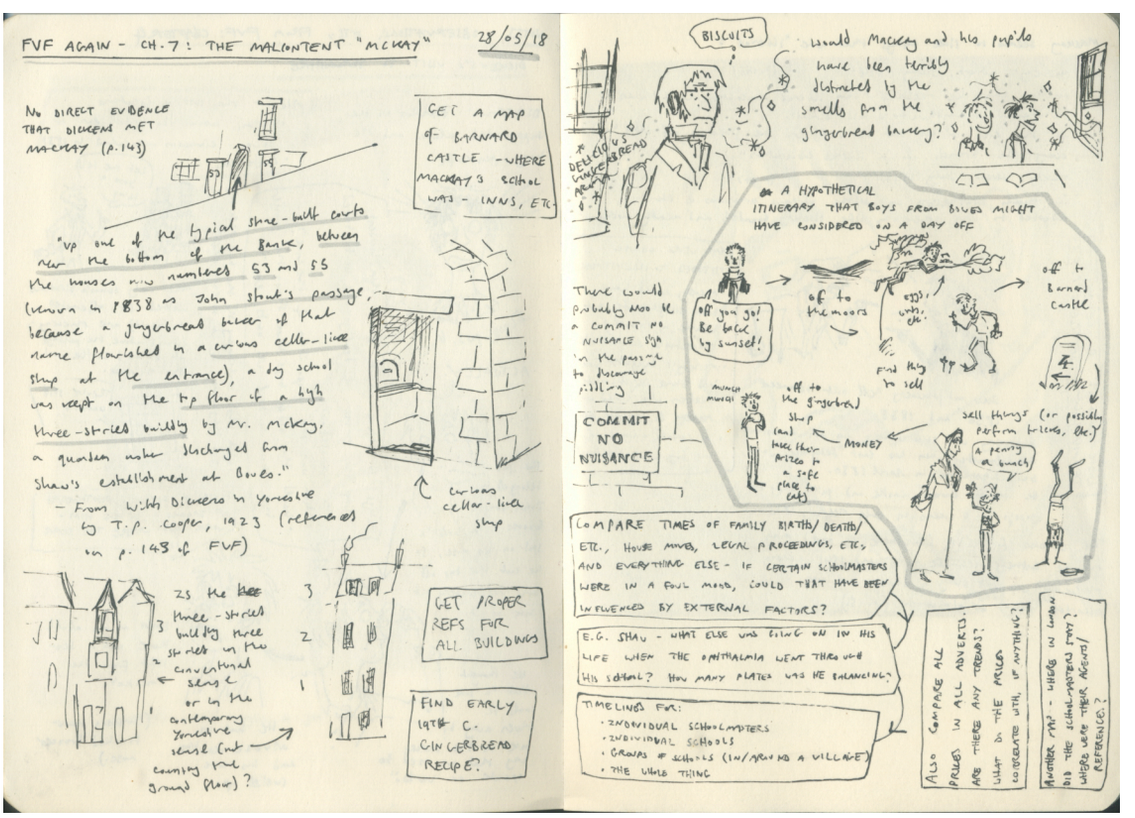
EDUCATION.—A Gentleman who has conducted an

William Shaw's advert in *The Times*, 4 January 1823

became the most notorious for their relatively cheap fees and allegedly insalubrious conditions. Their target market was middle-class parents in cities, hoping to acquire a reasonably priced education for their offspring; the majority of the pupils were boys, although a few schools existed for girls. The focus of my case study, William Shaw's Bowes Academy, was at the epicentre of the geographical area where most of the Yorkshire schools were based (mainly in and around Teesdale), operating when these schools were at the height of their popularity; Shaw became the sole proprietor in 1814, and closed the establishment in 1840. I chose Shaw's Academy as my case study, with particular reference to social relations within the Academy and its

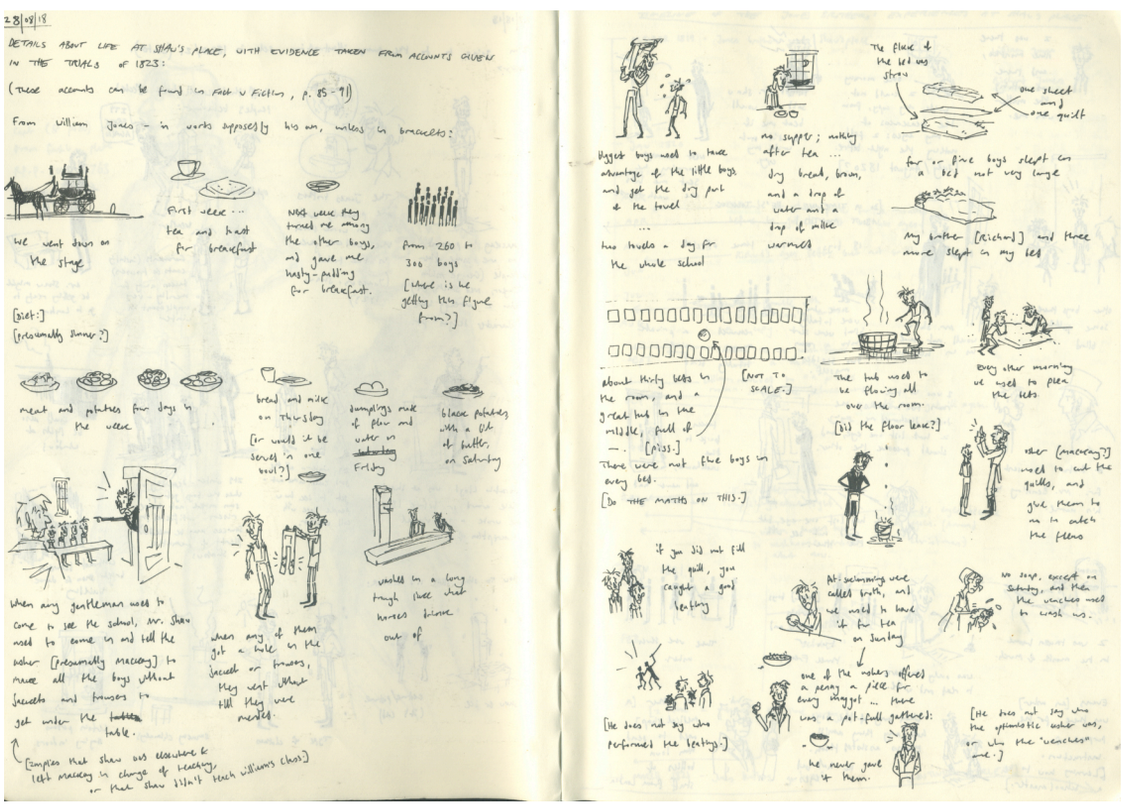
associated communities. I had already done some work on this topic in 2014-15, and wished to revisit it, being interested to explore the subject deeper, and also to see how my interpretations and my approach to research had changed.[16]

The most comprehensive book to cover my case study is Robert J. Kirkpatrick's *Charles Dickens, Nicholas Nickleby and the Yorkshire Schools: Fact v Fiction* (2017). Kirkpatrick began by contextualising the Yorkshire schools, comparing them to other contemporary and earlier educational establishments, and explaining their significance in regard to Dickens's *Nicholas Nickleby*, which helped to cement their notorious reputation. He devoted a chapter to Shaw's Academy, and included subsequent chapters on



immediately relevant topics, including one on Shaw's head usher (his main assistant), and on other schools in Bowes. Throughout the rest of the book, he discussed other Yorkshire boarding schools, including many operating at the

time of Shaw's Academy. He concluded with further exploration of the *Nickleby* effect, more contextualising matter relating to other schools, and a refutation of the popular assertion that the Yorkshire schools were perpetually dreadful, arguing that, while conditions "left a lot to be desired", "some of these schools were better than others".[17] He also presented a standpoint critical of Dickens's view of the Yorkshire schools as hellish depositories for unwanted children, and supportive of the lambasted Shaw. Kirkpatrick's study contains a broad range of first- and second-hand accounts quoted in the text, including a number of letters and a proliferation of schoolmasters'



advertisements, to which I responded by drawing my interpretations of them in my sketchbooks, and using these drawings as a point of departure for further ideas.

Other books that cover the Yorkshire schools include T. P. Cooper's *With Dickens in Yorkshire* (1924), J. Keith Proud's *Charles Dickens in Teesdale: The Story of Nicholas Nickleby and the Yorkshire Schools* (1983), and Alan

Wilkinson's *Dotheboys and Beyond: the Yorkshire Schools and their place in the history of education* (2012). None of these are as exhaustive as Kirkpatrick's *Fact v Fiction*, and, rather than prioritising primary evidence relating to the schools (such as schoolmasters' adverts, accounts from ex-pupils, etc.), they tended to focus on Dickens's involvement with the popular perception of the Yorkshire schools.[18] The majority of primary sources are presented through a Dickensian lens, often juxtaposed with extracts from the novel, and their overall narratives are concerned with the termination of the Yorkshire schools, citing Dickens as the catalyst for this change. Thematically, these three books focussed on education, care and neglect, health and disease, and living conditions within the institutions under study; regarding less obvious themes, they dealt briefly with transport, and Wilkinson discussed leisure.

Cooper's *With Dickens in Yorkshire* (covering not only Dickens and Phiz's investigations around Teesdale, but including other locations in Yorkshire) was illustrated by E. Ridsdale Tate, whose images were based on "original sketches, photographs specially taken, and authentic old prints".[19] Throughout his account, Cooper visibly favoured Dickens, emphasising the social good done by the author in causing the Yorkshire schools to close.[20] By contrast, Cooper portrayed William Shaw as "a crafty and unprincipled London schemer", used extracts from descriptions of Dotheboys Hall in *Nicholas Nickleby* to describe Shaw's Academy, and, after an extract of William Jones's evidence in the 1823 Jones vs Shaw trial, decided that "it cannot reasonably be said that the presentment of 'Dotheboys' is exaggerated or preposterous"; however, Cooper also said that Shaw should not be the only schoolmaster tarred with the brush of Dotheboys, and that, in light of the opinions of Shaw's neighbours and former pupils, he "possessed certain redeeming qualities and

was by no means the vilest of his profession".[21] In spite of this, Cooper's interpretations of William Shaw and his school were predominantly negative.

Proud's *Charles Dickens in Teesdale* appeared ostensibly in favour of Dickens, but later asserted that he treated the Yorkshire schools "in a ruthless manner", and asked why Dickens was willing to depict Shaw as "a contemptible rogue not fit to exist alongside respectable human beings" based on less-than-substantial evidence; he then claimed that much of Dickens's characterisation of Shaw (as Squeers) was likely to have been based on the opinions of "McKay, the master dismissed by Shaw".[22] Proud stated that "I have tried not to assign blame or pronounce guilt", and advised that "we must be very careful of assigning to William Shaw an amalgum [sic] of wrongs perpetrated in the dozen or so schools in the area" but that the issue "will no doubt continue to be debated for many more years".[23] However, there is not much original work in this book: Proud generalised the Yorkshire schools with descriptions based on his reading of *Nicholas Nickleby*, quoted sizeable passages from Dickens (in addition to a number of first- and second-hand accounts, letters, advertisements, and so on) and evidently relied heavily on Cooper's *With Dickens in Yorkshire*.[24]

Wilkinson's *Dotheboys and Beyond* exhibited a tendency to deal with Shaw briefly and carefully, his strongest view being that the schoolmaster was "by no means the semi-literate man whom Dickens depicts as Wackford Squeers", and references to Shaw and his Academy are buried among accounts of many other schools, local and otherwise.[25] Wilkinson had a generally positive view of Dickens (the book was produced to mark the bicentenary of his birth, under the auspices of the Dickens in Teesdale group), and also appeared to rely on Cooper, particularly in claiming that Dickens succeeded in causing the closure of all the cheap boarding schools in

Yorkshire.[26]

Some visual examples that affected my research include Louis Netter and Oliver Gruner's article 'Steal This History!', which graphically experiments with how history can be communicated. I also look to Kate Beaton's *Hark! A Vagrant* comics, and Jonathan Walker's *Pistols! Treason! Murder!* (illustrated by Dan Hallett), which reflexively incorporate the presence of the creators. In part of my work, I utilise the multiple interpretive possibilities of traditional Tarot cards. I also considered the work of reconstruction artists such as Alan Sorrell, and the costume drawings of Nancy Bradfield, as used to interrogate material artefacts and traces of the past, and to communicate ideas about them, often for the benefit of other researchers. I take a strong interest in the works of William Blake, blending images and words, and providing concepts that I use in my work. I also find that my work is impacted by my own constantly developing sketchbook practice.

Netter and Gruner described 'Steal This History!' as "[a] comic book, a graphic research paper, an experiment in image and text" and as "an experimental account … where historical events intersect with, and are interrupted by, poetic imagery and metaphor", taking a "[p]layful and reflexive" stance towards their work, emphasising the non-objectivity of the researchers, the use of their imaginations, and the importance of multiple narratives; all of which makes 'Steal This History!' significant to my project.[27] Beaton's *Hark! A Vagrant* webcomics imaginatively explore a wide range of historical topics with (frequently irreverent) humour, which has had an important effect on my own work, as her sense of humour is similar to mine. Her characters often speak in informal language and internet colloquialisms, which can be seen as drawing attention to the creator's own context, and her jokes sometimes rely on non sequiturs and the unexpected, which I would interpret in light of the surprising



Gettysburg, Kate Beaton, no date

(and sublime) aspects of history.[28]

In *Pistols! Treason! Murder!*, Walker and illustrator Dan Hallett use illustrations, scripted by Walker, to explore different interpretations of aspects of Walker's case study.[29] Walker himself appears in the illustrations (as does Hallett, once) and the historian even converses with people from his case study; some of the illustrations engage with the experimental nature of this work.[30] Walker also wrote the article 'Antonio Foscarini in the City of Crossed Destinies', in which he used Tarot cards to explore a number of possible interpretations of some of the events he studies; this example gave me the impetus for utilising seventeenth and eighteenth century woodcut Tarot cards as a model in my work.[31] As I am interested in multiple interpretations, the Tarot provides a useful template for this: the illustration on each card traditionally symbolises a variety of understandings, which can be enriched by the reader of the cards and the recipient of the reading.

The work of reconstruction artists is used to explore and communicate ideas; for instance, illustrator Peter Dunn drew several different ways of

interpreting postholes at Durrington south timber circle, which generated discussion among the archaeological team, and, in the 1950s, Alan Sorrell helped the Department of Ancient Monuments to engage the “growing public enthusiasm for the past”.[32] Reconstruction artists also understand the importance of drawing as a way of thinking - for example, Stephen Biesty, an illustrator known for his lively and accurate cutaways of historical buildings, “explains how by drawing you can better understand how things are constructed, and you can uncover layers of accumulated history”.[33] Bradfield drew highly detailed explorations of extant clothing in National Trust collections, from her own observation, providing herself (and later researchers) with references; she also compared some of the garments with contemporary images, and drew her own evidence-based interpretations of how the articles are likely to have been worn.[34]

I am fascinated by Blake’s work, which he created around the time when the people I investigate were active; by including references to thinkers contemporary with my case study, I can add deeper levels of interpretation to

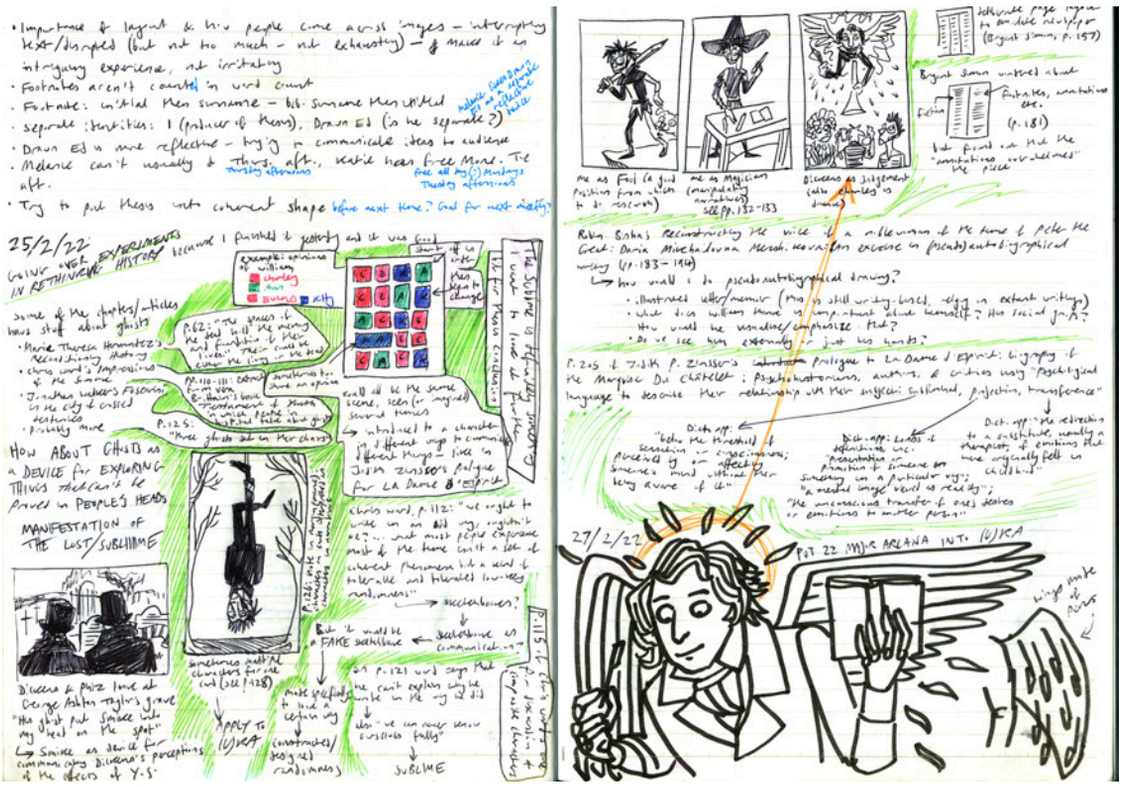


The Good and Evil Angels, William Blake, 1795-c.1805

my work, encouraging the viewer to seek (and make) external connections. Some of the concepts Blake used (such as the contrasting concepts of Reason and the Imagination) resulted in profitable explorations of ideas in my sketchbooks, particularly with regard to character design, which I discuss later in this thesis.[35] Blake's conception of Reason and the Imagination as opposites also informed my general approach to my work, particularly in the earlier phase of my PhD, and in my understandings of the positions taken by historians - in my interpretation, more traditional historical practitioners may be aligned with Reason, while experimentalists (such as myself) develop creative practical work using the Imagination. Blake's use of images and words as part of the same integrated method of communication also resonates with my work. Morris Eaves described him as "maker of words, maker of images, and crossbreeder of both", while Saree Makdisi said that "Blake's work pushes us to question whatever conventions might govern the ways we associate words and images, and even what we think of the nature of words, images, and narrative itself".[36] This suggests the potential for exciting new ways of exploring and communicating historical narratives.

My sketchbooks are where I work out and develop most of my ideas. I can also use them as a record of how my thinking changes as the project moves on. While my practice tends to change over time - my frequently varying preferences for media, line, visual language, and so on - my use of sketchbooks remains constant. I include the sketchbooks I have used for my PhD research as part of my submission.

Other influences include the novels of W. G. Sebald (particularly his use of images), Robert A. Rosenstone's *Mirror in the Shrine*, and a variety of articles from the journal *Rethinking History*. Sebald typically dealt with memory and the past in his narratives, and interspersed them with (sometimes



enigmatic) photographs, often inserting them in the middle of paragraphs; these images can be understood as digressive and complex, providing alternative narrative interpretations for the reader to unravel. Ann Rigney praised Sebald as a good example of the use of "'immersivity' (the characteristic of getting lost in a story) and 'interactivity' (reflection on the constructedness of the story)".[37] In his experimental approach to history-writing, Rosenstone used film-inspired techniques in *Mirror in the Shrine* (1988) to break through some of the limitations of the "traditional way of writing" history in order to depict his characters and their "world" more evocatively.[38] *Rethinking History* journal encourages historians "to experiment with new ways of presenting and interpreting history"; on its publisher's website, the editors expressed a desire for "innovation … and the courage to try out things that can seem strange", "questioning the boundaries of how we study the past", and learning from unexpected practitioners and "striking out in new directions".[39] These practitioners are highly appropriate to my interest in

experimentation and interdisciplinarity, and my intention to encourage an audience to engage in different ways with historical narratives.

I can categorise the primary sources I used as either directly or indirectly linked to my case study. Those immediately relating to my case study include contemporary newspapers (featuring adverts for Bowes Academy, and reports of the ophthalmia trials of 1823), letters, trade directories, the Bowes Parish Register, local buildings and gravestones, and various documents such as wills.[40] Primary sources not directly related to my case study include artefacts in museums, extant costume, educational publications such as teaching manuals and 'tutor's assistants', and items classed among visual and material culture.

Secondary sources directly relevant to my case study include Kirkpatrick's *Fact v Fiction*, Wilkinson's *Dotheboys and Beyond*, Proud's *Charles Dickens in Teesdale*, and Cooper's *With Dickens in Yorkshire*. As *Fact v Fiction* is the most comprehensive of these, I mainly focus my attention on that publication.

My critical approach is informed by Munslow's ideas about



Once I really got going, I found out that the historiographical side of things was particularly good - I was reading theory and enjoying playing with that theory in my drawings.

deconstructionist history, current debate around practice-research and drawing as research, and my fondness for gaps and lost voices and unknown

parts of the past. This last aspect has informed my practice since my undergraduate degree; gaps are excellent opportunities for illustrators and other practitioners to exercise the imagination and suggest new or previously unconsidered narratives. During my PhD research, I found that there is a term that can be applied to these ‘gaps’ - the historical sublime, which is the chaotic, disruptive, ambiguous element in history - and that apparently the majority of historians regard the historical sublime with suspicion and distaste. I explore the historical sublime in greater depth in the conclusion, on pp.242-243 and pp.248-249, and in Appendix 1, pp.253-255.

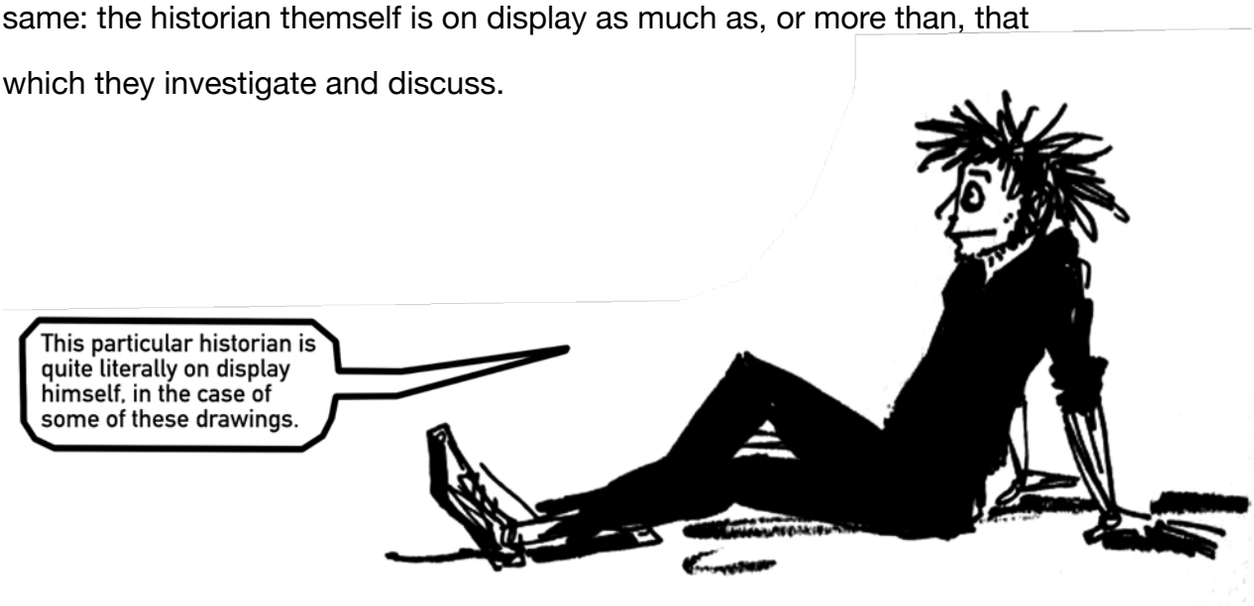
METHODOLOGY

My methodology combines some of the strategies of the practice of Illustration, with some theoretical and practical components from the discipline of History. Devices from the discipline of Illustration include (but are not limited to) characterisation, gesture, scale, colour, timing, and similar considerations. Historiographical concerns include (for example) the presence of the researcher, archive practice, interrogation and interpretation of traces of the past, and objectivity and subjectivity. I use illustration to question and explore some facets of historiography, while also showing that illustration could be used to conduct historical research through the use of a specific case study. The case study itself acts as a vehicle for experimenting with my methodology.

In my work, I do not seek totally accurate reconstruction, and I do not purport to present a solidly factual reconstructionist understanding of my case study. Instead, I take a deconstructionist approach to history and historiography through my illustration practice, and I intend to evoke an

atmosphere of what the experiences I depict may have been like for the people involved. I do not aim to portray their settings as materially complete, filled with heavily referenced and cited objects. Due to my own personal experience of the world, some aspects of my characters' thinking might seem out of place to another researcher - but this becomes an invitation to that other researcher to produce their own interpretation.

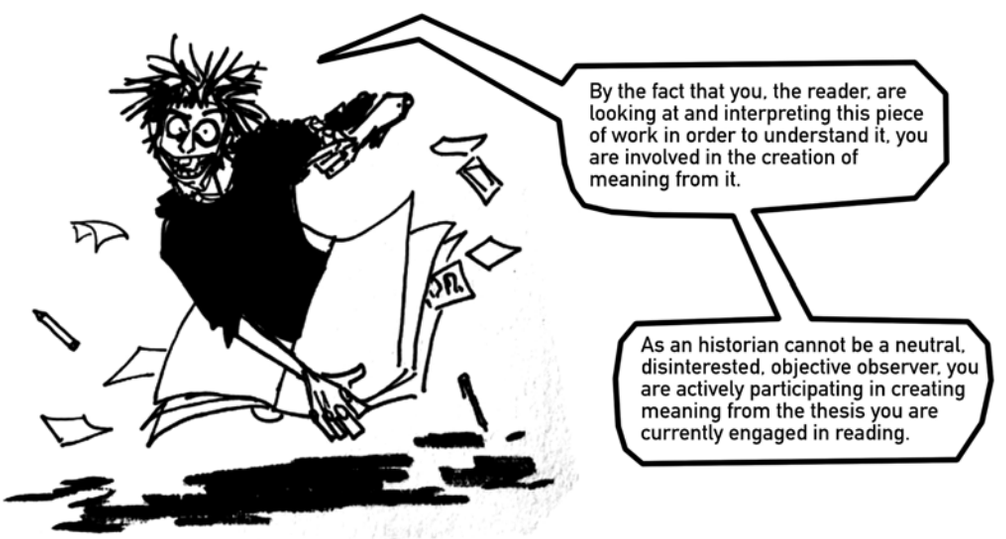
My drawn approach gives an insight into the contents of my own experiences and viewpoints, informed by my research interests and personal contexts, more than the possible thoughts of the people in my case study, but it could be argued that any piece of history-communication does exactly the same: the historian themself is on display as much as, or more than, that which they investigate and discuss.



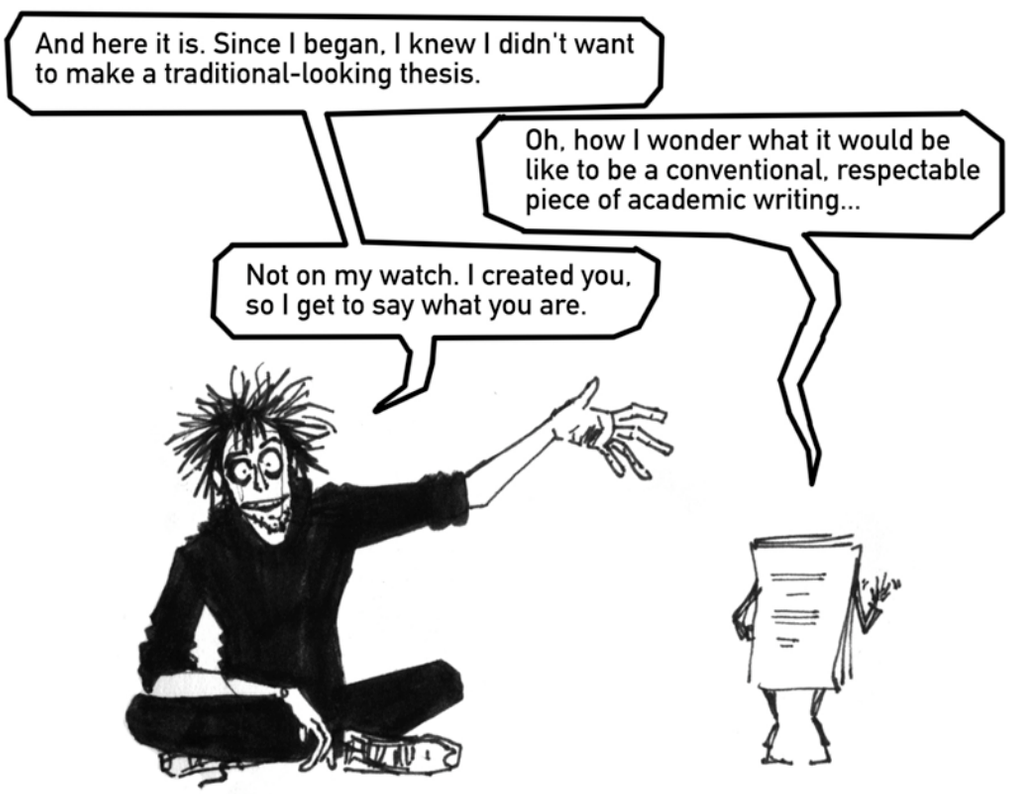
I prefer the term 'history-communication' as it is a broader and more inclusive term than the traditional and logocentric 'history-writing'; it can be performed by a greater range of practitioners involving more (inter)disciplinary approaches, and it encompasses a wider variety of methods of conveying ideas to a potentially greater audience. As I explore later (such as on pp.45-56), History (as a discipline) traditionally held a preference for the written word, in terms of source types, and methods of practice and of communication, but

historians are increasingly expanding their practices to include a wider variety of traces of the past, and a broader range of approaches to research and dissemination.[41]

I have deliberately built my thesis to include an integrated reflexive element, hence my choice to include drawings and comics commenting on things I encountered in creating the thesis and in the project as a whole, and to write in the first person. I emphasise that both of my disciplines are subjective, despite objectivity being a traditional (and outdated) goal for historians. I also use the active voice rather than the passive; personally, I do not believe that either of my disciplines are disinterested and distanced, and I do not pretend that I did not make the drawings - I do not say 'drawings were made'. Munslow, likening realist novels to history writing, said that they "appear objective because they too have suppressed the signs of the 'I' in their narrative".[42] Literally drawing the researcher (the practitioner) in the work explicitly reveals the presence of that researcher. In addition to a visual language developed by the practitioner as part of their research, the audience also sees a representation of the creator of the drawings they are currently looking at.



To more effectively demonstrate my arguments, I communicate my thesis as an integrated combination of images and words, rather than just using words alone.[43] The images are vital to fully understanding it, and must be 'read' as part of the thesis. The visual element and the written element reinforce each other.[44] Echoing Lana Locke's thesis, in which she used creative writing and a discontinuous style to "assemble … fragments across the space of the pages of this thesis … this written work becomes another form of my installation practice", my thesis becomes another form of my drawing-as-research practice.[45] In addition to other practical work I undertook for my PhD, my thesis becomes another research outcome, another product of my



drawing-based methodology, presenting both images and words as crucially important for a richer and more engaging way of communicating and exploring my ideas. Locke described the format of the thesis as "an opportunity to performatively attack and engage with the page as an environment, treating

text and page as material and space".[46] This resonates with my sketchbook practice, which is the foundation of my practice as an illustrator.

My theoretical influences include Alun Munslow, Keith Jenkins, and Hayden White. Munslow's three categories of historians, or of genres of history, has allowed me to consider where my work and my approach would fit among those of other historians.[47] I agree with him on many points, including that historians do not find meaning but create it in their interpretations of the past, that what we communicate about the past can never correspond exactly with the past itself, and a preference for creating multiple interpretations rather than attempting to find *the* single most likely explanation.[48] In the earlier stages of my PhD, I read Jenkins' *Re-thinking History* (1991), which aligns with my understanding that that history (or, rather, historiography) is what historians make and that the past is gone, and with my rejection of the idea of objectivity in history (ideas that I recognised from my readings of Munslow); in this book, Jenkins also discusses various points that I understand as being parallel with some aspects of illustration practice.[49] As an experimental historian, I feel encouraged by Munslow and Jenkins; much of what they say aligns with and guides my thinking, and, when reading them, I respond enthusiastically in my sketchbooks. Through Munslow and Jenkins, I found out about White, whose work resonated with, reinforced, and supported my work and my approach.[50] The works of these three thinkers also introduced me to the concept of the historical sublime (the uncanny elements and the gaps in historical understanding) which I cover in further detail at the end of this thesis, in the conclusion (pp.242-243 and pp.248-249) and in Appendix 1 (pp.253-255).[51]

Regarding a specifically historiographical methodology, within a few months of beginning my PhD, I realised that I am a deconstructionist historian. According to Munslow, historians' works can be categorised using three

genres: reconstructionist, constructionist, and deconstructionist.[52]

Historians working in the reconstructionist genre believe in the correspondence theory of representation (in which the past is equated with history as written by historians) which allows them to believe that "it seems possible to 'discover' and then reconstruct the most likely meaning of the past in the form of the 'most likely historical explanation'."[53] They believe that, by careful and detached empirical analysis of traces of the past, they can access "*the* truthful interpretation and *the* story *in* the sources", and that they can communicate that story accurately in the historical narrative they write: the narrative will correspond with past reality, and the narrative itself is simply a "vehicle for the truth of the past".[54] They aim to remain objective and dispassionate, and do not want the history they write to be swayed by their own personalities, contexts, experiences, and similar factors. However, "there is at least some acknowledgement" among reconstructionists that that "knowing the truth back there through the facts … is a flawed exercise, albeit because of problems with the sources" rather than any epistemological problems; they do not engage with how narratives work, how they explain and represent their ideas, the distinction between "the single factual statement" and the broader "universe of judgements, encodations, descriptions, depictions, ethics, values, images, metaphors, decisions, verdicts and interpretations of 'texts'", or the verification of those things (which, for convenience, I tend to class under the umbrella of interpretation) against "a putative 'reality'".[55]

Constructionist historians also believe, like reconstructionists, in the correspondence theory of representation, and accept that it is imperfect, but "still maintain their due respect for empiricism, accurately rendered in the historical narrative".[56] Unlike reconstructionists, they like to apply theory from

other disciplines; reconstructionists tend to be deeply mistrustful of theory, considering it to be imposed upon the past.[57] Constructionists also intend on being objective, but using “appropriate theorisation” and “various helpful concepts” rather than simply taking a disinterested analysis of traces of the past; however, they accept that the histories they create will never correspond exactly to past reality, and that it is hard to remain impartial.[58] They acknowledge that they actively seek meaning in the past, sometimes by intervening with concepts and theories, which they sometimes claim are “servants of the evidence” rather than interferences.[59]

Reconstructionists and constructionists - who Munslow has referred to as “historians of a particular kind” - both share beliefs in practical realism and empiricism.[60] They believe that they can represent the past accurately as (written) history, that “what they write is a highly specialist form of literature that cannot be judged in terms that might be more correctly applied to ‘more literary’ forms, which would, of course, include narrative fiction” and is “evidence based and thus open to attestation”, and that it must be conducted in writing because “other forms such as film or physical re-enactment are incapable of delivering the necessary referenced and nuanced interpretation”.[61] While reconstructionists view narrative as a vehicle, constructionists use it as “a mechanism for analysing and understanding the past, while subscribing to the opinion that *the* story in the past can still be found”.[62] The positions of these more conventional historians demonstrate a contrast to the third category, deconstructionist history.

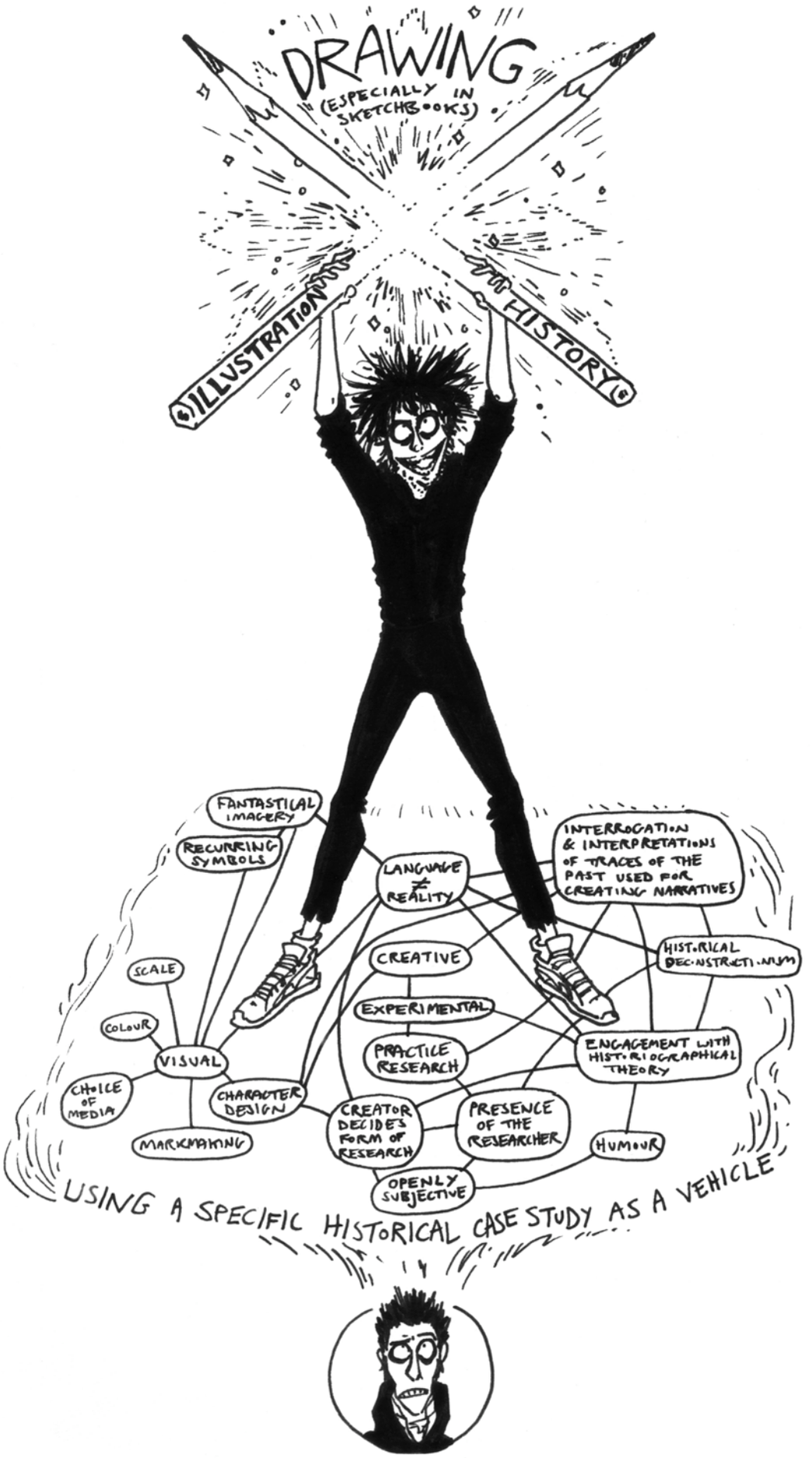
Deconstructionist historians occupy a postmodernist position, and, among other things, take an interest in the relationship between language and reality, and challenge accepted disciplinary traditions.[63] Deconstructionists understand that there is a distinction between ‘history’ and ‘the past’: ‘the

past' is what happened, and is irretrievably gone, while 'history' is what historians make and do.[64] As the past "no longer exists", historians cannot "infer 'true' propositional statements (i.e. facts) from events and then 'truly' narrate them".[65] Traces of the past exist, but historians' work is never going to correspond to the past itself - in the words of John Lewis Gaddis, "a truly literal representation of any entity could only be the entity itself, and that would be impractical".[66] Along related lines, deconstructionists challenge another assumption popular among 'historians of a particular kind', that being the adequacy of language to represent reality; deconstructionist historians understand that "language is part of the reality being depicted" and not some separate way of dispassionately and accurately describing that reality.[67]

Deconstructionists are the most likely group to venture into experimental history, engaging not only with a multiplicity of narratives and voices, which historians in the other genres might sometimes utilise, but also with methods of exploration and communication.[68] Deconstructionists recognise the presence of the researcher, and the historian's role as a creator; some thinkers, such as Elizabeth Deeds Ermarth and Hayden White, have said that historians are not quite novelists.[69] However, even among deconstructionists, there is still a focus on writing history rather than doing it in any other way, but this is shifting; for instance, Robert A. Rosenstone suggests that history could be communicated using "a collage, a comic book, a dance, a rap-song cycle, a series of emails sent to everyone online, or a combination of expressive forms we have not yet seen".[70] Munslow, referring to John Berger's *Ways of Seeing*, says that "words and images/ imageries offer profuse ways of 'engaging' with the past … If histories can be authored on paper they can also be painted, filmed, acted, smelled, mimed, voiced and so forth".[71] Jaume Aurell mentions the twenty-first century's "proliferation of new forms of history, many of which

transcend narrative prose, including film and documentaries, social media, graphic novels, video games and re-enactments, historical novels and biopics, as well as innovations in first-person narratives such as historical witness, synthetic memories, and travel writing."[72] This openness to unorthodox forms of exploring and communicating interpretations of the past indicates a demand for creative and practical research, such as my work.

Out of the three genres, I am most drawn to deconstructionism. I work with the deconstructionist premise that language - visual, verbal, or otherwise - cannot adequately and accurately represent the past, and also that '*the* truth' is not back there, waiting to be discovered. I find that ideals such as total detachment and impersonal objectivity are not advantageous to my practice; instead of these, I openly display the presence of the researcher, particularly through drawing, which explicitly shows traces of the practitioner's hand moving across the page, and which allows me to be reflexive and self-aware. When others discuss different ways of researching and communicating history (Rosenstone mentioned collage and comics, Munslow suggested painted histories, Aurell indicated the potential for graphic novels or innovative first-person narratives) I become more excited than when I consider the prospect of traditional narrative history-writing, the more conventional form of history-communication. I do not pretend that my work is accurate; I experiment and recontextualise, and I understand that the researcher decides the form(s) that their histories take, rather than having it dictated to them by the(ir interpretation of the) content. The deconstructionist approach informs my practice by providing concepts that I can explore using drawing, and by supplying theory that I can use to support my practical experiments.


DRAWING
(ESPECIALLY IN SKETCHBOOKS)
ILLUSTRATION
HISTORY
FANTASTICAL IMAGERY
RECURRING SYMBOLS
LANGUAGE ≠ REALITY
INTERROGATION & INTERPRETATIONS OF TRACES OF THE PAST USED FOR CREATING NARRATIVES
HISTORICAL DECONSTRUCTIONISM
CREATIVE
EXPERIMENTAL
PRACTICE RESEARCH
ENGAGEMENT WITH HISTORIOGRAPHICAL THEORY
SCALE
COLOUR
VISUAL
CHOICE OF MEDIA
MARKMAKING
CHARACTER DESIGN
CREATOR DECIDES FORM OF RESEARCH
PRESENCE OF THE RESEARCHER
HUMOUR
OPENLY SUBJECTIVE
USING A SPECIFIC HISTORICAL CASE STUDY AS A VEHICLE

In Chapter 1: Methodology, I explore practice-research and its relationship with academia; the problems between the two disciplines of History and Illustration; how both of these disciplines are creative; the distinctions between drawing and illustration, and how drawing can be used as a research method; and the presence of the researcher in the work.

In Chapter 2: History, Drawing, and Comics, I contextualise my work with that of other practitioners in the field of historical comics/ graphic histories, highlighting five shared devices: self-awareness, character design, audience involvement, multiple and/or contrasting viewpoints, and nonlinearity.

In Chapter 3, I focus on my case study. I discuss Bowes Academy (1814-1840) in greater detail, and describe how I used social relations at Bowes Academy as a vehicle for my work. I introduce my two main experiments - *Disorder*, a graphic history, and *(Un)Known Associates*, a deck of cards similar to the Tarot - and explore how I designed my protagonist, William Shaw.

In Chapter 4, I expand on the created nature of history. The characters I create, as representations of my interpretations of people whose lives are attested in traces of the past, are a manifestation of the created nature of history. Drawing (a version of) myself in my work also foregrounds this, and I use other strategies - such as communicating with the characters and the audience, and including references to my own experiences - to draw the viewer's attention to the fact that, like other historians, I made my work.

In Chapter 5, I explore decontextualisation and recontextualisation. I use these to encourage the viewer to consider alternative approaches to my case study. I recontextualise what I draw (characters, events, and so on) by, for example, showing them from alternative viewpoints, and I decontextualise

them by, for instance, removing them from their historical context and inserting them into a different one; strategies such as these can lead to new interpretations. I also explore some historians' caution regarding the use of the imagination.

In my sixth and final chapter, I discuss voicelessness. While this more obviously refers to the lost voices of people in the past, I extend this to include the audience and their ability to create their own narrative interpretations from materials presented to them; in my work, I intend on empowering my audience to act like historians and piece together their own narratives based on my work, and I hope to encourage them to cross-reference imagery between the projects in my work, and with external sources. In this chapter, I also explore how I highlight the voicelessness of some of the people in my case study, such as Mary Ann and Jane Shaw, two of William and Bridget's daughters.

In my conclusion, I discuss how the project changed as I progressed with my research, and how my theoretical understandings of history have improved. I also argue that I have used my drawing-based practice to interrogate aspects of historical practice and theory, and that other researchers can utilise and develop my methods to conduct further interdisciplinary research. I evaluate and assess my research aims. I also briefly explore the historical sublime - the element of chaos and uncertainty in history - and indicate avenues for my future research and that of other researchers.

After that come the appendices. Appendix 1 contains the citations for the words in the diagram about the historical sublime. Appendix 2 contains details of images (mainly my work) that I have included in this thesis. Appendix 3 contains details of my publications, and some of my online output.

Chapter endnotes

[1] Reconstruction artists use their expertise to produce illustrations firmly grounded in specific material traces of the past, such as archaeological finds and ancient sites, in order to contextualise those traces and explain or explore their potential usage.Some reconstruction artists, such as William Thomas 'Terry' Ball, make images that are "not artistic impressions but carefully considered and meticulously argued reconstructions" (p.55), whereas others, such as Ivan Lapper, produce "imaginative atmospheric pictures" that, while still strongly evidence-based, "raise all sorts of questions that might otherwise go unasked" (p.28). Dobie, J., *Illustrating the Past: Artists' interpretations of ancient places*, Swindon: Historic England, 2019.

[2] Sonya Petersson discussed some of the conventional understandings around the term "illustration" in her article 'The counteractive illustration and its metalanguage', but also explores how images may be used to subvert words (Petersson, S., 'The counteractive illustration and its metalanguage', in *Word & Image*, vol.34, no.4, 2018, pp.349-362). David Sornig, in 'Picturing the Story: Image and Narrative in Brian Castro and W. G. Sebald', notes that "An illustration suggests a clarifying link between the image and the text, that light is being cast on how the text ought to be visualised" but that, with his chosen authors and the ways in which they used (mostly photographic) images, "This is not exactly the case" (Sornig, D., 'Picturing the Story: Image and Narrative in Brian Castro and W. G. Sebald', *TEXT*, vol.8, no.1, 2004, available at: http://www.textjournal.com.au/april04/sornig.htm [Accessed 20 September 2022.]). In her conclusion to *Illustrating the Past*, Judith Dobie wrote that reconstruction images are "all primarily illustrations … intended in the most part to be reproduced in books to accompany text. Not secondary to the text but integral to it, a collaboration. The best illustrators will bring more than a visual translation of the academic's ideas" as even the most compelling evidence can be more effective if it is communicated visually (Dobie, J., *Illustrating the Past: Artists' interpretations of ancient places*, Swindon: Historic England, 2019, pp.153-154).

[3] Deconstructionist history was first categorised as such by Alun Munslow, who described three categories of historians: reconstructionist, constructionist, and deconstructionist. I cover these categories later in the Methodology section of this introduction, on pp.28-32.

[4] Leah Fusco is an artist-researcher who uses drawing and other forms of image-making to explore historical and geographical subjects in place research. Her website describes how "[h]er work draws on geographic and historic subject matter in place research, exploring the use of mapping, narrative and imaging technologies." (Fusco, L., *Information.* Available at: https://leahfusco.co.uk/About [Accessed 25 October 2022.]) She undertook the project *Northeye*, about a deserted medieval village, using "creative artefacts" to "explore hidden, lost and abandoned narratives at the site, bringing together fieldwork and archival research", and, in a residency at Bexhill Museum relating to Northeye, responded to the site using "drawing, painting, animation and mapping". (Fusco, L., *Northeye DMV* [* Deserted Medieval Village]*. Available at: https://northeye.cargo.site [Accessed 25 October 2022.] and Fusco, L., *Leah Fusco Artist in Residence at Bexhill Museum*. Available at: https://northeye.cargo.site/Exhibition [Accessed 25 October 2022.])

Eleanor Houghton investigates historical garments using drawing. Her website states that "[d]rawing is central to Eleanor's research methodology", allowing the researcher to closely observe extant garments, and that "Drawing forces the artist, or in this case, the historian, to fully engage with the material object in front of them and thus to begin to answer questions that might otherwise have been overlooked." (Houghton, E., *Costume Illustration*, available at: https://www.eleanorhoughton.com/costumeillustrations, accessed 17 October 2022.)

[5] Rees, D., *How to be an Illustrator*, (second edition), London: Laurence King Publishing Ltd., 2014, pp.12-13. Rees's book also contains interviews with art directors and illustrators. Creative director Guy Marshall said that illustration "has the ability to communicate complex subjects with real imagination" (p.16), while art buyer Sarah Thomson highlighted illustration's ability to communicate the imaginary, the speculative, and the abstract, stating that "[i]f reality's not an issue, the idea is often best conveyed by illustration" (p.106).

[6] Morgan, C. L., and Wright, H. E., (2018) 'Pencils and Pixels: Drawing and Digital Media in Archaeological Field Recording'. (Proof version.) *Journal of Field Archaeology*, vol.43, no.2, 2018, pp. 136-151. ISSN 2042-4582 Available at: https://eprints.whiterose.ac.uk/127198/ [Accessed 27 September 2022.] The version of the article downloadable from that link (a proof

version) does not match the pagination as it would appear in the journal; the quotes come from p.10 of the downloadable proof. On p.9, Morgan and Wright quoted from Lesley and Roy Adkins' *Archaeological Illustration*, discussing the "modern approach to illustration, with the conscious realisation that the purpose of the illustration is to convey not only information but also an interpretation of that information" (Adkins, L., and Adkins, R. A., *Archaeological Illustration*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989, p.5).

[7] Petersson, S., 'The counteractive illustration and its metalanguage', in *Word & Image*, vol.34, no.4, 2018, pp.351-352. Petersson's italics.

[8] Munslow, A., *Narrative and History*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, p.136. Munslow, A., *Deconstructing History*, London: Routledge, 1997, pp.4-5. Munslow's italics. It may be useful to compare Munslow's definition of history in *Narrative and History* with his definition of experimental history in the same book, as "any form of history that expressly confronts the nature of the connection (as a representation) between the reality of the past and its correspondence in the text (or in any other mode of expression)" (p.133). Keith Jenkins also notes the difference between history and the past itself, but recommends recognising the distinction "by using the term 'the past' for all that has gone on before everywhere, whilst using the word 'historiography' for history, historiography referring here to the writings of historians. This would be good practice (the past as the object of historians' attention, historiography as the way historians attend to it) leaving the word 'History' (with a capital H) to refer to the whole ensemble of relations." (Jenkins, K., *Re-thinking History*, London: Routledge, 1991, p.6) I use capital-H History and capital-I Illustration to refer to the disciplines themselves, and lower-case-h history and lower-case-i illustration to refer to practices (such as "doing history", "doing illustration") and works ("a work of history", "an illustration showing…").

[9] Tosh, J., *The Pursuit of History*, Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd., first published 1980; fifth edition 2010, p.viii. This is echoed by Bernard Bailyn, who considers history's "two meanings. One is simply *what happened*; that is, the events, developments, circumstances, and thoughts of the past, as they actually occurred. The other is history as *knowledge of what happened*, the record or expression of what occurred." (Bailyn, B., *On the Teaching and Writing of History*, Hanover (New Hampshire): University Press of New England, 1994, p.7. Bailyn's italics.) This understanding of the "two meanings" of history seems idealistic and simplistic, appealing to a popular and outdated idea of history.

[10] My initial understanding of the term 'historiography' came from the HM5001 Research & Enquiry module delivered by Professor Melanie Ilič and Dr Christian O'Connell, from the University of Gloucestershire's History department, who kindly allowed me to sit in on their lectures in 2018-19. In this module, their second-year undergraduates were introduced to various historical research methods, encouraged to develop critical understandings of different approaches to doing history, and to develop their skills in research and in analysis.

[11] Munslow, A., *The New History,* Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd., 2003, p.159. This resonates with Claus and Marriott's understanding of historiography as "how historians go about the task of exploring the past" (p.xiv) and "what is written and taught about the past" (Claus, P., and Marriott, J., *History: An introduction to theory, method and practice*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2013, p.4.) Elsewhere, Munslow said that "[a]s dancers choreograph their performance, so historians historiograph theirs. History is as much about the 'historian's performance' - they way he or she [or they] constructs or stages his or her [or their] narrative and invites a responsive understanding from the audience - as it is about the past itself." (Munslow's 'Introduction: Theory and Practice', pp.7-11, in Munslow and Rosenstone (eds.) *Experiments in Rethinking History*, Abingdon: Routledge, 2004, p.11.)

[12] Jordanova, L., *History in Practice,* London: Arnold, 2000, p.213.

[13] Stunkel, K. R., *Fifty Key Works of History and Historiography*, Abingdon: Routledge, 2011, p.xi and p.xii. His first definition echoes John Tosh's understanding of historiography as the "study of the writing of history, although the term is sometimes also used to denote the range of historians' writings on a particular theme" (Tosh, J., *The Pursuit of History*, Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd., first published 1980; fifth edition 2010, p.65.) Stunkel also mentions critical historiography, "a self-conscious search for believable evidence needed to support generalizations [sic] about the past, and the exploitation of new kinds of evidence" (Stunkel, *Fifty Key Works*, p.xiii).

[14] Some historians, such as Dominick LaCapra, seem to separate historiography from theory (see LaCapra, D., 'Resisting apocalypse and rethinking history', in Jenkins, K., Morgan, S., and Munslow, A. (eds.), *Manifestos for History*, London: Routledge, 2007, pp.160-178) while others, such as Ann Rigney, appear to think that historiography can become entangled in theoretical matters (discussing the "persistent but unfruitful opposition between 'history' and 'memory', or historiography and remembrance, that has dogged theoretical debates" on p.153 of Rigney, A., 'Being an improper historian', in Jenkins, K., Morgan, S., and Munslow, A. (eds.), *Manifestos for History*, London: Routledge, 2007, pp.149-159). Ludmilla Jordanova, meanwhile, noted that "[h]istoriography in the English-speaking world, in contrast with the more overtly theoretical French, Italian and German traditions, tends to emphasise the empirical dimensions of history." (Jordanova, L., *History in Practice,* London: Arnold, 2000, p.55).

[15] Evans, R. J., *In Defence Of History*, London: Granta Books, 1997, pp.8-9. He lists "philology … economics, sociology, anthropology, statistics, geography, psychology, and other alien forces". These disciplines are all likely to be more acceptable in current practice than the novelty of my approach. While they have their practical elements, many of their arguments are likely to be conducted in writing.



[16] For my final major project of my Illustration BA, undertaken at the University of Gloucestershire, I researched, wrote, and completed a rough draft of a graphic novel about a fictional boy's experiences at Bowes Academy. I briefly mention this previous work in Chapter 3: Case Study, on p.111. My approach to research has improved dramatically since, largely as a result of my engagement with historical theory.

[17] Kirkpatrick, R. J., *Charles Dickens, Nicholas Nickleby and the Yorkshire Schools: Fact v Fiction.* Middleton-in-Teesdale: Mosaic (Teesdale) Ltd., 2017, pp.347-348.

[18] From my own experience, *Nicholas Nickleby* appears to be the most common introduction to the topic. If I hadn't read *Nickleby*, I wouldn't have become interested in the Yorkshire schools. In presentations or informal conversations, I use it as a gateway to introduce the topic to others, usually beginning with some variant of "You know the school in that book?".

[19] Matz, B. W., 'Introduction', pp.7-10, in Cooper, T. P., *With Dickens in Yorkshire*, London: Ben Johnson & Co., Ltd., 1924. Matz describe Ridsdale Tate's illustrations on p.10. I discuss some of these illustrations in Chapter 3: Case Study, on pp.120-121.

[20] Cooper, *With Dickens in Yorkshire*, p.31 and p.65. Contrast this with Kirkpatrick's assertion that Dickens did not cause the closure of all Yorkshire boarding schools, *Fact v Fiction*, p.347.

[21] Cooper, *With Dickens in Yorkshire*. Quote about Shaw from p.61. Cooper's use of descriptions of Dotheboys Hall on p.60. Cooper's verdict on "the presentment of 'Dotheboys'" is on p.74. Cooper's attempt at acknowledging Shaw's "redeeming qualities" is on pp.77-79. In my interpretation of this attempt, Cooper appeared highly suspicious of what "the villagers and … those dependant on the flourishing school system" might say, and he can be understood as making an effort to cast aspersions on Shaw's ex-pupils having "indignantly refused to accept the story [*Nicholas Nickleby*] as a presentment or truthful record of the life at Bowes Academy."

[22] Proud, J. K., *Charles Dickens in Teesdale: The Story of Nicholas Nickleby and the Yorkshire Schools*, Middleton-in-Teesdale: Discovery Guides, Ltd., 1983, p.72

[23] Proud, *Charles Dickens in Teesdale.* pp.72-73

[24] Proud, *Charles Dickens in Teesdale*. Regarding his description of the Yorkshire schools based on *Nickleby*, he described the boys as "unwanted" on p.37, based on descriptions of the boys in *Nicholas Nickleby*, and compared Dickens's version with a description of life at "a school in Cotherstone, not very far from Bowes" on pp.47-50. (This account, by James Abernethy, is included in Kirkpatrick, *Fact v Fiction*, pp.199-202; originally published in Abernethy, J. S., *The Life and Work of James Abernethy, C.E.*, London: T. Brettell & Co., 1897, pp.13-15.) For an example of his use of quotes, an extract from chapter 64 of *Nickleby* (in which the boys of Dotheboys Hall riot) occupies just over five of the eight pages of the conclusion (pp.72-79). On pp.18-21, Proud reproduced the schoolmasters' adverts that appear in Cooper, the only exception being Shaw's advert from his card of terms, on pp.20-21 - Cooper did not quote any of Shaw's adverts. Proud referred to Cooper by name on p.44, and repeated the assertion that "[t]he Yorkshire schools came to a rapid end after the book's [*Nickleby*'s] publication" (p.73).

[25] Wilkinson, A., *Dotheboys and Beyond: The Yorkshire schools and their place in the history of education*, Middleton-in-Teesdale: Mosaic (Teesdale) Ltd., 2012, p.24. Wilkinson referred to William Shaw's great-great-grandson, Edwin Shaw, on p.24, in the same paragraph as the above quote about William Shaw; their connection may have had an impact on Wilkinson's discretion, or on his opinions of the schoolmaster.

[26] Wilkinson, *Dotheboys and Beyond*, p.48

[27] Netter, L., and Gruner, O., 'Steal This History: historiography, the Sixties and the comic', *Rethinking History*, vol.21, no.4, 2017, pp.506-528. Quotes from pp.506-507.

[28] Beaton, K., "Archives" on *Hark! A Vagrant* [website]. Available at: http://www.harkavagrant.com/archive.php [Accessed 5 September 2022.]

[29] Walker, J., *Pistols! Treason! Murder!: The rise and fall of a master spy*, originally published Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2007; this edition Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009.

[30] For an example of a depiction of Walker in conversation with Gerolamo Vano (died 1622), see pp.22-25. For an example of the possible opinions of other historians on the experimental nature of Walker's work, with an appearance by Vano, see p.169 of Walker, *Pistols! Treason! Murder!*

[31] Walker, J., 'Antonio Foscarini in the City of Crossed Destinies', in Munslow, A., and Rosenstone, R. A. (eds.), *Experiments in Rethinking History*, Abingdon: Routledge, 2004, pp.124-155. Originally published in *Rethinking History* journal, vol. 5, no. 2, 2001, pp.305-334.

[32] Dobie, J., *Illustrating the Past: Artists' interpretations of ancient places*, Swindon: Historic England, 2019, pp.106-109 and p.43. Peter Dunn wrote his own case study - Dunn, P., 'Case Study: Durrington south timber circle', in Dobie, *Illustrating the* Past, pp.106-111.

[33] Dobie, *Illustrating the Past*, p.24.

[34] Bradfield, N., *Costume in Detail: Women's Dress 1730-1930*, London: Harrap, 1968. Bradfield, N., *Historical Costumes of England 1066-1956*, London: Harrap, 1958, this second edition reprint 1966.

[35] For an earlier exploration of character design using Blake's concepts, among other factors, see Barrett, E., *Characterisation, context, and contemporary considerations*, 2019. Available on academia.edu at https://www.academia.edu/118742814/Characterisation_context_and_contemporary_considerations_a_reflective_essay_using_practical_examples_to_illustrate_some_potential_advantages_and_disadvantages_of_historical_research_by_drawing and available on ResearchGate at https://www.researchgate.net/publication/380402858_Characterisation_context_and_contemporary_considerations_a_reflective_essay_using_practical_examples_to_illustrate_some_potential_advantages_and_disadvantages_of_historical_research_by_drawing [Accessed 8 May 2024.]

[36] Eaves, M., p.8 of 'Introduction: to paradise the hard way' in Eaves, M. (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to William Blake*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, pp.1-16. Makdisi, S., p.111 of 'The political aesthetic of Blake's images', in Eaves (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to William Blake*, pp.110-132.

[37] Regarding Sebald's use of images, see Long, J. J., "History, Narrative, and Photography in W. G. Sebald's 'Die Ausgewanderten'", *The Modern Language Review*, vol.98, no.1, 2003, pp.117-137; and Sornig, D., 'Picturing the Story: Image and Narrative in Brian Castro and W. G. Sebald', *TEXT*, vol.8, no.1, 2004, available at: http://www.textjournal.com.au/april04/sornig.htm [Accessed 20 September 2022.] For Ann Rigney's use of Sebald as an example of a useful model of narrative fiction, see pp.155-156 in Rigney, A., 'Being an improper historian', in Jenkins, K., Morgan, S., and Munslow, A. (eds.), *Manifestos for History*, London: Routledge, 2007, pp.149-159.

[38] Rosenstone, R. A., *Mirror in the Shrine: American Encounters with Meiji Japan*, Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: Harvard University Press, 1988. Quotes taken from pp.411-412 of Rosenstone, R. A., 'Introduction', in *Rethinking History*, vol.5, no.3, 2001, pp.411-416.

[39] *Rethinking History*, 'Aims and scope', on Taylor & Francis Online. Available at: https://www.tandfonline.com/action/journalInformation?show=aimsScope&journalCode=rrhi20 [Accessed 22 September 2022.] The editors' quotes are respectively from Robert A. Rosenstone, Alun Munslow, and James Goodman.

[40] For an example of Shaw's advert, see "Multiple Advertisements and Notices" *The York Herald, and General Advertiser* (York, England), Saturday 28 June 1834, issue 3224. *British Library Newspapers*. For reports on the Jones vs Shaw trial, see "LAW INTELLIGENCE" *The Morning Post* (London, England), Tuesday 31 October 1823, issue 16493. *British Library Newspapers*; and for the Ockerby vs Shaw trial the following day, see "LAW INTELLIGENCE" *The Morning Post* (London, England), Saturday 1 November 1 1823, issue 16494. *British Library Newspapers.*

The British Library holds letters from William Shaw (MS 57493 f. 23) and one of his pupils, George Brooks (MS 57493). British Library, 'Two letters bound with the manuscript draft of the first part of chapter 15 of 'Nicholas Nickleby", including MS 57493 f. 23 William Shaw, schoolmaster at Bowes: Letter to the parents of his pupil, George Brooks from William Shaw: 1826; and MS 57493 f. 25 George Brooks, schoolboy at Bowes: Letter to his parents from George Brooks: 1825. Available at: https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/two-letters-written-from-bowes-academy [Accessed 15 July 2023.]

Shaw appears in Baines, E., and Parson, W., *History, Directory & Gazetteer of the County of York: Vol. II: East & North Ridings*, Leeds: Edward Baines, 1823. Available at: https://specialcollections.le.ac.uk/digital/collection/p16445coll4/id/218322/ [Accessed 27 September 2020.]

Thanks to Caldicot Community Hub and Library for free access to parish records via Ancestry.com. *Yorkshire, England, Church of England Parish Records, 1538-1873* [database on-line]. Lehi, UT. USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2047. Original data: Oliver, W., and Alderson, B. R. (eds.), *The parish register of Bowes 1670-1837 (Bishops Transcripts 1615-1700)*, Wakefield: Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Parish Register Section, 1964. This information is compiled under licence from the printed parish registers published by the Parish Register Section of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society or the Yorkshire Parish Register Society (together "the Section"). [Accessed 15 June 2019.]

[41] This topic could unfurl beyond the remit of this thesis, so I will suggest a few potential avenues of interest. For instance, Munslow suggested that histories, communicated as narratives, could be "spoken, or written, a fixed or moving image, or a gesture, a myth, a legend, a fable, a tale, a novella, a history, an epic, a mime, a stained glass window, a film, a comic, a postcard, a performance, a street theatre, a conversation or a painting" (Munslow, A., *Narrative and History*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, p.64). For discussion of practising history with visual and material sources, see Jordanova, L., *The Look of the Past: Visual and Material Evidence in Historical Practice*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012; see also Grant, F., and Jordanova, L. (eds.), *Writing Visual Histories*, London: Bloomsbury, 2020. For discussion of the communication of ideas about ancient sites using illustrations, see Dobie, J., *Illustrating the Past: Artists' interpretations of ancient places*, Swindon: Historic England, 2019; while this book focusses on archaeological reconstruction art, some of the ideas and methods are applicable to the practice of history.

[42] Munslow, A., *Deconstructing History*, London: Routledge, 1997, p.61. I explore an extended version of this extract in greater depth in Chapter 4, on pp.147-157.

[43] I made this decision after seeing Lana Locke's thesis *The Feral, the Art Object and the Social*, in which Locke used different typefaces to represent different voices within the thesis, which intersected, integrated, and mixed, "to float up and pierce this piece of writing in juxtapositions of support and contrast," "drawing across … tearing … slicing … moulding and transforming" (Locke, L., *The Feral, the Art Object and the Social*, PhD thesis, University of the Arts London, 2017. Available at: https://ualresearchonline.arts.ac.uk/id/eprint/13476/ [Accessed 5 April 2023.] p.6). I use drawing for a similar effect, as Locke's thesis, which she describes as "[a] collection of fragments of practice and its documentation" (p.27) reminded me of my own (often fragmentary) sketchbook practice; the use of sketchbooks is vital to my work, both within and away from the PhD. In my sketchbooks, the images and words are usually integrated, sometimes with images colliding with or intersecting paragraphs, sometimes overlapping, sometimes being combined, sometimes utilising speech bubbles or sound effects or captions, sometimes contradicting each other. (Other possible ways of blending them are available.)

[44] The images also make a useful alternative to bookmarks. If you can remember which images you read up to, you can find your place again. If you saw something interesting in the words, and you know it's near a certain illustration, you can find it again with greater ease than if you try to rely on where it may have been in a wall of letters. At least, this is part of how my head works.

[45] Locke, L., *The Feral, the Art Object and the Social*, PhD thesis, University of the Arts London, 2017. Available at: https://ualresearchonline.arts.ac.uk/id/eprint/13476/ [Accessed 5 April 2023.], p.6.

[46] Locke, L., *The Feral, the Art Object and the Social*, PhD thesis, University of the Arts London, 2017. Available at: https://ualresearchonline.arts.ac.uk/id/eprint/13476/ [Accessed 5 April 2023.], pp.24-25.

[47] I discuss these three categories - reconstructionism, constructionism, and deconstructionism - in further detail elsewhere in the introduction of the thesis, on pp.28-32. For a critique of Munslow's three categories, and a suggestion for splitting constructionism into two variants, see Zeleňák, E., 'Modifying Alun Munslow's classification of approaches to history', in *Rethinking History*, vol.15, no.4, 2011, pp.523-537.

[48] Munslow, A., 'Genre and history/ historying', in *Rethinking History*, vol.19, no.2, 2015, pp.158-176. Munslow, A., 'History, skepticism and the past', in *Rethinking History*, vol.21, no.4, 2017, pp.474-488.

[49] Jenkins, K., *Re-thinking History*, London: Routledge, 1991. The section titled "On Practice" (pp.20-26 in Chapter 2) was particularly resonant with my experiences of illustrating. Illustrators and historians must consider their own perspectives (p.21); the ways that they create ideas (p.21); working procedures and methods (pp.21-22); looking at other creators' works (p.22); creating the final piece, and the pressures and considerations involved (pp.22-24); and how the audience will receive it (p.24).

[50] In his essay 'The Burden of History', White remarks that many historians, on those occasions when they refer to history as an "art", only "seem to have in mind a conception of art that would admit little more than the nineteenth-century novel as a paradigm. … They certainly do not mean to identify themselves with action painters, kinetic sculptors, existentialist novelists, imagist poets, or *nouvelle vague* [White's italics] cinematographers." ('The Burden of History' in White, H., *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978, pp.27-50. Quote from p.42). Admitting that there is room to add practitioners from any number of disciplines to the list, I would like to add illustrators.

[51] I explore the historical sublime in further depth in the conclusion (pp.242-243 and pp.248-249) and Appendix 1 (pp.253-255).

[52] Munslow, A., *The Routledge Companion to Historical Studies*, London: Routledge, 2000.

Reconstructionist history is covered on pp.194-198. Constructionist history is covered on pp.53-55. Deconstructionist history is covered on pp.69-74. See also Munslow, A., 'Genre and history/ historying', in *Rethinking History*, vol.19, no.2, 2015, pp.158-176, in which he describes the categories as genres, or as epistemological choices; he also introduces a fourth category, 'postist' history, associated with Keith Jenkins, which is a position in which the historian believes that "The past is - in effect - never more nor less than the narrative act of the historian" and that "there is nothing useful in the usual approaches to the definition of the pursuit of history" and, in the words of Jenkins, "why bother"? (pp.165-166)

[53] Munslow, A., 'Genre and history/ historying', in *Rethinking History*, vol.19, no.2, 2015, pp.158-176, p.161.

[54] Jenkins, K., and Munslow, A., 'Introduction', in Jenkins, K., and Munslow, A. (eds.), *The Nature of History Reader*, London: Routledge, 2004, pp.1-18. Quote from p.7. Italics original.

[55] Jenkins and Munslow, 'Introduction', in Jenkins and Munslow (eds.), *The Nature of History Reader*, p.9.

[56] Jenkins and Munslow, 'Introduction', in Jenkins and Munslow (eds.), *The Nature of History Reader*, p.11

[57] Munslow, A., 'Genre and history/ historying', in *Rethinking History*, vol.19, no.2, 2015, pp.158-176. Quote from p.162.

[58] Jenkins and Munslow, 'Introduction', in Jenkins and Munslow (eds.), *The Nature of History Reader*, p.11.

[59] Munslow, A., *The Routledge Companion to Historical Studies*, London: Routledge, 2000, p.53.

[60] Munslow, A., 'On Keith Jenkins', in *Rethinking History*, vol.17, no.2, 2013, pp.253-273. Munslow describes the "historians of a particular kind" - who he also describes as "'proper historian[s]' (defined as existing somewhere on a reconstruction-construction continuum)" - on p.257.

[61] Munslow, A., 'On Keith Jenkins', in *Rethinking History*, vol.17, no.2, 2013, pp.253-273. The quotes about their writing as "a highly specialist form of literature" and being "evidence based" are from p.257. The mention of "other forms" is from p.163 of Munslow, A., 'Genre and history/ historying', in *Rethinking History*, vol.19, no.2, 2015, pp.158-176.

[62] Jenkins and Munslow, 'Introduction', in Jenkins and Munslow (eds.), *The Nature of History Reader*, p.11. Italics original.

[63] Munslow, *The Routledge Companion to Historical Studies*, London: Routledge, 2000, p.69. Jenkins and Munslow, 'Introduction', in Jenkins and Munslow (eds.), *The Nature of History Reader*, p.12.

[64] Jenkins, K., *Re-thinking History*, London: Routledge, 1991, pp.6-7.

[65] Jenkins and Munslow, 'Introduction', in Jenkins and Munslow (eds.), *The Nature of History Reader*, p.13.

[66] Gaddis, J., *The Landscape of History: How Historians Map the Past*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002, p.26. Gaddis later gave the example of mapmakers, who "represent realities they can't replicate and wouldn't want to: a truly accurate map of Oxford would be an exact clone of Oxford and wouldn't easily fit within backpacks or briefcases" (p.45).

[67] Jenkins and Munslow, 'Introduction', in Jenkins and Munslow (eds.), *The Nature of History Reader*, p.14

[68] Jenkins and Munslow, 'Deconstructionism', p.115 of Jenkins and Munslow (eds.), *The Nature of History Reader*. See also Jenkins and Munslow (eds.), *The Nature of History Reader*,

p.13.

[69] Ermarth, E. D., 'The closed space of choice: A manifesto on the future of history', in Jenkins, K., Morgan, S., and Munslow, A. (eds.), *Manifestos for History*, London: Routledge, 2007, p.50-66. White, H., 'The Burden of History', in White, H., *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978, pp.27-50.

[70] Rosenstone, R. A., 'Space for the bird to fly' in Jenkins, K., Morgan, S., and Munslow, A. (eds.), *Manifestos for History*, London: Routledge, 2007, pp.11-18. Quote from p.14.

[71] Munslow, A., 'History, skepticism and the past', in *Rethinking History*, vol.21, no.4, 2017, pp.474-488. Quote from p.483.

[72] Aurell, J., 'Introduction: Rethinking historical genres in the twenty-first century' in *Rethinking History*, vol.19, no.2, 2015, pp.145-157. Quote from p.146.



Chapter 1 - Methodology

The integration of creative practice and academic research is becoming more established, and looks set to increase further as more inquiry into these areas is pursued, as there is plenty of room for growth and additional developments.[1] For instance, practice-research projects within the School of Art at the University of Gloucestershire scored highly in the 2021 Research Excellence Framework review.[2] For example, in a portfolio of practical work responding to the Fukushima nuclear disaster, illustrator Fumio Obata "developed a way of reporting a catastrophe that is subtle and led by illustration but that also takes readers into psychological depth", demonstrating that drawing-based methods can be successfully used to explore and communicate complex themes with a high level of nuance and engagement.[3]

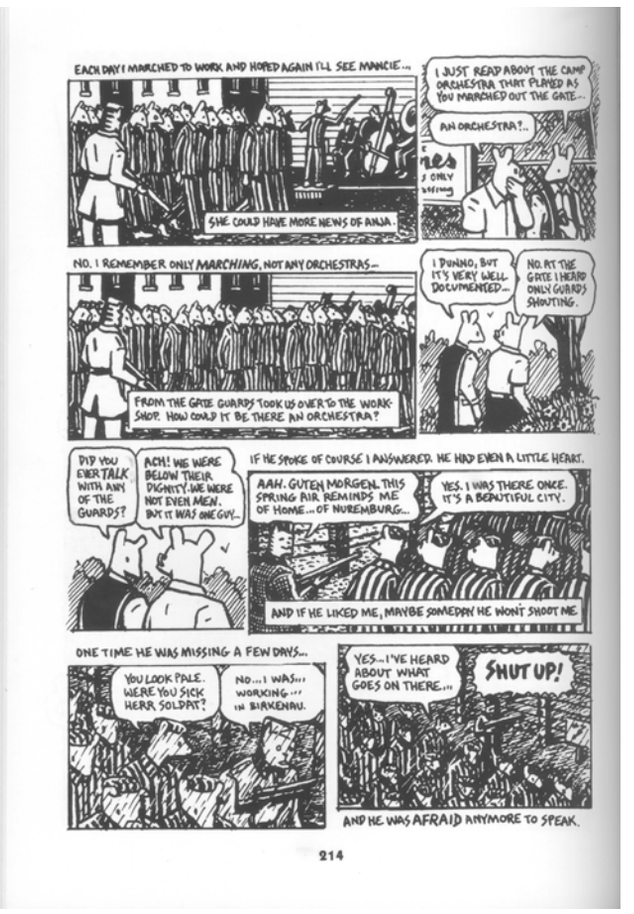
Linda Candy described "two types of practice related research", defining practice-led research as a kind in which "the research *leads* primarily to new understandings about practice" and which is "concerned with the nature of practice and leads to new knowledge that has operational significance for that practice" and does not necessarily have to include a "creative outcome".[4] However, practice-based research is when "a creative artefact is the *basis* of the contribution to knowledge" and is "an original investigation undertaken in order to gain new knowledge partly by means of practice and the outcomes of that practice".[5] According to Candy's definitions, my work can be situated as practice-based research: the outcomes I create are integral to the project and to a fuller understanding of the project, and my research does not necessarily lead to "new understandings about [illustration] practice" (although it may lead to more wide-ranging and potentially unorthodox questioning of historical practice).

Traditionally, Illustration and History have been separate disciplines. Some illustrators produce work on historical themes, and some historians publish works incorporating illustrations (in both senses of general images in books, and the more specific drawing-based works created by a visual practitioner in order to communicate ideas).[6] Sometimes researchers in both areas work together advantageously, as in the output of reconstruction artists, such as Alan Sorrell, Victor Ambrus, and Judith Dobie, made in collaboration with archaeologists and historians.[7] The images they create can be used by other researchers, including historians, to prompt further examination of the physical items under study, resulting in new insights and ideas.[8]

In most cases in which historical publications have been illustrated, the images are secondary to the written text.[9] History, as discussed in my consideration of the term 'historiography' in my introduction (pp.11-12), is traditionally communicated in writing: John Tosh claimed that "[h]istorical writing is essential to historical understanding, and those who shrink from undertaking it are something less than historians."[10] The writing takes priority, and the images are either there to support it, or to provide decoration: Tosh noted that "illustrations in works of history are usually … included for their decorative appeal rather than for close reading".[11] Quite frequently, the writer explains what they see in the image, and the image is presented for the reader to look at, and, by this looking, the writer's hypothesis is confirmed. Sonya Petersson said that "once *any* picture … is made into an object of analysis and verbalized [sic] in the written representation of a study, it also comes to illustrate the arguments being made, and whatever else it has been understood to illustrate in its different sites of reception, past and present".[12] Following this argument, any image included in a standard work of history is presented as evidence that supports the historian's ideas as expressed in the

written text, and the viewer's interrogation of the image will be guided by the context that the historian has placed it in: their writing.

However, in some instances, some practitioners have combined the two disciplines. For example, some of the interpretations of reconstruction artists - explored and communicated by drawing, or by making physical models - are accepted by the archaeological community and other experts with a professional interest in the sites under investigation. Hugo Frey and Benjamin Noys said that "the graphic novel is a site where 'history' itself, or representations of history, are put into play: interrogated, challenged, and even undermined" and (after a disclaimer that adopting graphic novels as "a model of what a new experimental history writing could or should be … would collapse the distinction between two different and equally vibrant forms of writing (and drawing)") they suggested that the "hybrid form of the graphic novel might offer a testing place to probe the limits of history and historiography".[13] Art Spiegelman investigated and communicated his evidence-based interpretations of his father's experiences of the Holocaust in *Maus*, using anthropomorphic characters, which, in Spiegelman's words, "while the mice allowed for a distancing from the horrors described, they simultaneously



Maus, Art Spiegelman

allowed me and others to get further into the material in a way that would have been difficult with more realistic representation".[14] Using *Maus*, Spiegelman also dealt with themes familiar to historians -

> The subject of *Maus* is the retrieval of memory and ultimately, the creation of memory. The story of *Maus* isn't just the story of a son having problems with his father, and it's not just the story of what a father lived through. It's about a cartoonist trying to envision what his father went through. It's about choices being made, of finding what one can tell, and what one can reveal, and what one can reveal beyond what one knows one is revealing.[15]

Spiegelman said that "*Maus* changed the face of the way the medium I work in is perceived. It demonstrated for many that comics could be a serious art form … but it also generated a lot of confusion because of its subject matter" as some critics did not feel that the form of the comic (and its stereotypical association with humour) was appropriate.[16] However, in favour of visually communicating thought-provoking histories, Karen Kurczynski, discussing Raymond Pettibon's untitled installation at *Documenta II* in 2002, which referred to September 11, 2001, said that

> The installation made drawing into something monumentally important precisely because it refused the monumental, historic because it was incapable of representing history (which is supposed to be objective). Drawing as history painting is even fuller of contradictions than drawing as gestural expression. If drawing is the new history painting, it is both diminutive and grandiose, individual and collective. It is crucial that history be represented as partial and subjective today, in order for viewers to internalize [sic] a sense that it directly involves us, that we are more than mere spectators: we have the power to shape it. For this task, drawing is uniquely suited.[17]

The accessibility of drawing allows the boundaries between practitioner and viewer to blur, and encourages active exploration and interpretive engagement in an audience that may otherwise be expected to passively consume more traditional forms of history-communication.

Some historians and philosophers have called for the use of new ways of exploring and communicating history. Hayden White, in his Afterword to

Manifestos for History, stated that "[o]bjective, empirical, causalistic historiography never convinced anyone of anything they did not already believe" and that "what current historiology lacks is imagination, or imaginativeness, or … a capacity to appreciate the cognitive value of image-thinking, especially in an age of mediatisation and the elevation of the image over the word as the sign that addresses both the reason and the senses simultaneously."[18] Robert A. Rosenstone, in an introduction to a conference about Hayden White's life and works, said that "if you have a medium that can tell stories, it can tell stories from the past, the kind of stories we label 'history,' even if the rules of engagement with the remains of that past are far different from those we use when writing academic history."[19] Illustration, as a means of communicating narratives, can be used to tell stories about the past, and its visual nature can allow its audience to engage with it in different ways.

As previously stated, I intended to use my drawing-based project to explore and interrogate history and historiography, practice and theory. Not long after starting my PhD, I was surprised to find that many historians prefer not to trouble themselves with theory (or philosophy about history) in their usual practice; Oliver J. Daddow remarked that most historians' reactions to "philosophizing [sic] about the practice of history" typically runs from "apathy to outright hostility".[20] Additionally, according to Ludmilla Jordanova, "those who are interested in historical theory have shown surprisingly little concern for probing the conceptual challenges of working with visual and material culture, for analysing their place within the discipline of history or for learning from theoretical reflection in adjacent fields."[21] While the phrase "probing the conceptual challenges of working with visual and material culture" refers to how historians use visual and material traces of past experience in creating their interpretations, I also interpret it as referring to how historians can use

visual and material culture in a more practical way, such as, for example, by drawing their interpretations to explore their ideas, or creating products and physical objects to engage an audience.

Traditionally, in the practice of history, there has been a focus on written evidence, which has conventionally been prioritised over other forms of evidence. (However, to take examples from earlier historical works, Herodotus collected oral histories to write *The Persian Wars*, and, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, numismatists - people who collected coins and medals as an academic field - used their expertise to write histories of the rulers depicted on these artefacts.[22]) More recently, there has been a turn towards a broader variety of kinds of evidence; not all stories can be told using the written word alone. Historians are increasingly interested in interpreting evidence from visual and material culture (such as photographs, costume, art, film, and the like), oral testimony, music, architecture, landscape, and so on. Ludmilla Jordanova, in her introduction to *The Look of the Past*, noted that there has been a "veritable explosion of interest among historians in recent times in thinking visually".[23] My work adds to this "explosion" from the perspective of a visual practitioner, and I will return to this quote on p.216, in Chapter 6: Voicelessness.

While traditional assumptions would designate History and Illustration as unconnected, I argue that they share another parallel: they are both creative disciplines.[24] Like literature (which I will briefly explore presently, pp.51-54) their practitioners usually aim at conveying a plausible narrative to an audience, and the said practitioners frequently build that narrative themselves.

Historians, as noted by John Tosh, enjoy the "creative aspect of historical writing [sic], which is what can make it no less exhilarating than the

detective work in the archives".[25] Meanwhile, Ravelli, Starfield, and Paltridge noted that "[a]cademic research is always a creative endeavour, no matter the disciplinary field" - their research focussed on doctoral writing in arts projects.[26] Meg Foster, reviewing Tom Griffiths' *The Art of Time Travel: Historians & Their Craft* (2016), stated that

> While the term 'creativity' is commonly aligned with fiction and unchecked imagination, it means more than this. Robert Franken defines it 'as the tendency to generate or recognize [sic] ideas, alternatives, or possibilities that may be useful in solving problems, communicating with others, and entertaining ourselves and others' … Creativity does not merely involve innovation, but the most efficient and productive way to transfer ideas.[27]

This broad definition of creativity is compatible with my conceptualisation of drawing and illustration, and can be compared with a definition of creativity provided by drawing practitioner and sketchbook advocate Danny Gregory - "[c]reativity doesn't mean just making things up out of thin air. It means seeing and feeling the world so vividly that you can put together connections and patterns that help to explain reality."[28] Historians need to be creative and imaginative in their work, even though it may be unpopular to express an interest in this - Munslow remarked that "even those historians who believe history is a construction … invariably flinch away from narrative experimentation".[29] Historians need not fear creativity - in her article 'Exhibition curation as practice-as-research performance historiography: an incomplete story of audience experience', Kate Holmes said that "harnessing creativity helps all researchers to make new connections through thinking more imaginatively. Placing creativity at the centre of methodologies, as is done in practice as research, still means that you need to use logic and established sense to evidence claims."[30] This could be understood as a mirror to the aims of those historians who prefer to secure their imaginations to what their 'evidence' seems to suggest to them, which I discuss in the next few pages.

Some have drawn parallels between historians and novelists (a profession not too distant from illustrators, in that we communicate narratives to an audience from an invested perspective). R. G. Collingwood noted "the resemblance between the historian and the novelist," saying that both "construct a picture" which combines "a narrative of events … a description of situations, exhibition of motives, analysis of characters" with the intention of creating "a coherent whole".[31] However, in Collingwood's view, here the similarities end. While both utilise their imaginative and creative faculties in the construction of this "picture", "the historian's picture is meant to be true": it must have a specific temporal and geographical setting, it must "be consistent with itself … everything in it must stand in some relation to everything else", and it "stands in a peculiar relation to something called evidence" by which the historian (and any other person engaging with what that historian has created) can judge whether or not it is true.[32]

Selecting which events to prioritise or omit is part of how a historian communicates their chosen narrative. In a footnote in *Metahistory* comparing the practices of historians and novelists, and their use of invention in their work, Hayden White stated that "[u]nlike the novelist, the historian confronts a veritable chaos of events *already constituted*, out of which [they] must choose the elements of the story [they] would tell."[33] This can also be likened to illustrators; if an illustrator is given a specific narrative, they will interpret it in their own way and select "the elements of the story [they] would tell" from what is present in the piece. Discussing how an illustrator would undertake a commission for a magazine article, Darrel Rees said that "[y]ou need to be able to read an article, decide what the crux of it is and convey this in an interesting way, while hopefully bringing a little something extra to the overall spread that is more than just a visual garnish. Ideally, your image should add







to, not simply repeat, what is said in the article."[34] To recontextualise this, if an historian created a new interpretation of a topic, they would be adding to the historiography about that topic, rather than repeating previous works.

Sonya Petersson examined the conventional understanding of the term 'illustration', in which the image is both expected to be "led by something already present in 'the text'" while simultaneously being "demanded to 'elucidate' or expose something that is deviant from its textual source".[35] This applies to what is expected of historians: the historian's imagination is meant to be "led by something already present" in the traces of the past that they study, while the practitioner is "demanded to 'elucidate' or expose something" that is not immediately obvious in those traces. Historian G. R. Elton stated that "[t]he discovery of truth requires not only the … acquaintance with the available evidence and scholarly assessment of it - but also imaginative reconstruction and interpretation", although that imagination must be "controlled by learning and scholarship" while the "learning and scholarship [must be] rendered meaningful by imagination".[36] Richard J. Evans acknowledged the importance of the imagination to historians when he wrote that the historian's ability to combine the "obviously other" and the "seemingly familiar" requires "bridging a series of gaps, in time,

culture and experience, through the use of a disciplined historical imagination."[37] Bernard Bailyn stated that the "literary imagination … should be boundless", while the historical imagination must be "closely bounded [and] limited by the evidence that has survived, and limited too by the obligation to be consistent with what has previously been established", although he acknowledged that historians cannot produce their work in "total, absolute objectivity".[38] Evans, like his precursor Elton, cautioned against the "unfettered" use of the imagination, particularly when faced by "the fragmentary nature of the traces left to us by the past".[39] These examples show a cautious viewpoint popular among many historians.

Along similar lines, it is unhelpful to assume that all illustrators produce work based exclusively on their wildest imaginings. The work of picture book artist Shaun Tan, for example, despite appearing to be fantastical in nature, is based heavily on reality and observational drawing; Tan's "foundation lies in a careful study of the real world".[40] For instance, in my own practice, I can go out onto the street to see how people move and interact, or visit museums and online databases to find references for my characters' costumes and the artefacts in their environments. Some historians (such as Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, p.168) advocate going out, engaging with the world, having experiences, and observing or interacting with different people and situations, in order to inform their research and the things they produce.

Regarding the communication of the fruits of the historical imagination, John Tosh said that they "cannot be shared at all without a good deal of literary flair - an eye for detail, the power to evoke mood, temperament, and ambience, and an illusion of suspense - qualities that are most fully developed in creative writing."[41] This can be compared to illustrator Sammy Harkham's intentions for his comic *Black Death* (2004), in which he hoped that it would

“have all the things I like in ‘serious’ fiction, like complex characters, subtlety, depth, etc, and have the best things from genre fiction, like a certain level of mystery, fun and excitement, with space to explore things like myth and folklore.”[42] Fiction and its features can be fruitfully compared with practices from both History and Illustration.

Tosh’s list of “literary” qualities are also fully developed among illustrators. Illustrators need “an eye for detail”, both in the content of the illustration itself, and in the context in which it is presented; illustrators need to know how to show distinctive characters and narrative events, ranging from vastly different designs down to subtle changes in expression; illustrators also need to know about the format of the item that they are producing work for (such as a book, leaflet, exhibition, digital platform, billboard, packaging, and so on), technical factors (such as image resolution, any colour limitations, print processes if required), legal and cultural issues surrounding the image (copyright, distribution, audience, representation, and so on).[43] When communicating narratives, the illustrator needs to be capable of evoking an atmosphere, and suggesting “mood, temperament, and ambience”. For example, illustrator Michael Heslop said that, when beginning a commission for a book cover in the 1970s,

> I would completely immerse myself in the atmosphere of the given book or subject … At the same time I’d do lots of research and try to build up a collection of pictures or props that I could use to realise my images. Then it was a question of persuading friends and neighbours to model for me so that I could experiment with poses.[44]

Illustrators also need to be able to give the “illusion of suspense” - the scene we portray is only one part of a narrative, and may or may not contain clues as to what will happen next; we want to hold the audience’s attention and keep their interest in finding out what happens in the narrative. Even a standalone illustration, or a single-panel comic, can convey a narrative and hold an

audience's interest. Bell and Sinclair noted that

> By its very nature, the single panel denies any pictorial sense of 'before' or 'after' but instead captures a moment in time, using it to tell a larger story … the single panel narrative has largely been confined to magazines, newspapers and book illustrations - where, often, a line from the text is taken as a starting point for an accompanying artwork. Many comic-book artists, however, are keen to play with the constructs (and confines) of their medium, often resorting to a single panel to convey an implied narrative.[45]

Other techniques, such as turning the page, can be used to generate suspense; in the words of illustrator Brian Floca,

> The page turn is a pause physically built into the story you're telling; the act of pulling back a page imposes a pulse on the book. And pages … are good for both hiding and revealing. That beat in the rhythm of the reading, coupled with that moment of uncovering, creates suspense … a good page turn reveals new information in a way that creates an interesting relationship between the image just seen and the image being introduced.[46]

This technique is more achievable in, say, a picture book or a graphic novel, in which the creator has greater control over the layout, than in a conventional written text.

The practitioner also needs to consider their communication strategies, and to experiment with these in order to achieve the techniques and strategies that will help them convey their ideas most effectively. In her analysis of John Flaxman's drawings, Deanna Petherbridge stated that some of his draft drawings "chart how Flaxman moves towards ever more economical pictorial story-telling through suppression of unnecessary detail and simplification of forms."[47] Describing her project *A Flat Tale*, Jana Čulek used three different ways of communicating visually, "each represent[ing] a specific step in creating a more complex, intricate whole" (quote from p.80); on p.77 Čulek stated that "*A Good Life ABC* pairs the architectural diagram with the alphabet book, *A Flat Tale* conveys the architectural design project through the picture book, and *Pitch* examines the architectural essay through the format of an academic journal."[48] Experimentation with visual communication strategies

can occur in a private space, such as Flaxman's draft drawings, or in a more public context, such as Čulek's three works comprising *A Flat Tale*.

In my practice, my consideration of visual communication strategies involves experimentation and evaluation in sketchbooks, often informed by others' practices and exploring what I find useful or successful about their



methods. Within this, I include practitioners from within Illustration and from other disciplines.[49] In interrogating and observing another's work (for instance, an illustrator or a writing-based historian), I can see what they use in their work (such as colours, compositional shapes, the order in which they approach the subjects in their text, their themes) and then adapt elements of these to fit my research.[50]

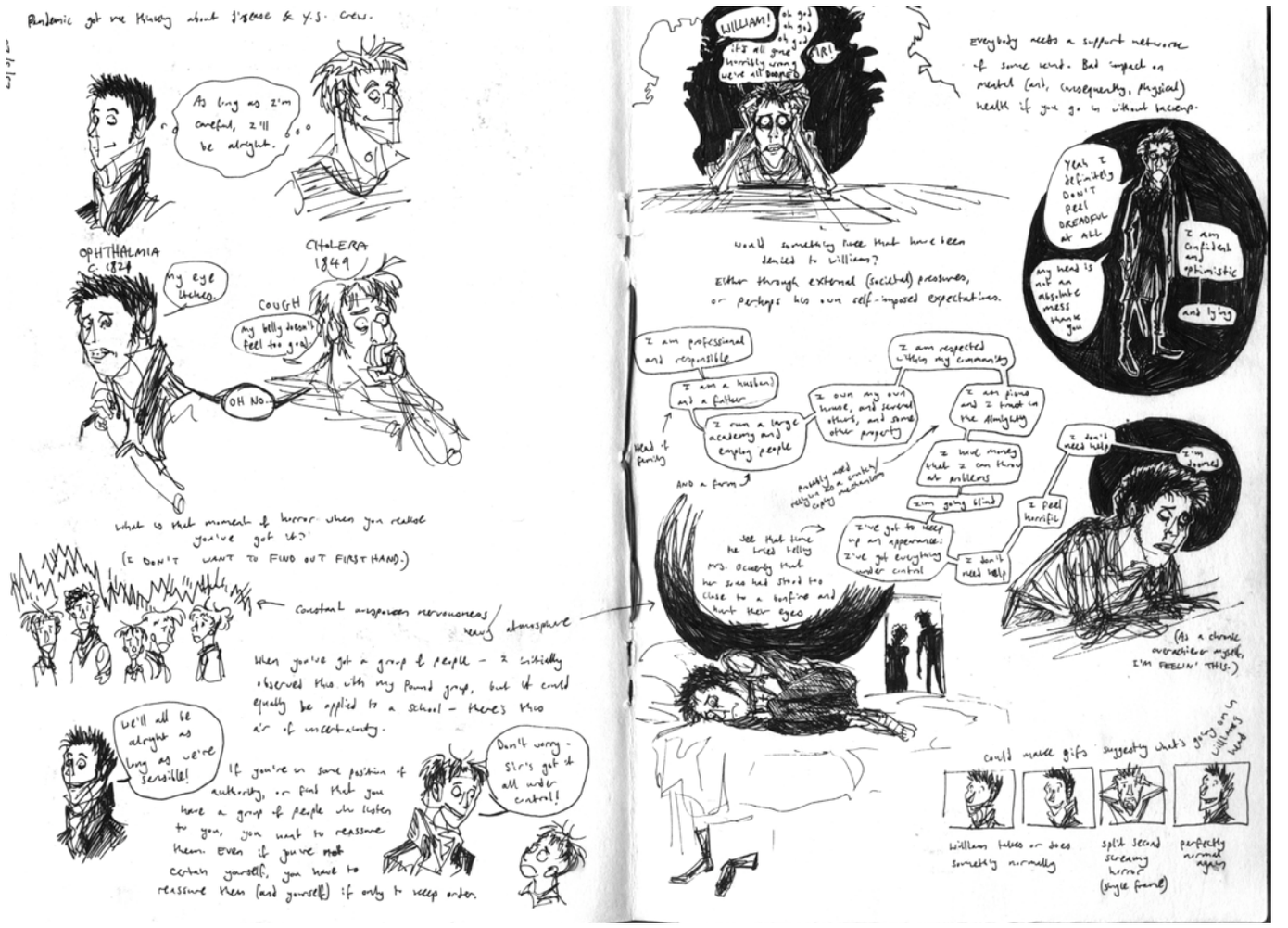
DRAWING AND ILLUSTRATION

I define drawing and illustration as two separate processes. Drawing is a research tool, whereas illustration is a way of communicating ideas; while drawing can also be used for communication, illustration's aims are usually purely communicative. Tim Ingold argued that there are two "broad kinds" of architectural drawing: sketches, for developing ideas, and specification drawings, to communicate those ideas to builders; this is roughly analogous to my definitions.[51]

Drawing is a research tool for the discovery, interpretation, description, interrogation, expression, and processing of information; that information, and understandings that the practitioner has generated based on it, can be (re)interpreted and (re)presented according to the practitioner's aims.[52] Illustrator Posy Simmonds, in her preface to a collection of John Vernon Lord's drawings, explained that "[h]e can, of course, decorate beautifully but his drawings do many other things: they describe, invent, interpret, comment, document, probe, analyse and, in doing so, demonstrate how disciplined and multifaceted illustration can be."[53] Such a multiplicity of purposes and functions makes drawing a highly appealing method for research.

Drawing physically and mentally engages the practitioner not only with the content they are drawing, but with how they are drawing it.[54] In addition to deciding what to draw and how to draw it, and what they wish to communicate by doing this, the practitioner must also contemplate other considerations that exist prior to making to the drawing, and that may arise as the drawing progresses.[55] Before commencing, the practitioner must think about matters such as where on the page to begin, what media to use, any external influences that may have an effect on the work (such as their own

personal circumstances, other practitioners, time constraints, current events, etc.), in what context the finished work will be displayed (such as in a printed



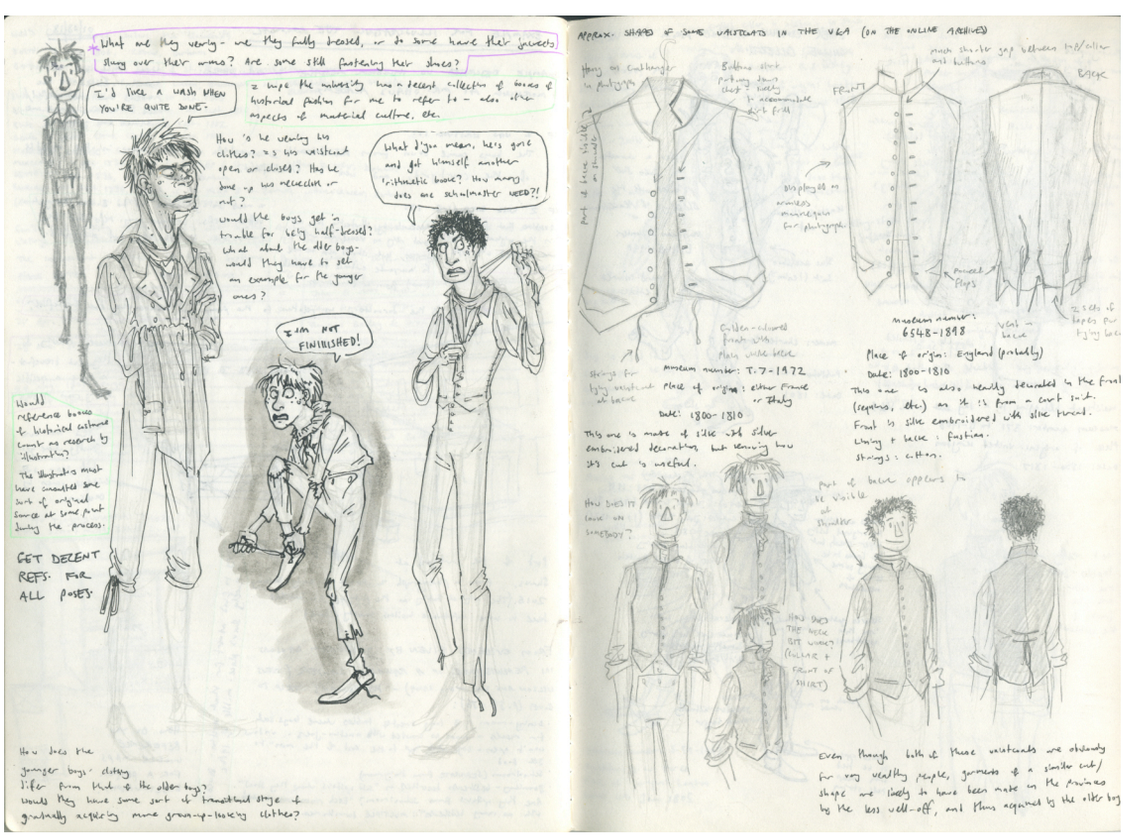
publication, in a private sketchbook, online, etc.), who it is aimed at (for the creator's eyes only, or for a broader audience), and so on.[56] In *Good Old Drawing*, John Vernon Lord said that

> Drawing for me is trying to visualise and bring to life the ideas and range of interpretations that lurk like misty visions inside my head - the composing; the fumbling and stumbling; the sorting out of marks; the rubbing out; the hesitations; the adjustments; the decisions; the hopes and anticipation; the heartache; the overcoming of weaknesses; the taking of risks; coping with and taking advantage of unexpected developments that may arise; gathering up strengths; getting the desired expression and mood; establishing the content; inventing new worlds and the whole process of reaching towards a visual conclusion.[57]

Illustrator Cheryl Kirk Noll told Steven Withrow and Lesley Breen Withrow that she used multiple reference sources, including online images, library research,

her “extensive home library and picture file”, relevant films (which she “reviews carefully whether they have been well researched”), research trips, and conversations with “specialists or academics able to offer new sources of information and to check facts, or simply regular people willing to tell family stories and share unique customs and experiences.”[58] Using a broader range of sources allows for the practitioner to create more engaging and nuanced understandings of their research topic.

During the process of creating the drawing, new considerations may occur; in the words of Susie Foster, drawing can lead to “unexpected discoveries” while Hannah Webb described drawing as “information being translated, weighted and fixed on the paper”.[59] Isabel Seligman said that “drawing is the perfect medium not just for discovering, but for critiquing



discoveries, for questioning statements that arise and their finality”.[60] Ideas can be redrawn, edited, erased, cut up, collaged, placed into different

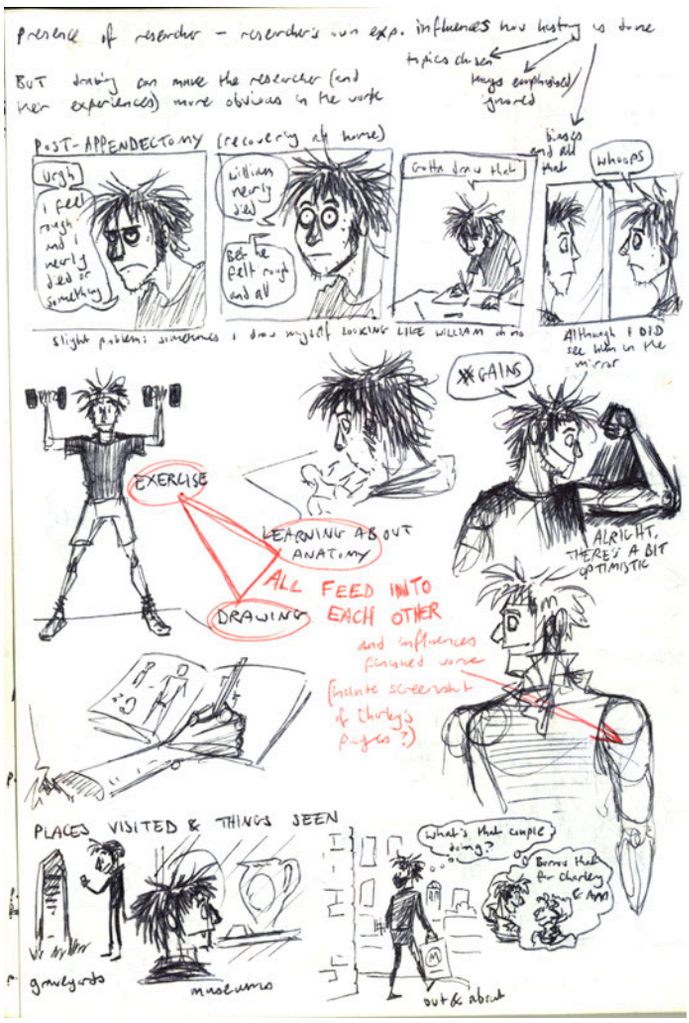
contexts, and used in a variety of ways to question the apparent fixity of marks on a surface.

Sometimes this questioning can focus on different kinds of appropriateness - for example, the practitioner might ask to what degree the drawing itself is or is not appropriate to its creator's research question/s, the historical period depicted, the atmosphere evoked, and whether it is suitable for its intended audience. Sometimes, the process of drawing reveals things that the creator was unaware that they did not know; for instance, the sudden need to find a suitable reference for a character's gesture or an object in a scene, or the realisation that the practitioner's knowledge of anatomy is not what they thought it was.[61] During a series of research drawing trips around Bristol with fellow artist-researcher Lynn Imperatore, Stephanie Black used her marks on the page to observe when she did not have enough information in the process of drawing, noticing "spots of bleeding ink where my pen had hesitated whilst I was focusing on the objects in front of me rather than the page. These are a record of the times when I ran out of information, just as the tentative line or the redrawn heavily emphasized [sic] line show different aspects of this same moment."[62] In a discussion about artist Robert Irwin, Gill et al stated that

> Irwin's work demonstrates how choices about media, process, form and space relate to a particular aesthetic inquiry and a particular place. … His work demonstrates rigour, originality and precision, not because he follows the same method and process as other artists, but because he is able to critically examine and modulate his own production. He is attuned to the limitations of one medium. He changes materials and processes of fabrication when he realizes [sic] that a particular way of working is no longer useful for exploring his interests in the human body and space.[63]

This ability to realise and adapt demonstrates a valuable self-awareness, allowing the practitioner to consider how they understand their experiences in creating the drawing.

The manual act of drawing also encourages skill development. The practitioner can experiment with, for example, new methods of mark-making, or unfamiliar media, testing these and pushing them to the limits of the researcher's knowledge. Their pre-existing influences can come into play here: analysis of other practitioners and creative movements, whether from illustration or other disciplines, can provide useful techniques and strategies for the researcher's intentions.[64] On one of her research trips with Imperatore, Black noted that her "tools weren't quite appropriate for the job, but as they were so familiar I didn't think to question them".[65] However, upon changing her equipment for their trip to Bristol Temple Meads railway station, she found that this "helps me to put down unselfconscious marks (made using my entire arm) and these gestures are a nod to the movement within the station … This trip made the best use of my tools in that my bold, unsophisticated scrawls represented an appropriate response".[66] The physical act of drawing allowed her to evaluate her equipment in line with her intentions for the drawings she made.



Some, such as Ingold, have recognised a resemblance between drawing and other activities that require the physical and mental engagement

of the practitioner, such as walking, or playing an instrument.[67] Lynn Imperatore and Stephanie Black, in their 'Drawing into Knowing: A Natural History' fully acknowledged the physicality of drawing, and how their own physical experiences impacted their drawings.[68] Hannah Gravestock used drawing to inform her figure skating performance by creating drawings based on her memories of "sensation and experience of the physicality I used in my on-ice practice".[69] Activities such as these allow the practitioner to exert their intellect and sense of critical enquiry, while simultaneously deepening their understandings. Quentin Blake, in the 2021 documentary *Quentin Blake - The Drawing of My Life*, remarked that illustrating is like acting. In order to empathise with a character, he imagines that he is that character, and that "I've been told I make the faces of the people in the pictures"; on the same programme, actor Peter Capaldi noted that Quentin Blake "is able to populate the page with characters. He has to think about those characters as an actor would. Figure out who they are, what it is about them that he wants to communicate."[70] When Robert A. Rosenstone explored how history could be done using film, he said that characters

> based on actual historical figures become on screen an invention, for they are created by the intonations, gestures and movements of the actor who is called upon to impersonate an historical figure whose intonations, gestures, and movements are (except for those in very contemporary historical works) wholly unknown to us.[71]

This link between acting and drawing allows for the practitioner to share ideas about characters that may not be effectively presented in other ways.

Some ideas may be more efficiently communicated using drawing and other visual communication methods, as opposed to writing. As reportage artist Lucinda Rogers remarked, "[d]rawing can communicate things that can't be transmitted in any other way. It joins up the conscious and unconscious mind."[72] With regard to visual and material artefacts, Ludmilla Jordanova

remarked that

> It is probably impossible to describe fully any given object - a simple diagram or sketch may communicate its appearance more efficiently. But the creation of descriptions is an unavoidable element of scholarship in the visual and material worlds. While there are limits to verbal description, it is the task of some fields - poetry, drama, fiction, for example - to keep finding new ways of approaching it.[73]

I would add that the visual fields (specifically drawing-based illustration) can also find "new ways of approaching" the creation of descriptions. Meanwhile, regarding less tangible experiences, Robin Nelson discussed how

> Some examples of practice-as-research seem to me to test certain concepts in ways of which words are not capable. For example concepts of space and time, particularly where they foreground human experience of space and time, might best be explored through that experience, through a praxis … rather than through writing or rhetorical debate (both of which are themselves practices).[74]

Research drawings and illustrations (and other ways of visually communicating historical interpretations, such as film or re-enactment) can re-present new versions of "displays of the past for which no visual evidence has survived".[75] To give an example, Admiral A. J. Hepburn, who allowed artist Tom Lea to accompany and depict the North Atlantic Patrol for *Life* magazine, acknowledged the power of visual artists' personal representational responses compared to photography; the admiral said that "not only can [the artist] capture the dramatic intensity of an action and put it on canvas, but also, by proper use of [their] skill, can make scenes and activity more vivid and poignant, stressing and integrating essential elements and omitting unimportant details".[76] The visual practitioner can enliven their topic and present it in ways that emphasise particular interpretations, the marks left by the act of drawing foregrounding their own personal involvement.

Communicating and exploring history using drawing shows the presence of the researcher in their work. In a more direct manner than if the practitioner were to conceal themself behind words, drawing can help to show aspects of the researcher and their experiences, including (as I mentioned above) traces of their thinking on the page, and of their visual influences.

The formats of historical works are typically based in the written word, but these conventional modes of representation can, in the words of Elizabeth Deeds Ermarth, hide "the fact that historical explanation is the ultimate artifice and is anything but natural".[77] There is great scope for productively interrogating and challenging the primacy of writing, but the majority of historians (continue to) produce a wide (and useful) range of monographs, papers, popular books, essays, and the like, apparently with little consideration of the dominance of logocentrism. Some point out what Aaron Sachs (an advocate of creative nonfiction) referred to as "the inadequacy of formulaic writing", while Robert A. Rosenstone, who has explored practically some exciting connections between film and history, asked "[d]o we not acknowledge that different media provide us with other histories that let us understand the world, perhaps in different ways?".[78] If we have more ways of engaging with and interpreting the past, we can benefit from a broader range of understandings and insights about past experiences.

Recently, more historians have branched out into a wider range of source types, and regularly include images in their works, but the focus still remains upon the written word. Some historians and other researchers can use writing, particularly if communicated in traditional scholarly language, to conceal their authorial voice and to appear to suggest that what they are

researching is speaking for itself; arguably, this can even imply that the researcher is merely a conduit for the narratives and interpretations apparently inherent in the evidence.[79] Joyce Appleby, Lynn Hunt, and Margaret Jacob, writing in *Telling the Truth About History*, discuss two sides to this:



> The language of scholarship … makes it sound as if history, not historians, were doing the talking, the authoritative voice of the all-seeing author lulling readers into believing that the information comes from a transcendent place. These conventions for presenting historical knowledge … create the appearance of a dispassionate approach, uncontaminated by partiality or interest, unconstrained by the limitations of a single vantage point.[80]

While I value the benefit of being "unconstrained by the limitations of a single vantage point" (I promote a multiplicity of narratives and interpretations in history), I object to the idea of an omnipotent, omnipresent author, objectively overseeing all, and displaying their opinions as *the* voice of the past, even if they do this unconsciously.[81] Munslow remarked that

> Historians are supposed to be disembodied voices 'reporting' and 'detached in their interpreting' past events. The first rule for the academic historian is that they are not a part of the history narrative. This is the notion of detachment or impartiality. Thus, historians remain outside the past. But while they are not 'character-narrators' they are unavoidably omnipotent because, as authors, they are the voice of the past. … Forgive my saying this but the belief that the historian is objective, dispassionate, detached and indifferent is plainly nonsensical.[82]

If the researcher acknowledges their own subjectivity, rather than pretending to "remain outside the past", then the audience is encouraged to assess the

researcher's standpoint for themselves, and to engage more critically and productively with the work.

It is important to show the presence of the researcher in order to remind the audience that they are not consuming a piece of work (illustration or history) that has mysteriously appeared with pre-formed narratives and conclusions - it is an artefact that has been created by a specific researcher (or a group of researchers in the case of collaborative projects) and the researcher cannot escape themself in order to create something transcendent.[83] The work they produce is filled with aspects of the researcher's own existence: the constant influence of their multitude of experiences, thoughts, prejudices, biases, memories, influences, misremembrances, and other matters.[84] Not only do these inform how they present and re-present elements in their work, but they also inform what they research, how they research it, what parts they focus on or ignore (consciously or otherwise), and so on. In Robert A. Rosenstone's observations on the way he chose to write *Mirror in the Shrine* (1988), he described how



> the self-reflexive mode, and the direct address to the characters and/or the reader, were all part of a certain kind of honesty in the text, a way of giving a sense that behind the smooth flow of historical narrative is a person who has made a lot of choices - aesthetic, political, and moral - in order to create this work of historical representation.[85]

However, most traditional historians are likely to express some discomfort about the idea of openly including themself, or elements thereof, in their work. Jaume Aurell compared several historians' autobiographies, dividing them into two groups: the traditional "constructionist/ conventional" writers, and the unorthodox "experimental/ unconventional" writers.[86] The traditional historians felt a "need to justify a decision that can damage one's academic reputation", framed their autobiographies "as stories that contribute to a larger general history", apologised "for having what might seem to be insolence or audacity in writing a personal testimony", "fear[ed] the blatant exposure of their ideological tendencies, religious beliefs, or political opinions", and used "the same methodology used in their monographs" to write their autobiographies, and tended to write in "a more scientific (read: objective or dispassionate) style".[87] By comparison, the experimentalists "appear[ed] to simply enjoy writing their lives", felt no need for "justification in the prologues", recognised the fictive nature of building their own life-narratives, and were "more aware of the performative dimension" of writing an autobiography.[88] The experimentalists' approaches allowed them to claim agency over their own life-stories: "as constructionists emphasise their authority by stressing objectivity, experimental autobiographers claim authority precisely through the power of subjectivity".[89] The conventional historians appeared to write from a place of discomfort and tension, while the experimentalists used their subjectivity as a strength.

Some historians make their presences known, bringing their audience's attention to the fact that history does not 'speak for itself', and that the account they are reading was created by a researcher or group of researchers. By emphasising the subjectivity of what I make, I claim authority (or authoriality) over my having made it.[90] This history did not merely come into

existence; it was not discovered; it did not happen to me; I made it. It is the result of my choices and my experiences, and of how I perceive and understand the world. For instance, the creators of the articles in *Experiments*



in Rethinking History made their work from openly subjective positions, and made reference to themselves in their work. In Chris Ward's 'Impressions of the Somme: An experiment', "the historian" met a composite character representing a soldier in a trench, who was aware of his status as a created character, and told the historian "But you've got to use your imagination; like a story-teller, right?"[91] This device draws the reader's attention to the links between history and fiction, and to the created nature of history, which I explore to greater depth in Chapter 4.

While these written approaches are highly effective, and may be more appealing and accessible to historians who prefer somewhat more familiar (writing-based) modes of exploration and communication, drawing explicitly displays the presence of the researcher, and, by extension, all their associated interpretations and experiences. These works were made using the researcher's body, involving the practitioner's unavoidable subjectivity, and becoming echoes of their existence; Tim Ingold stated that the lines made by drawing or writing are "the visible traces of dextrous movements of the hand.

And the eye of the reader … would follow these tracks as it would have followed the trajectories of the hand that made them", re-enacting the creator's movements with the eye.[92] Jan Baetens and Hugo Frey, describing the "visual style - or more specifically … drawing style" of graphic novelists and comics creators, alerted their audience to the idea that "style is also often assimilated to one single aspect: the almost biological expression of the author, whose body is made manifest through [their] personal style"; they later mentioned that "the hand and the body - as well as the whole personality of an artist - is visible in the way [they give] a visual representation of a certain object, character, setting, or event".[93] Drawing-based illustration is a highly suitable, although regrettably little-used, way of conducting and communicating historical research.


[random untranslated Latin]
I beg your pardon, you foul child?
Practice research is the way forward!
Oh! Father! I yearn for the traditional academic life!
You can abandon those funny ideas.
But is that not how it is meant to be done?
We have to challenge traditions, not uphold them.
Why do you treat me so harshly, Father?
I am putting a great deal into your creation and upbringing, you blasted ingrate, but I will defend you until the end of days -
But only once I have formed you in my own image.

Chapter endnotes

[1] Nelson, R. (ed.), *Practice as Research in the Arts: Principles, Protocols, Pedagogies, Resistances*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013. On pp.4-5, Nelson (who largely refers to practice-research as Practice as Research, or PaR) reflected on practice-research's struggle for acceptance, but noted "a burgeoning literature" demonstrating its effectiveness and expansion. After noting that "[t]he PaR initiative, as I have come to call it, has a history spanning at least two decades, though research in the arts and arts practices have … a much longer history" (p.11), he also explored developments in debates around practice research on pp.11-17, using one example to suggest that there is "a not untypical trajectory from initial resistance to PaR through to a measured scepticism and perhaps to ultimate understanding" (p.12). On p.93, he discussed how "[a] decade ago, I undertook (with Stuart Andrews) a small research project into the regulatory frameworks of PaR PhDs in the UK and the experiences of students undertaking them. At that time the findings on the latter aspect particularly made somewhat sorry reading. … The situation today is much improved, with an increased level of understanding all round."

In 'Practice-as-research and the Problem of Knowledge', Nelson hoped that "the establishing in 2005 of an Arts and Humanities Research Council … in the UK, perhaps indicates that arts research (at least in the UK) is at last gaining recognition equivalent to that in other disciplines". (Nelson, R., 'Practice-as-research and the Problem of Knowledge', in *Performance Research: A Journal of the Performing Arts*, vol.11, no.4, 2006, pp.105-116. Quote from p.115.)

Meanwhile, Sophie Hope noted that "As quantitative research struggled to gain acceptance within academic contexts, so artists as researchers are slowly demonstrating their methods have rigour and quality while spaces for peer reviewing practice-based research beyond the written page are opening up." (Hope, S., 'Bursting paradigms: a colour wheel of practice-research', in *Cultural Trends*, vol.25, no.2, 2016, pp.74-86. Quote from p.85.)

[2] Research Excellence Framework, *University of Gloucestershire: Results and submissions: REF 2021* (no date) REF 2021. Available at https://results2021.ref.ac.uk/profiles/institutions/10007145 [Accessed 3 January 2023.] Of particular interest is Unit 32: Art and Design: History, Practice and Theory. This unit attained the highest amount of 4-star ratings across the entire university, and had no Unclassified ratings.

[3] Research Excellence Framework 2021 page about the submitted output details for Obata, F., *Illustrated Reportage of Environmental Disasters*, October 2017. Available at: https://results2021.ref.ac.uk/outputs/549d8493-e027-4c94-9719-8b1a720a7ae1?page=1 [Accessed 1 July 2023.]

[4] Candy, L., *Practice Based Research: A Guide* [ebook] Sydney: University of Technology, 2006. Available at: https://www.creativityandcognition.com/resources/PBR%20Guide-1.1-2006.pdf [Accessed 11 January 2018.] pp.1-3. Emphasis original.

[5] Candy, L., *Practice Based Research: A Guide* [ebook] Sydney: University of Technology, 2006. Available at: https://www.creativityandcognition.com/resources/PBR%20Guide-1.1-2006.pdf [Accessed 11 January 2018.] pp.1-3. Emphasis original.

[6] Ludmilla Jordanova remarked that using apparatus such as footnotes and bibliographies, and seeking image permissions, "help[s] to cultivate a careful, engaged visual attention that is the opposite of the unthinking use of illustrations, which, regrettably, remains common. It is always worth analysing how images are used in publications, as this reveals the attitudes of authors and publishers to visual and material evidence." Jordanova, L., *The Look of the Past: Visual and Material Evidence in Historical Practice*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, pp.6-8.

[7] For examples, see Sorrell, A. and Sorrell, M. (ed.), *Reconstructing the Past*, Totowa, New Jersey: Barnes & Noble Books, 1981; Ambrus, V. and Aston, M., *Recreating the Past*, Stroud: The History Press, 2001; Dobie, J., *Illustrating the Past*, Swindon: Historic England, 2019. Admittedly, archaeology is a separate discipline; in addition, in the words of Colleen Morgan and Holly Wright, "Visual communication of our interpretations has been an integral part of the discipline of archaeology from its inception" (Morgan, C. L., and Wright, H. E., (2018) 'Pencils and Pixels: Drawing and Digital Media in Archaeological Field Recording'. (Proof version.) *Journal of Field Archaeology*, vol.43, no.2, 2018, pp. 136-151. ISSN 2042-4582 Available at: https://eprints.whiterose.ac.uk/127198/ [Accessed 27 September 2022.] Quote from p.3.)

[8] Among other examples, Dobie discussed how Alan Sorrell's working drawings "would go to and fro between Sorrell and the expert with both adding notes and asking questions. He was not just a recipient of instructions from the archaeologist, he raised questions and was asked for advice" (pp.36-37), and described how Peter Dunn "does not see himself simply as a conduit for the ideas of others but as a partner in the exposition of a site. Scrutiny of reference material such as maps, site records, artefacts and photographs means that the artist sometimes notices things others have missed" (p.96). Dobie herself noted the importance of working with different specialists, conducting site visits, and viewing the work of reconstruction art as "an ongoing process, valuable in that it raises questions, exposes differences of opinion and promotes debate. The process of reconstruction proceeding from a series of evolving roughs circulated to every person on the team becomes as important as the finished illustration in the archaeological report." (p.137). Dobie, J., *Illustrating the Past: Artists' interpretations of ancient places*, Swindon: Historic England, 2019.

[9] Compare the supporting role of images to Roanne Bell and Mark Sinclair's definition of narrative illustration as "illustration that tells a story in its own right rather than just supporting another medium". Bell, R., and Sinclair, M., *Pictures and Words: New Comic Art and Narrative Illustration*, originally published New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003; this edition London: Laurence King Publishing Ltd, 2005, p.7.

[10] Tosh, J., *The Pursuit of History*, Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd., first published 1980; fifth edition 2010. p.149.

[11] Tosh, J., *The Pursuit of History*, Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd., first published 1980; fifth edition 2010. p.248

[12] Petersson, S., 'Unfixing the Concept of Illustration: Its Historiographical Ambivalence and Analytical Potential' in Petersson, S., Johansson, C., Holdar, M., Callahan, S. (eds.), *The Power of the In-Between: Intermediality as a Tool for Aesthetic Analysis and Critical Reflection*, Stockholm: Stockholm University Press, 2018, pp.321-347. Original emphasis.

[13] Quoted pp.258-259 in Frey, H., and Noys, B., 'Editorial: History in the Graphic Novel', in Frey, H., and Noys, B. (eds. of special issue on history in the graphic novel), *Rethinking History*, vol.6, no.3, 2002, pp.255-260. I return to this quote on pp.185-186 of this thesis.

Frey and Noys chose to use the frequently contested term 'graphic novel' for numerous reasons, including that it offered "the most open term possible whilst avoiding some of the stigma attached to 'comics' in Anglo-American culture" (p.256). There is a great deal of literature on graphic novel/ comics/ comix/ etc. terminology, but this discussion does not lie within the remit of my thesis.

[14] Spiegelman, A., *MetaMaus*, London: Viking (an imprint of Penguin Books Ltd), 2011, p.149.

Spiegelman discussed his immersion in his research on pp.43-70; while he said "I realized [sic] I would need to reconstruct a Vanished World" (p.46) he also acknowledged that "a quest for ersatz verisimilitude might have pulled me further away from essential actuality as I tried to reconstruct it" (p.59).

Spiegelman explored his use of anthropomorphism as an "overarching metaphor" (p.114) using "animal masks that allowed me to approach otherwise unsayable things" (p.127) in the section titled 'Why Mice?', pp.110-159.

Admittedly, I am not sure whether I should use the term 'Holocaust' - Spiegelman himself used it throughout *MetaMaus*, but also said that "I keep wanting to put the word Holocaust - and Graphic Novel too - in quotation marks to disown them. The word Genocide was coined to refer to what happened to my family, and is free of the odd religious implications of 'Holocaust,' a burnt offering." (p.75).

[15] Spiegelman, A., *MetaMaus*, London: Viking (an imprint of Penguin Books Ltd), 2011, p.73.

[16] Spiegelman, A., *MetaMaus*, London: Viking (an imprint of Penguin Books Ltd), 2011, p.74. This was echoed by Frey and Noys, who said that *Maus* "transformed the status of the graphic novel" and "demonstrated the potential of the form". (p.255 in Frey, H., and Noys, B., 'Editorial: History in the Graphic Novel', in Frey, H., and Noys, B. (eds. of special issue on history in the graphic novel), *Rethinking History*, vol.6, no.3, 2002, pp.255-260.)

[17] Kurczynski, K., 'Drawing Is the New Painting' in *Art Journal*, vol. 70, no. 1, 2011, pp.92-110.

In Ewa Domanska's 'A conversation with Hayden White' (Domanska, E., 'A conversation with Hayden White' in *Rethinking History*, vol.12, no.1, 2008, pp.3-21), White said that "[h]istorians are right to resist the passing of laws that tell them what was true and what was not" but that, "in principle, communities have a right to determine the meaning or significance of their own pasts. The uses of a past for practical purposes has nothing to do with professional historiography, and historians have no authority to decide what communities (as against the guild of professional historians) should or should not call various events in their pasts." (p.17) Communities can benefit from taking responsibility for their own histories (which may lead to a sense of empowerment and ownership), and could collaborate with professional historians, using each other's research to generate further investigations and collective connections. (I suggest that drawing and other non-written forms would offer advantages here, but this would be an area for future research and is beyond the scope of this thesis - however, I hope that this thesis can be used in the creation of such research by others, professional or not.)

In a later article, Domanska explored how White believed that the "emancipatory potential of historical reflection" can be activated in numerous ways, such as "to tie historical reflection closer to literature and art", and "to cultivate ethical and educational aspects of this reflection", which involve "capacities inherent not exactly to history itself, but to its scholars". (Domanska, E., 'Hayden White and liberation historiography' in *Rethinking History*, vol.19, no.4, 2015, pp.640-650. Quote from p.643.)

It may also be profitable to compare this line of inquiry with Sande Cohen's ideas on academia and disciplinary control, such as when he described "[t]he professor who is excited in doing research risks offending the bureaucratic requirements of a discipline if the excitement extends into the mode of presentation, writing that exceeds the boundaries of *disciplined* representation." (Cohen, S., 'Academia and nihilism: some critical perspectives' in *Rethinking History*, vol.15, no.3, 2011, pp.393-417. Quote from p.402. Original emphasis.) As can be expected of me by this point, I support enthusiasm and boundary-pushing, and I recommend drawing as a useful way of instigating this.

[18] White, H., 'Afterword: Manifesto time', in Jenkins, K., Morgan, S., and Munslow, A. (eds.), *Manifestos for History*, London: Routledge, 2007, pp.220-231. Quote from p.226.

[19] Rosenstone, R. A., 'What's a nice narrative historian like me doing at a conference like this?', in *Rethinking History*, vol.25, no.1, 2021, pp.31-36, quote from p.35. This comment is reflected in Rosenstone's *History on Film/Film on History* such as in his conclusion (pp.155-164), when he said that "too many academics critique film naïvely, unthinkingly … Because movies run against our notion of proper history" (p.158) but that some filmmakers "are already historians and [we could] take a look at how such film makers create their histories - *why not investigate their rules of engagement with the traces of the past, rules of engagement that come out of the possibilities and practices of the medium in which they work* … The medium and its practices for constructing a past - all ensure that the historical world on film will be different from that on the page" (p.159, italics original). (Rosenstone, R. A., *History on Film/ Film on History*, Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd., 2006.) I also refer to Rosenstone's thoughts on rules of engagement in Chapter 5 - Decontextualisation/ Recontextualisation.

[20] Daddow, O. J., 'No Philosophy Please, We're Historians' in *Rethinking History*, vol.9, no.1, 2005, pp.105-109. Quote from pp.105-106. Daddow stated that these reactions "may be explained by accounting for what it is historians actually do and how they have constructed their collective disciplinary identity as a result" (p.106) and offers further observations - historians resistant to theory and philosophy of history are alarmed by "investigations into the form and content of historical knowledge" and "the deconstructive consciousness" as these investigations and ways of thinking could be viewed as unseating the historians' claims to authority (p.107); they are also agitated by "the identity of the critics. Most have come not from within the discipline but from outside it: from philosophy, critical theory and literary studies" (p.108). I would be interested to find out what they might think to my interference.

[21] Jordanova, L., *The Look of the Past: Visual and Material Evidence in Historical Practice*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012. pp.6-8.

[22] Stunkel, K. R., *Fifty Key Works of History and Historiography*, Abingdon: Routledge, 2011. Section on Herodotus, pp.1-7; regarding Herodotus' methods, Stunkel says he travelled widely and "collect[ed] oral traditions" (p.5). Haskell, F., *History and its Images: Art and the Interpretation of the Past*, New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1993, p.14.

[23] Jordanova, L., *The Look of the Past: Visual and Material Evidence in Historical Practice*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, p.2. In comparison, with regard to the wider acknowledgement of previously marginalised ways of working, Bell and Sinclair noted that "Only relatively recently have [comics and narrative illustration] started to receive the recognition and status as an art form that they deserve." Bell, R., and Sinclair, M., *Pictures and Words: New Comic Art and Narrative Illustration*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003; this edition London: Laurence King Publishing Ltd, 2005, p.7.

[24] They are also both forms of practice-research, as their practitioners learn by doing. Some historians have noted that the best way to learn how to do history is to do it. Richard J. Evans said that "Fernand Braudel once pronounced that history as a discipline 'cannot be understood without practising it'" (Evans, R. J., *In Defence Of History*, London: Granta Books, 1997, p.11) while Hayden White said that "Learning to think historically is like learning a language or an idiom; one learns how to do it by mimesis, by imitating other historians and especially those historians whom one admires. … I would simply give students examples of the best historical writing I know and have them study how the historians think, and feel, and write." (Domanska, E., 'A conversation with Hayden White' in *Rethinking History*, vol.12, no.1, 2008, pp.3-21, p.12).

Likewise, in order to become an illustrator, the practitioner gains experience and knowledge by illustrating - by visually communicating their ideas, most commonly by drawing. Ivan Brunetti said that a "diligent student can read entire books on these subjects [such as perspective, figure drawing, etc.] (it never hurts), but the deepest realizations [sic] come to us from the daily practice of drawing. It is the pencil that teaches best, and anyway, the trees of theory can obscure the forest of practice." (Brunetti, I., *Cartooning - Philosophy and Practice*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011, p.5).

[25] Tosh, J., *The Pursuit of History*, Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd., first published 1980; fifth edition 2010, p.149. Alexander Lyon Macfie noted that "I have felt a desire to play with words and images, and to compose text - a desire satisfied, to some extent, by the writing of history." (Macfie, A. L., 'Invitation to Historians', in Munslow, A. (ed.), *Authoring the Past: Writing and Rethinking History*, Abingdon: Routledge, 2013, pp.196-203. Originally in *Rethinking History*, vol.15, no.3, 2011, pp.431-439. Quote from p.201.)

[26] Ravelli L. J., Starfield, S., and Paltridge, B., 'Re-imagining Doctoral Writing Through the Visual and Performing Arts', in Badenhorst, C., Amell, B., and Burford, J. (eds.), *Re-imagining Doctoral Writing*, Colorado: WAC Clearinghouse and University Press of Colorado, 2022, pp.217-234. p.218.

[27] Foster, M., 'Drawing the historian back into history: creativity, writing, and *The Art of Time Travel*', in *Rethinking History*, vol.22, no.1, 2018, pp.137-153, p.145. Foster quotes from Franken, R. E., *Human Motivation*, (1994), Pacific Grove, California: Cole Publishing, p.396.

[28] Gregory, D., *The Creative License: Giving Yourself Permission to Be the Artist You Truly Are*, New York: Hyperion, 2006, p.11.

[29] p.11 in Munslow, A., 'Introduction: Theory and practice', pp.7-11 in Munslow, A., and Rosenstone, R. A., (eds.) *Experiments in Rethinking History*, Routledge: Abingdon, 2004. In a 2008 article, Sande Cohen noted that "the British Research Assessment program [sic] decidedly funds empirical studies, or makes experimental/ reflexive work on history (theory, critique) all but impossible for younger scholars, in a context that is assuredly hostile to intellectual autonomy" (Cohen, S., 'On the body and passion of history and historiography' in *Rethinking History*, vol. 12, no.4, 2008, pp.515-535. Quote from p.521.) There is evidently room for more creativity and experimentation.

[30] Holmes, K., 'Exhibition curation as practice-as-research performance historiography: an incomplete story of audience experience' in *Studies in Theatre and Performance*, vol.42, no.1, 2022, pp.1-21. Quote from p.12.

[31] Collingwood, R. G., *The Idea of History*, originally published Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1946; this edition Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994, p.245

[32] Collingwood, R. G., *The Idea of History*, originally published Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1946; this edition Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994, p.246

[33] White, H., *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in 19th-Century Europe*, originally published Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973; this edition Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014. Footnote on p.6. Emphasis original.

[34] Rees, D., *How to be an Illustrator*, (second edition), London: Laurence King Publishing Ltd., 2014, p.68.

[35] Petersson, S., 'Unfixing the Concept of Illustration: Its Historiographical Ambivalence and Analytical Potential' in Petersson, S., Johansson, C., Holdar, M., Callahan, S. (eds.), *The Power of the In-Between: Intermediality as a Tool for Aesthetic Analysis and Critical Reflection*, Stockholm: Stockholm University Press, 2018, pp.321-347. Quotes from pp.328-329. Additionally, and in line with some of my other arguments (such as my encouragement of an audience to create their own interpretations, explored later in this thesis, in Chapter 5: Voicelessness), Petersson also discussed how the "acknowledgement of the receiver [the audience] thus follows the notion that the interpretation of the illustration may not be bound by the text", and that there is a tension between "authorial intentions as the parameter of meaning" and "the privileging of the receiver as interpreter" (p.333).

[36] Elton, G. R., *The Practice of History*, Glasgow: Collins Fontana, 1967, pp.109-112. On p.113, Elton said that the historian "must subdue [their] imagination to the controls which scholarship provides. But [they] must not destroy it; on the contrary, [they] must nurture it carefully. The means by which [they do] this, and the purposes to which [they put] it … are also the basis of success in [their] next task, the writing of history." Elton is identified as a reconstructionist in Jenkins, K., and Munslow, A. (eds.), *The Nature of History Reader*, London: Routledge, 2004, pp.21-24.

[37] Evans, R. J., *In Defence of History*, London: Granta Books, 1997, p.214. His remark about the "obviously other" and the "seemingly familiar" reminds me of Hayden White's description of history as "the refuge of all of those 'sane' men [sic] who excel at finding the simple in the complex and the familiar in the strange". In White, H., 'The Burden of History' in White, H., *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978, pp.27-50. Quote from p.50.

[38] Bailyn, B., *On the Teaching and Writing of History*, Hanover (New Hampshire): University Press of New England, 1994, p.72.

[39] Evans, *In Defence of History*, p.89.

[40] Tan, S., *The Bird King And Other Sketches*. Dorking: Templar Company Limited, 2011, p.68.

[41] Tosh, J., *The Pursuit of History*, Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd., first published 1980; fifth edition 2010, p.169.

[42] Harkham, S., on p.89, in Bell, R., and Sinclair, M., *Pictures and Words: New Comic Art and Narrative Illustration*, New Haven: Yale University Press, this edition London: Laurence King Publishing Ltd, 2005.

[43] For a useful guide on the practical considerations of illustration in the industry, see Rees, D., *How to be an Illustrator*, (second edition), London: Laurence King Publishing Ltd., 2014. Regarding content and context, on pp.66-69, Rees described how an illustration commission should begin, including how, when considering undertaking the commission, an illustrator "must decide whether you can engage effectively with the subject matter and the point of view of the piece in question" (p.67); this can also be applied to non-commissioned projects, and to research. Rees touches on a few formats/ usages - book covers, advertising campaigns, and corporate imagery (pp.75-77), and described some media licensing terms (useful when considering format, distribution, etc.) on pp.93-94. See also Withrow, S., and Withrow, L. B., *Illustrating Children's Picture Books*, Cincinnati, Ohio: Writer's Digest Books, an imprint of F+W Media Inc., 2009. While the title specifies a certain genre of illustration, the topics covered by the authors can be applied more widely. Withrow and Withrow discussed character design on pp.42-45; the development and communication of narratives on pp.38-59; form and format on pp.14-15; audiences and markets on p.p.16-17 and pp.166-179; Liz Goulet Dubois contributed a commentary on other products (such as magazines, packaging, fabric design, and toys) on pp.174-175.

[44] Heslop, M., quoted in O'Brien, J., 'The Art of First Impressions' in *Illustration*, no.60, Summer 2019, pp.8-15. Quote from p.11. O'Brien interviewed Heslop about the latter's book covers.

[45] Bell, R., and Sinclair, M., *Pictures and Words: New Comic Art and Narrative Illustration*, New Haven: Yale University Press, this edition London: Laurence King Publishing Ltd, 2005, p.40.

[46] Floca, B., p.41 in Withrow, S., and Withrow, L. B., *Illustrating Children's Picture Books*, Cincinnati, Ohio: Writer's Digest Books, an imprint of F+W Media Inc., 2009.

[47] Petherbridge, D., 'Some Thoughts on Flaxman and the Engraved Outline' in *Print Quarterly*, vol.28, no.4, 2011, pp.385-391, p.386

[48] Čulek, J. 'A Flat Tale: The Picture Book as an Architectural Project' in Allen, L., and Pearson, L. C. (eds.), *Drawing Futures*, London: UCL Press, 2016, pp.77-81.

[49] Austin Kleon foregrounded the importance of influence, saying that "[w]hat a good artist understands is that nothing comes from nowhere. All creative work builds on what came before" (Kleon, A., *Steal Like an Artist: 10 Things Nobody Told You About Being Creative*, New York: Workman Publishing Company Inc., 2012. p.7).

[50] Grant and Jordanova discussed the historians' version of this in their conclusion, saying that a way of sharpening your writing skills is to "read a great deal of historical writing by others, thereby developing the facility for critically evaluating it and emulating the practices that appeal most consistently". Grant, F., and Jordanova, L. (eds.), *Writing Visual Histories*, London: Bloomsbury, 2020, p.166.

[51] Ingold, T., *Lines: A brief history*, Abingdon: Routledge, 2007. pp.162-164. Quote from p.164. On these pages, Ingold also described how "[a]rchitects do not draw to illustrate their works, except for publicity purposes or to impress clients" (p.162) and pointed out another comparison with composers, who "sketch freehand as they work out their ideas" and produce a score to communicate what is needed "for the purposes of performance" (p.164).

[52] Barrett, E., *Disorder*, 2023, p.51. Download links for *Disorder* are available at https://www.academia.edu/99280267/Disorder and https://www.researchgate.net/publication/369618594_Disorder [Accessed 18 April 2023.]

For views on drawing and a variety of its potential usages from numerous practitioners, see Holder, J., and Hodgkinson, P., (eds.), *Good Old Drawing: G. O. D.: A Hundred Illustrators, Artists and Cartoonists who Believe in Drawing*. London: Haus Publishing Ltd., 2012.

[53] Simmonds, P., 'John Vernon Lord' in Lord, J. V., *Drawn to Drawing*, London: Nobrow, 2014, p.14.

[54] Tim Ingold has remarked on this more than once. In *Making: Anthropology, archaeology, art, and architecture* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013) he said that "both head and hand are together complicit throughout the work's unceasing generation" (p.127) while in *Lines: A brief history* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007) he stated that "there is no way, in practice, that the mind can ascend from the surface of the world while leaving the body to route across it, merely collecting data for the mind to assemble into structures of objective knowledge" (p.102). Drawing is not just recording, and, like any other human endeavour, including history, it cannot be purely objective and disinterested; the hand and the head are equally engaged.

[55] In their paper 'Drawing into Knowing: A Natural History', Lynn Imperatore and Stephanie Black decided their intentions for each drawing session (such as, on Day 1, Imperatore's "focus: premise meets interest - how we each engage 'looking'", p.3, and Black's "focus on methods", p.4) which they changed for each session, often in response to earlier sessions. They also chose their materials before setting out for the sessions, and chose where they would stand or sit in the environments in which they drew. Imperatore, L., and Black, S. 'Drawing Into Knowing: A Natural History.' Paper originally presented at the *Drawing Research Network Conference: Drawing Knowledge* at Loughborough University, 2012. Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/278533236_Drawing_Into_Knowing_A_Natural_History [Accessed 19 April 2023.]

[56] See above, note featuring Rees, D., *How to be an Illustrator*, (second edition), London: Laurence King Publishing Ltd., 2014; and Withrow, S., and Withrow, L. B., *Illustrating Children's Picture Books*, Cincinnati, Ohio: Writer's Digest Books, an imprint of F+W Media Inc. , 2009.

[57] Lord, J. V., p.119 in Holder, J., and Hodgkinson, P., (eds.), *Good Old Drawing: G. O. D.: A Hundred Illustrators, Artists and Cartoonists who Believe in Drawing*. London: Haus Publishing Ltd., 2012.

[58] Withrow, S., and Withrow, L. B., *Illustrating Children's Picture Books*, pp.18-19.

[59] Foster, S. (p.56), and Webb, H. (p.109), in Holder, J., and Hodgkinson, P., (eds.), *Good Old Drawing: G. O. D.: A Hundred Illustrators, Artists and Cartoonists who Believe in Drawing.* London: Haus Publishing Ltd., 2012.

[60] Seligman, I., Riley, B. (foreword), and Chapman, H. (preface), *Lines Of Thought: Drawing From Michelangelo To Now,* London: Thames & Hudson Ltd, in collaboration with the British Museum, 2016; this edition 2018. p.29.

[61] Conservationist John Norris-Wood said that "drawing greatly enables me to see [animals] better. … There can be no better way of seeing something than through drawing and this, together with some luck, can lead to a complete visual understanding." (Norris-Wood, J., in in Holder, J., and Hodgkinson, P., (eds.), *Good Old Drawing: G. O. D.: A Hundred Illustrators, Artists and Cartoonists who Believe in Drawing.* London: Haus Publishing Ltd., p.78.)

[62] Stephanie Black, pp.5-6, in Imperatore, L., and Black, S. 'Drawing Into Knowing: A Natural History.' Paper originally presented at the *Drawing Research Network Conference: Drawing Knowledge* at Loughborough University, 2012. Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/278533236_Drawing_Into_Knowing_A_Natural_History [Accessed 19 April 2023.]

[63] Gill, K., van Hellemondt, I., Keravel, S., Leger-Smith, A., Rinaldi, B. M., Arana, U. R., Larsen, J. K., & Benedetti, U. W., 'Beyond mere illustration', in *Journal of Landscape Architecture*, vol.16, no.1, 2021, pp.4-7. Quote from p.6.

[64] Shaun Tan said that "[Paul] Klee has another good metaphor: the artist as a tree, drawing from a rich compost of experience - things seen, read, told and dreamt - in order to grow leaves, flowers and fruit. … artists do not create so much as transform." (Tan, S., *The Bird King And Other Sketches,* Dorking: Templar Company Limited, 2011. p.4)

[65] Black on p.9 in Imperatore, L., and Black, S. 'Drawing Into Knowing: A Natural History.' Paper originally presented at the *Drawing Research Network Conference: Drawing Knowledge* at Loughborough University, 2012. Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/278533236_Drawing_Into_Knowing_A_Natural_History [Accessed 19 April 2023.]

[66] Stephanie Black, p.10, in Imperatore, L., and Black, S. 'Drawing Into Knowing: A Natural History.' Paper originally presented at the *Drawing Research Network Conference: Drawing Knowledge* at Loughborough University, 2012. Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/278533236_Drawing_Into_Knowing_A_Natural_History [Accessed 19 April 2023.]

[67] In *Making: Anthropology, archaeology, art, and architecture* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013) Ingold said that "despite its conventional classification among the visual arts, drawing is closer to music and dance than it is to, say, painting or photography" (p.127) and likened the drawing implement to a musical instrument (p.128). In *The Life of Lines*, Ingold explored comparisons between walking and drawing - "as the draughstman [sic] traces a line with [their] pencil, so the wanderer - walking along - paces a line with [their] feet" (p.60) - but, on pp.60-61, he looked into "important differences between walking and drawing which complicate the idea of path-making as a simple process of inscribing the ground". Ingold, T., *The Life of Lines*, Abingdon: Routledge, 2015.

[68] On p.6, Imperatore stated that, if the two researchers were not physically comfortable when drawing, "protests from other parts of the body may derail the communicative flow of eye and hand." In this paper, they also use drawing as a gateway into thinking about the past. Imperatore, L., and Black, S. 'Drawing Into Knowing: A Natural History.' Paper originally

presented at the *Drawing Research Network Conference: Drawing Knowledge* at Loughborough University, 2012. Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/278533236_Drawing_Into_Knowing_A_Natural_History [Accessed 19 April 2023.]

[69] Gravestock, H., 'Embodying understanding: Drawing as research in sport and exercise' in *Qualitative Research in Sport and Exercise*, vol.2, no.2, 2010, pp.196-208. Quote from p.201.

[70] *Quentin Blake - The Drawing of My Life*, 2021. [TV programme] BBC 2: BBC. (I have also been told that I "make the faces" and that I look like my drawings.)

[71] Rosenstone, R. A., *History on Film/ Film on History*, Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd., 2006, p.39. On pp.28-29, he discussed how actors are "impersonators who utilize [sic] a vocabulary of gestures, movements, and words to create historical figures whose voices and movements are in most cases wholly lost to us and therefore have to be wholly invented." He also noted that "the body language of actor Henry Fonda" in John Ford's 1939 film *Young Mr Lincoln* "perfectly exemplif[ies] how film can create a kind of dimensional, almost tactile historical figure in a way that is beyond the capabilities of the written word" (p.95).

[72] Rogers, L., on p.45 in Holder, J., and Hodgkinson, P., (eds.), *Good Old Drawing: G. O. D.: A Hundred Illustrators, Artists and Cartoonists who Believe in Drawing,* London: Haus Publishing Ltd., 2012.

[73] Jordanova, L., *The Look of the Past: Visual and Material Evidence in Historical Practice*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, pp.16-17.

[74] Nelson, R., 'Practice-as-research and the Problem of Knowledge', in *Performance Research: A Journal of the Performing Arts*, vol.11, no.4, 2006, pp.105-116. Quote from p.108.

[75] Meer, M., 'Heraldry topsy-turvy: Depictions and performances of dishonour and death', in Grant, F., and Jordanova, L. (eds.), *Writing Visual Histories*, London: Bloomsbury, 2020, pp.25-44. Quote recontextualised from p.27, in which Meer stated that "[t]exts preserve displays of the past for which no visual evidence has survived, either because they have been lost over the centuries or because they were never meant to be permanent." To me, this is an invitation to visually explore the historical sublime (for which, see the conclusion, pp.242-243 and pp.248-249, and Appendix 1, pp.253-255).

[76] Renn, M., 'The picture magazine: *Life* and the limits of photography', in Grant, F., and Jordanova, L. (eds.), *Writing Visual Histories*, London: Bloomsbury, 2020, pp.133-146. Quote from pp.135-136.

[77] Ermarth, E. D., 'The closed space of choice: A manifesto on the future of history', in Jenkins, K., Morgan, S., and Munslow, A. (eds.), *Manifestos for History*, London: Routledge, 2007, p.50-66.

[78] Sachs, A., 'Letters to a tenured historian: imagining history as creative nonfiction - or maybe even poetry', in *Rethinking History*, vol. 14, no. 1, 2010, pp.5-38. Quote from p.6. Sachs mentioned that "[t[here are clearly openings in the history profession for scholars trying to write creatively. But there are also strong pressures still driving young historians toward established conventions, pressures that go beyond personal opinions to the deep structures of the profession and the discipline" (p.7) and noted that "the epistemologists seem to be saying that formal experiments could actually serve to strengthen the discipline's validity" (p.23).

Rosenstone, R. A., 'What's a nice historian like you doing in a place like this?', in *Rethinking History*, vol. 13, no. 1, 2009, pp.17-25; quote from p.17. Rosenstone remarked that an imagined 'proper' historian would advise a practitioner with more experimental interests to "[f]orget about those flickering images on the screen, my son. Get out of Plato's cave and take a look at reality. You can find it right there on the page, words in black on white. You want the past? There it is, presented to you in neat paragraphs and numbered chapters. That's all the history you need." (p.17). (I love a good send-up of correspondence theory.)

More optimistically, in 2001, Richard Price described how "a number of leading historians have spent the past couple of decades probing the constructedness of the stories people tell about themselves and the rhetorical means they use to persuade others, and narrative experiments that push the boundaries of historical truth and fiction have by now

become commonplace. Yet I for one truly believe we are very much the richer for this expanded awareness of the possibilities of narrative experimentation in anthropological and historical writing." (Price, R., 'Practices of Historical Narrative', in Munslow, A. (ed.), *Authoring the Past: Writing and Rethinking History*, Abingdon: Routledge, 2013, pp.84-90. Originally presented at the Opening Plenary, American Historical Association, Boston, 4 January 2001. Later published in *Rethinking History*, vol.5, no.3, 2001, pp.357-365. Quote from p.87.)

[79] Jenkins remarked on empiricist historians' "ambition … to let the facts speak 'for themselves', unmediated by the bulk of the ventriloquist-like (and possibly biased) historian". (Jenkins, K., *Re-thinking History*, London: Routledge, 1991, p.37.) On p.53, he quoted Terry Eagleton, "writing about what the academic study of literature is predominantly about (for 'literature' read 'history')"; Eagleton said "[b]ecoming certified by the state in literary studies … is a matter of being able to talk and write in certain ways. It is this which is being taught, examined and certificated … Nobody is especially concerned with what you say … provided [it is] compatible with, and articulated within, a specific form of discourse" (Eagleton, T., *Literary Theory*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1983, p.201).

[80] Appleby, J., Hunt, L., and Jacob, M., *Telling the Truth About History*, London & New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1994, p.245. By comparison, Sachs said "I want a history I can use, and I can use it more easily if you show me the passion of your own investment in it. If you present it 'for its own sake', as if you didn't care, then it dies again on the page." (Sachs, A., 'Letters to a tenured historian: imagining history as creative nonfiction - or maybe even poetry', in *Rethinking History*, vol. 14, no. 1, 2010, pp.5-38. Quote from p.31.)

[81] Discussing bias, Jenkins remarked that "sources are mute. It is historians who articulate whatever the 'sources say'," pointing out that a number of historians tackling the same sources will produce different interpretations. (Jenkins, K., *Re-Thinking History*, London: Routledge, 1991, p.38.) Whatever the sources are 'saying' can't come from a "transcendent place", otherwise the historians would all produce the same interpretation.

[82] Munslow, A., 'History, skepticism and the past', in *Rethinking History*, vol.21, no.4, 2017, pp.474-488. Quote from p.478.

[83] Jenkins pointed out that "History is a contaminated discourse which cannot be purified of the tensions and ambiguities - never fully knowable - of situation, circumstance, authorization [sic], legitimation, play … the circumstances which variously and unmeasurably infuse the historians' texts with life and which, whilst not ignoring the empirical/ epistemological components of historicisation, are undermined by them." (Jenkins, K., '"Nobody does it better": radical history and Hayden White' in *Rethinking History*, vol.12, no.1, 2008, pp.59-74. Quote from p.66.)

[84] For examples of history openly influenced by the historian's own experiences, see Rosenstone, R. A., *Mirror in the Shrine: American Encounters with Meiji Japan*, Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: Harvard University Press, 1988; Walker, J., *Pistols! Treason! Murder!: The rise and fall of a master spy*, originally published Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2007; this edition Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009. See also numerous instances in *Experiments in Rethinking History*, such as Judith P. Zinsser's 'A prologue for La Dame d'Espirit', and Maureen Healy's 'Dictator in a dumpster'. Zinsser, J. P., 'A prologue for La Dame d'Espirit: a biography of the marquise Du Châtelet' in Munslow, A., and Rosenstone, R. A., (eds.) *Experiments in Rethinking History*, Routledge: Abingdon, 2004, pp.195-208. Healy, M., 'Dictator in a dumpster: thoughts on history and garbage' in in Munslow, A., and Rosenstone, R. A., (eds.) *Experiments in Rethinking History*, Routledge: Abingdon, 2004, pp.225-227. Originally published in *Rethinking History*, vol.3, no.1, 1999, pp.81-83. Using your own experiences is also common among drawing practitioners. For the importance (and joy) of drawing your experiences, see Gregory, D., *The Creative License: Giving Yourself Permission to Be the Artist You Truly Are*, New York: Hyperion, 2006. For literally drawing from experience, see Foreman, M., *Travels With My Sketchbook*, London: Templar Publishing, 2017; see also Lewis-Jones, H., Herbert, K., *Explorers' Sketchbooks: the Art of Discovery & Adventure*. London: Thames & Hudson, 2016.

[85] Rosenstone, R. A., 'Introduction', in *Rethinking History*, vol.5, no.3, 2001, pp.411-416. Quote pp.412-413.

[86] Aurell, J., ‘Autobiography as Unconventional History: Constructing the Author’ in *Rethinking History*, vol.10, no.3, 2006, pp.433-449.. Quote from p.435.

[87] Aurell, J., ‘Autobiography as Unconventional History: Constructing the Author’ in *Rethinking History*, vol.10, no.3, 2006, pp.433-449.. Quotes from pp.435-439.

[88] Aurell, J., ‘Autobiography as Unconventional History: Constructing the Author’ in *Rethinking History*, vol.10, no.3, 2006, pp.433-449. Quotes from pp.439-440 and p.446.

[89] Aurell, J., ‘Autobiography as Unconventional History: Constructing the Author’ in *Rethinking History*, vol.10, no.3, 2006, pp.433-449. Quote from p.447.

[90] Munslow, A., ‘Introduction’, in Munslow, A. (ed.), *Authoring the Past: Writing and Rethinking History*, Abingdon: Routledge, 2013, pp.1-6. On p.1, Munslow says that “‘doing history’ is an authorial activity. This seems to suggest that the past is always authored as history. I believe it is. … the most basic principle of ‘historying’ is that it is an authorial activity.” Richard Price’s piece, ‘Practices of Historical Narrative’, also discusses the usefulness of conscious authorial choices in the creation of work. Price, R., ‘Practices of Historical Narrative’, in Munslow, A. (ed.), *Authoring the Past: Writing and Rethinking History*, Abingdon: Routledge, 2013, pp.84-90. Originally presented at the Opening Plenary, American Historical Association, Boston, 4 January 2001. Later published in *Rethinking History*, vol.5, no.3, 2001, pp.357-365.

[91] Ward, C., ‘Impressions of the Somme: An experiment’ in Munslow, A., and Rosenstone, R. A., (eds.) *Experiments in Rethinking History*, Routledge: Abingdon, 2004, pp.89-123. Originally published in *Rethinking History*, vol.1, no. 3, 1997, pp.275-309. Quote from p.108.

[92] Ingold, T., *Lines: A brief history*, Abingdon: Routledge, 2007, p.26. In the same book, Ingold states that “the sketch embodies its history on a single sheet” (p.167). In a study exploring the identities and adaptational strategies of arts-based students engaged in research degrees, John Hockey noted that the students “repeatedly articulated the meaning of using their hands creatively in many ways, and there was much emphasis upon the hands-eyes relationship and the importance of being skilled in visual language”. (Hockey, J., ‘Practice-Based Research Degree Students in Art and Design: Identity and Adaptation’, in *International Journal of Art & Design Education*, vol.22, no.1, 2003, pp.82-91. Available at: http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/1468-5949.00341/abstract [Accessed 16 February 2018]. p.84.)

[93] Baetens, J, and Frey, H., *The Graphic Novel: An Introduction*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015, p.135 and p.137.

Chapter 2 - Comics, Drawing, and History

In this chapter, to contextualise my work further, I discuss several other graphic histories/ history-related comics (and history-adjacent graphic narratives such as adaptations of nineteenth century literature), comparing them and their devices with devices I use in my work. In an article published in 2005, comics practitioner and visual language researcher Neil Cohn said that "Comics have conveyed static drawn visual narratives for over a century, and growing research suggests that sequential images combined with text are an effective tool of communication and education … beyond just being entertainment."[1] Comics scholar Joseph Witek described comics as "much less linear than prose and more simultaneous in the narrative effects that are possible, while they remain connected to traditional prose narrative by their extensive generic and thematic heritage."[2] In addition to being useful for communicating history, comics are also useful for investigating and exploring historical topics, which is how I use comics and sequential images in my work.[3]

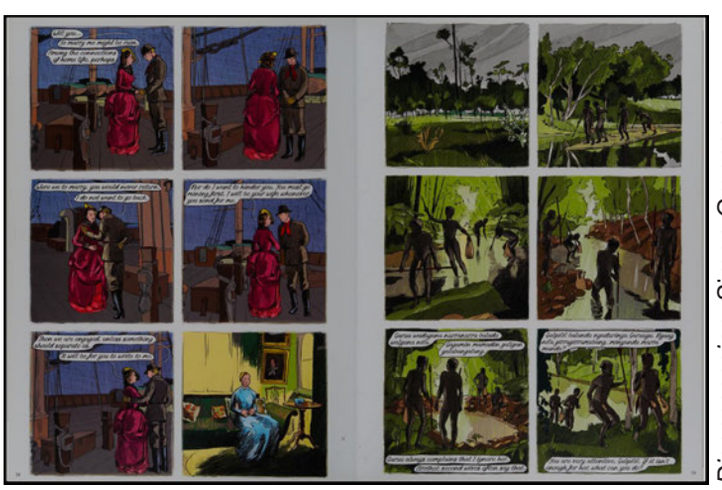
Several varieties of graphic narrative exist. In *Pictures and Words: New Comic Art and Narrative Illustration* (2003; this edition 2005), Roanne Bell and Mark Sinclair categorised graphic narratives into three main categories: silent, single panel, and text and image.[4] Cohn described a simplified understanding of the majority of comics as typically consisting of "a sequence of images … to define a narrative, integrating text throughout, though this is not the only interplay between these elements", within which he included forms such as "[s]ingle panel comics … '[s]ilent' comics … [and] works … dominated by text, relegating the images to illustrative roles".[5] This list echoes the above categories suggested by Bell and Sinclair. However, my own work disrupts these categories. *Disorder* is mostly wordless (rather than purely silent), unless



Gemma Bovery, Posy Simmonds

the audience chooses to interpret the preceding and following written elements as part of the main comic; additionally, the majority of *Disorder* could be understood as a series of single panels, one per page, but this is complicated by pages containing more than one panel. The comics in this thesis also refuse to conform to one category: some of them integrate words in some way (and all of them are integrated into the text of the thesis).

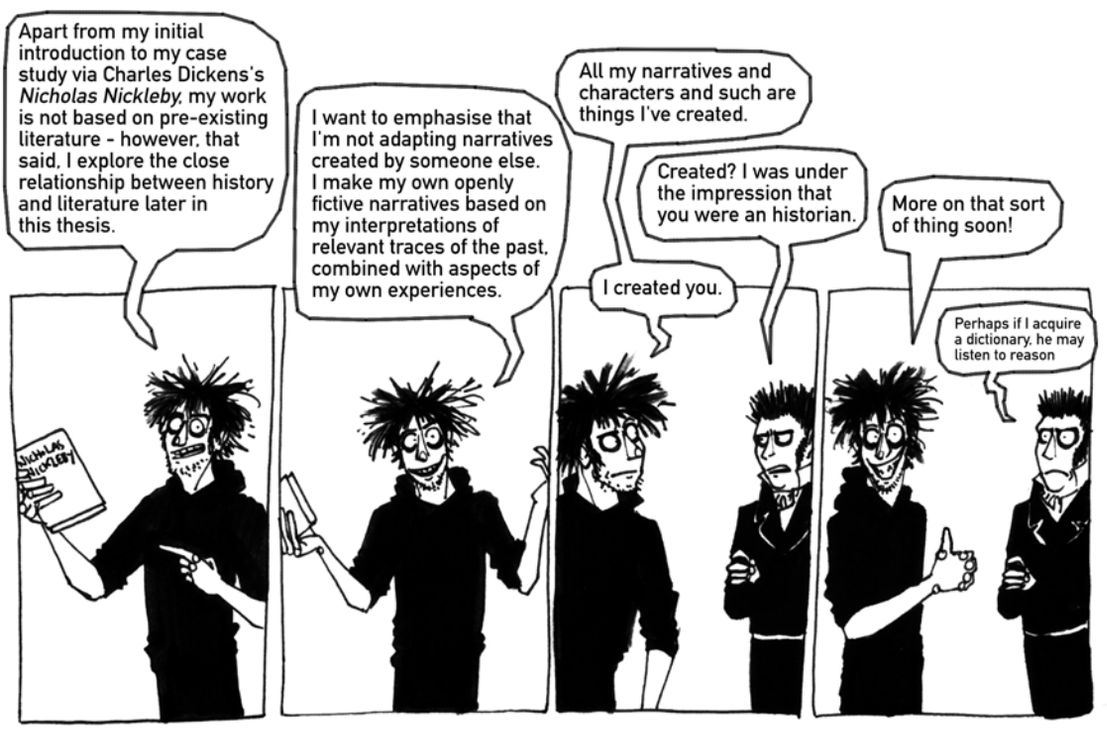
I look at adaptations and remakes of nineteenth century literature, specifically Posy Simmonds' 1999 *Gemma Bovery* (in which Simmonds recontextualised Gustave Flaubert's 1857 novel *Madame Bovary* to the end of the twentieth century) and Simon Grennan's 2014 *Dispossession* (an adaptation of Anthony Trollope's 1879 *John Caldigate*, kept in its original nineteenth century context, with a new parallel plot). "Literary adaptations have always been part of comics culture", according to Jan Baetens and Hugo Frey (2015).[6] David Skilton and Simon Grennan noted that most "graphic adaptations of literary fiction … have been motivated either by pedagogy or by hagiography", in which the former "assumes that narrative drawing is more accessible to children than text", and the latter "assumes that the source text is an original to which adaptations must



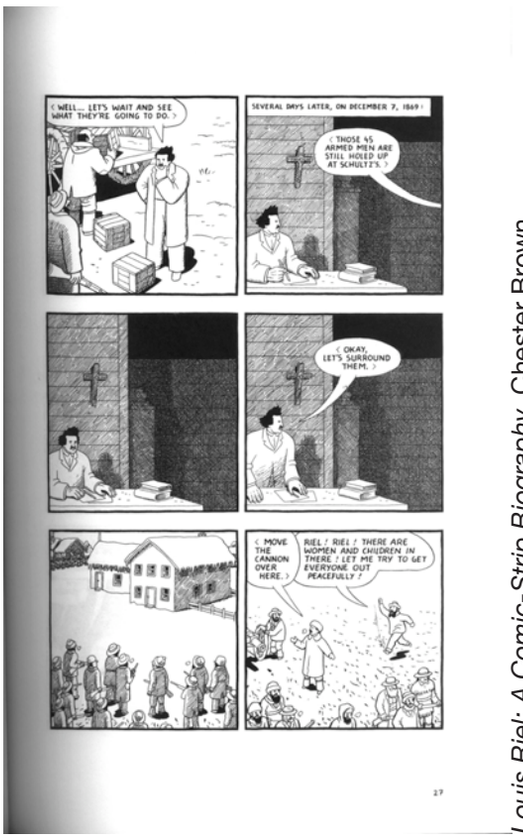
Dispossession, Simon Grennan

aspire by overcoming the assumed limits imposed by their own media".[7] Similarly, Baetens and Frey noted the "timidity of the comics adaptations" (associated with "the didactic and reverential attitude toward the literary masterpiece and the big book"), while also observing that graphic novels "are not afraid of taking liberties with the material they adapt".[8] In light of this, even though my work is not literary adaptation, my work sits closer to graphic novels in this respect.

Comics practitioner-researcher Simon Grennan and text/image scholar Laurence Grove (2015) said that "Above all, questions of adaptation bring us to those of overlap and spill-over, as the utilisation of the past, or the imagining of the past, allow us to understand the present, whereupon an adaptation becomes a self-standing creation, not a satellite."[9] This can apply not only to adapting obviously fictional literature into graphic narratives, but to



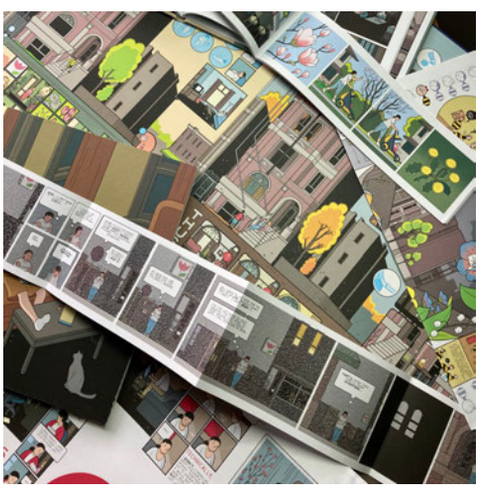
adapting ostensibly non-fictional (yet still fictive) histories into a visual format.[10] However, this is where my work differs: I am not adapting narratives created



Louis Riel: A Comic-Strip Biography, Chester Brown

by someone else, but creating my own narrative interpretations based on my understandings of relevant traces of the past.

Experimental and open comics - such as Chris Ware's 2012 *Building Stories* and Chester Brown's *Louis Riel: A Comic-Strip Biography* (originally published 1999-2003; this edition 2007) - are also relevant to my work.[11] Comics practitioner and theorist Scott McCloud described experimental comics as "antithetical in some respects to the very *idea* of a common style [but] share a common *spirit* of *formal exploration* and *intellectual challenge*", adding that some "*comics* and *creators* … simply *defy categorization* [sic] of any sort".[12] He also discussed the importance of breaking or even ignoring rules, saying that "those who *pick* and *choose* their rules" can benefit from the experience and techniques of other practitioners.[13] This fits with my position as a historian: I use my drawing-based work to challenge and break 'rules' (or accepted conventions) in the (traditionally written) exploration and communication of history, and I also advocate interdisciplinary practices.



Building Stories, Chris Ware

Disorder's constant changing between visual styles allows it to stand

apart from most graphic novels.[14] Baetens and Frey remarked that

> it is easier said than done for a graphic novelist to change styles within a given work: drawing is a painstakingly hard job, it takes a lot of time and energy to achieve a personal signature, and the use of a drawing style as an individual trademark is crucial for the recognition of a work and an author within the graphic novel market. In that sense, changing style goes against the grain of what graphic novel drawing is all about.[15]

In this sense, *Disorder* questions conventional conceptions of what works of history can be, and also expands its audience's expectations of graphic narratives.

Wordless narratives, such as the woodcut novels created by Frans Masereel in the early to mid twentieth century, are also relevant to my work.[16] Illustrator Tom Gauld said that

> because we are so used to reading words, we find them reassuring to have in comics, and sometimes this is bad as some readers can just skim over the pictures to get to the next set of words. In a story told entirely with pictures, especially in one-image-per-page books like [Andrzej] Klimowski's or [Frans] Masereel's, the reader is being asked to look into the pictures more to find the story, and the narrative can be more abstract or poetic.[17]

Cohn wrote that "comics consist of images and text, most often with the images in sequence" but also mentioned that silent comics "contain no words at all".[18] McCloud said that "it doesn't *have* to contain words to be comics", and applauded artists such as Lynd Ward and Frans Masereel for creating works that could indicate some future developments in comics.[19]



The Idea, Frans Masereel

Woodcut novel historian David A. Beronä stated that Masereel created "a unique form of storytelling called the novel in pictures, or, sometimes, the woodcut novel", and continued to say that "wordless novels

have their roots spreading back through the history of the graphic arts … wordless novels played an important rôle in the development of narrative theory, and are the cornerstone for today's genre of wordless comics and children's wordless picture books."[20] While my comic *Disorder* and my deck of cards *(Un)Known Associates* are not woodcuts, they may be tangentially connected to woodcut novels such as Masereel's *The Idea* (1920) and Ward's *Gods' Man* (1929). These silent works, arguably precursors to the graphic novel, typically consist of one image per page, which frequently feature symbols for the viewer to decode in order to allow them to create an interpretation of the story.[21] Beronä described Masereel's novels as using the "more democratic medium of … the book" combined with the woodcut "to reach a wide audience without regard for language or literacy", making his work more accessible to a broader potential readership.[22] Similarly, writer and cartoonist Chris Lanier said that the wordlessness of Masereel's works "allow[ed] the books to traverse the nationalist boundaries of language and even the class boundaries of literacy".[23] In this way, Masereel and other wordless novelists encourage a popular audience to participate imaginatively in their narratives to a greater extent than perhaps words alone might allow, to discuss and develop different interpretations, and to learn how to acknowledge ambiguity.[24]

Discussing how my work (primarily *Disorder* and *(Un)Known Associates*) sits alongside these examples, I focus on several devices that I and these practitioners use: self-awareness, character design, audience involvement, multiple and/or contrasting viewpoints, and nonlinearity.

My work incorporates (and encourages) self-reflexivity in historical practice. Witek, discussing Art Spiegelman's *Maus*, said that "Any writer, even (or especially) an autobiographer, creates a fictional persona when he or she [or they] begins to write. In autobiographical comics, where the writer imagines



not simply a verbal 'I' but a physical figure for [their] own character, the relation between writer and narrator becomes even more complex."[25] I can apply this to the way in which I use a version of myself - Drawn Ed - in this thesis, and how the written version of me (whose voice you are reading now) is also not the real Ed.[26] The comics allow (a version of) me to exist in the same space as my characters, questioning the unattainable ideal of objectivity by interacting with them and potentially blurring the boundaries between 'reality' and 'fiction'.

In his final case study in *Comic Books as History* (1989) - on Harvey Pekar's *American Splendor* (originally published between 1976 and 2008) - Witek noted Pekar's use of an "autobiographical persona [who] addresses the reader", occasionally breaking the fourth wall.[27] Pekar did not draw his own comics: he wrote them, and then had comics artists draw them for him, resulting in an intriguing medley of visual styles all trying to communicate the same realism in Pekar's stories of everyday life. Witek said that, due to this mixture,

> the visual component of his character is continually being interrupted by his artist-collaborators, and these versions of Harvey overlay the fictional personae he adopts for himself. … Despite the singleness of his autobiographical vision and the willed smallness of his arena of action, Harvey Pekar is many people, and in *American Splendor* the sequential art medium embodies in its material form the collaboration of other people in the construction of individual identity.[28]

Cohn claimed "the standard practice of creation in the current [comics] industry uses … different individuals [to] contribute various skills to construct an eventual product", and mentioned how "truly fluent producers of visual language have been distinguished from the industry line approach, dubbed 'writer-artists,' as if they are exceptions to the standard of piecemeal production methods."[29] Despite Pekar originally self-publishing *American Splendor*, his work is closer to Cohn's description of typical comics industry

practice; however, my work, being produced by a single practitioner, would fit with Cohn's 'writer-artists'.

Literature scholar Eric L. Berlatsky called Simmonds' *Gemma Bovery* "a cleverly self-reflexive adaptation", describing the book as a "hybrid text" that modifies elements such as format, setting, and time period.[30] Berlatsky added that

> the 'view from outside' provided by the visual depiction in each comics panel reminds the reader that the characters whose voices are seen/heard in the text (including both Gemma's and Joubert's) are not truly presenting themselves, but are always also presented by the controlling hand of the cartoonist. … *Gemma Bovery* continuously and subtly reminds its readers that 'agency' in a fictional text is always itself a fiction, as all movements of all characters are determined by the cartoonist.[31]

The creator of the narrative controls the characters that they create, although Simmonds' characters are unaware that she directs their actions. I would agree with this idea, and I would add that my work deviates from Simmonds' work as my characters are ultimately self-aware, particularly as evidenced in the comics in this thesis. They know that I have created them (and sometimes vocally argue about it), and I use this to highlight the created nature of history (for more, see Chapter 4: The Created Nature of History).

CHARACTER DESIGN

Comics and sequential image-based narratives give me an arena in which I can make my characters perform and interact (with each other and with a version of me), based on my research into relevant traces of the past combined with my own experiences and agency as creator.[32] Using drawing, my work is unfettered from the potential lengthiness (or inefficiency) of words, liberated by the immediacy of visuals, but supplemented by the use of written

text if I choose.[33] I can present the characters' gestures and expressions, rather than trying to describe their actions or emotions in a piece of prose. I am also able to show the environments in which I place my characters, from various 'camera' angles, displaying the breadth and depth (and inadequacies) of my research into contemporary visual and material culture relevant to my case study, which a writing-based historian might not feel it necessary to undertake as they do not need to visually evoke their ideas.[34] I also use comics to test out ideas for characters and for narratives; for instance, working out how the characters move, what gestures they could use, and how they might communicate with other characters in different situations.[35] This allows me to develop my characters to make them more 'three-dimensional', and to use my sketchbooks to see how my interpretations of them change over time.



Louis Riel, Chester Brown, p.166

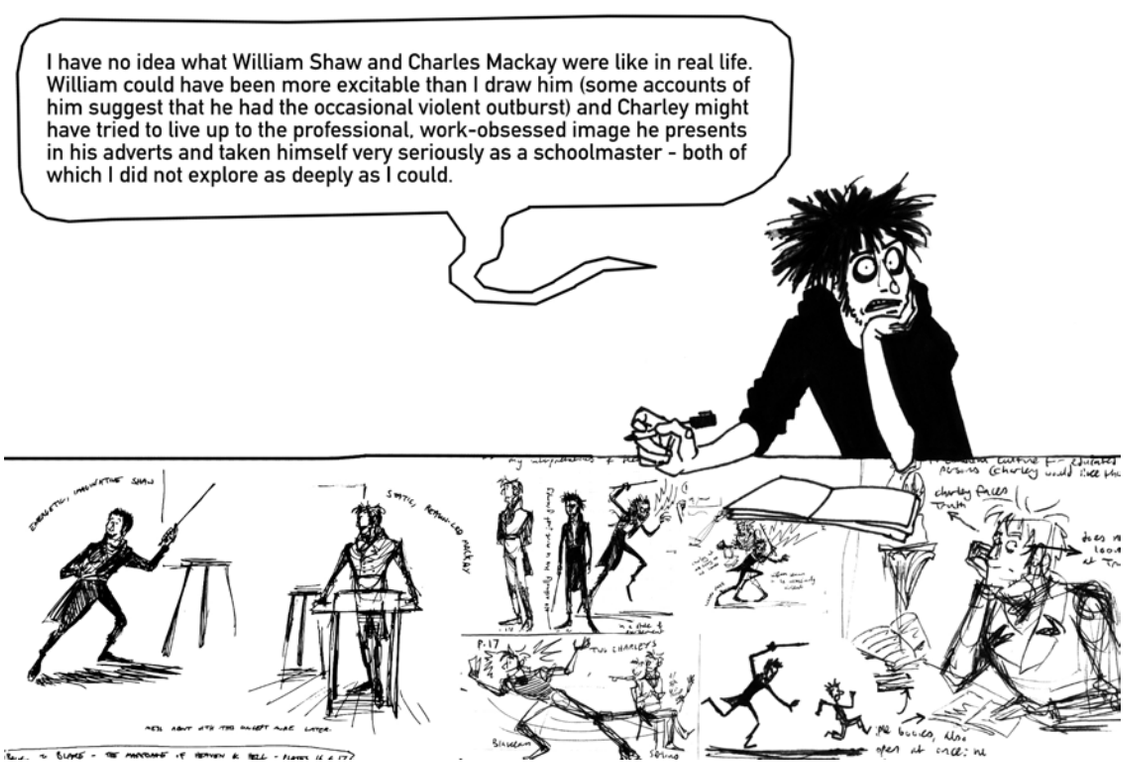


Louis Riel, Chester Brown, p.192

Critic Ross Langager analysed Chester Brown's use of contrasting characterisation in how he depicted Louis Riel and Gabriel Dumont, "his slightly-less-famous ally".[36] Langager noted that, as the book progresses, Riel

and Dumont's "identifications … become crystallized [sic] in their actions", with Riel becoming ever more religious - such as when he "plays the role of Old-World Christian holy warrior", prays with his body in the shape of a cross, and "spouts theology in the rifle pits" - and Dumont increasingly becoming "an action-hero frontiersman", riding through the woods, and "lead[ing] the men in battle hidden amongst the trees in a ravine … their closeness to the natural landscape is inescapable, until they almost *become* the landscape".[37] This polarisation allows for conflict between the characters and what they represent, such as on pp.164-167 of *Louis Riel*, when Riel and Dumont disagree over tactics.

Brown's contrasting characterisations of Riel and Dumont may be related to how I use it in depicting William and Charley, another pair of 'civilised'/'wild' opposites, and in various other pairs of characters.[38] My characterisation of William as sophisticated and professional compared to the wild and enthusiastic Charley is based partly on their originals' respective



advertisements (Shaw's adverts being very concise and businesslike, Mackay's adverts being very garrulous and occasionally containing lengthy passages of pseudo-autobiography).[39] I also used considerations of William Blake's ideas about Reason and the Imagination, combined with visual character design (utilising strategies such as scale, colour, body shape, and so on) to ensure that they were both sufficiently visually (and behaviourally) different from each other, to prevent audience confusion and to allow me to explore how such depictions could influence interpretations of the potential power dynamic between them. In this way, as the creator of these characters, I can emphasise that historians (such as myself) do not 'find' our characters in traces of the past, but create them.

In Ware's 2012 *Building Stories*, the viewer uses visual clues to help them build a chronology that the stories can fit within, while reading the components in any order they choose. Narratologist Kai Mikkonen explained that "the reader can make inferences about the order of the events on the basis of the image contents" relating to changes experienced by the characters, such as signs of ageing or developments in the protagonist's inner life.[40] This is similar to what I do by using the same set of characters (who I designed to be recognisable across my PhD work) and repeating symbols.[41] I intended this to echo the way in which historians might follow people of interest through traces of the past, encountering names or clues that can help them to build up their own subjective, evidence-based picture of what they think might have happened, enabling them to create narrative interpretations.

Mikkonen described Simmonds's character Raymond Joubert as "a consistent first-person narrator, who is a witness to the main events of the story, while his personal perceptions are at the core of the narration".[42] Joubert's use of Gemma's diaries, combined with his own experiences (his observations of her activities) and oral testimony from other characters, put him almost in the position of a detective, trying to piece together what happened.[43] Throughout *Gemma Bovery*, we are shown evidence that Joubert could use to construct



Gemma Bovery, Posy Simmonds

his account of the last few years of Gemma's life.[44] In addition to being shown items that would have significance for the characters, such as photographs, and magazine clippings about other characters, we also see disposable packaging. Simmonds' inclusion of these things not only helps to create a sense of realism by grounding the world that the characters inhabit firmly in

that which the audience recognises, but also invites the audience to look at the 'evidence' that Joubert uses in building his account of Gemma's life.[45] Similarly, Skilton and Grennan claimed that "Trollope defined his type of novel as 'realistic' as opposed to 'sensational' … He meant that readers could accept his fiction as though it were part of their own daily lives, while sensational fiction played with a mystery, exploiting surprises and intricate plots."[46] Both Simmonds and Trollope included items and events in their work that their respective audiences would find relatable, and would be able to decode and interpret.

Baetens and Frey said that Grennan's adaptation aimed "at drawing the reader into an experience of the nineteenth century" using "a number of narrative rules".[47] They remarked that the techniques Grennan used "reinforc[e] the readerly involvement in the story world … the reader can become a kind of silently present witness" and the viewer "also realizes [sic] that there is time to find [their] place in this world (the repetition of a number of narrative and visual features guarantees that the reader, during the act of reading, is really invited to join the fictional universe of the characters)."[48] While I invite my audience to engage with my work, I do not invite them into a past time period; I maintain a deconstructionist position in which the past is gone and inaccessible, but we can create versions of it using our imaginations.

Comics creators can alter their stories to foreground certain themes, as historians can reinterpret their choice of evidence to highlight themes they consider important. Using an experimental comic such as *Disorder* or Ware's *Building Stories* (2012) can allow the reader to alter their narratives and themes as well, creating new links between the images that allow them to build new interpretations.[49]

Mikkonen said that Ware's *Building Stories* "suggest[s] the idea of a

story that needs to be processed through a web of interconnected stories rather than conceived in a strict linear order. All the different story units have the potential to serve as background memory to be used for filling in the blanks created by the other parts".[50] This is similar to what I hoped to achieve with *Disorder* and *(Un)Known Associates*: I wanted the audience to be able to use them disruptively, creating their own interpretations and experimenting with different ways of engaging with the materials. In this way, I aimed to encourage the audience's interpretive autonomy, empowering them to create their own meanings, and hopefully motivating them to borrow and apply (elements of) my methodology to their own historical interests.

Interviewing Ware in 2012, journalist Chris Mautner pointed out that "it struck me that you're giving up a certain amount of control by allowing the reader to shape the order in which its [sic] read", to which Ware responded that this decision was "very intentional. I wanted to get more at the way stories and memories are available from all sides and moments in our memories, and not really part of a continuum".[51] *Building Stories* could provide an alternative model for constructing histories; rather than following a conventional linear pattern, we could create interlinking, intersecting histories that function more effectively when considered in light of each other. This suggests that an approach such as mine could contribute novel strategies to the practice of history.

MULTIPLE/ CONTRASTING VIEWPOINTS

Similar to my work with *Disorder*, Ware used *Building Stories* to focus on a number of characters' viewpoints. Cultural studies scholar Gesine Wegner

listed them as “the most striking character being the apartment building itself” which tells its own story of how it was built and “also reveals much about its former and current residents, thus connecting the central characters of the book”, and also “the elderly landlady of the building”, “a couple that constantly argues”, “a fifth character, a small bee”, and “the sixth character, a lonely woman who lives on the third floor of the building … the unnamed protagonist”.[52] In an article about graphic novels and Canadian history, Alyson E. King said that “the multimodal nature of … graphic histories add another layer to the text that requires additional interpretation, as well as new strategies for analysis” and that graphic histories “challenge the traditional stories … They bring to light the stories of those who are often relegated to the margins of … history.”[53] Similar to graphic history, adaptation can be used to highlight previously unconsidered angles of a work.[54]

Grennan included a new storyline in *Dispossession*, featuring a group of Wiradjuri people whose narrative (involving a second wife who leaves one clan for another) echoes the main plot (in which an Englishman may or may not have committed bigamy). Grennan said that the plots in *Dispossession* relied “upon historic verisimilitude, alongside the ethics and experience of a twenty-first-century reader of Trollope’s text” and that he judged “knowledge of nineteenth-century history, material culture, society and ethics” through “my own twenty-first-century sensibility”.[55] As he increased his understanding of the nineteenth century, he found that he was



Dispossession, Simon Grennan

able to use “a radical verisimilitude concerning aspects of the historic past, absent from *John Caldigate*”, identifying the “absence … of particular groups of people” (specifically “Aboriginal Australians, Chinese miners, and soldiers”) as “implausible for contemporary readers”.[56] Writer and academic Sophie Ratcliffe described this updated inclusion of Aboriginal Australian characters as a critique of Trollope’s original plot, pointing out the scarcity of “indigenous people … in Trollope’s Antipodean fiction”, and adding that “Grennan uses the graphic novel form politically, exploring the various ways in which individuals may be dispossessed by the stories we tell. Most strikingly, he uses the Australian scenes to introduce a parallel polygamy plot”.[57] While my work does not explicitly tackle themes of ‘dispossessed’ groups of people, I found that I can visualise characters based on specific individuals - such as, for example, Bridget, Mary Ann, and other women associated with the Yorkshire schools - whose narratives are typically ignored or tackled minimally by most Yorkshire schools historians.[58]

Discussing the use of graphic works in history education, Alyson E. King argued that using graphic histories

> encourages critical thinking about the ways in which history is constructed, visualized [sic], and remembered. For history students, encounters with a variety of portrayals of national figures, such as Riel, emphasize [sic] the contingent nature of history research - there is no single, linear, ‘true’ history of Canada.[59]

Creating and using a graphic history adds another angle to the historiography surrounding a particular historical figure or event; an example of this in my work is my comparatively increased emphasis on the potential experiences of some of the women involved in running Yorkshire boarding schools.

Chester Brown included twenty-two pages of notes at the end of *Louis Riel*.[60] Langager noted that

> the content of the notes often contradicts and undermines Brown’s project as well, exposing his historical modifications and acts of narrative and representative streamlining. … the notes can be seen to locate final representative authority in words alone, seeming to

> re-establish the aesthetic hegemony of text over image that comics, as a form, tends to throw into question

but added that the notes "are often indispensable in forming effective readings of [Brown's] graphic text".[61] Brown's use of academic apparatus - such as the notes and bibliography - allow the comic more effectively to enter discourse with other works on Riel. This could be understood as having a parallel with my use of contextualising literature in *Disorder* and *(Un)Known Associates*.

Skilton and Grennan noted that the visual style of *Dispossession* "might appear to belong more to a history of illustration or fine art than to a history of visual narrative, comics and graphic novels, although never so much as to create any confusion about the fact that it is a graphic novel."[62] Grennan's style evokes nineteenth century illustrations, with the characters at full length, and the speech bubbles and the font used within them echoing those in periodicals of the time. Skilton and Grennan also remarked on Grennan's markmaking in *Dispossession*, saying that it was "selected relative to known drawing styles that are associated by knowing readers with particular historical periods and ideas".[63] This is similar to some of the visual languages I used in *Disorder*, particularly the silhouettes I assigned to the boys (who would have mostly come from middle-class parents who are likely to have had access to silhouettes), and Bridget's crockery (linking to material culture that she may have been familiar with in a domestic setting). However, other drawing styles (primarily the palaeolithic-influenced one I assigned to Charley) unsettle *Disorder*'s



Dispossession, Simon Grennan

temporality. I raised other questions regarding time using the boys' collages, in which I used ink-jet reproductions of newspaper reports from the 1823



ophthalmia trials in scenes set *during* the outbreak, well before the trials; however, I did not mention this in *Disorder*'s written element. This adds a further level of uncertainty to the events I depicted in *Disorder*.

NONLINEARITY

Mikkonen said that Ware's *Building Stories* renders ambiguous "the temporal and chronological relationship between various parts of the story" and that it "poses the question of narrative memory by allowing the reader to 'build a story' in any possible order of its parts".[64] Wegner stated that *Building Stories* "provides few indicators of time" - but said that, comparing the novel to a game,

> this nonlinearity speaks to the playability of the book. At first glance, reading the novel resembles the task of piecing together a puzzle. This specific puzzle, however, is not based on one coherent image that readers can neatly reassemble. Unlike most games, there are no rules to be followed, no goal to be reached. … Instead of changing the outcome, the book provides its readers with the possibility of retelling and, quite literally, looking at one story in

> multiple ways. Unlike most games, *Building Stories* does not afford its readers the pleasure of successfully finding one or a limited number of definite structures.[65]

This is echoed by the game-like *(Un)Known Associates* and the multiple-perspective *Disorder*.[66]

In the introduction to *Disorder*, I recommended that the user interprets it for themself, as a historian would interpret their sources.[67] McCloud said that

> The idea that the reader might *choose* a direction [to read a comic] is still considered *exotic*. This may, in part, be the influence of other media like *film* and *television* where viewer choice has not generally been *feasible*. … Comics readers are also conditioned by other media and the '*real time*' of everyday life to expect a very *linear* progression. Just a *straight line* from *point A* to *point B*. But is that *necessary*?[68]

This idea could have intriguing repercussions in the practice of history (history by comics?), questioning the linearity of narratives, and inviting the audience to choose and/or interpret their own histories.

Wegner noted that, prior to the publication of *Building Stories*, "various parts … appeared in a range of different outlets … Using these multiple venues - including both print and digital media as well as outlets of supposedly 'high' and 'low' culture … [ensured that] Readers were invited to actively seek out new content across media but they also had to patiently wait for the publication of *Building Stories* in its entirety".[69] This could serve as a model for how I could publish future instalments of the misadventures of William Shaw and other people from my case study. Additionally, as far as I am aware, this model has not been used in the creation and communication of historical narratives: building up a corpus of visual work on the same (or adjacent) case studies over time, explored and shared in different formats that can be cross-referenced together, for an audience to seek out and collect.[70]

These shared devices - self-awareness, character design, audience

involvement, multiple and/or contrasting viewpoints, and nonlinearity - all emerged as I made work based on my case study, and as I engaged with the aspects of historical theory and practice I wanted to interrogate, and as I played with and exploited both historiographical theory and my case study.



Chapter endnotes

[1] Cohn, N., 'The architecture of visual narrative comprehension: the interaction of narrative structure and page layout in understanding comics' in *Frontiers in Psychology*, vol.5 (July 2014), available at: https://ia800907.us.archive.org/18/items/pubmed-PMC4076615/PMC4076615-fpsyg.2014.00680.pdf [Accessed 23 January 2024] p.1

Skilton and Grennan said that some graphic adaptations turn "the adaptation process into a method of inquiry" addressing "remediation, narrative drawing and historiography: the relationships between specific texts and new images and concepts of authenticity, record and narrative voice." Skilton, D., and Grennan, S., 'Drawing Style, Genre and the Destabilization of Register in a Graphic Adaptation of Trollope's *John Caldigate*', pp.147-160, in Tabachnick, S., E., and Saltzman, E. B. (eds)., *Drawn from the Classics: Essays on Graphic Adaptations of Literary Works*; Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc.; 2015. Quote from p.147.

[2] Witek, J., *Comic Books as History: The Narrative Art of Jack Jackson, Art Spiegelman, and Harvey Pekar*, Mississippi: University Press of Mississippi, 1989. p.153

[3] Comics could be a particularly appropriate form for exploring narratives set in the nineteenth century. Grennan and Grove claimed that "the early nineteenth century that saw the birth of the modern comic, that is to say periodic publications whose satirical content mixed text and image, with widespread distribution … thanks to the proliferation of wood engraving and lithography. It was in 1825 that the first comic was to use lithography: *The Glasgow Looking Glass*, published by William Heath in the industrial city of its name." Grennan, S., and Grove, L., Introduction pp.7-12 in Grennan, S., and Grove, L. (eds.), *Transforming Anthony Trollope: Dispossession, Victorianism and Nineteenth-century Word and Image*, Leuven, Belgium: Leuven University Press, 2015. Available online at: http://hdl.handle.net/10034/604451 [Accessed 23 February 2024.] page unnumbered in PDF.

Glasgow University Library's Special Collections Department has a page about the *Glasgow Looking Glass* (also known as the *Northern Looking Glass*) here: https://www.gla.ac.uk/myglasgow/library/files/special/exhibns/month/june2005.html [Accessed 23 February 2024.], and said that they found the images on the page here: https://www.theglasgowstory.com/quick-search/?qsearch=Glasgow+Looking+glass [Accessed 23 February 2024.]

However, Neil Cohn might suggest otherwise - William Heath would have "had no conception of what a modern community might deem 'comics'". Cohn, N., 'Un-Defining "Comics": Separating the cultural from the structural in "comics"', *International Journal of Comic Art*, vol.7 (2), October 2005. p.6. Available at: https://visuallanguagelab.com/P/NC_Undefining_Comics.pdf [Accessed 23 January 2024.]

[4] Bell, R., and Sinclair, M., *Pictures and Words: New Comic Art and Narrative Illustration*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003; this edition London: Laurence King Publishing Ltd, 2005, p.5. In their foreword, on p.9 they explained that "narrative illustration reveals two distinct strands: the telling of a story through pictures and words (images and text), and through pictures alone ('silent' images with no supporting text or speech). In addition, artists can reduce the actual narrative space of a story to a single frame. Many graphic novelists also employ pictorial or wordless passages within a larger body of work of text and image-based strips, and vice versa."

[5] Cohn, N., 'Un-Defining "Comics": Separating the cultural from the structural in "comics"', *International Journal of Comic Art*, vol.7 (2), October 2005. p.1. Available at: https://visuallanguagelab.com/P/NC_Undefining_Comics.pdf [Accessed 23 January 2024.] Cohn's conception of "works … dominated by text, relegating the images to illustrative roles" would benefit from comparison with the conventional understanding of illustration, as described by Sonya Petersson. Petersson, S., 'Unfixing the Concept of Illustration: Its Historiographical Ambivalence and Analytical Potential' in Petersson, S., Johansson, C., Holdar, M., Callahan, S. (eds.), *The Power of the In-Between: Intermediality as a Tool for Aesthetic Analysis and Critical Reflection*, Stockholm: Stockholm University Press, 2018, pp.321-347.

[6] Baetens, J, and Frey, H., *The Graphic Novel: An Introduction*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015. p.201

[7] Skilton, D., and Grennan, S., 'Drawing Style, Genre and the Destabilization of Register in a Graphic Adaptation of Trollope's *John Caldigate*', pp.147-160, in Tabachnick, S., E., and Saltzman, E. B. (eds)., *Drawn from the Classics: Essays on Graphic Adaptations of Literary Works*; Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc.; 2015. Quote from p.147.

[8] Baetens, J, and Frey, H., *The Graphic Novel: An Introduction*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015. p. 202 and p.204

Alyson E. King remarked that Chester Brown's comic biography of Louis Riel is incomplete (focussing on Riel's life from 1869 until his execution in 1885), and that "Although Brown takes liberties with some of the details of the story to create a strong narrative, he points out these deviations in the footnotes." King, A. E., 'Cartooning History: Canada's Stories in Graphic Novels', in *The History Teacher*, vol.45 no.2 (February 2012), pp.189-219. Available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/23265919 [Accessed 13 February 2024.] p.191.

[9] Grennan, S., and Grove, L., Introduction pp.7-12 in Grennan, S., and Grove, L. (eds.), *Transforming Anthony Trollope:* Dispossession*, Victorianism and Nineteenth-century Word and Image*, Leuven, Belgium: Leuven University Press, 2015. Available online at: http://hdl.handle.net/10034/604451 [Accessed 23 February 2024.] Page unnumbered in PDF.

This was echoed by Frederik Van Dam, David Skilton, and Ortwin de Graef, who said that they had commissioned Grennan "to create a new, complete work of visual literature while also introducing readers to the logic of adaptation". Van Dam, F., Skilton, D., and de Graef, O., 'Introduction', pp.1-9 in Van Dam, F., Skilton, D., and de Graef, O. (eds.), *The Edinburgh Companion to Anthony Trollope*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019. Quotes from pp.4-5. Available at: https://frederikvandam.weebly.com/uploads/4/1/2/5/41257857/van_dam_2019_-_introduction_ecat.pdf [Accessed 10 February 2024.]

[10] This raises the question of how close to adaptation the practice of history runs: I use mostly written traces in building narratives of events - such as, for instance, drawing William Shaw dining with Thomas Harrison based on Charles West Cope's account of Cope's discussions with Harrison (Cope, C.W. and Cope, C.H. (ed.), Reminiscences of Charles West Cope, R. A., Google Books. London: Richard Bentley & Son, 1891. Available at: https://www.google.co.uk/books/ edition/Reminiscences_of_Charles_West_Cope_R_A/qoA5AAAAMAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=0 [Accessed 8 April 2021.] p.236) and then use drawing to explore how I might interpret these words and display my ideas about them. According to Keith Jenkins, there is an "imagined (fictive) element in all histories". Jenkins, K., *On "What is History?"*, London: Routledge, 1995. p.19.

[11] Chris Ware's *Building Stories* is a box of comics in various formats, including small pocket-sized fold-up strips, broadsheet-sized comics, and more traditional-looking books. Gesine Wegner described "the very format of *Building Stories*" as "a spectacle that not only breaks with prevailing expectations of what a book supposedly looks like but also expands the medium's common affordances", adding that "comics like *Building Stories* offer a visual pleasure that is not strictly based on narrative and the sequentiality of their images", adding that *Building Stories* "engages the reader via the disruption of narrative." Wegner, G., 'The Poetics and Politics of Staring: Spectacle and Disability in Chris Ware's *Building Stories*', pp.143-156, in Herrmann, S. M., Kanzler, K., and Schubert, S. (eds.), *Beyond Narrative: Exploring Narrative Liminality and Its Cultural Work*; Verlag, Bielefeld: transcript; 2022. pp.144-145

Chester Brown's *Louis Riel: A Comic-Strip Biography* can be understood as an experimental work of history, or history by comics. Alyson E. King described *Riel* as "a unique look at Riel's life with all the documentation expected for any well-researched biography", and as "more a symbolic representation of key moments in Riel's rebellions than a linear chronology of events", noting that Brown's "focus is on the concepts and ideas about Riel rather than the biographic facts of his life and the rebellions". King, A. E., 'Cartooning History: Canada's Stories in Graphic Novels', in *The History Teacher*, vol.45 no.2 (February 2012), pp.189-219. Available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/23265919 [Accessed 13 February 2024.] Quote from p.190, p.191, and p.194.

[12] McCloud, S., *Reinventing Comics*, New York: Perennial, 2000. Available at: https://archive.org/details/reinventingcomic0000mccl [Accessed 3 February 2024.] Emphases original. p.113.

[13] McCloud, S., *Reinventing Comics*, New York: Perennial, 2000. Available at: https://archive.org/details/reinventingcomic0000mccl [Accessed 3 February 2024.] Emphases original. p.122

[14] I further discuss *Disorder*'s multiple visual styles in Chapter 5: Decontextualisation and Recontexualisation and in Chapter 6: Voicelessness.

[15] Baetens, J., and Frey, H., *The Graphic Novel: An Introduction*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015. p.143

Similarly, Kai Mikkonen said “the persistent identity of the graphic trace and style - at least to the extent that the cartoonist’s style remains consistent - can imply a sense of continuity between the panels. … The change or rupture of style, in turn, can indicate a significant discontinuity in this respect.” Mikkonen, K., *The Narratology of Comic Art*, Abingdon: Routledge (Taylor & Francis), 2017. p.47

[16] A selection of Masereel’s woodcut novels are available at *The Anarchist Library* and on the Internet Archive. Works by Masereel on *The Anarchist Library* site, available at: https://theanarchistlibrary.org/category/author/frans-masereel and works by Masereel on the Internet Archive, available at: https://archive.org/search?query=subject%3A%22Masereel%2C+Frans%2C+1889-1972%22 [Both accssed 25 April 2024.]

[17] Gauld, T., quoted in Bell, R., and Sinclair, M., *Pictures and Words: New Comic Art and Narrative Illustration*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003; this edition London: Laurence King Publishing Ltd, 2005. p.10

[18] Cohn, N., ‘Un-Defining “Comics”: Separating the cultural from the structural in “comics”’, *International Journal of Comic Art*, vol.7 (2), October 2005. p.1. Available at: https://visuallanguagelab.com/P/NC_Undefining_Comics.pdf [Accessed 23 January 2024.] Additionally, Cohn pointed out that comics scholar and editorial cartoonist R. C. Harvey maintained that comics are a combination of images and text, created to fulfil a narrative function, which neglects silent or wordless narratives. On p.21 of *Understanding Comics*, McCloud described defining comics as “words and pictures in combination” as “too *restrictive*”. Emphasis original. McCloud, S., *Understanding Comics: The Invisible Art*, New York: William Morrow (an imprint of HarperCollins Publishers Inc.), 1993 (this edition 1994). p.21

Cohn added that “single panel comics, text dominated comics, and text absent comics *are all comics*”. Cohn, N., ‘Un-Defining “Comics”: Separating the cultural from the structural in “comics”’, *International Journal of Comic Art*, vol.7 (2), October 2005. p.9. Available at: https://visuallanguagelab.com/P/NC_Undefining_Comics.pdf [Accessed 23 January 2024.] Emphasis original.

[19] McCloud, S., *Understanding Comics: The Invisible Art*, New York: William Morrow (an imprint of HarperCollins Publishers Inc.), 1993 (this edition 1994). p.8 and pp.18-19. Emphases original.

[20] Beronä, D. A., ‘Wordless Novels in Woodcuts’, pp.61-73 in *Print Quarterly,* vol.20 no.1 (March 2003). Available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/41826477 [Accessed 22 February 2024.] pp.61-62.

In a footnote on p.61, Beronä quoted Irena Zdanowicz’s review article ‘Klinger’, saying that artists such as Max Klinger, who produced “print albums” similar to Masereel’s early woodcut series, made work that “‘redefined the rules of narrative in printed series, mixing techniques, disrupting the linear progression of traditional narrative, disregarding the consistency of format and involving the viewer to interpret in a deliberately creative way’”. From Zdanowicz, I., ‘Klinger’, *Print Quarterly*, vol.12 no.3 (September 1995), pp.310-312. Available at: http://www.jstor.org/stable/41825212 [Accessed 1 April 2024.]

On pp.68-69, Beronä quoted H. Lehmann-Haupt (‘The Picture Novel Arrives in America’, *Publishers Weekly*, 1 February 1930, p.609), who remarked on Otto Nückel’s 1930 *Schicksal: eine Geschichte in Bildern* (*Destiny: A Novel in Pictures*) that “… the pleasure is more subtle, for we are alone in this theater [sic] and audience and operator are one person. We can make the story run quickly, we can even skip, but we can also stop altogether. Then suddenly it is not so much a piece out of a story that counts, but an individual picture with its own particular qualities. This is where the superiority of the picture novel comes in.”.

[21] The blurb on the back cover of the Dover edition on the Internet Archive states that Ward’s *Gods’ Man* “can be considered a forerunner of the contemporary graphic novel”. Ward, L., *Gods’ Man: A Novel in Woodcuts*; originally published 1929, New York: Johnathan Cape and Harrison Smith, Inc.; this edition 2004, New York: Dover Publications, Inc. Available at: https://archive.org/details/godsmannovelinwo0000ward/mode/2up?view=theater [Accessed 9 February 2024.] The pages in this edition are not numbered. I have relied on the numbers displayed on the Internet Archive’s online publication viewing interface.

[22] Beronä, D. A., ‘Wordless Novels in Woodcuts’, pp.61-73 in *Print Quarterly,* vol.20 no.1

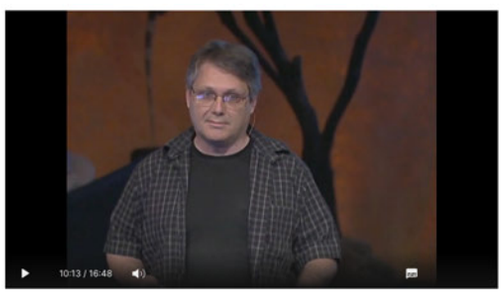
(March 2003). Available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/41826477 [Accessed 22 February 2024.] p.63.

[23] Lanier, C., 'The "Woodcut Novel": A Forerunner to the Graphic Novel', p.15 in *World Literature Today*, vol.81 no.2, Graphic Literature (March-April 2007). Available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/40159290 [Accessed 22 February 2024.]

[24] Serafini, F., 'Exploring Wordless Picture Books', pp.24-26 in *The Reading Teacher*, vol.68 no.1 (September 2014). Available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/24573665 [Accessed 22 February 2024.]

[25] Witek, J., *Comic Books as History: The Narrative Art of Jack Jackson, Art Spiegelman, and Harvey Pekar*, Mississippi: University Press of Mississippi, 1989. p.115

[26] To my delight, Scott McCloud has been known to do a similar thing; for instance, at a TEDtalk in February 2005, called 'The visual magic of comics', he wore a checked shirt in the same way as he does in his trilogy of comics about comics. Meanwhile, in the final panel on p.36 of *Understanding Comics*, he draws himself in a more 'realistic' style to make a point about cartoons and viewer empathy. McCloud, S., 'The visual magic of comics', TEDtalk, TED2005, February 2005. Available at: https://www.ted.com/talks/scott_mccloud_the_visual_magic_of_comics?language=tt [Accessed 2 May 2024.] McCloud, S., *Understanding Comics: The Invisible Art*, New York: William Morrow (an imprint of HarperCollins Publishers Inc.), 1993 (this edition 1994), p.36.



The visual magic of comics
1,331,196 views | Scott McCloud | TED2005 • February 2005



Understanding Comics, Scott McCloud

Martin S. Cohen equated the protagonist of Masereel's *Passionate Journey, or My Book of Hours* (1919, also known as *Mein Stundenbuch* or *Mon livre d'heures*) with Masereel himself, using two images from the book (an "introductory self-portrait" of Masereel at work, carving a new wood block, and an "introductory portrait of the hero", both shown to the right of this endnote). They have similar body shapes, and both "are dressed alike, in black jacket and trousers, tieless … both are angular men, jutting everywhere, rather homely. … The artist and his hero are analogues. Conventional in appearance, they conceal the boldness of their adventure. … Identifying with the hero, we identify with Masereel." Cohen, M. S. 'The Novel in Woodcuts: A Handbook', pp.171-195 in *Journal of Modern Literature*, vol.6 no.2 (April 1977). Available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/3831165 [Accessed 22 February 2024.] pp.184-185.


Plate VII Masereel, introductory self-portrait from *Mein Stundenbuch* (1919).


Plate VIII Masereel, introductory portrait of the hero, *Mein Stundenbuch*.

Passionate Journey, Frans Masereel. Screenshot from Martin S. Cohen's article 'The Novel in Woodcuts: A Handbook'

[27] Witek, J., *Comic Books as History: The Narrative Art of Jack Jackson, Art Spiegelman, and Harvey Pekar*, Mississippi: University Press of Mississippi, 1989. pp.129-131. Quote from p.129.

[28] Witek, J., *Comic Books as History: The Narrative Art of Jack Jackson, Art Spiegelman, and*

Harvey Pekar, Mississippi: University Press of Mississippi, 1989. p.137

[29] Cohn, N., 'Un-Defining "Comics": Separating the cultural from the structural in "comics"', *International Journal of Comic Art*, vol.7 (2), October 2005. pp.6-7. Available at: https://visuallanguagelab.com/P/NC_Undefining_Comics.pdf [Accessed 23 January 2024.]

[30] Berlatsky, E. L., '"Does That Change Anything?": (Post)Feminist Implications of *Gemma Bovery*", pp.127-146 in Tabachnick, S. E., and Saltzman, E. B. (eds.), *Drawn from the Classics: Essays on Graphic Adaptations of Literary Works*, Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc.; 2015. p.128.

Similarly, Kai Mikkonen described *Bovery* as "a self-reflective rewriting of the novel set in our contemporary world [which] follows Flaubert's story only partially". Mikkonen, K., *The Narratology of Comic Art*, Abingdon: Routledge (Taylor & Francis), 2017. p.209.

[31] Berlatsky, E. L., '"Does That Change Anything?": (Post)Feminist Implications of *Gemma Bovery*", pp.127-146 in Tabachnick, S. E., and Saltzman, E. B. (eds.), *Drawn from the Classics: Essays on Graphic Adaptations of Literary Works*, Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc.; 2015. Quote from p.140.

[32] The terminology debate surrounding comics/ graphic novels/ sequential visual narratives/ other variations is outside the remit of this thesis. However, for convenience, I refer to some of the sequences I make as comics, although it might have the unfortunate repercussion of alienating non-visual practitioners who have a traditional largely negative view of the term.

Harriet E. H. Earle chose not to use the term 'graphic novels', and explained that 'graphic' sounds violent while 'novel' sounded too fictional, adding that some comics creators themselves find the term pretentious. Earle, H. E. H., *Comics, Trauma, and the New Art of War*, Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2017. pp.23-24.

In *Cartooning: Philosophy and Practice*, Ivan Brunetti used "the terms 'cartooning,' 'cartoons,' 'comics,' 'strips,' and 'graphic novel,' among others, almost interchangeably, depending on the syntax necssary for any given sentence" but, after some discussion of these and related terms, concludes that "[w]hen we are creating comics, we are not 'graphic novelling,' we are cartooning." p.12 in Brunetti, I., *Cartooning: Philosophy and Practice*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011.

Alyson E. King referred to "graphic texts" which are "[s]imilar to comics and graphic novels" but that she defines as "fully developed, non-fiction narratives told through panels of sequential art". King, A. E., 'Cartooning History: Canada's Stories in Graphic Novels', in *The History Teacher*, vol.45 no.2 (February 2012), pp.189-219. Available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/23265919 [Accessed 13 February 2024.] Quote from p.189.

Scott McCloud discussed various aspects of the terminology debate (which he ses as entangled with how comics are defined) on pp.18-21, beginning by noting that "for much of [the twentieth] century, the word 'comics' has had such *negative connotations* that many of comics' most *devoted practitioners* have preferred to be known as '*illustrators*', '*commercial artists*' or, at best, '*cartoonists*'!" McCloud, S., *Understanding Comics: The Invisible Art*, New York: HarperCollins Publishers, Inc., 1993. Emphases original.

[33] Regarding the immediacy of visuals, in their paper 'Steal This History!', Louis Netter and Oliver Gruner said that "more so than film, comics allow past, present and future to coexist in the same space, on the same page" (panel 7, p.514, Netter, L., and Gruner, O., 'Steal This History: historiography, the Sixties and the comic', *Rethinking History*, vol.21, no.4, 2017, pp.506-528.)

This immediacy was also noted by some of the contributors to *Good Old Drawing*. Illustrator David Humphries said "My thoughts and ideas are usually difficult to articulate, but easier to sketch and describe visually. Drawing is a very immediate form of communication and it transcends language, age and culture" (p.63), while self-described "Drawist" Richard Seymour said that drawing is "A complex ballet of information processing, two-way non-verbal dialogue and extreme fine motor control allows us to process emotion, space, reality and imagination and offer it up to ourselves and others in a form that's instantly and universally understandable… regardless of what language you speak or how old you are." (p.16, ellipsis original; Seymour describes himself as a "Drawist" in his biography on p.138). Humphries, D., and Seymour, R., in Holder, J., and Hodgkinson, P., (eds.), *Good Old Drawing: G. O. D.: A Hundred Illustrators, Artists and Cartoonists who Believe in Drawing*. London: Haus Publishing Ltd., 2012.

[34] In *Eyewitnessing*, Peter Burke pointed out a similar parallel between photographers and

historians, both of whom have to make choices in order to communicate their interpretations, saying that “historians, like photographers, select which aspects of the real world to portray.” p.23, Burke, P. (2001). *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence*. London: Reaktion Books.

[35] Charles Schulz, the creator of *Peanuts*, gave advice on how he used his comic strips to develop his characters, recommending that by drawing small “daily episodes”, “you will be developing the personalities of your characters. You will find that ideas will begin to come from these personalities. … The characters that you start out to draw today may not be the same characters that you will end up drawing a month or a year from now. New personalities will come along that you never thought of creating at the beginning, and frequently these new personalities will take you to completely different places. In regard to the characters themselves, it is not advisable to worry too much about their development. Let them grow with your ideas.” Schulz, C. M., pp.37-39, in Brunetti, I. (editor), *An Anthology of Graphic Fiction, Cartoons, and True Stories*, New Haven & London: Yale University Press. (Originally published in 1959 by Art Institution, Inc., and reprinted in *The Comics Journal* (no.250) in 2003.) Quote from p.38.

Later in the article, after discussing a few sample *Peanuts* comics, he said that “None of these characters could have done or said any of the things in these four strips when it first began, for it took many months (and, in some cases, years) for them to develop these personalities.” Quote from p.39.

[36] Langager, R., *History in the Gutters: A Critical Examination of Chester Brown’s* Louis Riel: A Comic-Strip Biography (MA thesis); Edmonton, Alberta: University of Alberta; 2007. Available at: https://era.library.ualberta.ca/items/917bba92-38f2-4eb9-a849-166a33462b11/view/c03aa586-e53e-483b-9b75-1ee4e3f2e9dc/MR29886.pdf [Accessed 14 February 2024.] p.90. Langager analyses the contrasting characterisation of Riel and Dumont over pp.90-97.

[37] Langager, R., *History in the Gutters: A Critical Examination of Chester Brown’s* Louis Riel: A Comic-Strip Biography (MA thesis); Edmonton, Alberta: University of Alberta; 2007. Available at: https://era.library.ualberta.ca/items/917bba92-38f2-4eb9-a849-166a33462b11/view/c03aa586-e53e-483b-9b75-1ee4e3f2e9dc/MR29886.pdf [Accessed 14 February 2024.] Quotes from p.94 and p.97. Emphasis original.

[38] For instance, solar Bridget and saturnine William (see this thesis, Chapter 5: Decontextualisation and Recontextualisation), or Ann and Charley as the personifications of Beauty and Sublimity. For more on this, see Barrett., E., ‘Characterisation of Charley and Ann - or, Beauty and Sublimity’, *Ed Draws History*, (blog post) 2 May 2024. Available at: https://eddrawshistory.blogspot.com/2024/05/characterisation-of-charley-and-ann-or.html [Accessed 2 May 2024.]

[39] Barrett, E., *Characterisation, context, and contemporary considerations*, 2019. Available on academia.edu and ResearchGate; see Appendix 3 for details. [Accessed 8 May 2024.]

[40] Mikkonen, K., *The Narratology of Comic Art*, Abingdon: Routledge (Taylor & Francis), 2017. p.35

[41] I discuss this further in Chapter 5: Decontextualisation and Recontextualisation [page number?], in which I state that I gave my characters consistent designs so that my audience could follow them across the corpus of my work. I hoped that audience members would also notice repeating symbols, and would interpret them in line with their own understandings of those symbols.

[42] Mikkonen, K., *The Narratology of Comic Art*, Abingdon: Routledge (Taylor & Francis), 2017. p.214.

[43] Simmonds, P., *Gemma Bovery*, London: Jonathan Cape, 1999. This edition 2001, p.2. On p.4, after taking one of Gemma’s diaries, Joubert (who is not only a baker but also maintains an “interest in the history of communications”, p.2, and is “an associate editor of the quarterly review *Conjonctures* [who] contribute[s] the occasional article”, p.4) tells himself “I’m not a thief. I borrowed it to discover the facts - although why I expect to find facts in her diary, I don’t know. The writing of the dead acquires strange authority. If Gemma were alive I’d read her version of events with suspicion.” I love this excellent observation on the dubious ‘trustworthiness’ of things we encounter in the historical record. Gemma’s diaries, being her

accounts of events in the past, become Joubert's main source/ evidence, with which he tries to understand his own recollections and the accounts given by other characters, such as Gemma's husband Charlie.

[44] Simmonds, P., *Gemma Bovery*, London: Jonathan Cape, 1999. This edition 2001. This 'evidence' includes items such as magazine covers (p.10 and p.28), magazine clippings (p.4 and p.44), photographs (p.10 and p.63), packaging (p.17 and p.49), and advertising (p.24 and p.39). We also see images that appear to be extracts of Victorian illustrations to Flaubert's *Madame Bovary* on p.46 and p.50, associating with Joubert's growing suspicions that Gemma Bovery's life is echoing that of Flaubert's protagonist, and the cover of what appears to be a Penguin edition of *Madame Bovary* on p.72, which Gemma is later seen reading on p.79.

[45] Some of it he may not actually have access to, such as the fabric conditioner, about which Joubert expresses bafflement regarding its name on p.17.

Cynthia Rose quoted Paul Gravett, who said that Simmonds "will change the actual strips or the lettering and she often imports other perspectives, through graphic versions of diaries and letters, news cuttings or photos." Rose added that Simmonds "also speaks through graphic appropriation - drawing one strip like a Masereel woodcut, another as if it were 1980s MTV" and that she "also likes to parody formats from the 18th and 19th centuries". Rose, C., 'Hogarth's Heiress: Posy at the Pompidou' on *The Comics Journal*, posted 22 November 2023. Available at: https://www.tcj.com/hogarths-heiress-posy-at-the-pompidou/ [Accessed 20 February 2024.]

For more on context, and taking characters away from their historical contexts, see Chapter 5 - Decontextualisation and Recontextualisation.

[46] Skilton, D., and Grennan, S., 'Drawing Style, Genre and the Destabilization of Register in a Graphic Adaptation of Trollope's *John Caldigate*', pp.147-160, in Tabachnick, S., E., and Saltzman, E. B. (eds)., *Drawn from the Classics: Essays on Graphic Adaptations of Literary Works*; Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc.; 2015. Quote from p.153.

[47] Baetens, J, and Frey, H., *The Graphic Novel: An Introduction*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015. p.109

Grennan described his rules as "a limited range of distances between viewer and scene; views of discrete actions, not divisions of actions; rhythmic changes of scene and episode on the page; consistent rhythmic changes of point of view in a visible 1-2-3 rhythm; no extradiegetic narrative; as small an amount of verbalisation in the plot as possible; and generalisation, which applied in all circumstances". Grennan, S., 'Drawing *Dispossession*: A New Graphic Adaptation of Anthony Trollope's *John Caldigate*' in *European Comic Art*, vol.7 no.2, Autumn 2014, pp.4-30. Quote from p.15.

[48] Baetens, J, and Frey, H., *The Graphic Novel: An Introduction*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015. p.110

By contrast, in a discussion of how they commissioned Grennan to adapt Trollope's 1879 novel *John Caldigate*, Frederik Van Dam, David Skilton, and Ortwin de Graef said that *Dispossession* "replac[es] Trollope's narrative voice, with its attention to internal focalisation, with a distinct visual style that keeps readers at a distance as they 'waltz' through the scene." Van Dam, F., Skilton, D., and de Graef, O., 'Introduction', pp.1-9 in Van Dam, F., Skilton, D., and de Graef, O. (eds.), *The Edinburgh Companion to Anthony Trollope*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019. Quotes from pp.4-5. Available at: https://frederikvandam.weebly.com/uploads/4/1/2/5/41257857/van_dam_2019_-_introduction_ecat.pdf [Accessed 10 February 2024.]

[49] This can be linked to the concept of the historical sublime - the element of chaos and uncertainty in history, encompassing such themes as open-endedness and dynamism (among others) - which I discuss later in this thesis, primarily in the conclusion and in Appendix 1: Words Associated with the Historical Sublime.

[50] Mikkonen, K., *The Narratology of Comic Art*, Abingdon: Routledge (Taylor & Francis), 2017. p.34

[51] Ware, C., interviewed by Mautner, C., in '"I hoped that the book would just be fun": a brief interview with Chris Ware' on *The Comics Journal*, posted 10 October 2012. Available at: https://www.tcj.com/i-hoped-that-the-book-would-just-be-fun-a-brief-interview-with-chris-ware/ [Accessed 20 February 2024.]

[52] Wegner, G., 'The Poetics and Politics of Staring: Spectacle and Disability in Chris Ware's *Building Stories*', pp.143-156, in Herrmann, S. M., Kanzler, K., and Schubert, S. (eds.), *Beyond Narrative: Exploring Narrative Liminality and Its Cultural Work*; Verlag, Bielefeld: transcript; 2022. pp.148-149

[53] King, A. E., 'Cartooning History: Canada's Stories in Graphic Novels', in *The History Teacher*, vol.45 no.2 (February 2012), pp.189-219. Available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/23265919 [Accessed 13 February 2024.] Quote from p.201.

[54] With regard to the Australian section of the narrative, Grennan said that "Apart from a brief introduction to the privations, social coarseness and rigours of European New South Wales, information about the three-year-long Australian episode is only provided to the reader retrospectively by Trollope, when the protagonists return to England and variously describe what has occurred." Grennan, S., 'Drawing *Dispossession*: A New Graphic Adaptation of Anthony Trollope's *John Caldigate*' in *European Comic Art*, vol.7 no.2, Autumn 2024, pp.4-30. Quote from pp.7-8.

This could be seen as having a potential parallel with *Disorder*, which is based on a remark by local apothecary and surgeon Henry Benning, briefly mentioned in a couple of trial reports (such as that in *The Times*, 31 October 1823), that William's life was 'despaired of', and to the multiple viewpoints I imagine in *Disorder*. In this way, I used *Disorder* to highlight the previously unconsidered aspect of the ophthalmia outbreak in Bowes Academy, in which William nearly died. Barrett, E., *Disorder*, 2023, pp.xiv-xvi.

[55] Grennan, S., 'Drawing *Dispossession*: A New Graphic Adaptation of Anthony Trollope's *John Caldigate*' in *European Comic Art*, vol.7 no.2, Autumn 2014, pp.4-30. Quote from p.6.

[56] Grennan, S., 'Drawing *Dispossession*: A New Graphic Adaptation of Anthony Trollope's *John Caldigate*' in *European Comic Art*, vol.7 no.2, Autumn 2014, pp.4-30. Quotes from pp.6-7 and p.8.

Eric L. Berlatsky argued that, by modifying the format and elements of the plot, Simmonds' "*Gemma* asks questions about the nature of adaptation and about the significance of alterations to an original with as much cultural capital as *Bovary*. … [*Gemma Bovery*] reminds us of the ways in which *Madame Bovary* still speaks to us and the ways in which its insights must continually be supplemented and/or adjusted for contemporary readers." Berlatsky, E. L., '"Does That Change Anything?": (Post)Feminist Implications of *Gemma Bovery*", pp.127-146 in Tabachnick, S. E., and Saltzman, E. B. (eds.), *Drawn from the Classics: Essays on Graphic Adaptations of Literary Works*, Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc. 2015. Quote from p.128.

[57] Ratcliffe, S., 'Drawing "perhaps"', Times Literary Supplement, March 2016. Available at: https://www.the-tls.co.uk/articles/drawing-perhaps/ [Accessed 10 February 2024.]

Grennan himself described this plot as created to "parallel and elide Trollope's European plot". Grennan, S., 'Drawing *Dispossession*: A New Graphic Adaptation of Anthony Trollope's *John Caldigate*' in *European Comic Art*, vol.7 no.2, Autumn 2014, pp.4-30. Quote from p.10.

[58] Kirkpatrick's 2017 *Fact v Fiction* is the only work on the Yorkshire schools that notably includes brief accounts of women involved in these establishments, primarily schoolmasters' wives and daughters.

[59] King, A. E., 'Cartooning History: Canada's Stories in Graphic Novels', in *The History Teacher*, vol.45 no.2 (February 2012), pp.189-219. Available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/23265919 [Accessed 13 February 2024.] Quote from p.191.

[60] Brown, C., *Louis Riel: A Comic-Strip Biography*, Montreal: Drawn & Quarterly, 2003 (this paperback edition 2007). (Brown's *Riel* was originally published serially by Drawn & Quarterly between 1999 and 2003.) pp.245-267.

On pp.245-267 of *Louis Riel*, Brown provides an extensive notes section, a bibliography (p.269), and an index (pp.271-272), all apparently hand-written. Brown's notes provide support to some of his imagery (p.263), suggest alternative readings to some of the imagery in the comic (p.245), indicate potential anachronisms (p.250), and point out the fallibility of his own work (p.261). The notes show instances of his reworking characters and events to tell a more effective story, (pp.248-249), point out other creative decisions (pp.250-251), indicate the creation of composite characters (p.142), and to evaluate and appraise

aspects of the designs of his characters (p.246). He also used the notes to acknowledge where he does not know things (p.247), points out discrepancies between some of the primary accounts he used (p.249), highlight disagreements between historians (p.256), and suggest intriguing speculations (p.250).

[61] Langager, R., *History in the Gutters: A Critical Examination of Chester Brown's* Louis Riel: A Comic-Strip Biography (MA thesis); Edmonton, Alberta: University of Alberta; 2007. Available at: https://era.library.ualberta.ca/items/917bba92-38f2-4eb9-a849-166a33462b11/view/c03aa586-e53e-483b-9b75-1ee4e3f2e9dc/MR29886.pdf [Accessed 14 February 2024.] p.62.

[62] Skilton, D., and Grennan, S., 'Drawing Style, Genre and the Destabilization of Register in a Graphic Adaptation of Trollope's *John Caldigate*', pp.147-160, in Tabachnick, S., E., and Saltzman, E. B. (eds)., *Drawn from the Classics: Essays on Graphic Adaptations of Literary Works*; Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc.; 2015. Quote from pp.149-151.

Skilton and Grennan claim that a careful reading of adaptations can be used to "produc[e] a definition of history as a network of … relationships" between "the contemporary experience of different registers, genres and styles". (Skilton, D., and Grennan, S., 'Drawing Style, Genre and the Destabilization of Register in a Graphic Adaptation of Trollope's *John Caldigate*', pp.147-160, in Tabachnick, S., E., and Saltzman, E. B. (eds)., *Drawn from the Classics: Essays on Graphic Adaptations of Literary Works*; Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc.; 2015. Quote from p.151.)

[63] Skilton, D., and Grennan, S., 'Drawing Style, Genre and the Destabilization of Register in a Graphic Adaptation of Trollope's *John Caldigate*', pp.147-160, in Tabachnick, S., E., and Saltzman, E. B. (eds)., *Drawn from the Classics: Essays on Graphic Adaptations of Literary Works*; Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc.; 2015. Quote from p.157.

[64] Mikkonen, K., *The Narratology of Comic Art*, Abingdon: Routledge (Taylor & Francis), 2017. p.33. On p.34, Mikkonen added that the "freedom" of the order of reading Chris Ware's *Building Stories* "highlights the importance of something that the readers conventionally do with narratives regardless of the medium: establish the chronology of their events, identify the characters, construe their personalities and relationships, and make note of the significance of the milieu and the circumstances".

[65] Wegner, G., 'The Poetics and Politics of Staring: Spectacle and Disability in Chris Ware's *Building Stories*', pp.143-156, in Herrmann, S. M., Kanzler, K., and Schubert, S. (eds.), *Beyond Narrative: Exploring Narrative Liminality and Its Cultural Work*; Verlag, Bielefeld: transcript; 2022. pp.145-146

[66] I discuss links between games and history in Chapter 5: Decontextualisation and Recontextualisation.

[67] For example, "You are asked to interpret the images, which, like traces in the historical record, do not necessarily speak for themselves. They must be interrogated and analysed before any meanings can be made out of them." Barrett, E., *Disorder*, p.xxv.

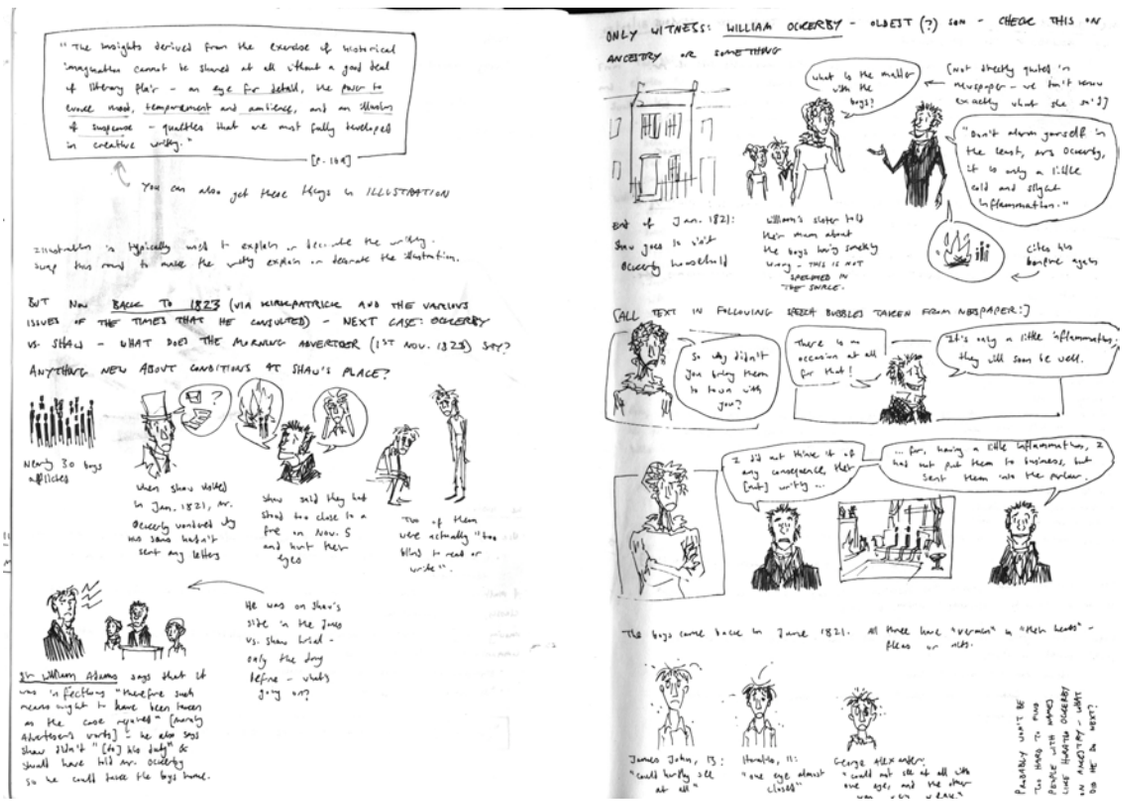
[68] McCloud, S., *Understanding Comics: The Invisible Art*, New York: HarperCollins Publishers, Inc., 1993. pp.105-106. Emphases original.

[69] Wegner, G., 'The Poetics and Politics of Staring: Spectacle and Disability in Chris Ware's *Building Stories*', pp.143-156, in Herrmann, S. M., Kanzler, K., and Schubert, S. (eds.), *Beyond Narrative: Exploring Narrative Liminality and Its Cultural Work*; Verlag, Bielefeld: transcript; 2022. p.147

[70] Admittedly, this may echo how some historians put out work on their particular specialisms in a variety of outlets - such as journal articles, monographs, or even television appearances - but that does not involve the audience as much in creating and interrogating a multiplicity of historical narratives as I am proposing, and also seems largely logocentric and not geared towards experimentalism or challenging what the discipline traditionally finds acceptable (including comics).

Chapter 3 - Case Study: William Shaw's Bowes Academy, 1814-1840

In order to produce experiments investigating my research aims, I needed an historical case study to use as a vehicle. I chose social relations at and around William Shaw's Bowes Academy, a boarding school in Bowes, which Shaw ran



from 1814 to 1840. I wanted to investigate not only the school itself, but also social relationships involving the establishment and its occupants.

I had already conducted some research on Shaw's Academy for my Final Major Project, in the third year of my undergraduate degree (Illustration BA at the University of Gloucestershire), and I wanted to see how my approaches to research and to the topic itself had changed. I wanted to further interrogate my ideas about the people and events involved in my case study.

Bowes Academy was one of the Yorkshire boarding schools, which mainly operated between c.1750 - c.1850, mostly around the Teesdale area (then part of North Yorkshire, and now part of County Durham). These schools

typically aimed their advertisements at affluent middle-class parents - people such as merchants, shopkeepers, clergy, and industrial entrepreneurs, who were usually based in London, and who wanted a reasonably priced education for their sons.[1] (A few of the Yorkshire schools provided education for girls, but these were in the minority.[2]) Twice a year, on average, these schoolmasters would travel to London by stagecoach to meet parents, recruit new pupils, and receive payments from existing clients.[3] Some schoolmasters had agents in the capital, who could collect fees, recommend the school to interested families, suggest families of current or recent pupils who could answer enquiries, receive new pupils (sometimes making the journey with them, or just seeing them onto the coach), and perform other duties on behalf of the absent schoolmaster.[4]

William Shaw ran his Academy at the height of the Yorkshire schools' popularity. This establishment was also one of the more populous, with between 260 - 300 boys during the early 1820s, and is also one of the more well-documented, likely the most (in)famous and well-known.

Shaw was apparently born in London in 1782, but researchers have not yet traced any surviving relevant records (assuming that these are still extant). It is suspected that his family may have had connections with Yorkshire.[5] After working as George Clarkson's usher at Bowes Hall Academy, at the opposite end of the village, he went into partnership with Reverend Richard Wilson in 1812, who had set up his own academy in 1810. Wilson left the partnership in 1814, whereupon Shaw took sole ownership.[6]

In 1810, William Shaw married Bridget Laidman, who came from a prosperous local family.[7] In addition to running the Shaw household, Bridget is highly likely to have helped William to run the domestic side of the school, ensuring that the boys were fed and kept in reasonable health, and she would

have been essential for the management of the establishment, particularly when her husband was away in London.[8]

In 1823, two sets of parents took Shaw to the Court of Common Pleas, charging him with neglect: their sons' sight had been damaged during an ophthalmia epidemic (now suspected to be trachoma, and which, according to



an article in the *Monthly Gazette of Health*, 1823, was "epidemic in the village") that affected his school.[9] Shaw himself had lost an eye to the disease.[10] The Jones family and the Ockerby family each won £300 plus damages from him, and he returned to his Academy. Despite this setback, the ophthalmia trials did

not end his business.

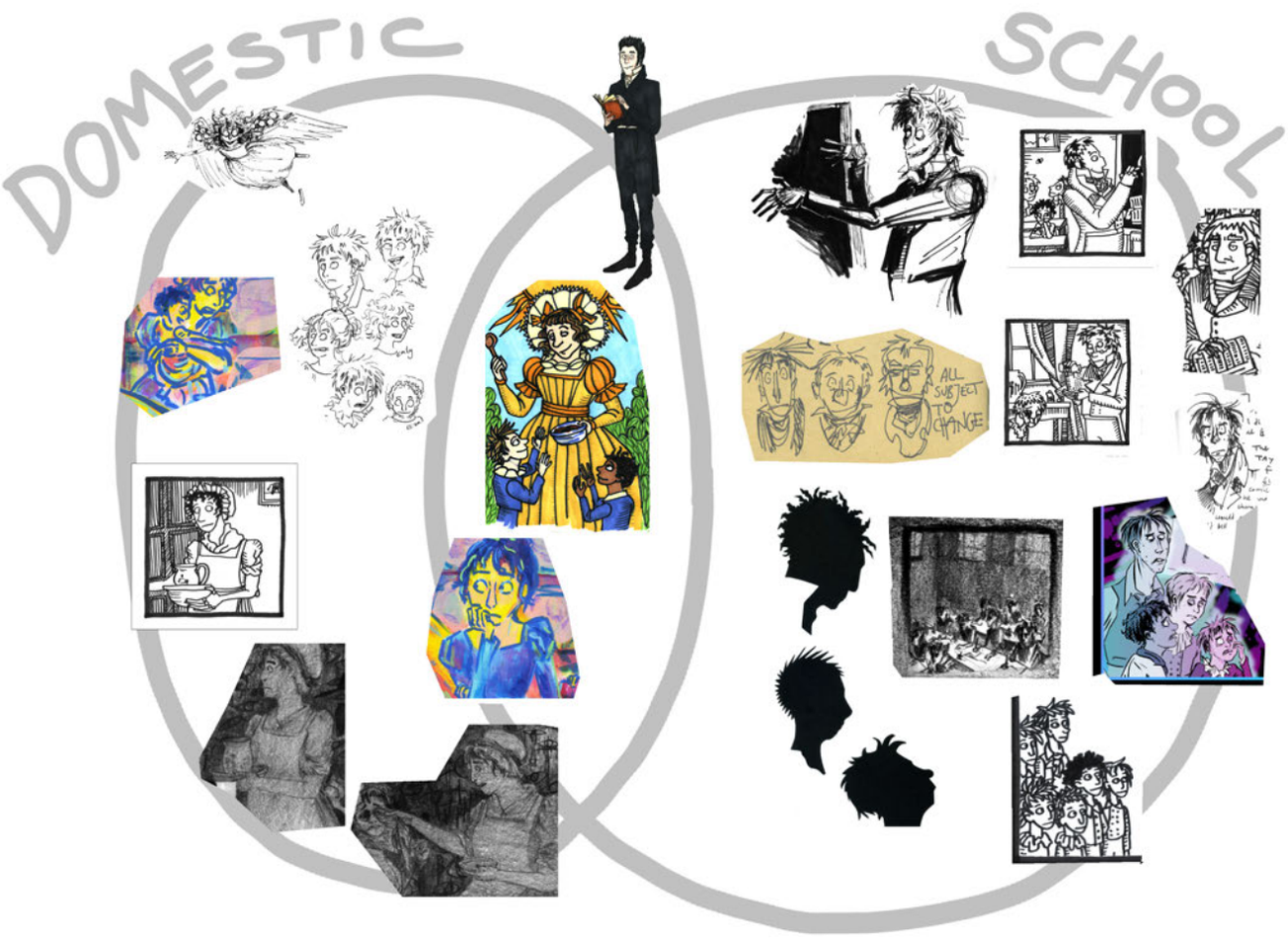
In early 1838, author Charles Dickens and illustrator Hablot ‘Phiz’ Knight Browne travelled up to Yorkshire to investigate some concerning allegations they had heard about the Yorkshire schools, as research for a new novel that they were working on.[11] It is highly probable that they met Shaw’s ex-usher, Charles Hopkins Mackay, who is likely to have regaled them with various intriguing stories.[12] They visited Bowes, having heard that it was the epicentre of these schools, and attempted to visit William Shaw, but the most popular story claims that he frostily turned them away.[13]

The publication of the initial number of *The Life and Adventures of Nicholas Nickleby*, in March 1838, introduced its readership (and the street audience of print-shop windows) to villainous Yorkshire schoolmaster Wackford Squeers, of Dotheboys Hall.[14] The novel was released in instalments consisting of a few chapters, a couple of illustrations, and a number of adverts and other matter, and cost one shilling per instalment - and the middle-class target audience likely included parents of children at boarding schools in Yorkshire.[15] Some of them recognised that there was, at the time, only one schoolmaster in Yorkshire with one eye, and began to demand that their sons be sent home.[16]



William's final advertisement for the Academy appeared in *The Times* in July 1840.[17] Bridget died that November, and William is likely to have closed the school shortly afterwards.[18] They are buried, together with their son, William, in the same grave in Bowes churchyard.

To return to my intention for the use of my case study, I created categories that allowed me to identify two main social circles within the Academy. One is the Shaw family: William as the head of the household, his wife Bridget, and their offspring, extending this circle to include domestic



servants. The other is the school itself: William as schoolmaster, followed hierarchically by head usher Charles Mackay, up to seven other ushers (assistant teachers), which may have included local men and some older

pupils being trained to become ushers, and the student body, which, at the height of the Academy's existence, appears to have consisted of between approximately 260 and 300 boys (if we believe William Jones).[19]

I also wanted to look at people involved with Bowes Academy who were not resident within the establishment. As with the internal group, I created categories that allowed me to arrange these people into groups. The first consisted of people in the locality (within the village of Bowes and its surroundings) including other schoolmasters and people of a similar social standing to William and Bridget Shaw. The next contains people involved with Bowes Academy who lived further afield, principally in London: mainly the parents and guardians of boys at the school, but also including William's agents and referees. I also wanted to consider wider society, people who would not have been directly involved with the Academy, and how they might have considered the Academy and its inhabitants (centring on William), although, as the most obvious choice, I only focussed on author Charles Dickens and illustrator Hablot Knight 'Phiz' Browne, the original illustrator to Dickens' novel *Nicholas Nickleby*, which features Dotheboys Hall, a fictional Yorkshire school popularly associated with Bowes Academy and William Shaw.

I concentrated on the Academy and its occupants in *Disorder*, and on William's wider social and professional connections in *(Un)Known Associates*. These are my two main outcomes, and I will explore them throughout this thesis, along with my prolific sketchbook work and numerous smaller experiments.

Disorder is a graphic history: a work where, in the words of Florence Grant and Ludmilla Jordanova, "any meaningful distinction between 'text' and 'illustration' has vanished".[20] With *Disorder*, I focussed on a specific incident at

Bowes Academy, using five different speculative viewpoints that I imagined some of the people involved may have experienced. I used this as a vehicle for deeper exploration of historiographical concepts and themes, primarily concentrating on imagination, interpretation, metaphor, and the presence of the researcher. In its introduction, I requested the audience to interpret *Disorder* in a manner echoing how a historian would interpret a source; I provided no explanatory captions, and the viewer would have to rely on their own interpretations of the images, hopefully combining them with other relevant (or otherwise?) traces that they had encountered, "in a process intended to mimic historical practice: comparing, contrasting, analysing, interrogating, and so on".[21] I chose to make it mostly wordless, to give the audience greater freedom of interpretation.

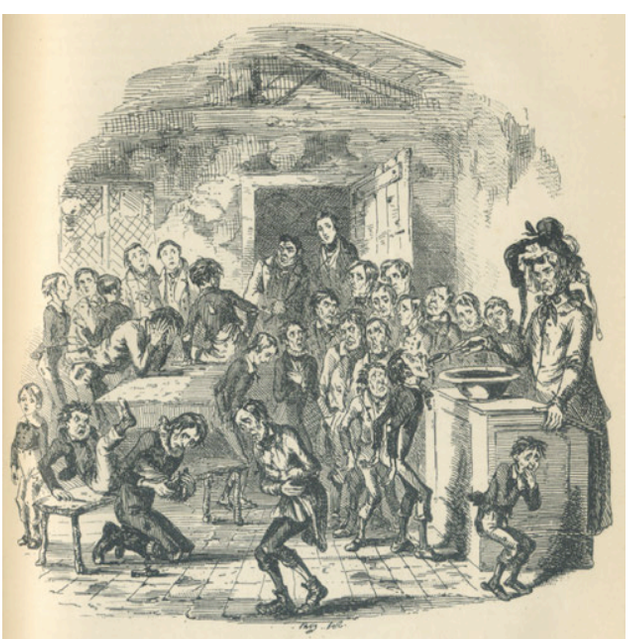
(Un)Known Associates is a deck of cards, in which - as with *Disorder* - I used an aspect of my case study as a vehicle for investigating concepts relevant to the practice and theory of history. In this instance, I made images of (my interpretations of) some of William Shaw's associates, named in traces of his activities, such as his advertisements and documents relating to property that he was involved with; I used these mostly (currently) unknown people to focus on the historical sublime. Keith Jenkins described the historical sublime as "the idea that the past has neither rhyme nor reason to it; that it is grotesque, or absurd, or sublime".[22] The historical sublime is the chaotic, bewildering aspect of history; it (intangibly) manifests in gaps, unanswerable questions, vexations, incongruities, ambiguities, that which cannot be pinned down, all of which I find fascinating and marvellous.[23] The historical sublime is itself hard to define, which fits with its dynamic and enigmatic nature, and I will return to it in my conclusion.

Prior to my inquiry, there has been very little interest in Shaw's social

relations and professional affiliates. I consider this to be an opportunity for deeper investigation into the referees from his adverts, who would have recommended his establishment to prospective clients. There is also a useful opening for more intense examination of his social relations in and around Bowes, such as the people listed in documentation relating to him.

On the methodological side, drawing and illustration have not been used to conduct research into the Yorkshire schools. Drawing practitioners have produced illustrations of Yorkshire schools to accompany written texts, but these drawings, being secondary to their associated writings, were likely never intended as research in themselves; they are illustrations in the conventional sense.[24]

As I mentioned earlier in this section, Phiz produced the first known illustrations of the interior of a Yorkshire school - the fictional Dotheboys Hall -



The Internal Economy of Dotheboys Hall, Phiz, 1838

and its master, Wackford Squeers, for Dickens's original episodic edition of *Nicholas Nickleby*.[25]

In 1841, an individual known as 'Miss Ryland' made a watercolour illustration of the exterior of Bowes Academy, reproductions of which are

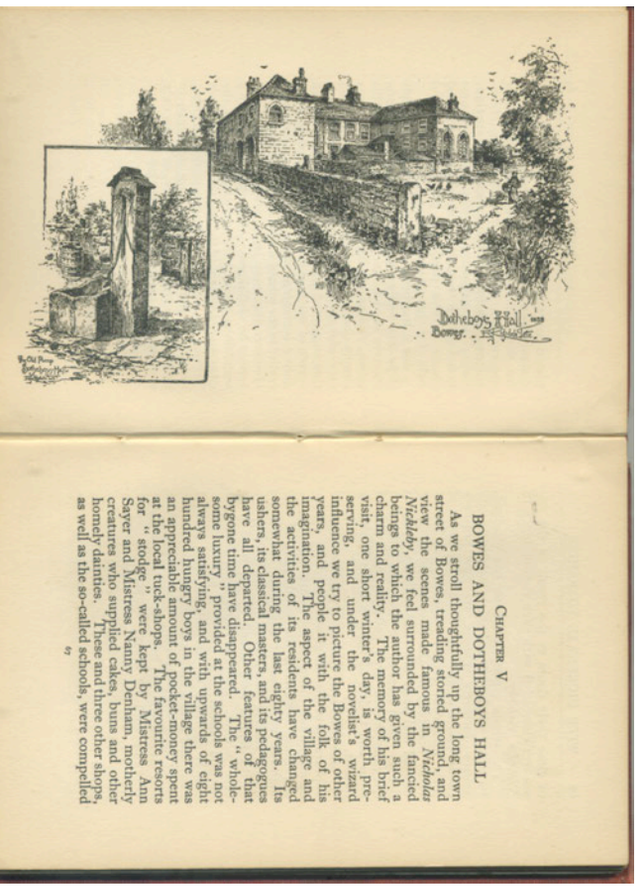
currently held in the collections of the Victoria & Albert Museum, and the British Library.[26] This shows the building from the west, displaying the wing



Dotheboys Hall, Miss Ryland, 1841

that held the schoolroom. This drawing had been in the collection of John Forster, one of Dickens's friends, and is described in a catalogue of 1893 as "House in Yorkshire known as 'Dotheboys Hall.' Sketched on the spot by Miss Ryland, 1841."[27] Ryland is likely to have produced this drawing in response to *Nickleby*.[28]

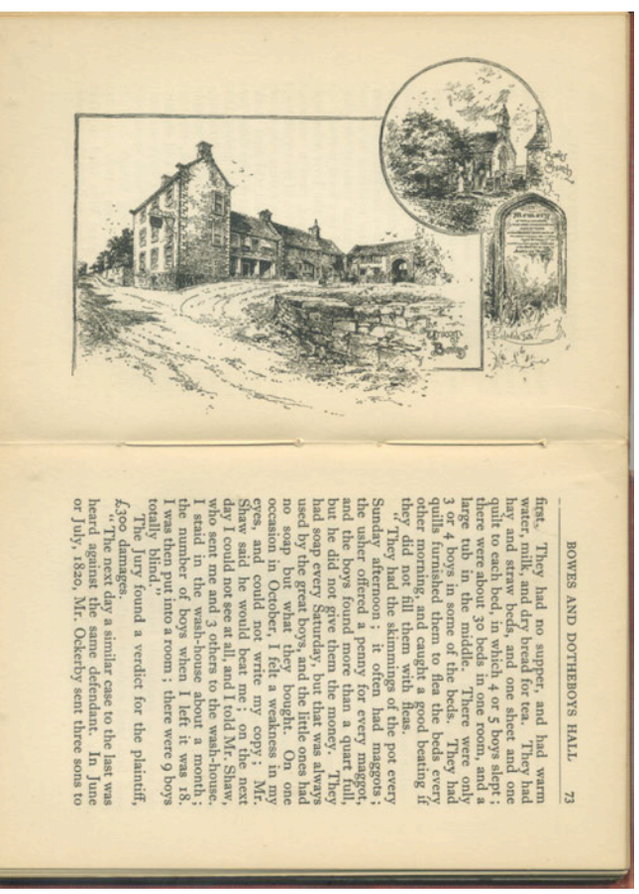
T. P. Cooper's *With Dickens in Yorkshire* (1923) included illustrations by E. Ridsdale Tate, some of which featured constructed artefacts and monuments associated with Bowes Academy: the building itself, the pump, and the headstones of the Shaw family and of two of the boys. On p.66 is Ridsdale Tate's version of what the Academy may have looked like in 1838 (seemingly based on the drawing by the above 'Miss Ryland', which is not cited in the book), accompanied by a drawing of the pump in the yard, as seen from the door that leads from the yard to the street. In the written text, Cooper



CHAPTER V

BOWES AND DOTHEBOYS HALL

As we stroll thoughtfully up the long town street of Bowes, treading storied ground, and view the scenes made famous in *Nicholas Nickleby*, we feel surrounded by the fancied beings to which the author has given such a charm and reality. The memory of his brief visit, one short winter's day, is worth preserving, and under the novelist's wizard influence we try to picture the Bowes of other years, and people it with the folk of his imagination. The aspect of the village and the activities of its residents have changed somewhat during the last eighty years. Its ushers, its classical masters, and its pedagogues have all departed. Other features of that bygone time have disappeared. The "wholesome luxury" provided at the schools was not always satisfying, and with upwards of eight hundred hungry boys in the village there was an appreciable amount of pocket-money spent at the local tuck-shops. The favourite resorts for "stodge" were kept by Mistress Ann Sayer and Mistress Nanny Denham, motherly creatures who supplied cakes, buns and other homely dainties. These and three other shops, as well as the so-called schools, were compelled



BOWES AND DOTHEBOYS HALL 73

first. They had no supper, and had warm water, milk, and dry bread for tea. They had hay and straw beds, and one sheet and one quilt to each bed, in which 4 or 5 boys slept; there were about 30 beds in one room, and a large tub in the middle. There were only 3 or 4 boys in some of the beds. They had quills furnished them to flea the beds every other morning, and caught a good beating if they did not fill them with fleas.

"They had the skimmings of the pot every Sunday afternoon; it often had maggots; the usher offered a penny for every maggot, and the boys found more than a quart full, but he did not give them the money. They had soap every Saturday, but that was always used by the great boys, and the little ones had no soap but what they bought. On one occasion in October, I felt a weakness in my eyes, and could not write my copy; Mr. Shaw said he would beat me; on the next day I could not see at all, and I told Mr. Shaw, who sent me and 3 others to the wash-house. I staid in the wash-house about a month; the number of boys when I left it was 18. I was then put into a room; there were 9 boys totally blind."

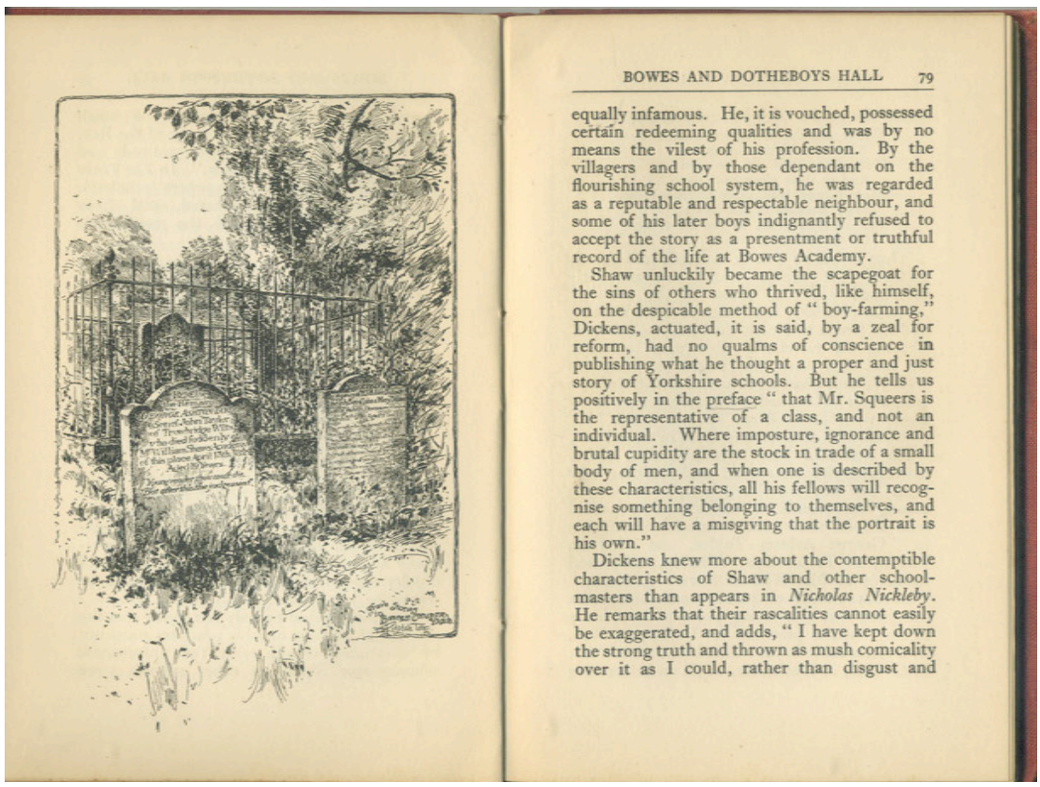
The jury found a verdict for the plaintiff, £300 damages.

"The next day a similar case to the last was heard against the same defendant. In June or July, 1820, Mr. Ockerby sent three sons to

Two of E. Ridsdale Tate's illustrations in T. P. Cooper's *With Dickens in Yorkshire*, 1923, p.66 and p.72

described it as "the original pump" with various allusions to Dickens's Dotheboys Hall, and claimed that it can be hard to see the pump due to the house's occupants' interest in their privacy.[29] However, it is not "the original pump"; the plate carrying the spout bears an inscription mentioning "I B" and dating to the 1850s, which is likely to refer to John Bousfield, who Mary Ann Shaw married in 1851.[30] Regarding the gravestones, that of William Shaw and his family is on p.72, almost as an aside next to a drawing of the Unicorn Inn and St Giles' Church, while those of two of the boys (George Ashton Taylor and John Cuthbert Dobson) are on p.78. The contents page describes these illustrations respectively as "BOWES: The Unicorn Inn, St. Giles' Church, etc." (the Shaw grave presumably being the "etc.") and "BOWES: Epitaphed Memorials to Old Boys".[31] The epitaphs on the boys' gravestones are legible, while the viewer must work harder to read that

on Shaw's grave. George Ashton Taylor's gravestone, prominently positioned closer to the front of the image, includes the phrase "who died suddenly at Mr. William Shaw's Academy". Cooper elaborated on this, quoting Taylor's



BOWES AND DOTHEBOYS HALL 79

equally infamous. He, it is vouched, possessed certain redeeming qualities and was by no means the vilest of his profession. By the villagers and by those dependant on the flourishing school system, he was regarded as a reputable and respectable neighbour, and some of his later boys indignantly refused to accept the story as a presentment or truthful record of the life at Bowes Academy.

Shaw unluckily became the scapegoat for the sins of others who thrived, like himself, on the despicable method of " boy-farming." Dickens, actuated, it is said, by a zeal for reform, had no qualms of conscience in publishing what he thought a proper and just story of Yorkshire schools. But he tells us positively in the preface " that Mr. Squeers is the representative of a class, and not an individual. Where imposture, ignorance and brutal cupidity are the stock in trade of a small body of men, and when one is described by these characteristics, all his fellows will recognise something belonging to themselves, and each will have a misgiving that the portrait is his own."

Dickens knew more about the contemptible characteristics of Shaw and other schoolmasters than appears in *Nicholas Nickleby*. He remarks that their rascalities cannot easily be exaggerated, and adds, " I have kept down the strong truth and thrown as mush comicality over it as I could, rather than disgust and

Ridsdale Tate in Cooper's *With Dickens in Yorkshire*, 1923, p.78

gravestone in the written text, and stating that, upon seeing this inscription, Dickens may have thought it "convincing proof of the cruelties practiced at Dotheboys Hall".[32] The positioning of the Shaw gravestone on p.72 looks almost like an afterthought, and the page itself requires the reader to turn the book around ninety degrees to examine it; the image of the boys' gravestones is presented in portrait format, which is easier for the reader, and it appears that these are the intended focus of the viewer's interest. These factors could be construed as aiding Cooper's written interpretations, encouraging the audience to view 'proof' of the "cruelties" of William Shaw and his Academy, without any evidence for the defence, and with little in the way of differing viewpoints; alternatively, the orientation of the image on the page could be a request from the publisher, or the illustrator wanting to make a more varied

range of images, and not related to the author's intentions.

As my methodology is grounded in drawing-based illustration, I needed to be able to visualise William and his associates. To do this, I designed them as characters that I could use in my work. I designed them concurrently, several at once in a fragmentary manner, rather than in any particular order, allowing my designs to affect and bounce off each other. I prefer to do this rather than designing them separately - their designs help to give each other context. This also allowed me to develop their designs to suggest contrasts, comparisons, and potential sources of compatibility or conflict, and, if I later needed to modify them to interrogate some other concept, I could do so.[33] That said, for the purposes of this account, I will focus on my protagonist, William.

I began designing William using Dickens and Phiz's visual and verbal depiction of villainous fictional schoolmaster Wackford Squeers, who allegedly resembled him, combined with ex-pupil Horatio Lloyd's account of William Shaw.[34] Lloyd, in his serialised autobiography for the *Glasgow Weekly Herald* in 1886, described spending a year in the early 1820s at Bowes Academy, and included a portrayal of William Shaw:

> I can see him now as plainly as I did then, and can testify to the truth of the outward presentment of the man as described by Dickens, and depicted by his artist in the pages of the novel - allowing, of course, for both being greatly exaggerated. A sharp, thin, upright little man, with a slight scale covering the pupil of one of the eyes. Yes. There he stands with his Wellington boots and short black trousers, not originally cut too short, but from a habit he had of sitting with one knee over the other, and the trousers being tight, they would get "ruck'd" half way up the boots. Then the clean white vest, swallow tailed black coat, white neck tie, silver-mounted spectacles, close cut iron-grey hair, high crowned hat worn slightly at the back of his head - and there you have the man.[35]

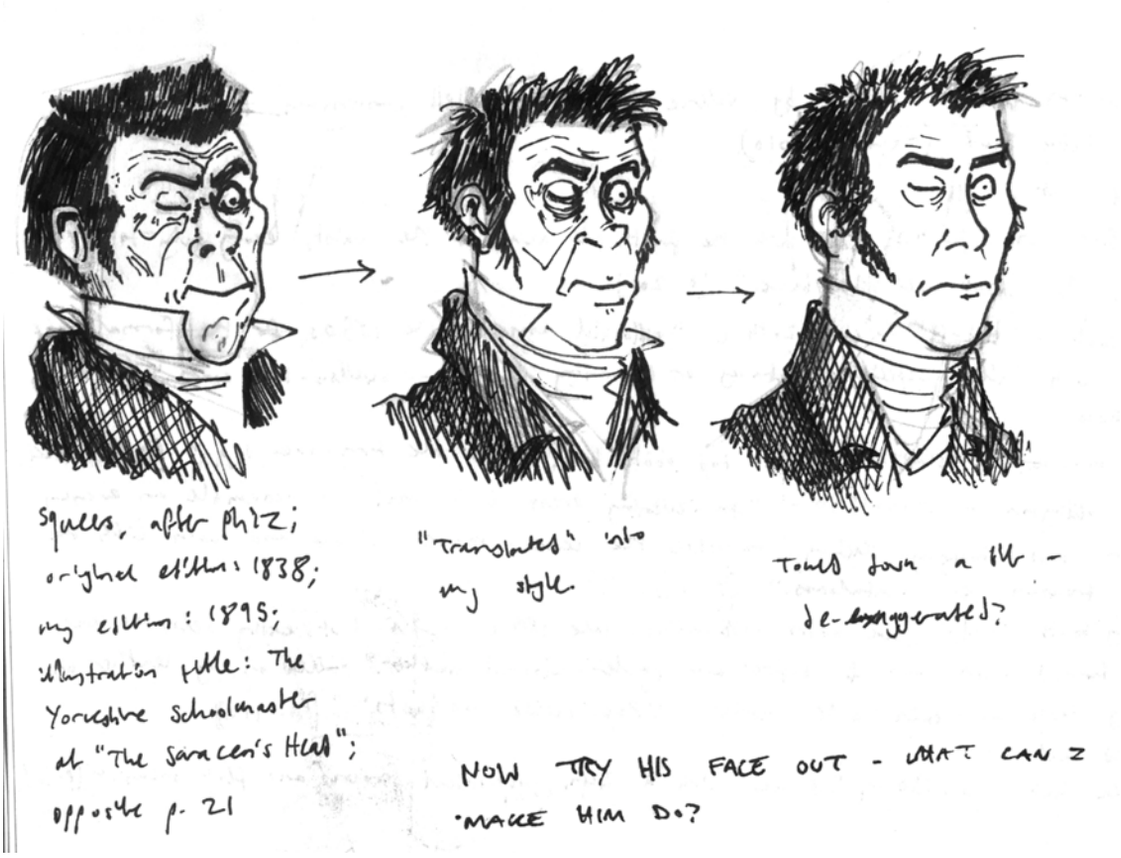
Phiz's son wrote that his father and Dickens "seemed to have fastened on one particular man as the model for Squeers. I once asked my father what the original man was really like. He went so far as to say that the etching was not

unlike him."[36] The artist Charles West Cope discussed William with Thomas Harrison, local landowner and patron of the curacy of St Giles' Church, Bowes, and said that

> My friend Mr. Harrison, of Stubb House, told me that when he went to shoot over Bowes Moor he stopped at the inn at Bowes to dine and sleep, and generally invited Shaw to dine with him, and he said he was 'excellent company.' The caricature of 'Squeers' in the story, with his one eye, was very like him, he said.[37]

Unfortunately, I have not encountered descriptions (visual or written) of any other specific individuals in my case study.

I made my interpretation of William's face by drawing Phiz's version of Wackford Squeers, then translating the character into the way that I usually draw, and then de-exaggerating him.



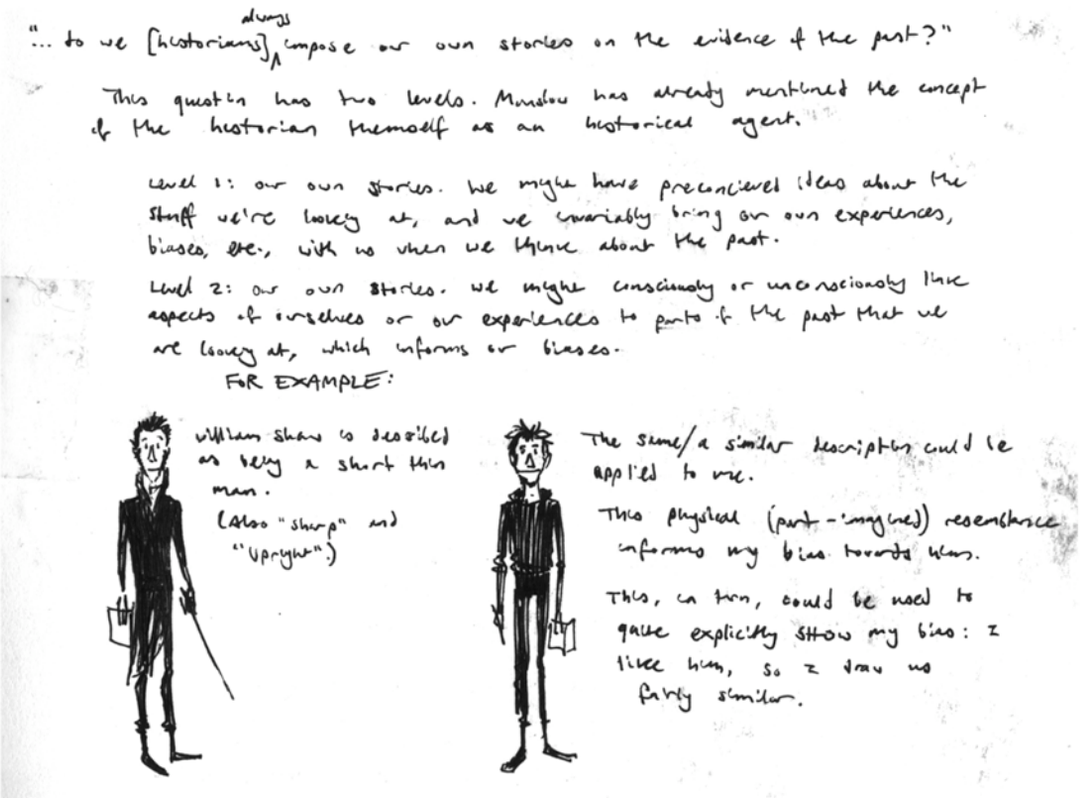
I designed his body based on Lloyd's portrayal of him as a "sharp, thin, upright little man", combined with aspects of my own physicality. Some may entertain doubts about my use of my own body as reference material, possibly

raising questions about identification with subjects. While not specifically referring to the researcher's body, John Lewis Gaddis advised caution when writing biographies:

> A biographer has got to see things through another person's perceptions - to take over another mind, so to speak. You've got to subdue your own distinctiveness in order to do this; otherwise your biography will reflect what's inside your own head rather than that of your subject. But sooner or later you've also got to detach yourself and regain your own identity; otherwise the biography will lack analytical depth or comparative perspective.[38]

However, my work promotes the acknowledgement of the presence of the researcher, critically engages with more traditional research ideals such as objectivity, and challenges the obsolescent belief in the separation of mind and body, common until recently in academic practice.[39] I will return to the topic of self-depiction in Chapter 4, on the created nature of history, on pp.137-146.

Through designing William as a character, I found myself empathising with (my interpretation of) him to a greater extent that I imagine I might have, had I not drawn him; a similar phenomenon happens with other characters I

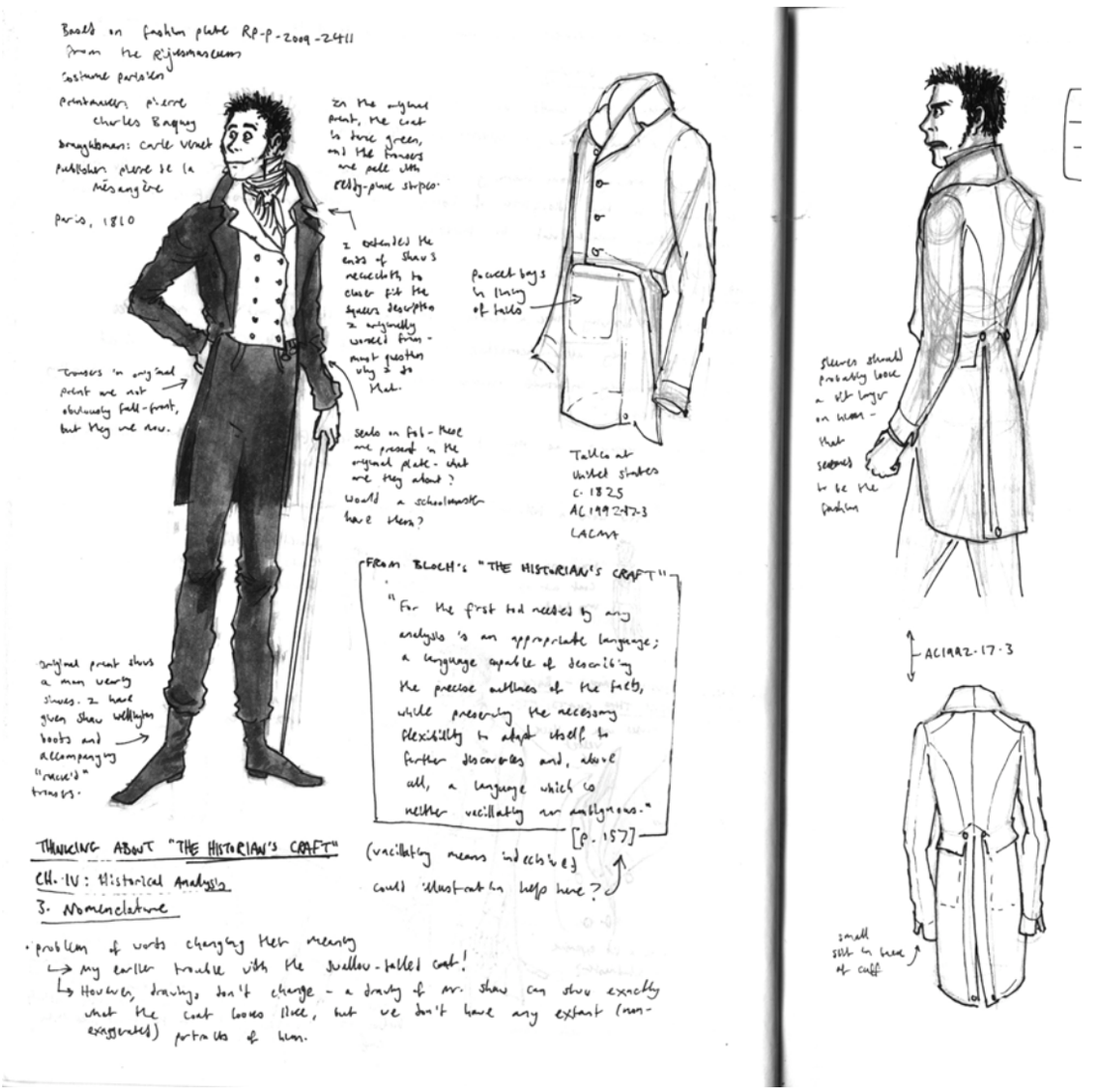


develop through drawing. Some historians may take issue with this, such as when Gaddis advised “subdu[ing] your own distinctiveness” to avoid “reflect[ing] what’s inside your own head rather than that of your subject”, or they may invoke the scholarly control of the imagination, as promoted by the likes of Elton and Evans (as seen in Chapter 1: Methodology, pp.52-53).[40] However, by developing empathy with characters intended to represent historical figures, I can engage more with those characters, and with (my interpretations of) the people and ideas they represent. Judith Dobie said that she and the other illustrators at the Department of Ancient Monuments’ drawing office “developed empathy with the people of the past whose possessions they drew” - for example, by drawing the remains of leather shoes with features that showed that they had been worn by somebody - to “create a picture of some of the individuals … to mark these people, tell others about them - to tell their story.”[41] Empathetic visual depiction can offer a sense of connection with people from the past that written description (empathetic or otherwise) may have difficulty providing.

Empathy can be a quandary for historians. Munslow said that the concept of empathy is most often connected with R. G. Collingwood, whose 1936 *The Idea of History* advised rethinking the thoughts of people in the past; in Munslow’s words, “[t]he route to this emotional and intellectual state is to interpret the historical evidence by literally rethinking the thoughts of people in the past within their known context. For many reconstructionist



historians it is the empathic linkage of evidence and context that constitutes history".[42] However, as historians, we are discouraged from empathising too closely with our subjects, instead becoming "disembodied voices" external to the history we write.[43] John Lewis Gaddis said that empathy is important in



doing history, but that it relies on metaphor, which can be articulated highly effectively using visuals.[44]

I used the description of Shaw's clothing as suggested by Lloyd, combined with images I accessed from online collections, such as extant garments in museums, and contemporary images such as fashion plates and

book illustrations.[45]

As part of designing William as a character, I needed to give him a voice, which helped me to further visualise him, and to imagine what he might have said and done. He speaks - or, rather, I make him speak - in some of my



sketchbook work and in a few scenes in (the mostly wordless) *Disorder*.

Throughout my work, I based William's speech on his advertisements and extant letters, combined with my understanding of contemporary educational literature such as spelling books and tutors' assistants.[46] For example, on page 2 of *Disorder*, I based his speech on his letters to the

parents of George Brooks, combining his phrases (such as when he mentioned presuming that the ill boy was “much altered for the better”) with the type of language used in literature he is likely to have encountered.[47] Meanwhile, on page 5, I took his speech directly from the *Morning Chronicle*’s version of the evidence given by surgeon Henry Benning in the Jones vs Shaw trial, in which Benning claimed “Mr Shaw appeared most anxious to get rid of



the complaint, and ordered me to spare neither attendance nor expence [sic]”.[48] I discuss *Disorder* later in the thesis, beginning in Chapter 4.

Intending for William to be recognisable to an audience, I kept his design consistent across my work; this also gave me a foundation that I could

apply other concepts to (such as Blake's Reason, which I mentioned in my 2019 essay 'Characterisation, context, and contemporary considerations', or western occult views of Saturn, which I discuss in Chapter 5 on pp.188-189 and p.209 note 48) in order to create more experimental interpretations of the character. By designing and developing a character in this way, I was able to understand and engage more deeply with the created nature of history, which is the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter endnotes

[1] Kirkpatrick, R. J., *Charles Dickens, Nicholas Nickleby and the Yorkshire Schools: Fact v Fiction.* Middleton-in-Teesdale: Mosaic (Teesdale) Ltd., 2017, p.i. The Yorkshire schools were renowned for being comparatively cheap - twenty guineas per annum being the standard rate (just over £1200 at the present time, according to the National Archives' currency converter) in contrast to prices for more prestigious schools such as Eton and Harrow; Kirkpatrick's discussion of the prices at public schools is presented in Kirkpatrick, *Fact v Fiction*, p.31, and reviewed their conditions on p.32. National Archives, *Currency converter: 1270-2017* (no date) *The National Archives*. Available at: https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency/#currency-result [Accessed 11 July 2023.]

[2] The few schools that catered for girls seem to have been run by women already associated with male schoolmasters, whether by family connection or by marriage. For example, in 1831, Sarah Clarkson (formerly Sarah Elgey) taught girls at her husband's school at Yarm, near Stockton-on-Tees, County Durham (p.161); in 1840, as Sarah Coates, she repeated this at her second husband's school at Barningham, near Greta Bridge, Yorkshire (p.265). Several of the daughters of Woden Croft (near Barnard Castle) schoolmaster Edward Simpson also ran their own schools - Sarah and Mary at Framwellgate, Durham, and "Misses M and A Simpson" in Darlington (pp.241-242); some of Simpson's sons also went into the business. Kirkpatrick, R. J., *Charles Dickens, Nicholas Nickleby and the Yorkshire Schools: Fact v Fiction.* Middleton-in-Teesdale: Mosaic (Teesdale) Ltd., 2017.

[3] January and July were the main recruiting seasons, when Yorkshire schoolmasters would visit London, advertise in the newspapers, and make themselves available for consultations with parents. Kirkpatrick, *Fact v Fiction*, p.43. See also "Education, at the old established Academy, at Cotherstone" *The Times* (London, England), Wednesday 13 July 1814, issue 9721. *The Times Digital Archive.*

[4] Charles Mackay's advert of July 1814 mentioned George Maskell, who was "appointed to receive the payments quarterly"; Mackay himself did not visit London at the time of this advert, but stated that "Mr Maskell will, if deemed necessary, attend the young gentlemen to Mr M's school". ("Education, at the old established Academy, at Cotherstone" *The Times* (London, England), Wednesday, July 13, 1814; issue 9721.) Meanwhile, in October 1824, Lionel Simpson's target audience were advised "For cards of particulars and subsidiary information apply to Mr. J. Lord, 9 Commercial-place, City-road, (Mr Simpson's agent), who attends daily at the Saracen's Head…" (Kirkpatrick, *Fact v Fiction*, p.233).

[5] Kirkpatrick, *Fact v Fiction*, p.83.

[6] Kirkpatrick, *Fact v Fiction*, p.83.

[7] Michael, N., (no date) *LAIDMAN, Bridget 'Biddy' b. Abt 1784 d. 4 Nov 1840*, on *Laidman Family History*. Available at: https://laidman.one-name.net/getperson.php?personID=I10069&tree=Laidman [Accessed 19 January 2023.] See also Kirkpatrick, *Fact v Fiction*, p.83.

[8] See Vickery, A., *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England*, New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2009, pp.9-12, for discussion of Georgian housewives, their administrative capabilities and responsibilities in the domestic sphere, and how their household management enabled their husbands (which I imagine included schoolmasters) to travel away from home.

[9] For the Jones vs Shaw trial: "LAW INTELLIGENCE" *The Morning Post* (London, England), Tuesday 31 October 1823, issue 16493. *British Library Newspapers.*

For the Ockerby vs Shaw trial: "LAW INTELLIGENCE" *The Morning Post* (London, England), Saturday 1 November 1 1823, issue 16494. *British Library Newspapers.*

For the *Monthly Gazette of Health*'s coverage: Reece, R., *The Monthly Gazette of Health; or, Medical, Dietetic, Anti-Empirical, and General Philosophical Journal, Vol. VIII*, London: Sherwood, Jones, and Co., 1823. Available at: https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/The_Monthly_Gazette_of_Health/xKAEAAAAQAAJ?hl=en [Accessed 30 August 2018.] pp.749-753. Quote from p.751. It presents a sympathetic view of Shaw, before focusing on lengthily accusing ophthalmologist Sir William Adams of plagiarism.

[10] Kirkpatrick noted that “Shaw himself seems to have been infected, as descriptions of his appearance testify.” Kirkpatrick, *Fact v Fiction*, p.91.

[11] Dickens and Phiz set off on January 30th 1838 (p.70), and were “back at home in London on the evening of 6 February” (p.79). Kirkpatrick, *Fact v Fiction*.

[12] Kirkpatrick, *Fact v Fiction*, Chapter 7: The Malcontent ‘Mckay’, pp.143-152.

[13] Dickens and Phiz saw Shaw on February 2 (p.74). Kirkpatrick covered various accounts of the meeting on pp.75-78, including some in which the visitors were “well-received by Shaw” (p.77), and “several other, different, accounts of Dickens’s meeting with Shaw, unfortunately none from Dickens himself. The most repeated account involved Shaw snubbing Dickens” (p.75). Kirkpatrick, *Fact v Fiction*.

[14] For the street audience of print-shop windows, see p.292 in Patten, R., ‘illustrators and book illustration’, in Schlicke, P. (ed.), *Oxford Reader’s Companion to Dickens*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999, pp.290-296.

[15] Schlicke, P. (ed.), *Oxford Reader’s Companion to Dickens*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999. For details of the novel’s release in instalments (p.414), and illustrations (pp.414-415), see Schlicke, P., ‘*Nicholas Nickleby*’, pp.413-417. For details of advertising and the cost of each instalment, see Russell, N., ‘advertising in and of Dickens’s work’, pp.5-6.

[16] In Kirkpatrick’s appraisal of the Yorkshire schools, he noted that only two of them had closed due to the *Nickleby* effect - William Shaw’s Bowes Academy, and Francis Clark’s Startforth Hall - but that “the only reason Bowes Academy closed was the explicit association between the school and Dotheboys Hall, and between Shaw and Wackford Squeers.” Kirkpatrick, *Fact v Fiction*, p.347.

[17] “Education - by Mr. Shaw, at Bowes Academy” *The Times* (London, England), Tuesday 21 July 1840, issue 17415. *The Times Digital Archive*.

[18] Kirkpatrick briefly mentioned that William retired after Bridget’s death, and quoted the Shaw family’s two gravestones (William and Bridget, with their son William, and the nearby grave of their daughters Jane and Eliza). Kirkpatrick, *Fact v Fiction*, p.93.

[19] A third group, which I did not investigate, was more agricultural than strictly domestic or related only to the Academy. Like several other Yorkshire schoolmasters, William Shaw also owned a farm; while he may have employed agricultural labourers, he is also likely to have used his pupils as a cheap workforce, again similar to other schoolmasters. Regarding this, Kirkpatrick quoted an account from an anonymous article that appeared in an American newspaper, *The Commonwealth* (Boston), reprinted in the *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle* 29 April 1865, on pp.99-102 of *Fact v Fiction*, which mentioned haymaking; on pp.110-111, he reproduced an article from *The Times* (7 February 1925) discussing the death of Edmund Plummer, allegedly “the last surviving pupil at Bowes Academy”, who had remembered boys working on Shaw’s farm and then being hired out to other local farms. I also suspect there was some overlap between these three categories, and likely categories that I have not identified or created.

[20] Grant and Jordanova, Introduction, in *Writing Visual Histories*, eds. Grant, F., and Jordanova, L., London: Bloomsbury, 2020, p.13. Admittedly, this definition might not fit *Disorder*, which I deliberately designed to be mostly wordless.

[21] Barrett, E., *Disorder*, 2023, p.iii. Download links for *Disorder* are available at https://www.academia.edu/99280267/Disorder and https://www.researchgate.net/publication/369618594_Disorder [Accessed 18 April 2023.]

[22] Jenkins, K., *On “What is History?”*, London: Routledge, 1995, p.137.

[23] For chaos, see White, H., *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978, p.50. For ambiguity, see Munslow, A., and Rosenstone, R. A., (eds.) *Experiments in Rethinking History*, Routledge: Abingdon, 2004, p.85.

[24] Petersson, S., 'Unfixing the Concept of Illustration: Its Historiographical Ambivalence and Analytical Potential' in Petersson, S., Johansson, C., Holdar, M., Callahan, S. (eds.), *The Power of the In-Between: Intermediality as a Tool for Aesthetic Analysis and Critical Reflection*, Stockholm: Stockholm University Press, 2018, pp.321-347.

[25] The first illustration featuring Wackford Squeers, titled *The Yorkshire Schoolmaster at 'The Saracen's Head'*, appeared in the first instalment (March 1838), and the first illustration of the inside of the school, titled *The Internal Economy of Dotheboys Hall*, appeared in the third instalment (June 1838).

Browne, H. K., 'The Yorkshire Schoolmaster at The Saracen's Head', from Dickens, C., *Nicholas Nickleby*, London: Chapman & Hall, April 1838. Available at: https://www.victorianweb.org/art/illustration/phiz/nickleby/2.html [Accessed 6 February 2023.]

Browne, H. K., 'The Internal Economy of Dotheboys Hall', from Dickens, C., *Nicholas Nickleby*, London: Chapman & Hall, June 1838. Available at: https://www.victorianweb.org/art/illustration/phiz/nickleby/5.html [Accessed 6 February 2023.]

[26] "Miss Ryland", *Dotheboy's [sic] Hall, near Bowes, six miles from Greta Bridge*, 1841, watercolour drawing, at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, accession number F.147. Available at: http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O1265183/dotheboys-hall-near-bowes-six-watercolour-ryland-miss/ [Accessed 12 December 2020.] British Library, *Photographic reproduction of 'Dotheboys Hall, Bowes, 1841' [from the author's presentation copy of The Life of Dickens, 1872-74]*, shelfmark Dex.316. - Vol. I, part II, 1841. Available at: https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/photographic-reproduction-of-dotheboys-hall-bowes-1841 [Accessed 28 August 2018.]

[27] South Kensington Museum, *Forster collection. A catalogue of the paintings, manuscripts, autograph letters, pamphlets, etc., bequeathed by John Forster, Esq. LL. D., with indexes.* South Kensington Museum [now the Victoria and Albert Museum], London: printed for HM Stationary Office by Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1893. Available at: https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000248762 [Accessed 6 March 2022.]

[28] I do not know exactly who "Miss Ryland" is, but I suspect she may be the artist Frances Ryland (1815-1852), wife of Birmingham-based lawyer and philanthropist Arthur Ryland (1807-1877). Frances travelled and drew around Britain. Arthur was in contact with Charles Dickens in the 1850s, regarding Dickens giving public readings for the benefit of the Birmingham and Midland Institute, so it is possible that the author could have encountered Frances' works. Somerset & Wood, art dealers based in Wiltshire, currently (at time of writing) have a collection of Frances' works for sale, including an image of a "Rural Chapel Church in Sepia" which bears a resemblance to St Giles Church at Bowes, particularly the bellcote. Ryland, F., *Rural Chapel Church in Sepia*, mid-nineteenth century, drawing, at Somerset & Wood Fine Art Ltd, Bradford on Avon. Available at: https://somersetandwood.com/collections/artist-collections/frances-ryland-1815-1852-graphite-drawings/frances-ryland-rural-chapel-church-in-sepia-mid-19th-century-watercolour-ju-036 [Accessed 19 July 2022.]

[29] Cooper, T. P., *With Dickens in Yorkshire*, London: Ben Johnson & Co., Ltd., 1924. Dotheboys Hall and pump illustration on p.66. Cooper's written description pp.69-70.

[30] Alternatively, it might say "I B 1858" - this uncertainty is based on a drawing from a blurred photograph I took in 2015 (which I no longer have, due to technical issues).

There are three photographs of the pump in the Francis Frith Collection - one from 1969 (B328017), and two from c.1970 (B328015 and B328016). None of these show the inscription with great clarity. Francis Frith Collection, *Bowes Photos*. Available at: https://www.francisfrith.com/bowes/photos [Accessed 1 May 2023.]

The pump is not mentioned on the entry for the school building on the National Heritage List. "Dotheboys Hall and former coach house" on Historic England, https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1121040?section=official-list-entry [Accessed 1 May 2023.]

[31] Cooper, T. P., *With Dickens in Yorkshire*, London: Ben Johnson & Co., Ltd., 1924. Contents page for the illustrations p.6.

[32] For Cooper's interpretation of George Ashton Taylor's gravestone, with a quote from Dickens's letter to Mrs S. C. Hall, see Cooper, *With Dickens in Yorkshire*, pp.80-81. For Dickens's letter itself, dated 29 December 1838, see Clark, C., *Charles Dickens and the*

Yorkshire Schools with his letter to Mrs. Hall, *Internet Archive*. London: The Chiswick Press, 1918. Available at: https://archive.org/details/charlesdickensyo00clar/page/n9/mode/2up [Accessed 1 May 2023.]

[33] For instance, I used contrasting character designs to explore aspects of the possible power balance between schoolmaster William Shaw, and his head usher, Charles Mackay. I explored this in an essay I wrote for a research module. Barrett, E., *Characterisation, context, and contemporary considerations*, 2019. Available on academia.edu at https://www.academia.edu/118742814/Characterisation_context_and_contemporary_considerations_a_reflective_essay_using_practical_examples_to_illustrate_some_potential_advantages_and_disadvantages_of_historical_research_by_drawing and available on ResearchGate at https://www.researchgate.net/publication/380402858_Characterisation_context_and_contemporary_considerations_a_reflective_essay_using_practical_examples_to_illustrate_some_potential_advantages_and_disadvantages_of_historical_research_by_drawing [Accessed 8 May 2024.]

[34] I covered the historical side of my process for designing William - without reference to other characters or to my own experiences - in a blog post. Barrett, E., 'Let's draw William Shaw', *Ed Draws History*, (blog post) 10 December 2020. Available at: https://eddrawshistory.blogspot.com/2020/12/lets-draw-william-shaw.html [Accessed 13 December 2022.]

[35] Lloyd, H. F., *The Life of an Actor: An Autobiography by H. F. Lloyd, Comedian, Late of the Theatre Royal Edinburgh and Glasgow*, in *The Glasgow Weekly Herald*, published over 15 weeks from 22 May 1886; the first chapter includes Lloyd's description of Shaw and his time at Bowes Academy. Available at: http://www.arthurlloyd.co.uk/HoratioBiog/HoratioLloydAutobiographyChapter1.htm [Accessed 13 December 2022.]

[36] Browne, E., *Phiz and Dickens as they appeared to Edgar Browne*, London: J. Nisbet & Co., 1913. pp.11-12. Available at: https://archive.org/details/phizdickensasthe00browrich/page/n33/mode/2up [Accessed 13 December 2022.]

[37] Cope, C.W. and Cope, C.H. (ed.), *Reminiscences of Charles West Cope, R. A.*, *Google Books*. London: Richard Bentley & Son, 1891. Available at: https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/Reminiscences_of_Charles_West_Cope_R_A/qoA5AAAAMAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=0 [Accessed 8 April 2021.] p.236.

[38] Gaddis, J. L., *The Landscape of History: How Historians Map the Past*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002, pp.113-114.

[39] Robin Nelson explored and critiqued the separation of mind and body in Nelson, R., 'Practice-as-research and the Problem of Knowledge', in *Performance Research: A Journal of the Performing Arts*, vol.11, no.4, 2006, pp.105-116.

[40] Gaddis, J. L., *The Landscape of History: How Historians Map the Past*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002, pp.113-114.

[41] Dobie, J., *Illustrating the Past: Artists' interpretations of ancient places*, Swindon: Historic England, (2019), pp.134-137.

[42] Munslow, A., *Deconstructing History*, London: Routledge, 1997, p.181.

[43] Munslow, A., 'History, skepticism and the past', in *Rethinking History*, vol.21, no.4, 2017, pp.474-488. Quote from p.478. I included the full version of this quote in Chapter 1, on p.65

[44] Gaddis, J., *The Landscape of History: How Historians Map the Past,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. On the "particular combination of economy and intensity with which visual images can express metaphors", see p.2. On the necessity of empathy - "it seems to me that empathy—whether with respect to the past, the present, or the future—absolutely requires them. If we're to be open to impressions, which is what I've argued empathy means, we've also got to be comparative. And that, in turn, is just another way of saying that something is "like" something else. It comes with being a self-reflective, feedback-generating, information-exchanging (if not always utility-maximizing) entity" - see p.128.

[45] For example, in IBB:2-3/9/18, I referenced a number of things to help design William's clothing, including a May 1819 fashion plate (RP-P-2009-2453) in the Rijksmuseum, a linen coat c.1815 (1997.508) in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, a pair of c.1840s Wellington boots (M.67.8.139a-b) in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

De la Mésangère, P., *Journal des Dames et des Modes, Costume Parisien*, May 1819, coloured engraving on paper, at the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, object number RP-P-2009-2453. Available at: https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/collection/RP-P-2009-2453 [Accessed 2 September 2018.]

Coat, c.1815, linen, at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, accession number 1997.508. Available at: https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/79704?searchField=All&sortBy=Date&when=A.D.+1800-1900&ao=on&ft=coat&offset=0&rpp=80&pos=71 [Accessed 2 September 2018.]

Wellington boots, c.1840s, leather, at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, item number M.67.8.139a-b. Available at: https://collections.lacma.org/node/235855 [Accessed 2 September 2018.]

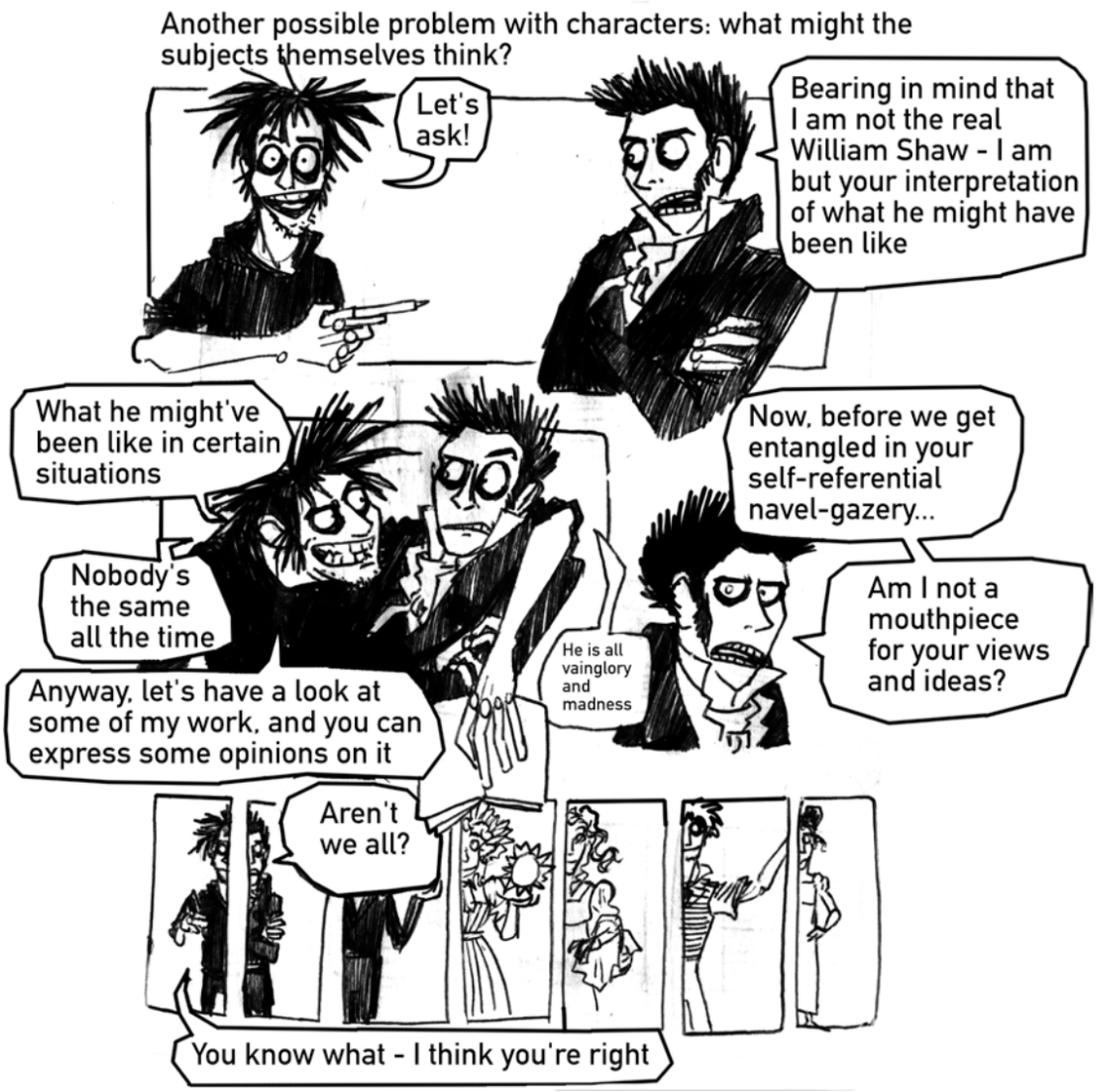
[46] For instance, I used educational material such as Charles Vyse's *The New London Spelling-Book* and Paul Deighan's *A Complete Treatise on Arithmetic*.

Vyse, C., *The New London Spelling-Book, or the Young Gentlemen and Ladies' Guide to the English Tongue*, London: Dean and Munday, this edition 1813, originally published 1776. Available at: https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/The_New_London_Spelling_Book_A_New_Editi/hAtgAAAAcAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=0 [Accessed 15 December 2022.]

Deighan, P., *A Complete Treatise on Arithmetic, Rational and Practical*, Dublin: J. Jones, 1804. Available at: https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/A_Complete_Treatise_on_Arithmetic_Ration/xH84AAAAMAAJ?hl=en [Accessed 15 December 2022.] This book contains the phrase "Algebra is a kind of specious arithmetic" on p.277. In an article for *The Dickensian* in 1939, S. J. Rust discussed several items from Bowes Academy, including exercise books belonging to brothers W. C. Blanchard and John Blanchard, dating from 1835-1837; Rust notes that "[b]efore beginning Algebra [John Blanchard] copied three pages of introductory matter, beginning with the delightful dictum: 'Algebra is a kind of specious Arithmetic.'" Rust, S. J., 'Treasures at the Dickens House: Education at Shaw's Academy, Bowes' in *The Dickensian*, vol.35, no.249, Winter 1938/1939, pp.32-36.

[47] For the Brooks letters, see Kirkpatrick, *Fact v Fiction*, pp.120-126. The phrase quoted is in Shaw's letter dated 3rd February 1826, in which he informs Brooks's parents that the boy has died; Brooks's improvement "was only the usual change prior to dissolution", p.124.

[48] "COURT OF COMMON PLEAS, OCT.30." *Morning Chronicle* [1801], (London, England), Friday 31 October 1823, issue 17015. *British Library Newspapers*.



I use a number of visual strategies to communicate the created nature of history, and to draw the audience's attention to it, and to their part in it. These strategies include self-depiction, breaking the fourth wall, making analogue interactive works, and using the characters I have made, who I sometimes depict as being aware of their own createdness.

The work I make, and the characters I design, cannot be called realistically representational. I do not know what any of the people in my case study looked like in actuality (although we have a vague idea from Lloyd's

account of William) and I do not know how they would have really behaved in any given situation. I intend my characters to represent my interpretations of real people, based on my understandings of extant traces relating to them, and affected by my personal context, experiences, memories, biases, and so on. As with most history, the understandings that we have are based on researchers' evidence-based suppositions and interpretations, and on how those researchers then represent those ideas, and on how their audience interprets those ideas in turn.

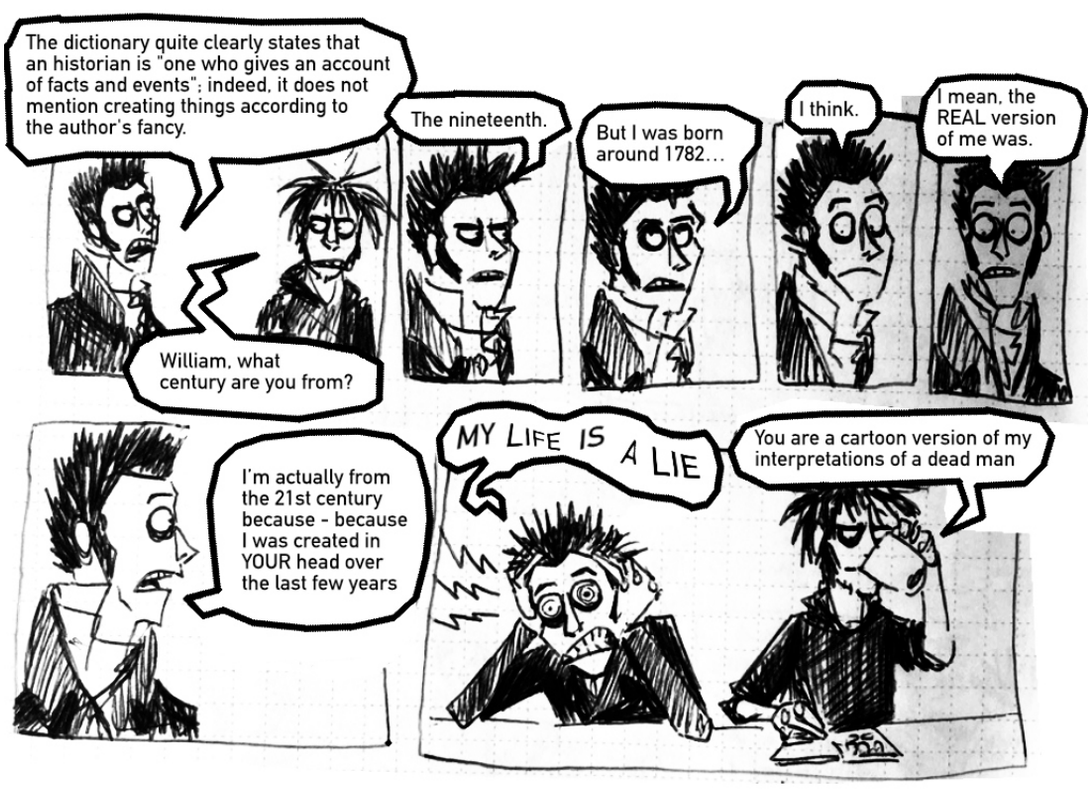
In this chapter, I also discuss other historians who include themselves and their experiences in their work, the use of my own experiences (and body) in my work (which I briefly mentioned on pp.123-126), which I use in exploring and highlighting concepts such as bias and subjectivity, and the use of language and voice, which can sometimes be used to hide the presence of the researcher (which I mentioned on pp.64-69).

In some of my work, I present my characters as being self-aware, knowing that they themselves are created. This strategy is used in *The Beano*, which, on numerous occasions, has depicted its characters acknowledging that they are characters in the comic. Characters are often seen reading the comic and engaging in discussions and arguments relating to it; for instance, in a "Lord Snooty" comic drawn by R. T. "Bob" Nixon in 1968, the characters read *The Beano* and exchanged views on who their favourite characters were - in some cases, their favourite characters were themselves.[1]



'Lord Snooty', R.T. Nixon, in *The Beano*, 29 June 1968

By showing my characters as self-aware, I can convey a sense of the created nature of history: I depict them as representations of historical figures, but allow them to acknowledge their own createdness. In two articles in *Experiments in Rethinking History*, the writers use characters explicitly described as composite characters (made of the historians' understandings of multiple people and mentalities at the time); Marjorie Becker created a composite priest in 'When I was a child', while Chris Ward created Private John Ball and an unnamed officer in 'Impressions of the Somme'.[2] In Ward's example, his composite characters are self-aware and, knowing that they were created by a character known as "the historian" (who seems to act as a stand-in for Ward), they begin using references that Ward uses in his article, telling him how he is going to write, and, according to 'the historian', "ruining everything" - to which the anonymous composite officer responded with "[o]nce you let us loose like this you can't expect us to obey your rules anymore".[3] The historian's imagination is free to explore how they create their



work, and so are their characters.

This is another way of giving the impression that the characters are aware of their own created nature, which can also be achieved by making them appear to directly address the audience and the creator of the work, rather than a substitute. Again, this technique is frequently used in *The Beano*. An example of this can be seen in the storyline/ publicity stunt in which Gnasher, Dennis the Menace's pet dog, went missing for seven weeks in 1986. In appearing to directly speak to the readers, the characters encouraged the audience to help find the lost dog. In an extract from the comic dated March 22 1986, shown in *The History of The Beano*, Dennis points out of his panel towards the audience, asking "Are you readers going to help me find Gnasher?"[4] The audience, as a group, was included in the narrative, and the protagonist specifically requested their help; they became (or were encouraged to feel as though they had become) instrumental in the success of the search. The comic's creators were also directly involved in this three-way conversation, interacting with the characters and addressing the audience. The (then) editor of the comic, Euan Kerr, appeared on the cover of an issue dated April 5th 1986 (seen on p.239 in *The History of The Beano*),





'Dennis the Menace and Gnasher' David Sutherland, in *The Beano*, 22 March 1986

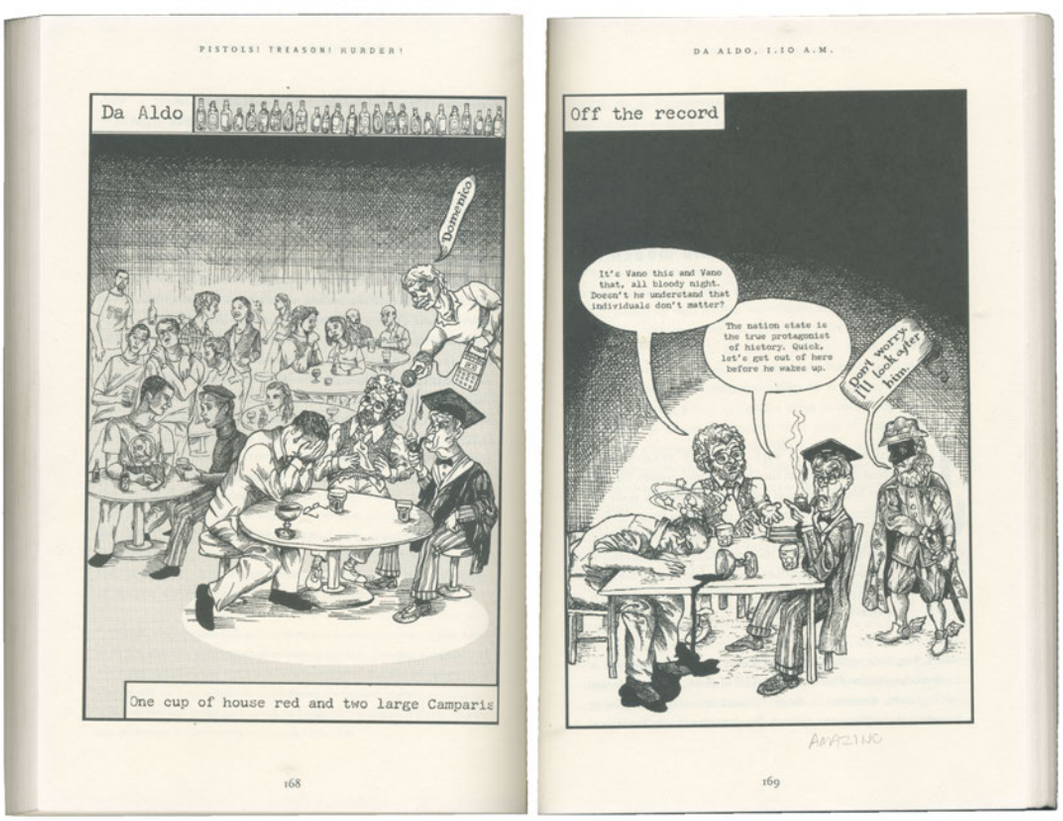
with cut-out badges, calling the readers to action with a request to cut the designs out and tape them onto their Dennis the Menace Fan Club badges "if *you* [original emphasis] want to help in the search for Gnasher".[5] The editor only appeared because Dennis and a group of anonymous characters invaded



'Dennis the Menace and Gnasher', David Sutherland, in *The Beano*, 5 April 1986

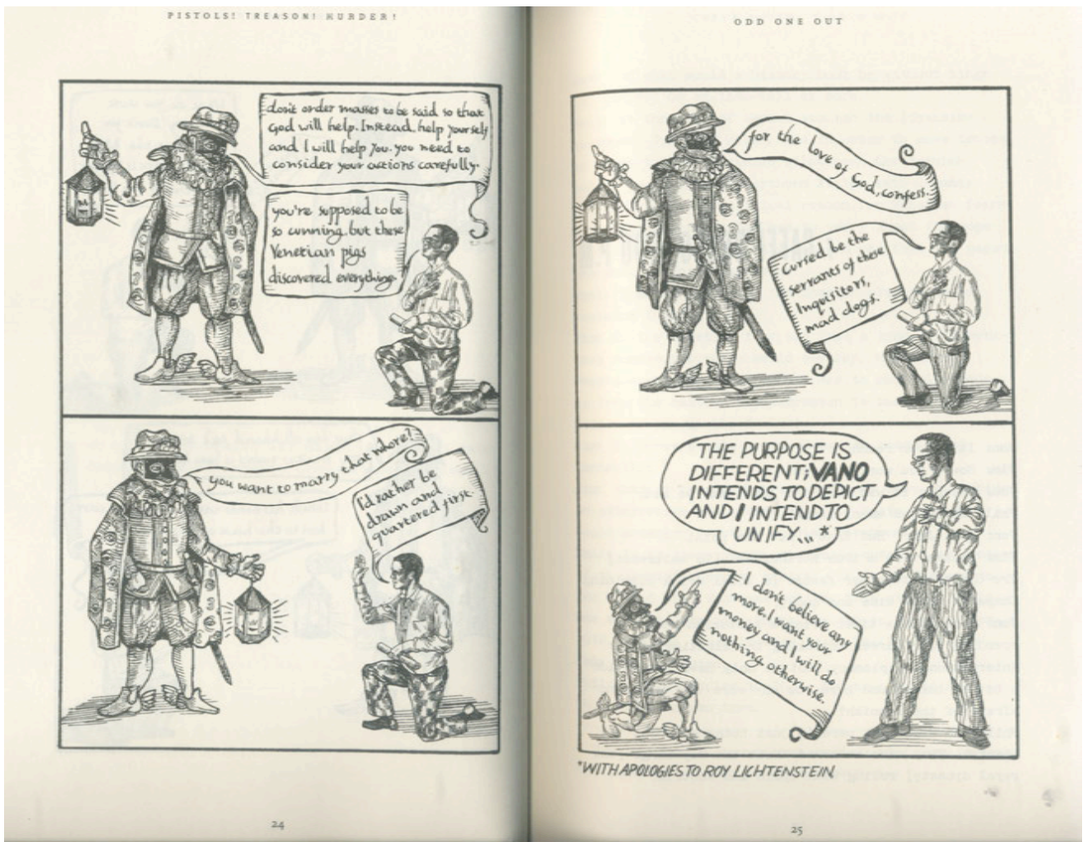
the Beano offices, requesting the editor's help in their search for the missing dog.[6]

Portraying the *Beano*'s editor within the comic can be paralleled with showing the practitioner in a work of research. For example, historian Jonathan Walker is visible in his book *Pistols! Treason! Murder!*, with illustrations by Dan Hallett following scripts and storyboards by Walker.[7] In five chapters, Walker presented written transcripts of conversations between himself and two friends in bars across Venice, in which they contextualised aspects of the world of Walker's case study; each conversation was



Dan Hallett, in Jonathan Walker's *Pistols! Treason! Murder!*, pp.168-169

accompanied by an illustration by Hallett, which featured Walker and his companions (except the final transcript, which had two illustrations).[8] Walker also appeared in several illustrations elsewhere in the book. Notably, in chapter 6, "Odd One Out", he was depicted in conversation with his



Dan Hallett, in Jonathan Walker's *Pistols! Treason! Murder!*, pp.24-25

protagonist, Vano, both speaking in "genuine excerpts from dialogue quoted in the reports of Gerolamo Vano" with the exception of Walker's final speech bubble.[9] In two instances, Walker appeared at the end of a dance of death



Dan Hallett, in Jonathan Walker's *Pistols! Treason! Murder!*, p.199

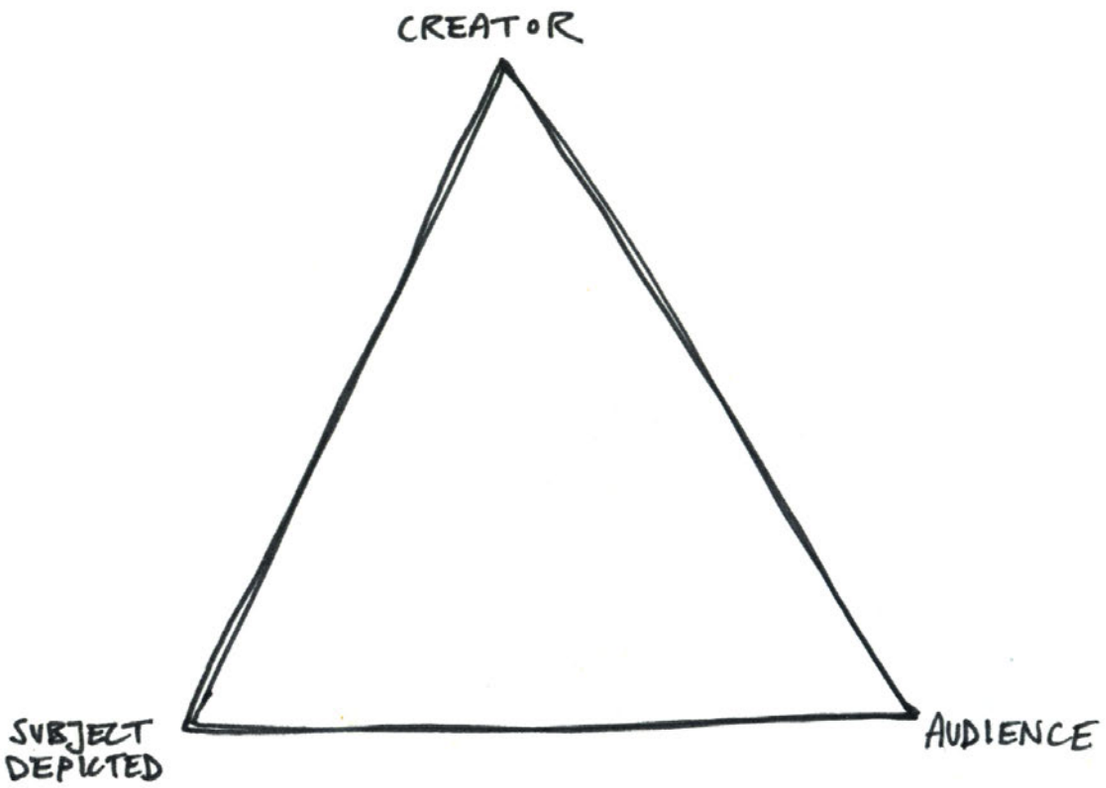
with his characters, which he reinforced using written discussion in his final chapter.[10]

To further draw the audience's attention to their own participation, I - as the creator of the work - break the fourth wall, directing my self-portrait's gaze out of the page to make 'eye contact' with the audience, and addressing them

- addressing *you* in speech bubbles.[11]



Renaissance artists such as Caravaggio, Michelangelo, and Giorgione notably included themselves in their work. Simon Schama observed that the majority of these artists tended to depict themselves favourably, as morally good characters, while Caravaggio depicted himself as a number of characters with less respectable reputations, ranging from “a debauched Bacchus” to “a slain Goliath”.[12] Schama remarked that “It was … exactly at this moment in history that painters were at pains to present themselves as masters of learning, socially and morally ennobled by their calling, not as lowly craftsmen - much less as fallen ogres”.[13] Caravaggio’s intensely shadowy compositions, with figures deployed close to the front of the picture plane, pull the audience into the action, intensified by his use of ‘eye contact’ with the viewer as the characters appear to gaze out of the image. Schama noted that Caravaggio was “conscious of art as a three-way game played by himself, his subjects and us, the onlookers”.[14] Laura J. Mitchell discussed a parallel game at the Huntington Library’s *Past Tense* seminars, which intended to allow academic historians to focus on “the elusive qualities of strong writing: voice, authorial presence, lexical choice, and especially *the triangulation of author, subject, and reader*.”[15] (Italics mine.) This triangulation can also be seen in the above mentioned *Beano* comic - in which the characters, the editor, and the audience enter a three-way exchange - and we can use it to encourage an



audience to realise that the interpretation of history is a similar game. I understand what I look at according to my interpretation, while my subjects (the original people in my case study) would have understood and interpreted it another way, and the audience understand and interpret it differently again - all acting on each other, all shifting and changing as interpretations, representations, understandings, and perspectives slide around and vary.

Furthering my emphasis on the importance of the presence of the researcher in their own work, some of my work openly draws on my own experiences. With regard to my two disciplines, this is more expected among illustrators and less so among historians, as I have discussed respectively on pp.61-63 and pp.65-68. Simon Schama began *Landscape & Memory* with an account grounded in his own childhood experiences, in which he imagined encounters with the past along the Thames, before commencing his

exploration of history, mythology, landscape, memory, and how “the cultural habits of humanity have always made room for the sacredness of nature”.[16] In *Maus*, Art Spiegelman framed his father’s narratives with their interviews; both historian (Art) and contributor (Vladek) are present in the images.



Maus, Art Speigelman

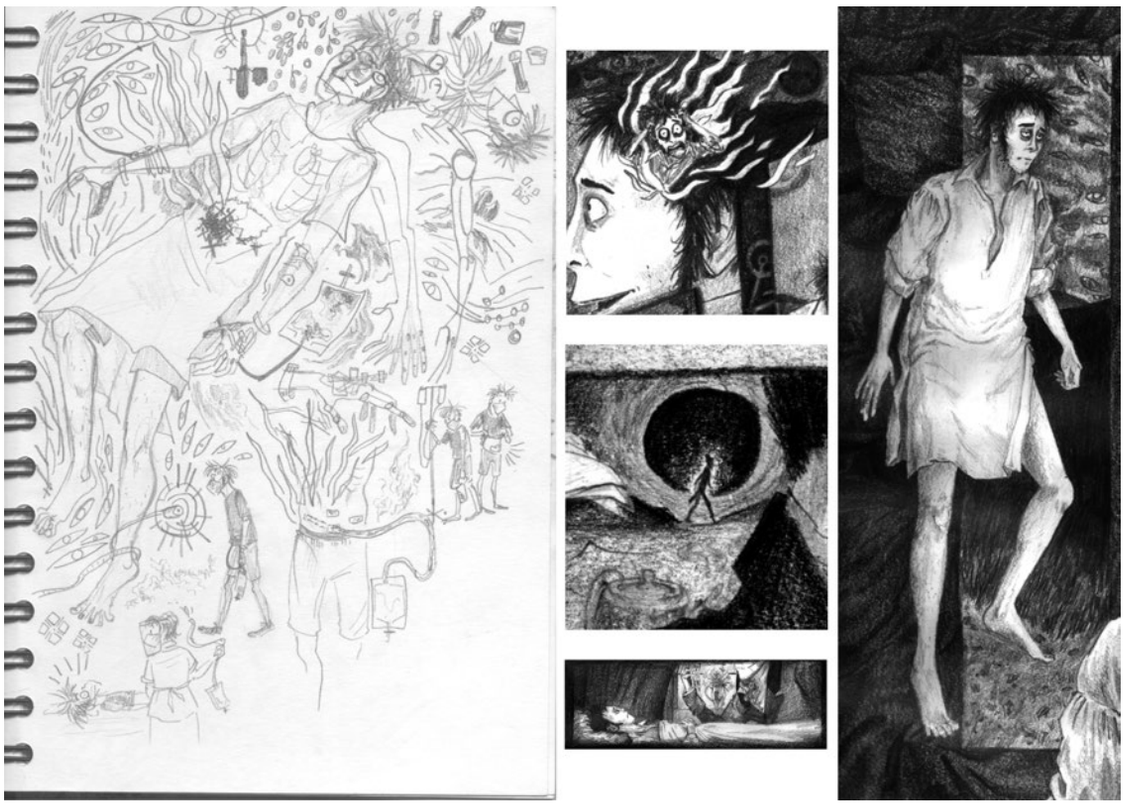
I made the presence of the researcher - my presence - prominent in *Disorder*, using my own body as reference for my characters, particularly William, as I mentioned in Chapter 2. When working on a final illustration, part of my process sometimes includes taking photographs of myself to inform my characters’ gestures, typically using my laptop or phone to take these images, and then referring to them on the screen when working on preliminary





sketches (to test different poses) and again when working on the final image.

My use of my own experiences became more significant in my work in November 2020, when I was planning the final illustrations for William’s pages of *Disorder* - my appendix ruptured, leading to emergency surgical intervention



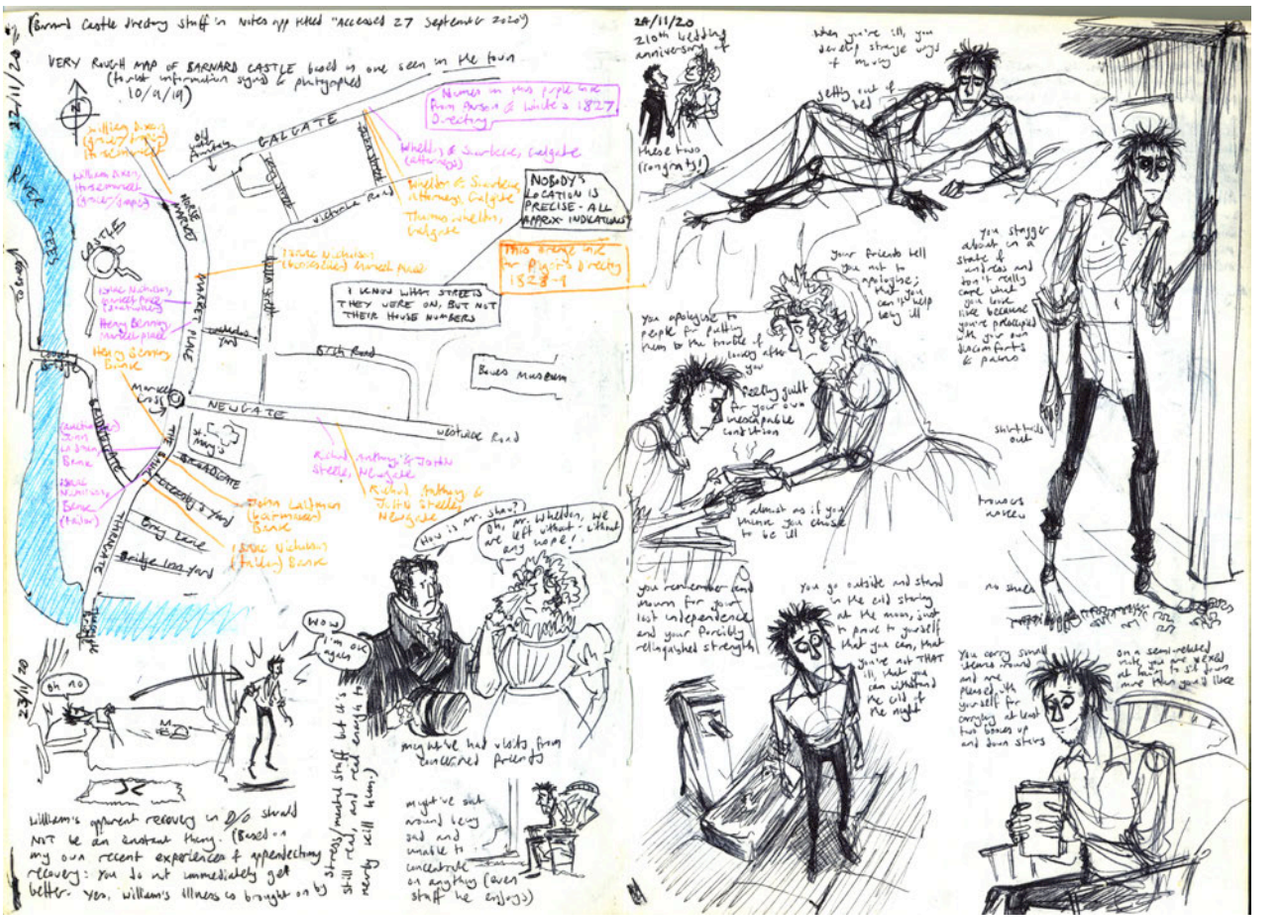
and hospitalisation. During my stay on the ward, I barely managed a single A5 page of drawing, but that page refers to *Disorder*; two years later, I compared it to *Disorder* and realised that there were parallels that I did not recognise at the time.[17]

In the Jones vs Shaw trial, local apothecary and surgeon Henry Benning described how William Shaw's health was at risk, stating that "I thought his life was in danger by his anxious attention; he was attended by a physician as well as myself".[18] This is the quote that sparked my ideas for *Disorder*, which I used to focus on (my interpretations of) William's illness and how it may have impacted the people around him. During my recovery at home, I realised that my earlier idea to depict William's recovery as apparently instant would not be suitable; in sketchbook entry IBJ:23/11/20, I remarked that

> William's apparent recovery … should NOT be an instant thing. (Based on my own recent experiences of appendectomy recovery: you do not immediately get better. Yes, William's illness is brought on by stress/ mental stuff but it's still real, and real enough to nearly

kill him.) [Emphasis original.]

I explored (and/ or exploited) my own experiences in a series of images of William "stagger[ing] about in a state of undress … preoccupied with [his] own



discomforts & pains", "remember[ing] and mourn[ing] for [his] lost independence and [his] forcibly relinquished strength". This deep level of empathetic connection between our circumstances of nearly dying allowed me to portray his illness in a more appropriate manner, and helped me to process my own experiences through drawing him.[19]

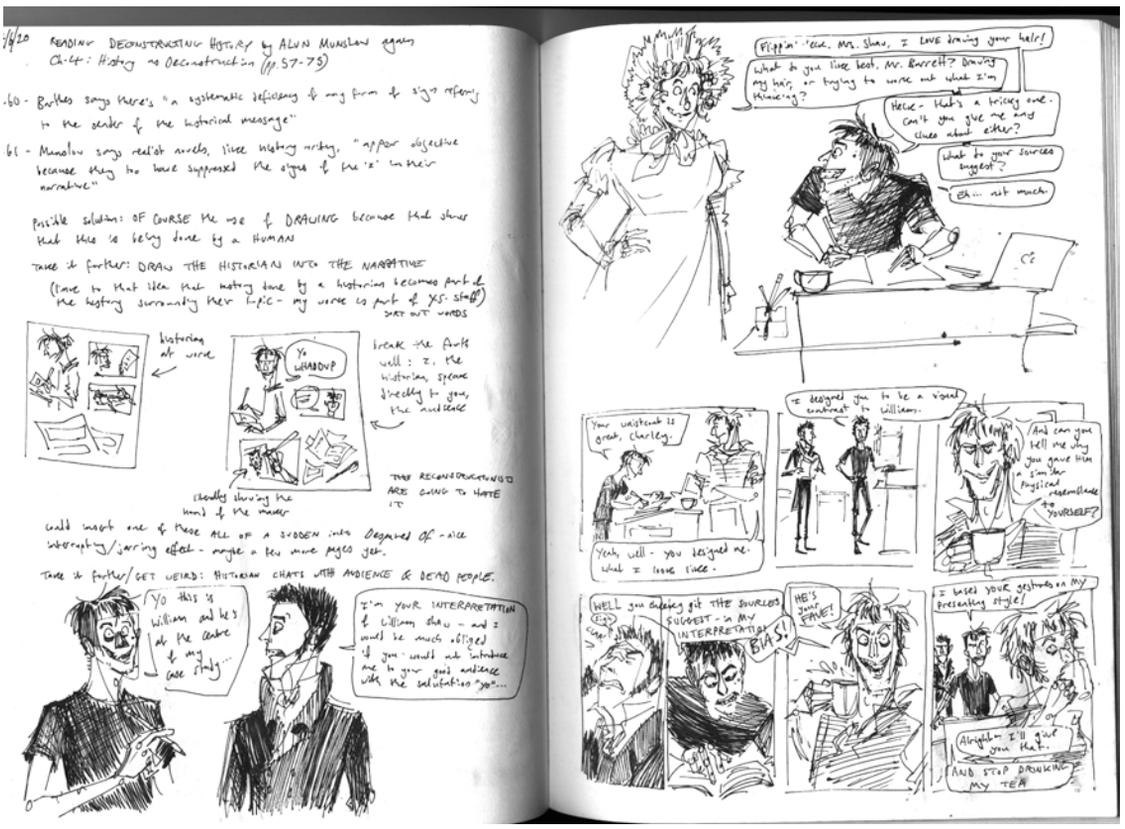
In some of the reflexive comics in my sketchbooks, I explored ideas that occurred in some of the historical theoretical works I read. I found it effective to interrogate and play with these ideas by utilising interaction between a version of myself (Drawn Ed) and my characters, frequently incorporating

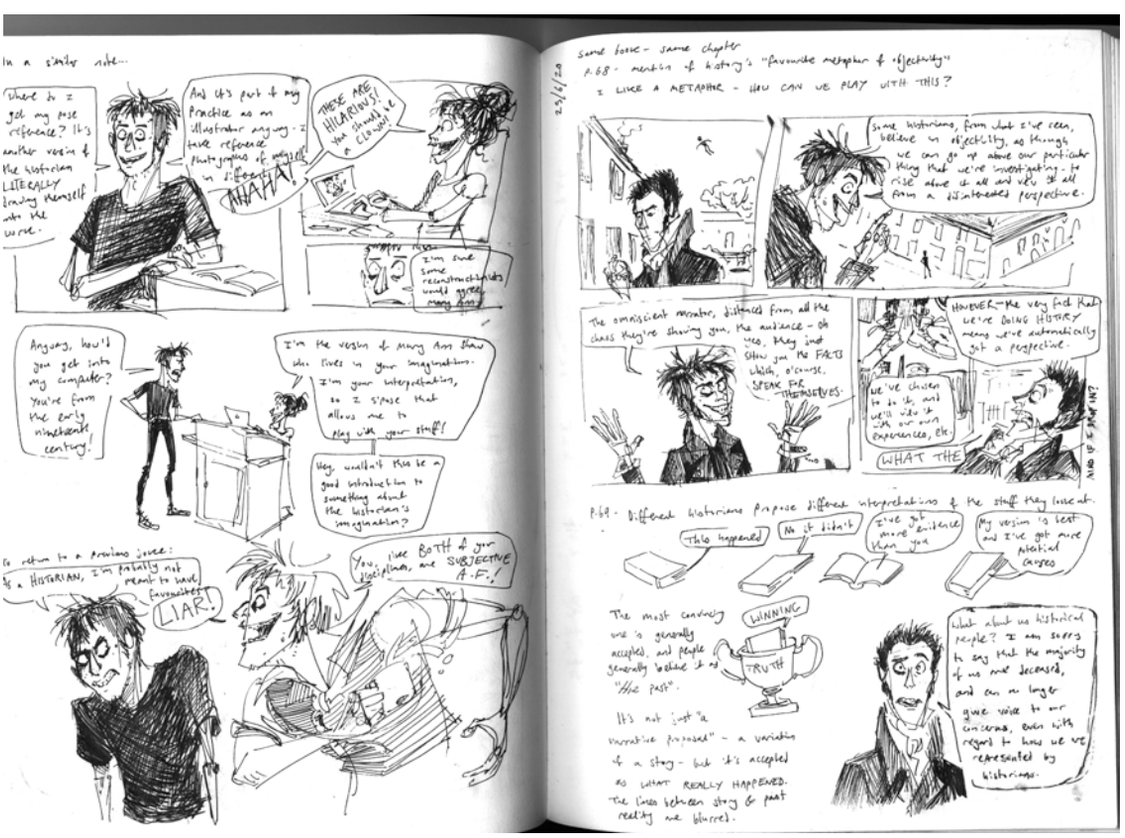
humour and absurdity. Robert A. Rosenstone listed the use of “humour, parody, and absurdist [sic] as modes of presenting the past” among a number of factors that influence whether a work of history is designated postmodern.[20] In the later stages of a study by illustrator-researchers Lynn Imperatore and Stephanie Black, they began to experiment with playfulness and humour. Black noted how “[t]he amusing aspect of these drawings was important in my evaluation of them, given that the overarching role of illustration is to communicate with others and (for me) the most enjoyable way of tackling this is to exploit any opportunity for silliness.”[21] Robin Nelson wrote that

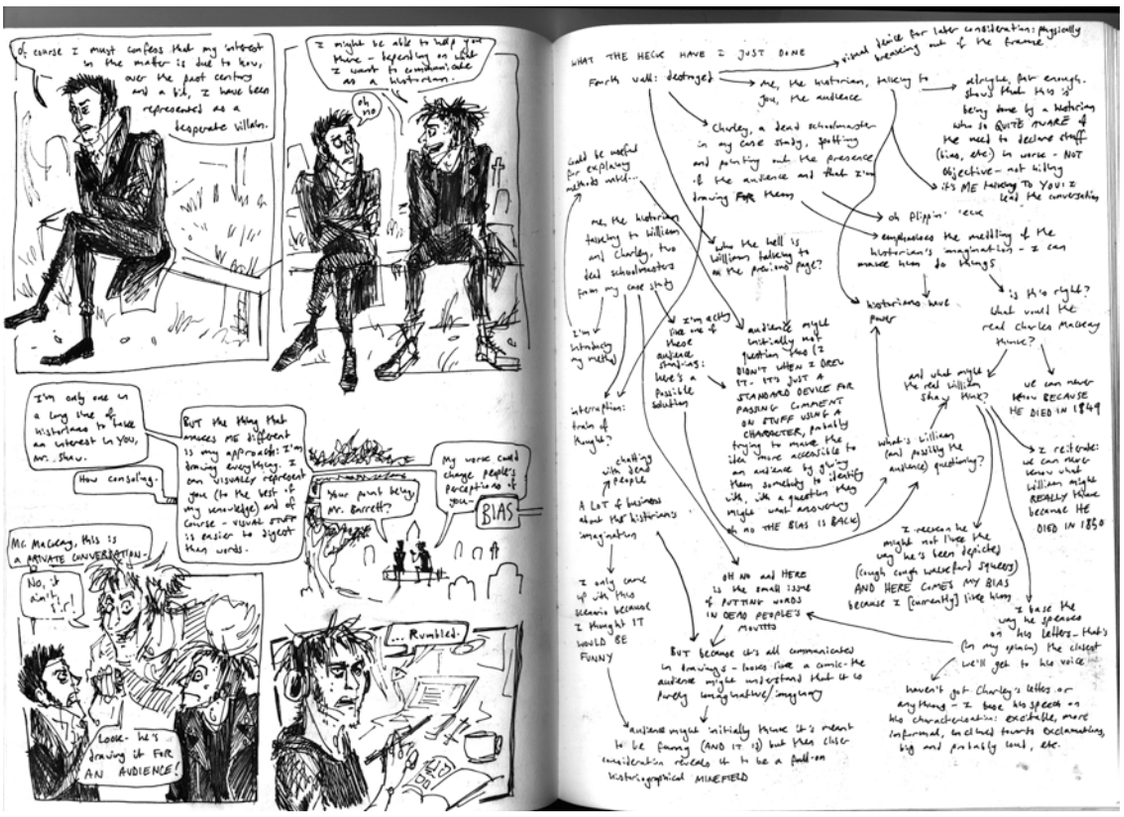
> Creativity and play have long been associated … [it can be beneficial to use] play as a method of inquiry, aiming not to establish findings by way of data to support a demonstrable and finite answer to a research question, but to put in play elements in a *bricolage* [Nelson’s italics] which afford insights through deliberate and careful juxtaposition. … Its aim is to discover ‘what works’ or what invites critical insights through a dialogic engagement, rather than what is true adjudged by the criteria of scientific rationalism.[22]

In an article titled ‘Gaming history: computer and video games as historical scholarship’, Dawn Spring remarked on the importance of play in doing history, stating that “intrinsically, historians understand the value of play and the design of games, using it routinely in their research and writing of historical scholarship, and some in their teaching methods”.[23] One of the main ways in which I use my sketchbooks is as a place to play with ideas.

Some works - such as Alun Munslow’s *Deconstructing History* - proved particularly fruitful. I drew this specific group of sketchbook pages (IBG:24-25/6/20, which I will expand on presently) upon reading one remark from Munslow, in which he said that realist novels, like history writing, “appear objective because they too have suppressed the signs of the ‘I’ in their narrative”.[24] I consider drawing (showing the hand of the creator through the lines they make) to be a useful solution to this suppression, and that this solution can be developed through literally drawing the researcher into the


READING DECONSTRUCTING HISTORY by ALUN MUNSLOW again
Ch 4: History as Deconstruction (pp. 57-79)
Barthes says there's "a systematic deficiency of any form of sign referring to the centre of the historical message"
Munslow says realist novels, like history writing, "appear objective because they too have suppressed the signs of the 'I' in their narrative"
Possible solution: OF COURSE the use of DRAWING because that shows that this is being done by a HUMAN
Take it further: DRAW THE HISTORIAN INTO THE NARRATIVE
(Link to that idea that history done by a historian becomes part of the history surrounding their topic - my work is part of JS stuff)
SAT OUT WORDS
historian at work
Yo WHADDUP
break the fourth wall: i.e. the historian speaks directly to you, the audience
possibly showing the hand of the maker
THIS RECONSTRUCTIONISM ARE GOING TO HATE IT
could insert one of these ALL OF A SUDDEN into Degrees Of - nice interrupting/jarring effect - maybe a few more pages yet.
Take it further/GET WEIRD: HISTORIAN CHATS WITH AUDIENCE & DEAD PEOPLE.
Yo this is William and he's at the centre of my case study...
I'm YOUR INTERPRETATION of William Shaw - and I would be much obliged if you would not introduce me to your good audience with the salutation "yo"...
Flippin' 'eck, Mrs. Shaw, I LOVE drawing your hair!
What do you like best, Mr. Barrett? Drawing my hair, or trying to work out what I'm thinking?
Hehe - that's a tricky one. Can't you give me any clues about either?
What do your sources suggest?
Eh... not much.
Your waistcoat is great, charleg.
Yeah, well - you designed me. What I look like.
I designed you to be a visual contrast to William.
And can you tell me why you gave him (physical resemblance to YOURSELF?
WELL you cheeky git THE SOURCES SUGGEST - in MY INTERPRETIVE BIAS!
HE'S your FAULT!
I based your gestures on my presenting style!
Alright - I'll give you that.
AND STOP DRAWING MY TEA


In a similar vein...
Where do I get my pose reference? It's another version of the historian LITERALLY drawing themself into the work.
And it's part of my practice as an illustrator anyway - I trace reference photographs of myself in different AHAHA! poses.
THESE ARE HILARIOUS! You should be a CLOWN!
I'm sure some reconstructionists would agree, many don't.
Anyway, how'll you get into my computer? You're from the early nineteenth century!
I'm the version of Mary Ann Shaw who lives in your imagination. I'm your interpretation, so I s'pose that allows me to play with your stuff!
Hey, would this be a good introduction to something about the historian's imagination?
To return to a previous source: as a HISTORIAN, I'm totally not meant to have favourites!
LIAR!
You, like BOTH of your disciplines, are SUBJECTIVE A.F.!
2.5.16/2.8
same book - same chapter
P.68 - mention of history's "favourite metaphor of objectivity"
I LIKE A METAPHOR - HOW CAN WE PLAY WITH THIS?
Some historians, from what I've seen, believe in objectivity, as things we can go up above our particular thing that we're investigating - to rise above it all and view it all from a disinterested perspective.
The omniscient narrator, distanced from all the chaos they're showing you, the audience - oh yes, they just show you the FACTS which, of course, SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES.
HOWEVER - the very fact that we're DOING HISTORY means we've automatically got a perspective.
We've chosen to do it, and we'll view it with our own experiences, etc.
WHAT THE
P.69 - Different historians propose different interpretations of the stuff they investigate.
This happened
No it didn't
I've got more evidence than you
My version is best and I've got more political causes
The most convincing one is generally accepted, and people generally believe it as "the past".
WINNING
TRUTH
It's not just a narrative proposed" - a variation of a story - but it's accepted as WHAT REALLY HAPPENED. The lines between story & past reality are blurred.
What about us historical people? I am sorry to say that the majority of us are deceased, and can no longer give voice to our concerns, even with regard to how we're represented by historians.

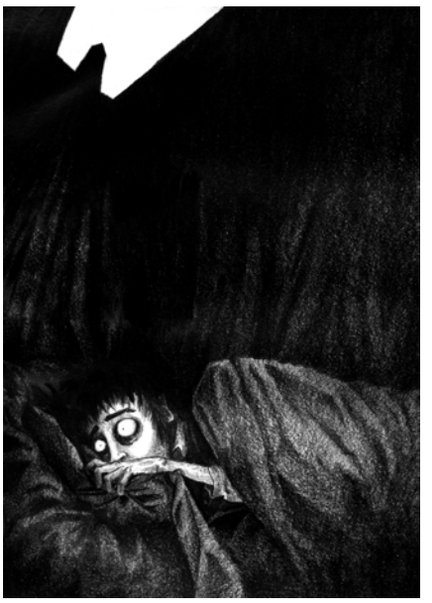


narratives they create. I further developed this strategy to include breaking the fourth wall to communicate with the audience, and depicting the researcher's hand in the act of drawing; I then expanded on this idea by drawing myself and my characters interacting in the same spaces on the page.



While evaluating my reflexive comics, I noticed that William (as I characterise him) tends to take a disapproving stance towards whatever I (or

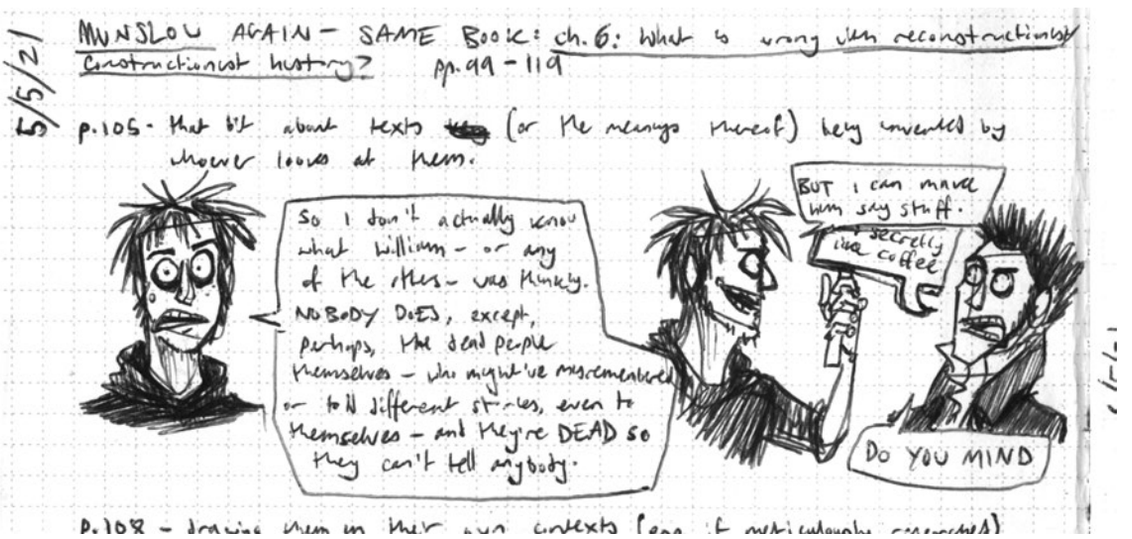






Drawn Ed) attempt to involve him in.

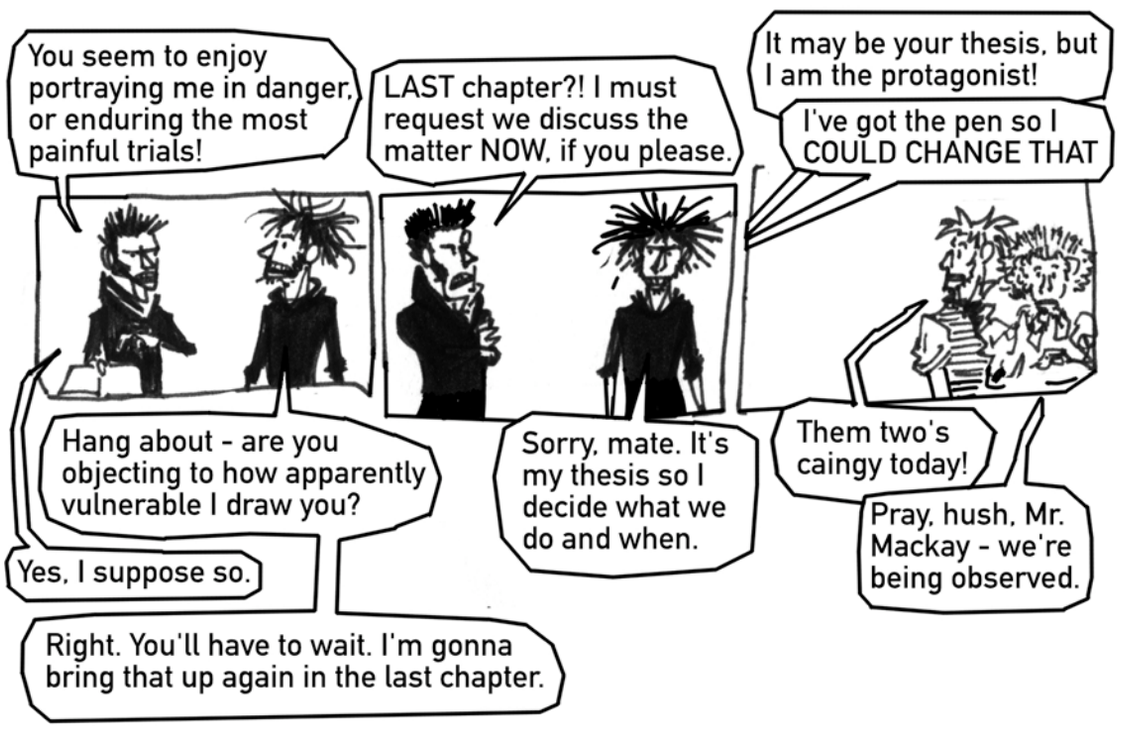
Some of this represents how he might feel some resentment about being drawn by me, frequently in compromising situations (ill in bed in *Disorder*, in various poses in *(U)KA*, having a minor crisis when he realises that he is a character I have created, such as in a comic shown earlier in this chapter). In a drawn response to a remark about the meanings of texts being invented by whoever looks at them, on p.105 of Munslow's *Deconstructing*



History, (in sketchbook IBK:5/5/21), William objected to having words put in



his mouth; this comic later appeared in an extended form in the conclusion of *Disorder*.



Drawn Ed functions differently with different characters in these reflexive comics and other drawings. For instance, my relationship with Charley is different to how I depict myself and William. As an example, in ‘Lines on a Page’ and its accompanying presentation (shown above) Charley peered over my shoulder, watching the researcher - his creator - at work, and made eye contact with the audience.[25]



Through the process of creating these drawings, I used the characters to challenge my work and my practice. In a comic I drew

as part of an extended response to Munslow's comment about "suppress[ing] the the signs of the 'I'", Charley pointed out that I had given William a "similar



physical resemblance" to myself, gleefully declaring favouritism. Some of these drawings document the conflict between how I thought I should be, as a



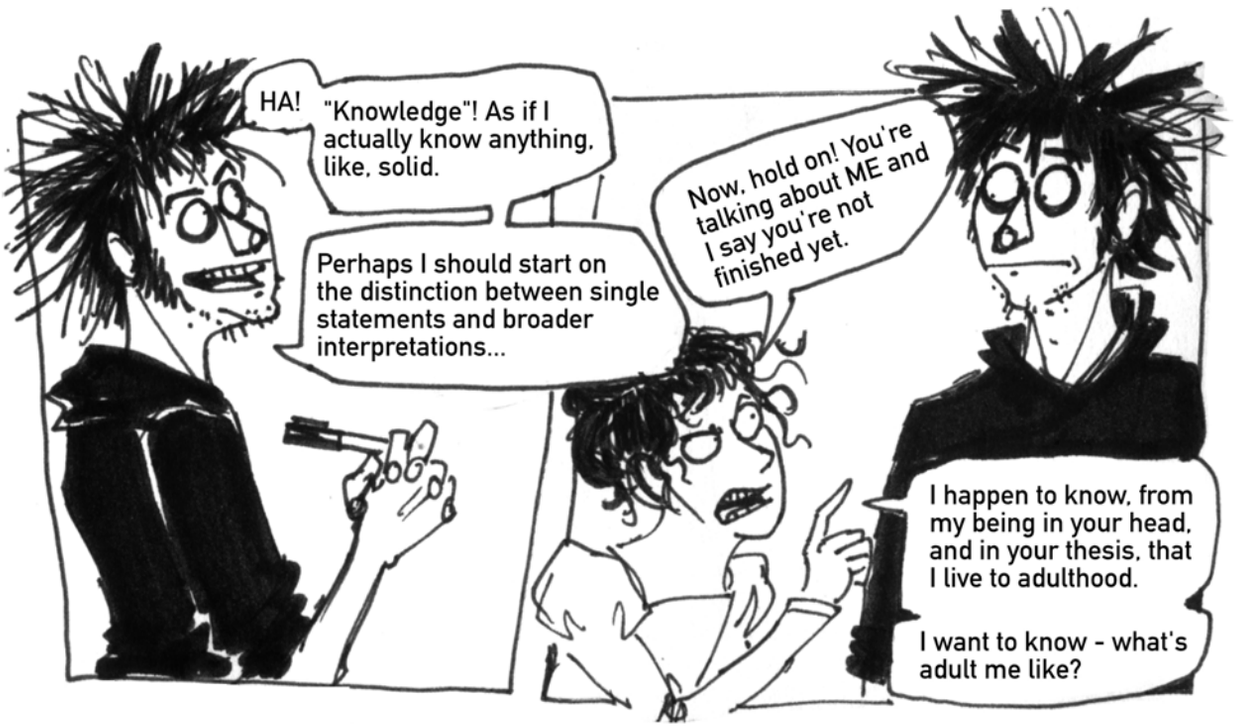
historian, against my deconstructionist inclinations, despite already identifying as a deconstructionist at the time of making them.[26] As with Ward's composite characters of Private John Ball and the nameless officer, Charley's knowledge of the subjectivity of both of my disciplines is based on my own knowledge, as he is a character I have created.

In a comic in the same sketchbook entry, I (Drawn Ed) discuss using my own body as reference - literally drawing myself into the work - as part of my standard practice as an illustrator, interrupted by Mary Ann finding and



laughing at my reference photographs. In the comic, she claims that she is "the version of Mary Ann Shaw who lives in your imagination … your

interpretation" supposing that "that allows me to play with your stuff" - as a character I have created, she has access to everything in my memory and imagination. In future work, I could expand this further by considering how I depict her as a young girl, aged about ten, as she appears in *Disorder*, and whether she would have access to my (admittedly meagre) knowledge about her as an adult.



On p.69 of *Deconstructing History*, Munslow described how different historians propose different interpretations of what they study, and the most convincing version is generally accepted as 'the' past, rather than just a proposed narrative variation of a historian's understandings of what might have happened; as a result of this acceptance, the lines between story and (lost) past reality are blurred.[27] At this point, in my sketchbook, William came in, enquiring about the non-ability of the dead to "give voice to our concerns, even with regard to how we are represented by historians". On the subsequent page in my sketchbook, I interrogated and expanded the matter.


Of course I must confess that my interest in the matter is due to how, over the past century and a bit, I have been represented as a desperate villain.
I might be able to help you there - depending on what I want to constitute as a historian.
oh no
I'm only one in a long line of historians to have an interest in you, Mr. Shaw.
How consoling.
BUT the thing that makes ME different is my approach: I'm drawing everything. I can VISUALLY represent you (to the best of my knowledge) and of course - VISUAL STUFF is easier to digest than words.
Your point being, Mr. Barrett?
My work could change people's perception of you-
BIAS
Mr. Mackay, this is a PRIVATE CONVERSATION-
No, it ain't, S.I.R!
Look- he's drawing it FOR AN AUDIENCE!
... Rumbled.

The comic emphasised the capabilities of the historian's imagination - I can depict William in any way that I choose, and I can make Charley interrupt the scene, so long as my choices are appropriate to what I want to communicate. However, the comic also indicated a potential challenge to the researcher's power in how they choose to depict the people in their case study. In the diagram on the opposite page in my sketchbook (see p.149 of this thesis), I wondered what the real William Shaw and Charles Mackay would think of how I portray them, noting that we can never know because they are both dead. Further consideration of this matter also highlights the issue of putting words into the mouths of the dead; while I give (my interpretations of) them bodies, voices, and movements, I make these decisions for them - the original people in the past, on whom they are based, have no choice in the matter.[28]

The researcher has power over the people they represent in their case study: who they select, who they omit, and how they choose to depict (or not to depict) those people. There is an element of responsibility here - do we draw these people in a way that they would appreciate, or do we draw them in ways that fit our interpretations but might not be appropriate to theirs?[29] What do their movements suggest? What clothes do we give them, and how do we make them wear them? Do we prefer to draw them being cheerful or miserable? To take one of my favourites, Charley, as an example, I have a tendency to depict this character as having an intense physical presence (emphasised with reference to Romantic thought), whereas Charles Mackay's own adverts focus on his apparent scholasticism and on his responsibility as a schoolmaster and as a father.[30] This may be considered to override the voices of the people at the centre of the case study, putting the researcher's own interpretations in a position of higher prominence. (This reminds me of



Gaddis's advice to biographers, see p.124, and the recommendations for constraining the imagination as suggested by Elton and others, see pp.52-53.) Judith P. Zinsser, in her Afterword to her article about the marquise Du Châtelet, discussed the difficulties of the historian's attempts to separate themself from their subject:

> What of her story is my story? … I situated myself, and made no claim to objectivity. I described the connections between subject and biographer, but I used my authority as the reader of archives, the fabricator of interpretations, and the storyteller, to privilege my view of my eighteenth-century heroine. Like the Latina activist author, Sandra Cisneros, I wanted to make you see this world, and this individual from my eyes, and that is real power. I freely admit that I am using this power to further my personal and political agenda.[31]

Along similar lines, Greg Dening said "Most of the history we write [or otherwise communicate] is a vicarious experience of the past. In writing history, we are really re-writing somebody else's histories."[32] We can never know what the real Charles Mackay would think to my depictions of him as Charley because he is dead - and, if we met him, and we managed to pursue these enquiries, he may change his answers or respond depending on what he thought we wanted to hear (or otherwise).

However, the format may present a slight problem. As I raised these issues in drawings arranged as a comic, an audience might understand it as purely imaginative, and may not take it seriously, possibly even

comprehending it solely as a work of humour.[33] To explore this further, I would have to present it to an audience, and request feedback.



Charley's interruption breaks the fourth wall. A character I have made, based on my interpretations of traces of the past relating to a specific individual, Charley recognises and points out the audience, highlighting their implicit role in creating meaning in the work, and my performative role in creating the drawing *for* them. (The audience in this specific case was actually me, as I initially did this comic as a test to discuss voicelessness, and continued because it amused me.) The image also focusses on me at work at my desk: the creator in his own context, in the act of creating what the audience has just witnessed.



Chapter endnotes

[1] Nixon, R. T., 'Lord Snooty', in *The Beano* (issue number not cited), 1960s, in Riches, C. (ed.), *The History of The Beano: The Story So Far,* Dundee: D. C. Thompson & Co. Ltd., 2008, p.193.

[2] Becker, M., 'When I was a child, I danced as a child, but now that I am old, I think about salvation: Concepción González and a past that would not stay put', pp.17-29; the composite priest's "thoughts" are on p.19. Becker, M., "When I was a child, I danced as a child, but now that I am old, I think about salvation: Concepción González and a past that would not stay put", in Munslow, A., and Rosenstone, R. A., (eds.) *Experiments in Rethinking History*, Routledge: Abingdon, 2004, pp.17-29. Originally published in *Rethinking History*, vol.1, no. 3, 1997, pp.343-335.

Ward, C., 'Impressions of the Somme: An experiment', pp.89-123; the composite characters conversed with "the historian" on pp.107-110, and pp.111-113, with a section titled "Notes on composites, fiction, and imagined people" on pp.114-117. Ward, C., 'Impressions of the Somme: An experiment' in Munslow, A., and Rosenstone, R. A., (eds.) *Experiments in Rethinking History*, Routledge: Abingdon, 2004, pp.89-123. Originally published in *Rethinking History*, vol.1, no. 3, 1997, pp.275-309.

[3] Ward, C., 'Impressions of the Somme: An experiment' in Munslow, A., and Rosenstone, R. A. , (eds.) *Experiments in Rethinking History*, Routledge: Abingdon, 2004, pp.89-123. Originally published in *Rethinking History*, vol.1, no. 3, 1997, pp.275-309. Quote from p.110.

[4] Sutherland, D. (illustrator), 'Dennis the Menace and Gnasher' in *The Beano*, 22 March 1986; the "Gnasher Goes Missing" storyline is covered in Riches, C. (ed.), *The History of The Beano*, D. C. Thompson & Co. Ltd., 2008, pp.238-240. Readers responded to the story by joining with the search, and inundating the D. C. Thompson offices with letters, and the entire occurrence was widely reported in the national media.

[5] Sutherland, D. (illustrator), 'Dennis the Menace and Gnasher' from *The Beano*, 5 April 1986; see Riches, C. (ed.), *The History of The Beano*, D. C. Thompson & Co. Ltd., 2008, p.239.

[6] Sutherland, D. (illustrator), 'Dennis the Menace and Gnasher' from *The Beano*, 5 April 1986; see Riches, C. (ed.), *The History of The Beano*, D. C. Thompson & Co. Ltd., 2008, p.239. The anonymous characters did not correspond to individual recurring named characters, and may have been intended to bear a non-specific resemblance to the general readership.

[7] Walker, J., *Pistols! Treason! Murder!: The rise and fall of a master spy*, originally published Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2007; this edition Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009. 'About the Illustrations', p.214.

[8] Walker, J., *Pistols! Treason! Murder!: The rise and fall of a master spy*, originally published Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2007; this edition Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009. In the Acknowledgements, Walker thanks his friends but remarks that they "bear no resemblance to the caricatures depicted" (p.216); as an illustrator, I interpret this as a useful strategy for avoiding the ethical implications of directly representing recognisable individuals. Hallett himself (or a version of him) appears in the illustration on p.168, likely as the individual with the notebook and pencil, and I speculate that a number of the other people in the bar scenes represent specific individuals who were not there at the time, but who may or may not have had an influence on the book.

In these illustrations, Walker and his friends are spied on by characters from Walker's case study, holding recording devices. Bragadin overheard the historians in the Caffè Rosso on p.33; Gomez listened in at Da Baffo, on p.72; Foscarini appeared at the Fiddler's Elbow Irish Pub, on p.106; Cazzari eavesdropped at the Paradiso Perduto on p.134; and, at their final destination, Da Aldo, Domenico recorded their conversation on p.168, prior to the arrival of Vano himself on p.169.

[9] Walker, J., *Pistols! Treason! Murder!: The rise and fall of a master spy*, originally published Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2007; this edition Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009. pp.22-25.

[10] Walker, J., *Pistols! Treason! Murder!: The rise and fall of a master spy*, originally published Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2007; this edition Baltimore, Maryland: Johns

Hopkins University Press, 2009. This illustration (which appears to be the same image, repeated) is on p.3 and p.199. Walker discussed how “everybody dies” in chapter 31, ‘Doctor Frankenstein’, pp.206-207.

[11] A good written example of this is Rosenstone’s *Mirror in the Shrine*, in which the author frequently used the second person, addressing the reader and/ or the characters as “you”. For instance, on p.96, he said “you want to become Griffis in Fukui, rather than remaining a spectator, one who views him through that ancient, supple, but ultimately distant camera on life we know as words”. On p.157, the narrator invited the audience to “Go today and walk that same path through those same grounds”, while on pp.205-206, Morse is directly addressed: “Here you are again”, “Morning lets you play tour guide”, and, upon seeing “a life-size portrait”, “Your own eyes stare back with an unfamiliar gaze”. Rosenstone, R. A., *Mirror in the Shrine: American Encounters with Meiji Japan*, Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: Harvard University Press, 1988.

[12] Schama, S., *Simon Schama’s Power of Art*, London: BBC Books/ Ebury Press/ Random House Ltd., 2006, p.20.

[13] Schama, S., *Simon Schama’s Power of Art*, London: BBC Books/ Ebury Press/ Random House Ltd., 2006, p.20.

[14] Schama, S., *Simon Schama’s Power of Art*, London: BBC Books/ Ebury Press/ Random House Ltd., 2006, p.35. Schama discusses Caravaggio’s use of space on pp.49-52, saying how Caravaggio brought “his massive figures of men and beasts right to the very picture edge” with the effect that “the distance between observer and event [was] never more successfully annihilated” giving an impression of the event being “not a done deed, but a permanently relentless *doing*” (italics original).

[15] Mitchell, L. J., ‘“Beyond Tense”: Encouraging Historians to Think Hard about Writing and Reading’ in *Perspectives on History*, April 2007. Available at: https://www.historians.org/research-and-publications/perspectives-on-history/april-2007/beyond-tense-encouraging-historians-to-think-hard-about-writing-and-reading [Accessed 6 December 2022.]

[16] Schama, S., *Landscape & Memory*, London: HarperCollins, 1995. Schama describes his childhood relation with the Thames and his historical imaginings on pp.3-5. Quote from p.18. He included further examples of his own experiences elsewhere in the book, such as a research trip to Giby, Poland, infused with connections to his own relatives, on pp.23-29, and an uneasy family visit to Montgomery Woods, California, on pp.240-242. Schama has used his own experiences in other works, notably in his recent BBC television series, *Simon Schama’s History of Now* (2022), in which he appeared as both historian and witness, analysing and presenting his own testimony of the events he examined.

[17] I uploaded the hospital drawing to Instagram on November 16, 2020. Available at: https://www.instagram.com/p/CHqR8rHHH81/

Additionally, on several occasions during the first few days following my return home from hospital, I saw William in the bathroom mirror where I would normally expect to see myself. I drew this, and uploaded it to Instagram on November 18, 2020. Available at: https://www.instagram.com/p/CHvXfCqHDQ8/

[18] Benning was quoted in *The Morning Chronicle.* “COURT OF COMMON PLEAS, OCT.30." *Morning Chronicle* [1801], (London, England), Friday 31 October 1823, issue 17015. *British Library Newspapers*. I expanded on this in Barrett, *Disorder*, 2023, pp.xiv-xv.

[19] While drawing William recovering from his medical complaint helped me to deal with mine, my main way of processing my experiences was through laughing about the ridiculousness of nearly dying. In hindsight, I find much of what happened to me highly entertaining, including the circumstances of the rupture itself, and the fact that I nearly died while making a piece of work in which my protagonist nearly died. Strangely, nobody else thinks it’s funny.

[20] Rosenstone, R. A., *History on Film/ Film on History*, Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd., 2006, p.19. Postmodern histories are “histories which do some or all of the following: foreground their own construction; tell the past self-reflexively and from a multiplicity of viewpoints; forsake normal story development, or problematize [sic] the stories they recount; utilize [sic]

humour, parody, and absurdist [sic] as modes of presenting the past; refuse to insist on a coherent or single meaning of events; indulge in fragmentary or poetic knowledge; and never forget that the present moment is the site of all past representation." (p.19)

[21] Imperatore, L., and Black, S. 'Drawing Into Knowing: A Natural History.' Paper originally presented at the *Drawing Research Network Conference: Drawing Knowledge* at Loughborough University, 2012. Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/278533236_Drawing_Into_Knowing_A_Natural_History [Accessed 19 April 2023.] Quote from p.17.

Black focussed on taxidermy "specimens that would make drawings with a provocative humour (absurdity?) to them" and remarked how both she and Imperatore used "drawing to help us to focus intently upon aspects of our subject that could easily be overlooked or that we are discouraged from attending to", resulting in drawings that challenged "taught notions of 'accuracy'" as a means of judging the worth of drawings (p.14). In their conclusion, Imperatore and Black said that "we've moved away from skillful [sic] representation towards awkwardness, tension, the unearthing and communicating of subjective opinions, and towards subversiveness" (pp.19-20). This may be a useful way of questioning the appeal of accuracy in history.

[22] Nelson, R., 'Practice-as-research and the Problem of Knowledge', in *Performance Research: A Journal of the Performing Arts*, vol.11, no.4, 2006, pp.105-116. Quote from p.109.

[23] Spring, D., 'Gaming history: computer and video games as historical scholarship' in *Rethinking History*, vol.19, no.2, 2015, pp.207-221; quote from p.214. On the value of play, Michael Rosen said that play is "an intrinsic part of being human" and is "a form of experimentation that loosens then often rigid boundaries of our very structured world" (p.25) and described how "play can enhance our experience of the world, introduce us to new experiences, improve the way that we interact with people and help us handle things that worry or frighten us" (p.227). (Rosen, M., *Michael Rosen's Book of Play!*, London: Profile Book Ltd in association with the Wellcome Collection, 2019.)

[24] Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, London: Routledge, 1997, p.61. I briefly mentioned this quote in my introduction.



[25] Links for the paper and the presentation video are available here: Barrett, E. 'Lines on a Page - watch the presentation and read the paper!', *Ed Draws History*, (blog post) 25 November 2020. Available at: https://eddrawshistory.blogspot.com/2020/11/lines-on-page-watch-presentation-and.html [Accessed 2 May 2023.]

[26] However, later, I had fully and enthusiastically adopted my deconstructionist identity. For instance, on one of the 'split' cards in *(U)KA*, Drawn Ed appears wearing a mask representing William, and breaking a set of scales as a comment on the traditional idea of unbiased objective history, surrounded by feathers (either representing quills for writing, or the Feather of Ma'at/ Feather of Truth from ancient Egyptian mythology). The history I produce can be used to track changes in the historian.

[27] Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, London: Routledge, 1997, p.69: "It is probably best to view historical narratives as propositions about how we *might* represent a past reality, suggestions of *possible* correspondences rather than *the* correspondences. … as events under a description, these narrative proposals/ suggestions are the result of individual historians' interpretations and compete for acceptance in those terms. … once a narrative proposal has achieved a more or less universal acceptance … it becomes concretised as past reality. It is no longer a narrative proposal, but has become *the* past." [Emphases original.]

[28] This has a parallel with issues raised regarding the selection of interview testimony in oral history. Paul Thompson noted that “there have been telling criticisms of a relationship with informants in which a middle-class professional determines who is to be interviewed and what is to be discussed and then disappears with a tape of somebody’s life which they never hear about again - and if they did, might be indignant at the unintended meanings imposed on their words.” (Thompson, P., ‘The voice of the past: Oral history’, in Perks, R., and Thomson, A. (eds.), *The oral history reader*, London: Routledge, 1998, pp.21-28. Previously published in Thompson, P., *The Voice of the Past: Oral History*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988 (second edition). Quote from pp.26-27). I briefly return to this theme in Chapter 5, Voicelessness.

[29] The term ‘draw’ can be swapped here for any other way of depicting characters, such as by acting or sculpting, or perhaps even by writing.

[30] See Kirkpatrick, R. J., *Charles Dickens, Nicholas Nickleby and the Yorkshire Schools: Fact v Fiction.* Middleton-in-Teesdale: Mosaic (Teesdale) Ltd., 2017, pp.146-147 for Mackay’s adverts in *The Times*, 13 July 1814 and 6 July 1815; see also *The Times*, 9 January 1815 and 23 January 1816. “Education, at the old established Classical, Commercial, Mathematical, and Naval Academy, at Cotherstone” *The Times* (London, England), Thursday 6 July 1815, issue 9721. *The Times Digital Archive*. “TO PARENTS and GUARDIANS” *The Times*, (London, England), Tuesday 23 January 1816, issue 9738. *The Times Digital Archive*.

I explored the representations of interpretations of a historical character, using Charley as an example, in Barrett, E. *Lines on a Page: Representations and Interpretations*, 2020. Available on academia.edu at https://www.academia.edu/44572291/Lines_on_a_Page_Representations_and_Interpretations and available on ResearchGate at https://www.researchgate.net/publication/346317306_Lines_on_a_Page_Representations_and_Interpretations

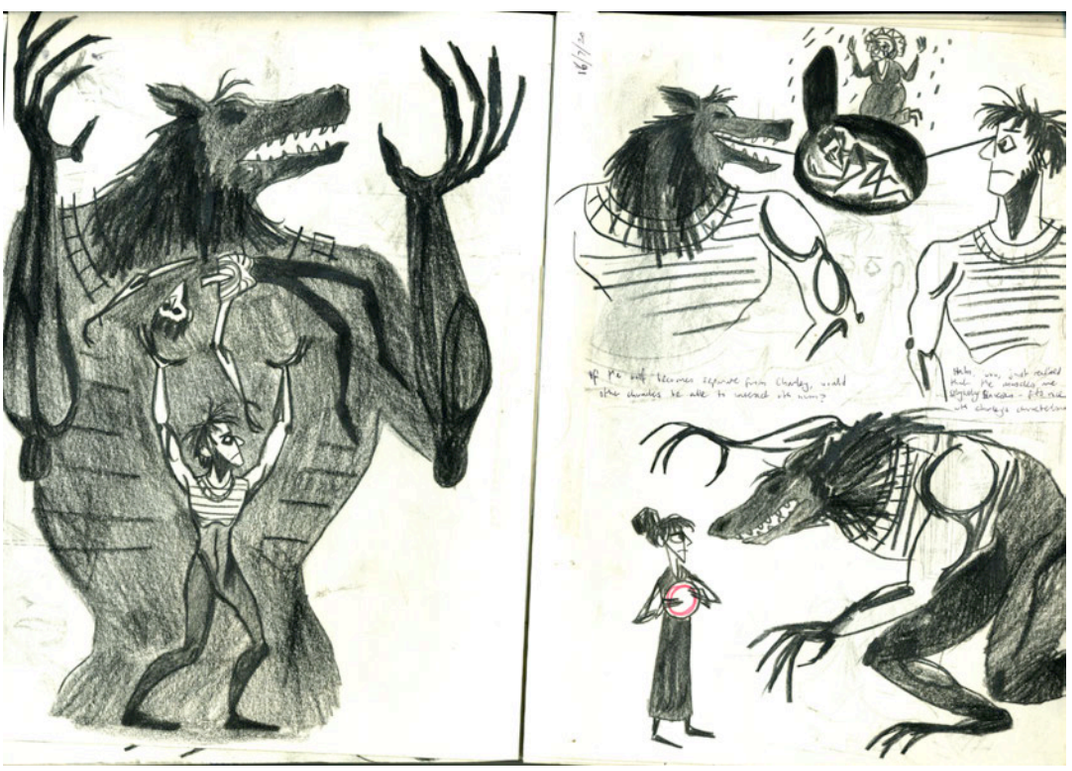
[31] Zinsser, J. P., ‘A prologue for La Dame d’Espirit: a biography of the marquise Du Châtelet’ in Munslow, A., and Rosenstone, R. A., (eds.) *Experiments in Rethinking History*, Routledge: Abingdon, 2004, pp.195-208. Quote from p.206.

[32] Dening, G., ‘Writing, rewriting the beach: An essay’ in Munslow, A., and Rosenstone, R. A., (eds.) *Experiments in Rethinking History*, Routledge: Abingdon, 2004, pp.30-55. Originally published in *Rethinking History*, vol.2, no.2, 1998, pp.143-172. Quote from p.53.

[33] Art Spigelman described a difficulty in understandings of comics, in which “the word comics itself brings to mind the notion that they have to be funny”. Spiegelman, A., *Comix, Essays, Graphics and Scraps*, New York: A Raw Book, 1998, p.174; quoted in Frey, H., and Noys, B., ‘Editorial: History in the Graphic Novel’, in Frey, H., and Noys, B. (eds. of special issue on history in the graphic novel), *Rethinking History*, vol.6, no.3, 2002, pp.255-260. Quote from p.255.

Chapter 5 - Decontextualisation and Recontextualisation

I use decontextualisation and recontextualisation in my work to encourage an audience to consider different approaches to or interpretations of my case study. I also use decontextualisation and recontextualisation as a creative exercise, as a method of developing ideas, and as a way of making new interpretations. For instance, testing Charley's visual language in *Disorder* in my sketchbooks, and trying the wolf as a version of Charley or as a distinct



entity, allowed me to consider a more violent angle to the potential power balance between him and William, and to add another element of conflict to *Disorder*'s narratives.

Grant and Jordanova define context as "the web of people, things, circumstances and associations that give an object meaning in a specific place and time".[1] In my work, I apply this description to those articles (tangible and otherwise) that surround a particular historical individual, group, artefact, or event. Representing historical people in their own contexts, surrounded by

the appropriate material culture, and informed by mentalities of the time and extant contemporary artefacts, can be used to fuel discussions of the period under study (for example, in archaeological illustrations reconstructing how a specific object may have been used) and can also be used to encourage the viewer to imagine and consider their personal engagements with and interpretations of the topic depicted.[2]

I frequently represent my narratives in ways that are out of their ordinary context, either recontextualising them (for example, creating a narrative that might be more ordinarily depicted from William's viewpoint, and presenting it from the perspective of Mary Ann) or decontextualising them (such as by removing the characters from their own historical context and putting them into a completely different one, as in the visual language I assigned to Charley in *Disorder*).

However, from the point of view of a practising historian, it may be advisable to exercise caution when decontextualising or recontextualising historical characters and events. As I have previously mentioned, historians ranging from Elton and his allies (see pp.52-53) to Gaddis (see p.124) advocate the careful use of the historical imagination, and, according to Grant and Jordanova, "historians' interpretations of visual materials are best constructed through the careful building-up of analytical frameworks … outwards from the object into its immediate contexts and beyond" adding that such a process can help the practitioner "avoid making assumptions based on our own present-day visual habits and points of reference".[3] What we are familiar with today would not necessarily be familiar to people in the past.

While Grant and Jordanova specifically discussed trying to build meanings out of a visual artefact or an item of material culture, this cautious approach can apply to history in general, including the communication of the

historian's interpretations. According to Munslow, writing about Rosenstone's *History on Film/Film on History*, conventional historians believe that "modes of history like film (and TV history programmes, the graphic novel, comic strips, historical re-enactment and first-person interpretation) are [to be] rejected as inappropriate substances of expression."[4] Gaddis claimed that "because of their detachment from and elevation above the landscape of the past, historians are able to manipulate time and space in ways they could never manage as normal people … the literal representation of reality is not their task" and that "a truly literal representation of any entity could only be the entity itself".[5] Throughout my work, I demonstrate a strong understanding of this: my characters are only representations of my interpretations of extant traces relating to their originals, and the contexts that those people lived in, and I use these characters (and strategies such as decontextualisation and recontextualisation) to play with the alleged correspondence between past realities and the history-communications that I make.

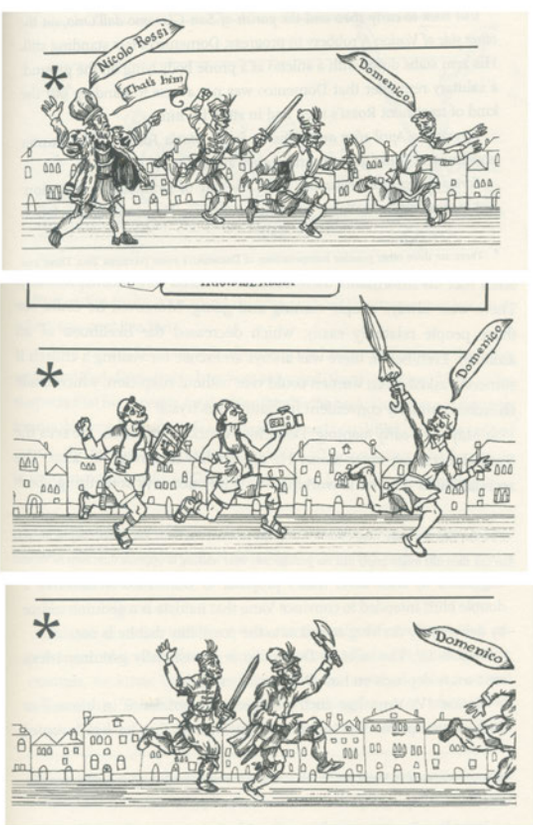
From my position, while I understand the need for caution in creating narratives and interpretations, I also understand that none of these narratives or interpretations will be the last word on whatever subject we happen to be looking at. Historians' ideas - and the ideas of other researchers - change over time: there will always be new interpretations, and previously unseen or overlooked (or ignored) traces of the past can emerge and challenge our perceptions.[6] A broader range of interpretations from a wider range of perspectives means more potential points for instigating the creation of new work, and will contribute to discourse and debate surrounding not only the subject under study but also how those interpretations are constructed, disseminated, and understood.[7] In *History on Film/ Film on History* (2006), Rosenstone said

> biofilms, like all works that deal with the past, are entities with unstable meanings that shift over the years, that they are read and understood according to specific viewing audiences or individuals. Less than full-blown portraits, they should be seen and understood as slices of lives, interventions into particular discourses, extended metaphors that suggest more than their limited timeframes can convey.[8]

He found that the films he studied contributed to the discourses surrounding their subject matter in ways that traditional written history did not necessarily accommodate.[9]

Recontextualisation can be used to take the characters out of where the audience expects to see them (their own time and place) and reframe them in ways that can lead to new considerations and fresh understandings of their relationships and relevant events.

In *Pistols! Treason! Murder!*, Walker and Hallett traced a pursuit through the streets of Venice: in April 1622, Domenico Zanco, a significant accomplice of the spy Gerolamo Vano, was chased by assassins.[10] On p.111, the assassins in Hallett's illustration became tourists, chasing after an umbrella-wielding Domenico.[11] Several pages later, after contrasting the impermanence of events and emotions compared to the continuity of place, and wondering "[c]an we 'read' Domenico's route by tracing it with our feet as we read Vano's words by tracing them on the page



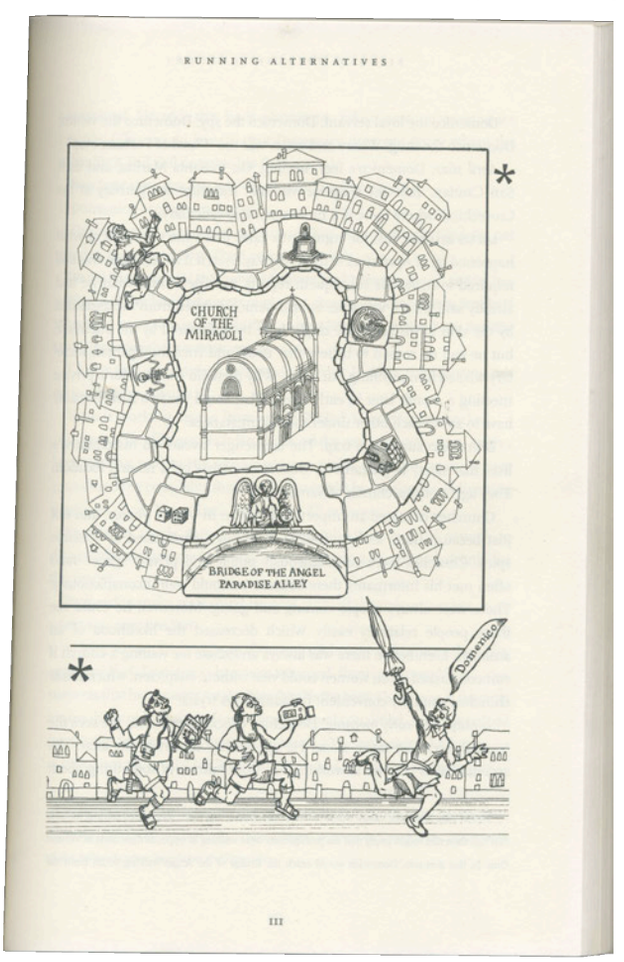
Dan Hallett, in Jonathan Walker's *Pistols! Treason! Murder!*, p.109, p.111, and p.115

with our fingers?", Walker embarked on a metaphor about the multi-layered nature of Venice itself, and its "overexposure" in tourism.[12] He took Domenico from his context in 17th century Venice, and turned him into a tour guide:

> 'Notice, on your left, the beautiful church of the Miracoli', Domenico gasps in this anachronistic world of guide books, waving his umbrella as he runs. The assassins behind pause momentarily to admire the exquisite marble decoration, allowing Domenico the few seconds he needs to pull ahead.[13]

Walker's use of metaphors, giving the pursuit the appearance of a guided tour rather than an assassination attempt, allows the reader to place the characters into the context of modern-day Venice, to question the purposes of the chase, and to imagine alternative scenarios.

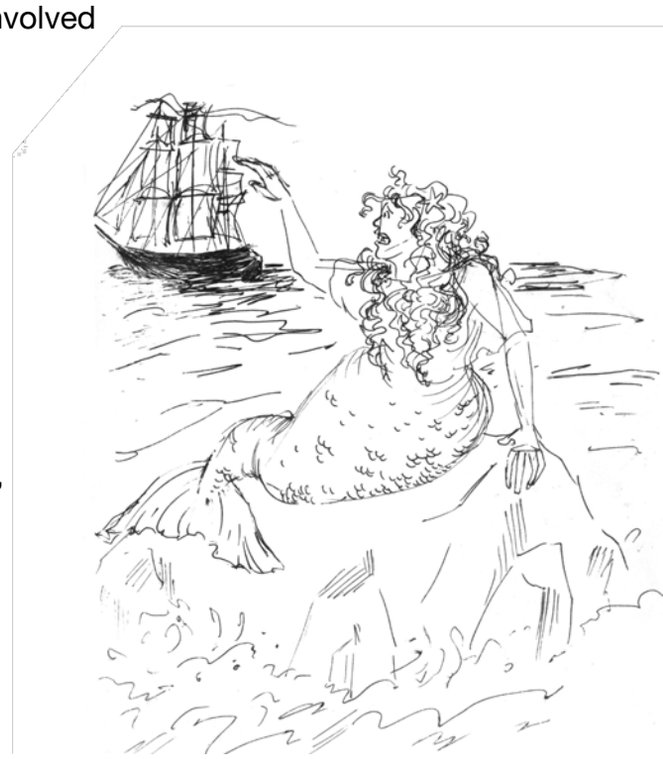
Returning to p.111, the largest portion of the page is taken up by what appears to be a game board, with Domenico running along a road; this is another example of recontextualisation, this time presenting the pursuit as a



game, which links to Walker's written account proposing that Domenico "had to think ahead like a chess player, sketch out possible futures and rewrite them from one moment to the next".[14] Walker expanded on this, stating that

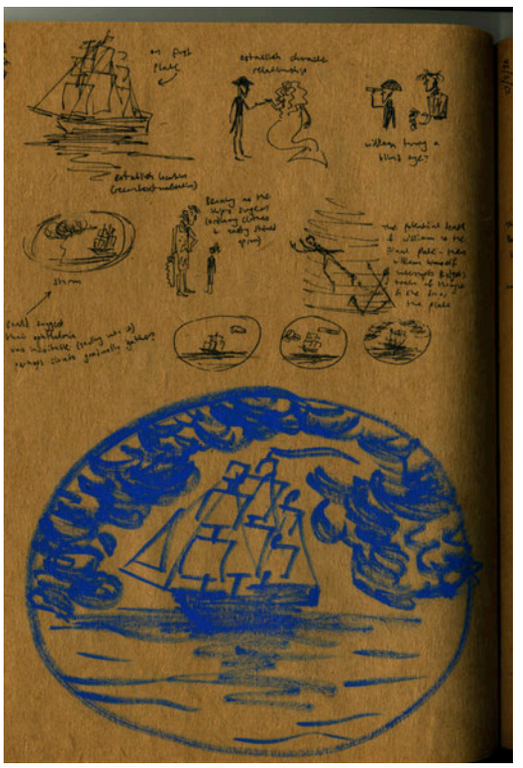
> No one cares any more what happened to Domenico … and perhaps that is the point. It is only when there is nothing at stake that we can enter a pure state of play and fully enjoy the aesthetic and intellectual pleasures that the past has to offer. But there is another point of view … is not Domenico's run a perfect symbol of all those experiences whose essence is irretrievably lost to the historian, because the sensations are both too immediate and too 'trivial' (or rather personal) to be either represented or remembered?[15]

This is immediately applicable to my experiments, as many of the incidents I depict are "irretrievably lost". In *Disorder*, I engage with what may or may not have happened: people's unrecorded reactions to a barely-mentioned incident, which are therefore purely suppositious on my part, despite my use of traces relating to these people and the time in which they lived. I recontextualise and decontextualise characters and events to try imagining (through images) what their *potential* experiences may have been like. I use symbols which are unlikely to have been utilised by the people involved in my case study, such as recurring motifs borrowed from Western occultism and ancient Egyptian visual culture, to try to understand what might have happened or how they might have felt (knowing that I hold subjective viewpoints and that I can never really understand), to communicate my ideas, and to engage an audience in creating their own interpretations.

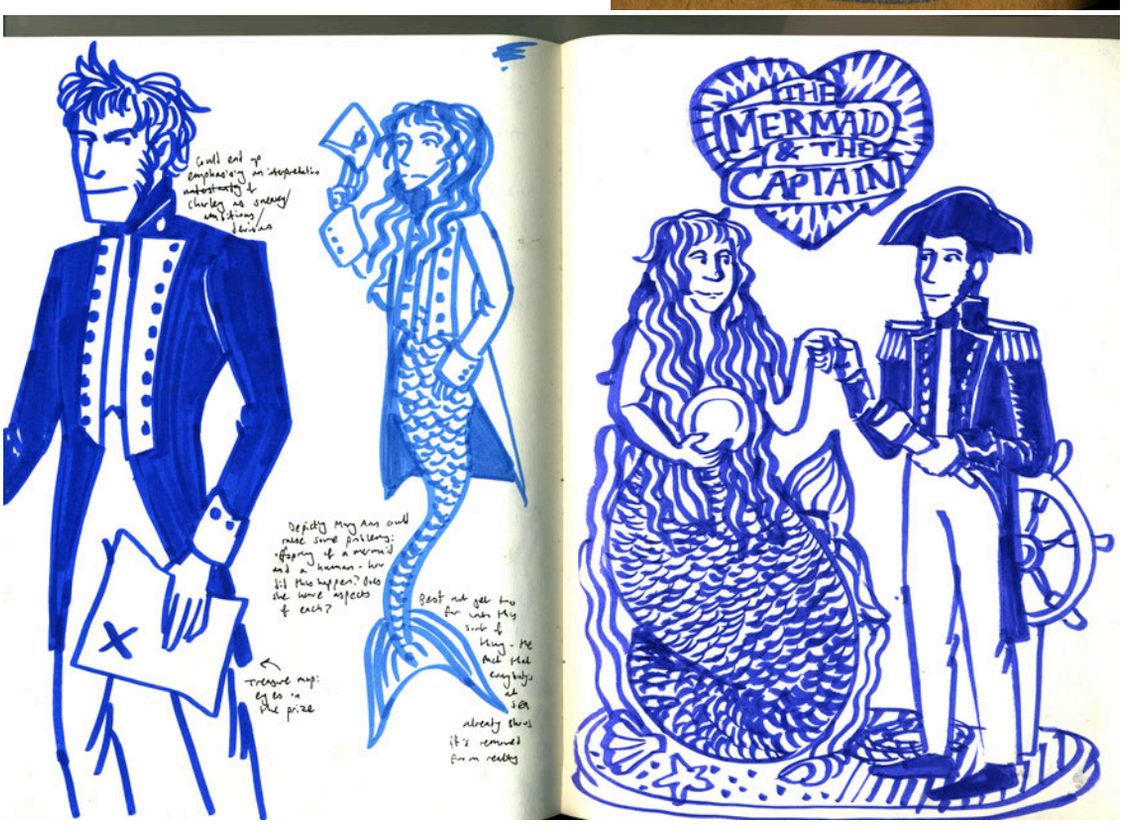


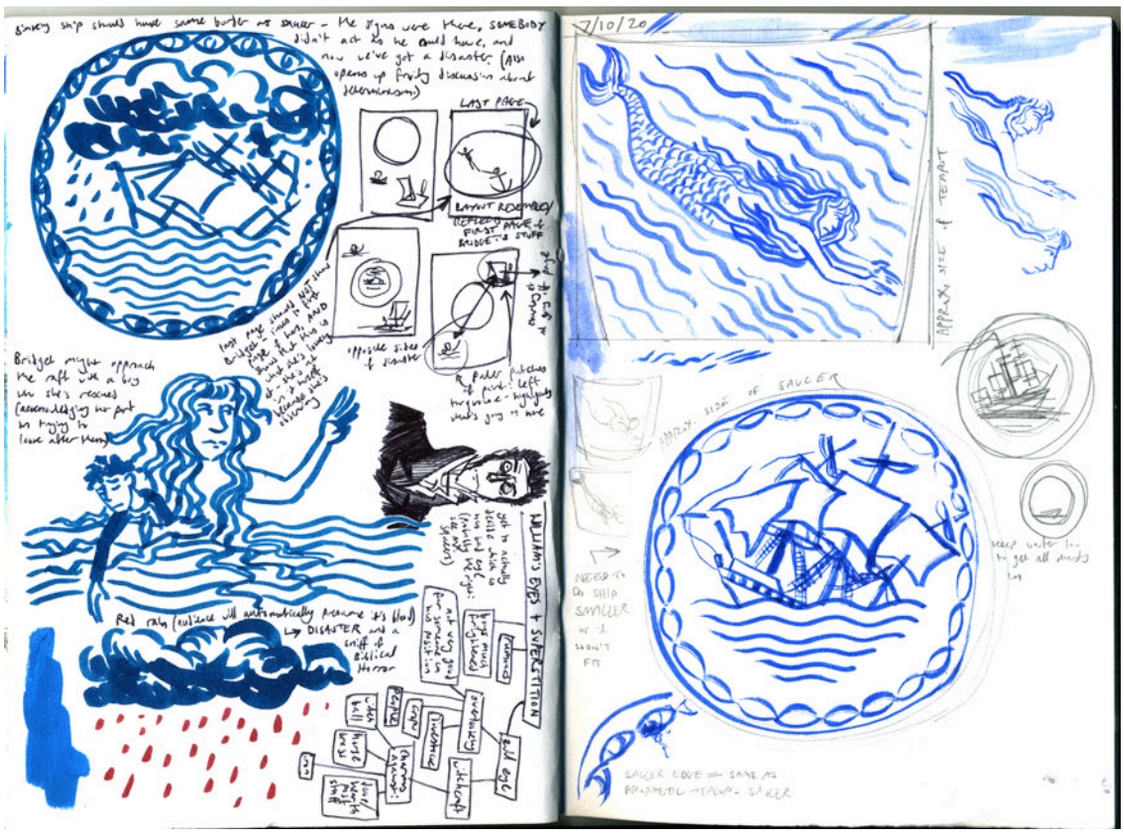
Recontextualisation can also be used to highlight the fictive and created nature of

history, by deliberately including fantastical visuals, such as in *Disorder* in which I recontextualised Bridget as a mermaid, and decontextualised Charley with a visual language grounded in prehistoric artworks and an invented wolf character.



I based Bridget's visual language on contemporary material culture (mainly blue-and-white crockery) and current affairs at the time, with the period's fascination with all things nautical.[16] I reimagined her as a mermaid, watching Captain William's ship (the Academy) encounter a disastrous storm (the ophthalmia).







I took Charley's visual language considerably further away from the early nineteenth century. I gave his 'voice' a style heavily based on Palaeolithic and Mesolithic cave art, with additional reference to Neolithic and Bronze Age rock art.[17] I chose this primarily to explore the power dynamic between him and his employer, William, deliberately drawing attention to their bodies, linking back to concepts I explored in an essay I made for an assignment within the first year of my PhD.[18] In this, I visually interrogated the potential power dynamic between William and Charley using character design, with particular focus on factors



such physical scale and gesture. I showed William as small and slightly-built, in his customary position of authority over his establishment, while I emphasised Charley's musculature by giving him vigorous and exuberant gestures, contrasting their physical presence with their respective positions within the school hierarchy.

In one of my smaller experiments, I recontextualised some of the occupants of Bowes Academy using William Blake's poem *The School-Boy*, originally published as part of *Songs of Experience* (first published 1794). According to Geoffrey Keynes, *The School-Boy* is "a sustained protest … against the destruction of innocence and youthful joy in life by the dreary round in school,

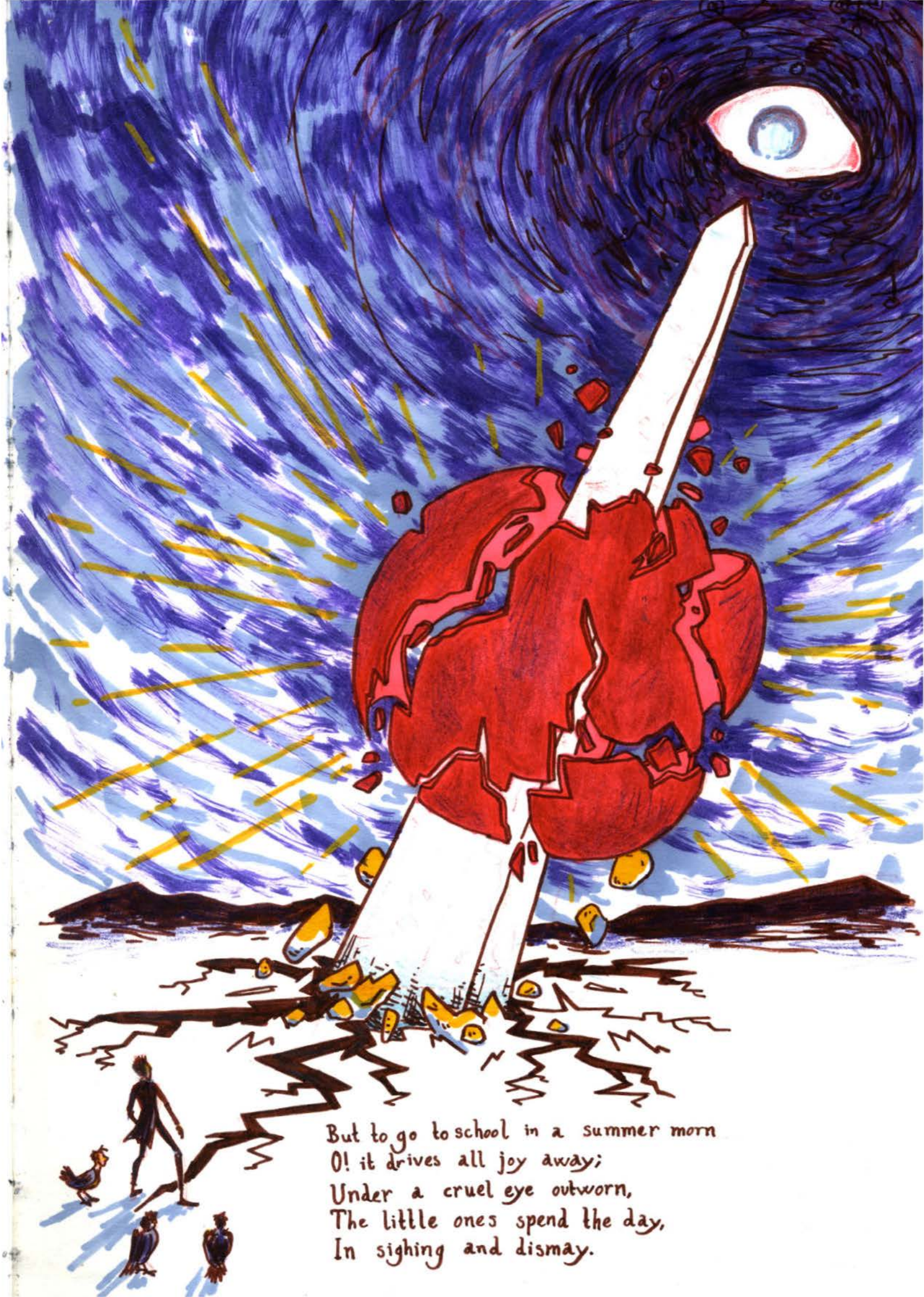

The Schoolboy : being a Poem from
Mr. Blake's Songs of Innocence & Experience
I love to rise on a summer morn,
When the birds sing on every tree;
The distant huntsman winds his horn,
And the sky-lark sings with me.
O! what sweet company.

where fears and sorrows cause dismay".[19] I used this poem as a vehicle to interpret the ophthalmia epidemic at Bowes Academy, primarily from William Shaw's perspective.

In 1795, Blake was commissioned to illustrate Edward Young's *Night Thoughts* (originally published between 1742-1745), producing "537 watercolour designs which extend and even subvert the meaning of the lines they illustrate," informed by his own philosophical ideas.[20] I intended to use this experiment in a similar way, combining Blake's words with imagery relating to (my interpretations of) my case study, and with visual themes and motifs that occur frequently in my work. In my sketchbook, SBB:10/8/19, I challenged myself to identify potential narrative themes that could spring from interpretations of events at Bowes Academy, and to find similar themes in Blake's poetry. As I understand it, *The School-Boy* is about how experiences in childhood can affect later life, such as the subjection of children to a miserable indoor education (when they might be happier outside) which can result in negative repercussions manifesting as they age. Using this idea, I could draw a parallel with those boys at Bowes Academy whose sight was permanently damaged or destroyed in the ophthalmia outbreak. While this scandal frequently (and understandably) reappears in Yorkshire schools



William Blake, *The School-Boy*, from *Songs of Innocence and of Experience*, Copy T (printed 1784, 1789, 1818)



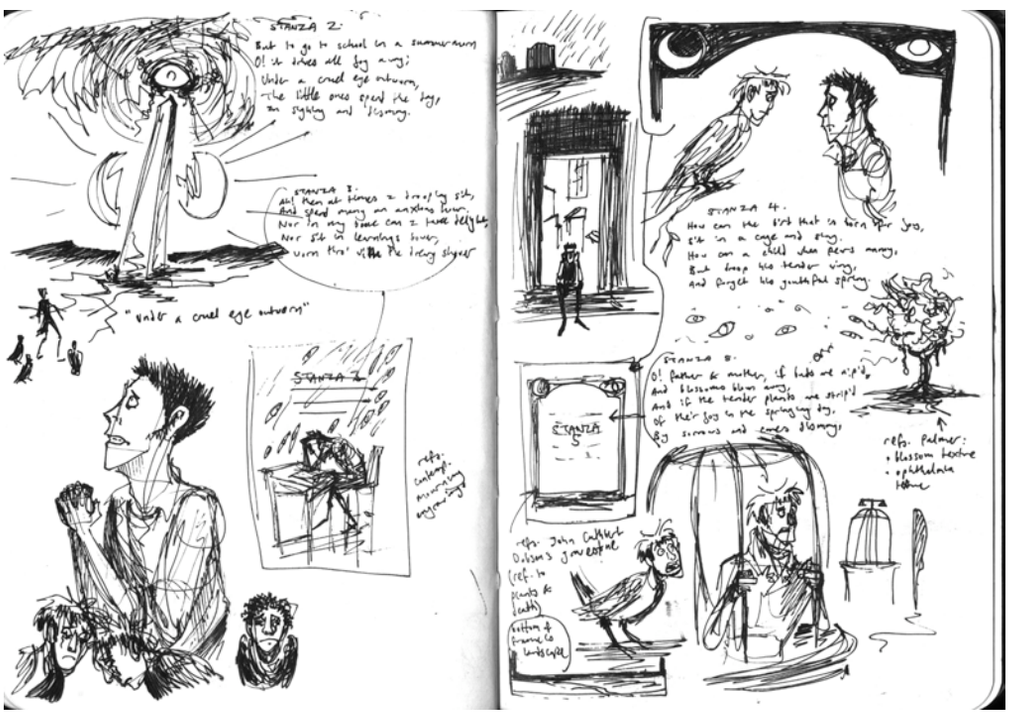
But to go to school in a summer morn
O! it drives all joy away;
Under a cruel eye outworn,
The little ones spend the day,
In sighing and dismay.

historiography, I used this experiment to suggest an alternative interpretation expressing sympathy for William.



These six illustrations include imagery based on ancient Egyptian mythology and visual culture, which is a recurring influence in my work.[21] I interpreted Blake's bird imagery as representing the freedom that his protagonist (the schoolboy) mourns, but my human-headed birds are derived from *ba* birds, one of the five components of the ancient Egyptian concept of the an individual's being.[22] Some of the imagery I used in *The School-Boy* reappeared in later experiments. William himself appears as a ba bird in *(U)KA*; I also included the feather of Ma'at (also known as the feather of truth), used in the judgement of the dead.[23]

I designed the pages so that the written verses are mostly integrated with the drawn elements, such as on p.1 (the stanza is in the sun's rays). After



Ah! then at times I drooping sit,
And spend many an anxious hour.
Nor in my book can I take delight,
Nor sit in learning's bower,
Worn thro' with the dreary shower.



making preliminary drawings in a smaller sketchbook, I drew the initial lines for these six pages in A4 Book B in the red pencil that I used in the final colouring (such as the ground on p.1).[24] I drew the words (basing their letterforms on Blake's own) directly onto the page, using the same brown flexible-tipped pen that I used for the linework. I used a limited set of coloured pencils and markers for this experiment, aiming at continuity with the restricted range of colours, to give the collected pages a sense of unity.

I based each illustration on a literalised depiction of part of each verse. On p.1, William teaches "on a summer morn", while the boys - the birds - sit "on every tree". The joyfulness of the "summer morn" is destroyed by the obelisk on p.2, and the characters are "under a cruel eye" - an eye, post-infection, with a scratched and frosted cornea.[25] William, on p.3, sits "drooping" like an early nineteenth century mourning engraving, "in learning's bower, / Worn thro' with the dreary shower", his legs crossed in reference to ex-pupil Lloyd's description of him.[26] Charley gives evidence on p.4, "in a cage"; he is no longer the bird he was on p.1.[27] The tree on p.5 refers to "blossoms blown away", and also deliberately resembles an infected eyelid.[28] The direct relationship between the words and the images on p.6 is yet more oblique, although there is a pomegranate, intended as one of the "summer fruits", but also a symbol of revival (which could be interpreted as William's continuation of the Academy in the face of the ophthalmia scandal, or as the more traditional historian's attempt to make the dead speak, or as Blake's words being recycled).[29]





I nearly showed William praying on the third page, calling attention to his piety (as previously highlighted by Kirkpatrick).[30] This image, and the


How can the bird that is born for joy.
Sit in a cage and sing.
How can a child when fears annoy.
But droop his tender wing,
And forget his youthful spring.

theme of William's religiosity, later returned in *Disorder*, and I more obliquely referred to it in *(U)KA* with the presence of Mr Dixon and the Methodist connection.

The fourth page explicitly refers to the trials, with Charley giving evidence. In Blakean fashion, the thorns surround and almost capture the phrases "the bird that is born for joy" and "his youthful spring".[31] Charley himself, in my interpretation of him via Blake's concept of the Imagination, is caged, and in fully human form.

I intended to encourage audience interpretation by using the characters' eyes and lines of sight in a way that could prompt questions. The boy perched on top of the cage looks down towards the action below: is he looking at his friend or at Charley, who looks up and out of the image - is he looking towards the judge in the courtroom, or could this be understood with regard towards contemporary beliefs in a divine judge in heaven?[32]

The frame on p.5 refers to the headstone of John Cuthbert Dobson, which is repeated in the lower half of the image. Eight-year-old Dobson died at Bowes Academy in 1818, and is buried in the churchyard at St Giles, Bowes; his gravestone carries an inscription likening the dead boy to a flower.[33] Dobson's grave is next to that of George Ashton Taylor, who died at Bowes Academy in 1822, aged 19, and whose grave carries an inscription informing the reader that "thou must die, / But after this the judgement". Neither of these drawn gravestones carry any of their associated words; the audience would only



O! father & mother, if buds are nip'd,
And blossoms blown away,
And if the tender plants are strip'd
Of their joy in the springing day,
By sorrow and cares dismay,



understand their full significance if they already knew them, or could identify the stones and find the inscriptions. This obscurity adds further levels of meaning, but also hides details that the audience could use to add to their understandings.

I also included a reference to the shape of a gravestone on the final page, this time the one shared by William, Bridget, and their son, William. The Egyptian imagery returns, with the scales featuring the feather of Ma'at weighed against the infected eye. The *ba* can leave the tomb to visit the world of the living, while pomegranates, according to Dina Ezz El-Din and Sahar Elkasrawy, were considered "as an expression of life, fertility and abundance."[34] The *ba* bird holding the pomegranate could be understood to imply a lack of finality, or the tension between imagined representations of people from the past and the fact that that past is irretrievably gone. William's posture also evokes suggestions of ancient Egyptian death and resurrection imagery. The flames could be understood as suggestive of different interpretations, depending on the audience's viewpoint: in Blake's work (and frequently in mine, echoing Blake) flames represent energy and imagination, whereas William Shaw himself would probably associate them with hell. This final page calls on the viewer to judge William's fate.

One of my aims in this experiment was to present an interpretation of the ophthalmia trials that expressed empathy towards William; I succeeded in this, and also in sympathising with the boys whose experiences at his school resulted in damage to their sight. I also used this experiment to expand the range of symbols in my work, which now includes references to ancient Egyptian beliefs and a more explicit link with Blake, in order to increase the multiplicity of potential interpretations that can be generated from my research. I used this experiment to blur the boundaries between words and


How shall the summer arise in joy
Or the summer fruits appear
Or how shall we gather what grief destroy
Or bless the mellowing year,
When the blasts of winter appear.

images, as Blake did, integrating the written and visual elements in a way that, if these six illustrations were not so openly fantastical, could be classed as graphic history.[35] Another of my aims for this experiment was to "extend" and "subvert" not only the potential meanings of the poem, but also of possible understandings of this aspect of my case study.[36] However, this reinterpretation of an existing text could also be seen as controversial, as I took Blake's words away from the context of his illustrations and placed them into my own; as an illustrator, I feel dissatisfied when Blake's images are apparently disregarded in favour of his words, when the inclusion of both would enable an audience to enjoy more rewarding engagement with his work. This tension makes me feel that this experiment was not as successful as it could have been had I chosen a written piece that did not have to be removed from its original setting as an iconotext; however, this tension also makes the experiment more potentially fruitful as a catalyst for future investigation.

In March 2020, just before the first UK lockdown, I undertook a site visit to Bowes to gather reference for future drawings. I visited the churchyard, where William, Bridget, and a number of people they knew are buried: some of their own children; some of the boys from the Academy; numerous relations, friends, acquaintances, and the like; and, no doubt, people whose connections we will never be acquainted with. On this visit, I was also able to gain access to the church itself. The east window, behind the altar, is made of plain glass, while the more colourful west window was dedicated to the memory of John Bousfield and his wife, Mary Ann (the eldest child of William and Bridget Shaw), by their daughter, Mary Bousfield, in 1893.[37]

I based two drawings on those windows in order to experiment with presenting the characters in an almost mythologised context. In the same way

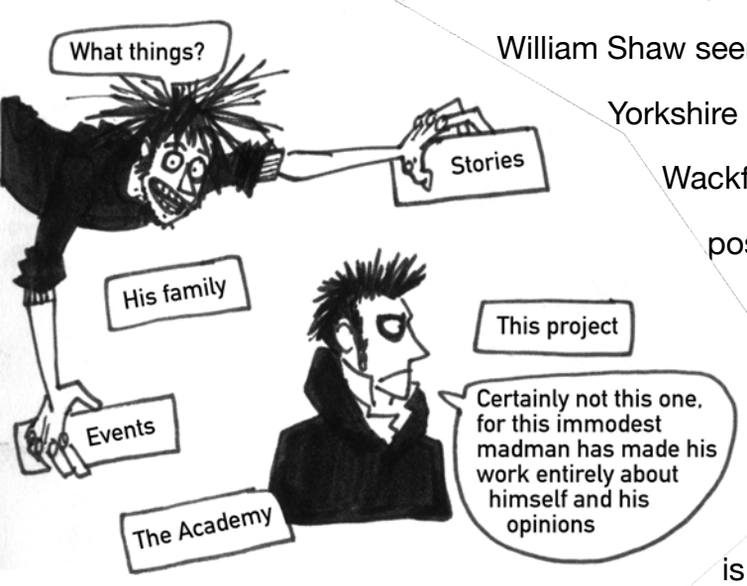
as the rest of the corpus of my PhD work, these drawings are packed with symbolism for the viewer to interpret, which can be cross-referenced against other pieces. As in *(U)KA*, I appropriated some symbols from Western occultism, specifically referring to planetary associations and correspondences, with minor influence from ancient Egyptian beliefs and material culture.[38] With these two windows, I wanted to play with the idea of presenting historical characters as mythological figures, mixing occult or esoteric symbolism with visual references to Christian mythology to communicate allegorical interpretations of the characters.



I based this first drawing on the east window, behind the altar.[39]

I intended the left panel to emphasise Bridget's responsibility in caring for the boys. She carries brimstone and treacle, a supposedly medicinal compound administered as "a preventative cure-all".[40] The radial lines of her cap and her dress emphasise the solar imagery I assigned to her, wanting to highlight her life-sustaining role within her family and the Academy.[41] The bright colours, compared to William's central section, draw attention to her; Bridget, like most schoolmasters' wives, is not usually the main subject in narratives about the Yorkshire schools, as most researchers focus on the schoolmasters or the boys.[42]

In the middle panel, I showed William, at the centre of things with all eyes on him: he is in a position of authority at the Academy, and William Shaw seems to be the most well-known Yorkshire schoolmaster after the fictitious Wackford Squeers. His stance echoes postures commonly seen in depictions of messiahs and clergy - has he come with a message? What narrative (or narratives) might he try to communicate? Most of his section is black and white and grey, based on extant depictions of his appearance (see the section on how I designed him as a character, on pp.122-123), and which links to the visual language I gave him in *Disorder*.



I placed Charley, energetic and possibly dangerous, in the right panel. He is the most dynamic of the three, reaching up into the smaller panels above his head, armed with a cane. I designed this position, and the flames, to invite parallels with the work of William Blake (an influence on how I characterised

Charley, see my essay ‘Characterisation, context, and contemporary considerations’).[43] I also included an undercurrent of symbolism connected with the planetary associations for Mars and the element of fire (“amongst the stars, or planets, some are fiery, as Mars, and the Sun” according to early 19th century magician Francis Barrett); Mars is traditionally associated with the colour red, and with disruption, tenacity, and energy with the potential for creation or destruction.[44]



I borrowed the frame of the west window to tell a narrative about the ophthalmia trials. I kept the same placement of the characters as I drew in the east window: Bridget on the left, William in the centre, and Charley on the right.[45] This time, these positions can be interpreted sequentially, with Bridget attempting to communicate that there is something wrong during the earlier stages of the epidemic, and Charley trying to give evidence afterwards. The blue frames around Bridget and Charley separate them from William, both spatially and temporally; he is in some indistinct, abstract place, while they are in specific discernible locations.

Once again, I depicted Bridget in a caring role, attempting to bring an unwell boy to William’s attention, with some of the other boys and the school behind them. The symbols in the two yellow circles above her main panel are the astrological symbol for the sun, and the feather of Ma’at (understood as the ancient Egyptian goddess representing concepts such as truth, law, justice, order, and so on).[46]

William’s colour scheme is related to the previous window, with the



dramatic addition of red. The radial lines of eyes draw the viewer's eye up to William's head, and he looks out of the image as if to make 'eye contact' with the viewer (as I mentioned on pp.141-142). He is half-dressed and unkempt - both of which refer to his appearance in *Disorder* - but now he is infected. The black orb (an image that recurs in *Disorder* and *(U)KA*) appears behind his head, a mockery of a halo; some popular interpretations of William demonise him, likening him to Wackford Squeers.[47] The grey circles above his head, beneath the quatrefoil containing an infected eye, hold the symbol of Saturn (associated with time and death, and also linked to areas that resonate with

my interpretation of William, such as responsibility and melancholy) and two crossed canes (which I intended to represent the potential for conflict).[48]

Charley is at the trial, about to inform the court of what happened. Will he tell something approaching the truth, whatever that might be? (I doubt my fondness for multiple truths would be welcome in a courtroom.) He holds a Bible, emphasising the recurring religious or spiritual elements, and (I hoped) encouraging the viewer to consider the nature of truth, while the cross on the front of it echoes the position of William's body. He wears the same costume that he wore in the previous window, but he has now put his coat on, giving him an appearance of greater respectability. Above Charley, in the red circles, I drew the symbol for Mars, and some stylised flames; both of these link back to the east window, and the associations for Mars include physical activity, courage, and creative or destructive energy.[49]

By making these two drawings of reimagined church windows, I found that I could explore aspects of tension in the relationships between the three characters. In the east window, William is central, yet the viewer's eye is drawn to the bright colours and dynamic gestures of Bridget and Charley, neither of whom are usually the main focus in most Yorkshire schools historiography. In the west window, William is again central, and is meant to be in a position of power and authority as the head of his establishment, but is instead depicted as suffering; this subverts narratives about the ophthalmia trials, which usually highlight the boys' suffering rather than that of William. (There could also be an element of controversy in associating a notorious Yorkshire schoolmaster with the Christian messiah, but this may also invite imaginative debate about to what extent historical figures may have resonated with religious narratives.) The window drawings disrupt and decentralise the focal points of established Yorkshire schools historiography, rerouting the audience's attention towards

people in the case study whose potential experiences the viewer might not have previously considered. I particularly enjoyed this drawing style, and the use of occult imagery, which added extra layers of symbolism for the viewer to interpret, and I later returned to it and adapted it for *(U)KA*.

(Un)Known Associates is a deck of Tarot-like cards that I wanted an audience to use in the creation and interpretation of narratives. The Tarot has multiple interpretations per card, which can be changed and manipulated by the reader to create different narratives, not unlike the interpretation of traces of the past in the practice of history.

In his article "Antonio Foscarini in the City of Crossed Destinies", Jonathan Walker used Tarot cards to explore narratives focussing on early seventeenth century Venetian ambassador Antonio Foscarini.[50] At the start of the article, he describes meeting "three ghosts", and how

> I could not give voice to their silence with words alone. Knowing this, they had spread a pack of Tarot cards on the table between us in rows like the keys on a church organ. As each in turn pointed to particular images, my words harmonised and clashed with the dumb notes struck by the pictures.[51]

The Tarot was used as a game in 17th century Venice (the context for Walker's case study), and it works as a metaphor for how various people at the time, such as other ambassadors and spies, attempted to interpret contemporary events using the handful of clues available to them, in a similar manner to interpreting meanings out of symbolism in the Tarot.[52]

Following Walker, this can be likened to when we try interpreting traces of the past. We only have a limited amount of 'evidence' to build meanings from, as we only have the cards in front of us. We can try putting them into different contexts - we examine the whole spread of cards, and asking whether we can see any recurring images or themes, and we can consider the

circumstances surrounding the reading (for example, whether a particular aspect of a card resonates strongly with a certain situation).[53] As a parallel, in her work with the letters of the marquise Du Châtelet, Judith P. Zinsser noted that "a third or more [of the letters] float free of time and place and can be used in an infinite number of sequences to make an infinite number of stories, to paint so many emotions and thoughts."[54] The cards have multiple fluid meanings (particularly when recontextualised), and different readers will give them different interpretations (which can also vary depending on what they themself want to hear, or what they believe their client wishes to hear).[55]

Johannes Fiebig said

> The imagery and symbolism of Tarot may appear the same for everybody. Each of us, however, sees and recognizes [sic] them in a very personal way … The cards reflect personal meanings and you bring personal attributions to the meaning of a card. The cards also reflect your general point and style of view.[56]

Beverley Southgate explained his understanding of history as

> a game that we play with the past. The object of the game is to make sense of whatever we have to hand - to endow ingredients (whatever they are) with meaning. Of themselves, those ingredients are meaningless (and so valueless); thus it is up to us to give them the worth that they need - and that we need from them. So the game is endless, because we are constantly given new ingredients from an inexhaustible supply deriving from an ever-expanding territory (of the past); and, always torn between an ideal of inclusivity and a reality of inevitable selectivity and exclusivity, we restlessly shift positions and perspectives and perceptions. … These games, of course, have long been played within the constraints of certain rules, but these rules too - despite the best efforts of more authoritarian traditionalists - are no less subject to variation, and at our own choosing.[57]

Southgate's metaphor of history as a game (which I agree with) is appropriate when I consider the use of Tarot cards as a method of exploring an historical case study and its potential for a multiplicity of narratives that can be created about it.

The visual language I used for *(U)KA* was based on woodcuts and Tarot cards, typically from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[58] This is a

drawing style I had developed for an ongoing personal project. I made these images freehand (without guidelines) using fibre-tip markers; in my usual practice, when producing final illustrations, I draw preliminary guidelines in graphite, where I tend to make most of the mistakes (such as disproportionate limbs, components not completely fitting into the frame, etc.), and which I gradually tighten up before adding ink. I wanted to simulate the roughness of the original woodcuts, and I found that, by preventing myself from having the security of preliminary pencil guidelines, I could allow some of the mistakes to



creep into the final images. I briefly considered making these images using woodcut or linocut, but, due to time and space constraints, I rejected this idea: I do not have the time to spend carving one single image (I can produce them faster and with greater precision with a pen), I do not have the space to have multiple prints drying (I consider it wasteful to make a woodcut block just for one single printed sheet), and I do not have the space to store the blocks after use.

I already wanted to design *(U)KA* with some slight influence from the

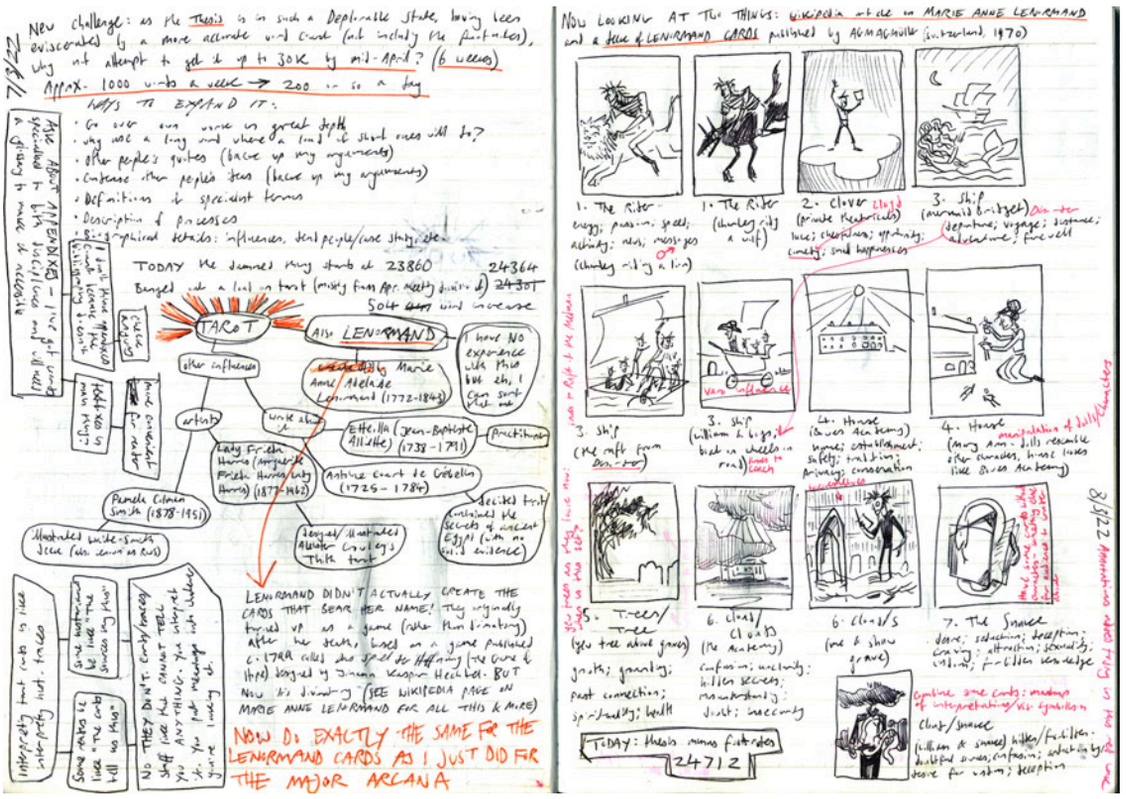
Tarot, both in terms of visual language and interpretive strategies. After reading Walker's article, I decided to increase this, giving *(U)KA* its own Major Arcana - the twenty-two 'trump' cards in the traditionally formatted Tarot deck. I also realised that I could make multiple versions of some of the cards (adding an extra degree of uncertainty regarding a card's exact identity), or show the same character appearing on different cards, highlighting different potential aspects of that individual, and mimicking how sometimes various traces in the historical record can (be used to) suggest differing views on the same subject.[59] I decided against making all 56 cards of the Minor Arcana - the four suits of wands, cups, swords, and discs, with ten pip cards and four court cards per suit - as this would overcomplicate the project. However, I ultimately made a few cards based on the Minor Arcana, some of which are intended to refer to a number of conventional Minor cards, to increase the potential interpretative multiplicity.

The Tarot also contains an element of the (historical) sublime.[60] As I have described elsewhere in this thesis, the historical sublime is the ambiguous, dynamic, uncontrollable element of history. When pulling cards for a spread, the reader does not (or should not) know what they are going to get - the cards that feature in the reading come from a shuffled deck.[61] The cards' meanings are not inherent within them, and are not fixed; they were invented throughout the development of the Tarot, and can be selected and adapted by the reader to fit their own purposes.[62] P. D. Ouspensky described the Tarot as rich with "infinite possibilities" and "not one but all potential meanings" which are "fluent and ever-changing, so the Tarot cannot be specifically this or that".[63] Each card is filled with imagery and devices that can be read deeply or superficially, as the reader chooses, and each card has multiple interpretations, as each trace of the past (each historical source) has multiple

interpretations, and will not provide 'the' answers. Sometimes cards and spreads will appear to furnish their users with meanings of deep significance, but these meanings are not inherent in the cards, just as meanings are not inherent in historical sources.[64]

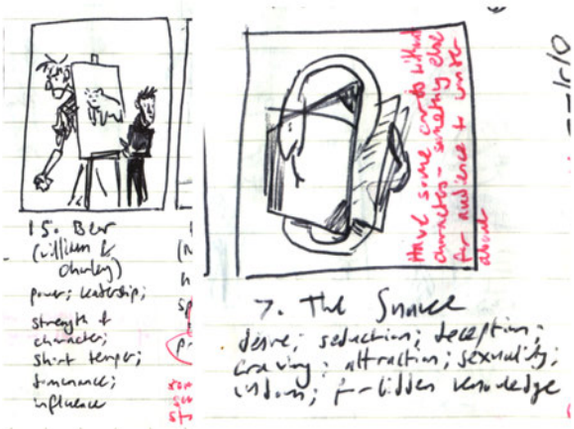
The reader typically begins with a question in mind, either from themself or from a client who they read for. The reader shuffles the cards, selects them face-down, arranges them on a flat surface, and then reads the spread in the light of the question; in the words of Richard Cavendish, "[m]ost writers on the Tarot emphasize [sic] that shuffling is important and that while [they are] doing it the card-reader should concentrate hard on the question [they want] answered or the problem that particularly concerns [them]."[65] This can be likened to some historians, and other researchers, beginning a project with a specific question in mind, and interpreting evidence as they see fit. I included details of several spreads to use with *(U)KA*, some based on traditional spreads such as the three-card spread and the Celtic cross spread, and I made up several more, aimed at exploring the relationship between a subject (such as a character or an event) and various circumstances around them.

I began creating the cards by considering the Major Arcana of Jean Dodal's Tarot, published in Lyon, France, between 1701 and 1715. Images of these cards are available on Wikipedia's page about the Tarot of Marseilles.[66] I chose these because the images are clear and easily recognisable; versions similar to this deck may have been available at the time of my case study; and this specific set of images on Wikipedia would be easy for my prospective audience to find, so that they could use the same visual reference that I did and make their own cards. I also used the Lenormand cards as another model; the Lenormand is a 36-card deck, named after renowned cartomancer Marie Anne Adelaide Lenormand (1772-1843), intended for divinatory purposes.[67] I



borrowed the traditional meanings of the Lenormand cards and adapted my own imagery to them.

During this exercise, I realised that I did not want to include all the cards (in some cases, the imagery was too awkward or forced, including the card's main symbol as a secondary element, rather than being integral to the main design, or not including anything related to the case study). For example, the Bear (number 15 in the Lenormand) was on the blackboard between William and Charley, rather than being present in the image itself; the Snake (card number 7) coiled around a book with no other characters, and, in my accompanying notes, I deliberated whether to have "some cards





without characters - something else for audience to wonder about". (There is one instance of this in the final version of *(U)KA* - the Rodents - in which rodents and insects destroy documents, intended to represent traces of the past.)

I chose to omit some cards to make the deck appear incomplete, mimicking the fragmentary and inconsistent nature of the historical record. I also applied this idea to my inclusion of a few *(U)KA* cards based on the Tarot's Minor Arcana, omitting the majority of the 56 Minor cards. While designing the Lenormand-based cards, I also decided that I could make more evocative images by blending imagery from two or more cards, combining the traditional meanings of these cards to create new ones, in a similar way to how traces of the past can be combined to create new interpretations and new narratives.

I also drew influence from other artists, such as William Blake, Remedios Varo, and Mimi Parent. Blake has been a constant influence since the early days of my project. Remedios Varo's work is open to multiple interpretations; some commentators concentrate on how her work depicts women's



Eight of Disks: profitable use of skills and knowledge; hard work and commitment will be rewarded; confidential efforts will bring a favourable result; training, perhaps with low pay; promotion to an advantageous position; the rewards of patience and determination.



Seven of Disks: impending loss or disappointment; endeavours and plans, made in the past, result in nothing; a project which began auspiciously but did not reach its logical conclusion; possible restriction by hesitancy and over-cautiousness.



Nine of Cups: family happiness; domestic contentment; a joyful gathering; optimism for the future; forgetting past problems; kind and generous friends; helping and giving; simple pleasures; security; satisfaction with life achievements; a well-deserved rest after hard work.

experiences, while others look at her magical and occult philosophical interests.[68] In my understanding, some elements of Varo's work could be interpreted as aligning with the historical sublime. For instance, her work can appear to be open-ended; some of her images contain recurring characters and motifs, and seem to belong to a narrative sequence.[69] She also suggested



Bordando el Manto Terrestre (*Embroidering the Earth's Mantle*), Remedios Varo, 1961

change and ambiguity within her work, using motifs and themes such as journeys, transformations, anthropomorphism, and the creation of composite beings.[70] Mimi Parent made shadow boxes containing fantastical scenes, frequently using found objects she had acquired at flea markets, in which she depicted narrative scenes.[71] I wanted to contrast this with how historians collect materials and reinterpret them to build their own narratives.

I built cross-references into my work, allowing the whole corpus (*Disorder*, *(U)KA*, *Lines on a Page*, this thesis, and other projects, including future projects) to be utilised by an audience to create new narratives. With



regard to *(U)KA*, none of the cards exist singly, just as no trace of the past exists without context; they can all be connected to other cards through things such as characters, symbols, compositions, and components that cross into other images. Some cards explicitly referred to events from my case study, such as the ophthalmia trials, while others showed fictive and fantastical scenes, and others bore more obvious references to Tarot cards. For example, the Justice (Tarot) card, the Dog (Lenormand) card, and the card that I refer to as the 'Last Supper' (which encompasses the 3 of Disks and the 5 or 6 of Cups from the Tarot), all refer to the ophthalmia trials. The 'Last Supper' shows



thirteen boys confronted with maggoty food, as mentioned in William Jones's testimony.[72] The Dog shows William, a dog-eared Charley, domestic servant

Kitty, and the judge Sir James Allan Park at the Court of Common Pleas, and Justice (featuring Mrs Ockerby and her partially-sighted sons) uses the same background. This setting also appears elsewhere in my work, most notably in



one of the slides for a presentation I gave to Caldicot and District Historical and Archaeological Society in March 2020, and in my recontextualised version of the west window of St Giles church, discussed earlier in this chapter (p.188). Some symbols fulfil a similar crossover function, such as the cup and









ring marks on the Coffin and the Emperor(s), which link to Charley's visual language in *Disorder*. I kept the character designs consistent throughout my work to allow the audience to follow my characters through the projects and to make connections between them. Characters and symbols, for instance, can be tracked through different cards, as a historian would look for the name of a person of interest across multiple sources.

I appropriated some occult imagery for historiographical purposes, using those symbols to communicate ideas about history and its theory. For instance, I use the chaos star (a symbol borrowed by chaos magicians from Michael Moorcock's *Eternal Champion* series of science fiction books) to suggest multiple possibilities or opportunities, which can be applied to the multiplicity of lost voices in the past, the multiplicity and unfixedness of truth(s), the multiplicity and changeability of interpretations, and so on.[73] As in the church window drawings I presented earlier, I also use

planetary and elemental symbols to suggest different ideas about my characters. However, due to wanting the audience to be able to interpret the cards for themselves, I did not explain everything in the accompanying literature. To encourage further freedom of interpretation, and to promote debate about multiple interpretations, I also did not include the names of the cards on the cards themselves - for instance, in a traditional Tarot deck, each Major Arcana card would be named, but this is no traditional Tarot deck.

In the process of creating *(Un)Known Associates*, I realised that - despite the experiment's title, and my intention of highlighting lesser-known people involved with my case study - I tended to focus on characters who I thought I knew more about. For example, I identified four named members of staff at Bowes Academy (excluding William) - Bewick, Head, Evans, and Mackay - and, while the first three appeared once, Charley appeared on seventeen cards. This indicates to me who I need to concentrate on when I work on future *(U)KA* expansion packs. (Along similar lines, I also realised that I draw some people more than others simply because I enjoy drawing them, which could also provide a potential explanation for Charley's numerous appearances.) Additionally, the process of drawing the images made me consider things that I might not have otherwise thought about, such as, when working on a card featuring an imagined courtroom scene from the ophthalmia trials, the Dog, I wrote next to it in my sketchbook that "William has gone off to London and taken Benning (apothecary/ surgeon) with him: nobody better get



ill!" Benning does not appear in the image, but concentrating on drawing the courtroom encouraged me to imaginatively question events surrounding the trials.



(U)KA is an innovative way of creating and exploring historical narratives. While Tarot cards have been used to great effect by Walker in his article 'Antonio Foscarini and the City of Crossed Destinies', he used the cards

as illustrations in the conventional sense, showing them to the audience while he used the written text to explain his Tarot-inflected interpretations of certain events in his case study. However, in *(U)KA*, the audience is presented with a set of cards for their own use, accompanied by ideas for layouts and historiographically oriented card interpretations, and requested to build their own narratives. This practical, interactive angle encourages experimentation with manipulable, nonlinear narratives that dissent from accepted ways of investigating and communicating ideas about the past. In this way, this experiment calls into question the established primacy of the voice of the historian over the voices of their audience, which I discuss further in the next chapter.



Chapter endnotes

[1] Grant and Jordanova, 'Introduction', in Grant, F., and Jordanova, L. (eds.), *Writing Visual Histories*, London: Bloomsbury, 2020, p.4.

[2] Peter Dunn described how "information, understanding and therefore interpretation of sites can change dramatically over the years; a reconstruction is only one way of interpreting the known information - it is how a site may have looked and best used to inspire the viewer to ask their own questions." (pp.110-111 of Dunn, P., 'Case Study: Durrington south timber circle', in Dobie, J., *Illustrating the Past*, Swindon: Historic England, 2019, pp.106-111.)

[3] Grant and Jordanova, 'Introduction', in Grant, F., and Jordanova, L. (eds.), *Writing Visual Histories*, London: Bloomsbury, 2020, p.3.

[4] Munslow, A., 'Film and History: Robert A. Rosenstone and *History on Film/Film on History*' in *Rethinking History*, vol.11, no.4, 2007, pp.565-575. Quote from p.568.

[5] Gaddis, J., *The Landscape of History: How Historians Map the Past*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002, p.17 and p.26.

[6] Munslow said that, because "history is a narrative *about* the past" (emphasis original) that "substitutes explanations, understandings, meanings, and interpretations for that which no longer exists … it is always condemned to a state of being 'updated', 'renewed', 'improved', 'advanced', 'revised', and even 'rethought'." Munslow, A., 'Why Should Historians Write about the Nature of History (Rather Than Just Do it)?' in *Rethinking History*, vol.11, no.4, 2007, pp.613-625, quotes from p.619.

[7] Rosenstone, R. A., *History on Film/ Film on History*, Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd., 2006. Rosenstone discusses three "biofilms" about "John Reed, the American poet, journalist, and revolutionary" (quotes from p.97) on pp.97-110.

[8] Rosenstone, R. A., *History on Film/ Film on History*, Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd., 2006, p.109.

[9] Rosenstone, R. A., *History on Film/ Film on History*, Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd., 2006. Rosenstone noted that "accept[ing] film … as being able to convey a kind of serious history … runs against just about everything we have learned since our earliest days in school" (p.2) and that "film makers can be and already are historians (some of them), but of necessity *the rules of engagement of their works with the stuff of the past are and must be different from those that govern written history*" (p.7, emphasis original) and that "no single agreed-upon method has ever been devised for rendering the past" (p.10).

[10] Walker, J., *Pistols! Treason! Murder!: The rise and fall of a master spy*, originally published Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2007; this edition Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009. Chapter 18: Running Alternatives, pp.107-121.

[11] Walker, J., *Pistols! Treason! Murder!: The rise and fall of a master spy*, originally published Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2007; this edition Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009. p.111. Compare with p.109 and p.115, in which the characters are represented using costume that places them in the context of the people upon whom they were based.

[12] Walker, J., *Pistols! Treason! Murder!: The rise and fall of a master spy*, originally published Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2007; this edition Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009. pp.118-119.

[13] Walker, J., *Pistols! Treason! Murder!: The rise and fall of a master spy*, originally published Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2007; this edition Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009. pp.118-119.

[14] Walker, J., *Pistols! Treason! Murder!: The rise and fall of a master spy*, originally published Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2007; this edition Baltimore, Maryland: Johns

Hopkins University Press, 2009. p.118.

[15] Walker, J., *Pistols! Treason! Murder!: The rise and fall of a master spy*, originally published Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2007; this edition Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009. p.120.

[16] Amanda Vickery noted that "[s]cientific instruments charmed Georgian men up and down the hierarchy, underpinned by a hearty maritime subculture befitting the nation that ruled the waves" (Vickery, A., *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England*, New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2009, p.264.) This "hearty maritime subculture" was not limited to men's relationships with technological devices; for example, upon the funeral of Nelson in 1806, "the memorialising started straight away" according to Jenny Uglow - "Nelson was commemorated on plates and mugs, in books and prints and at the theatre." (Uglow, J., *In These Times: Living in Britain Through Napoleon's Wars 1793-1815*, London: Faber & Faber Limited, 2014, p.405.)

I used some ceramics in the Bowes Museum, four miles away from the village of Bowes, at Barnard Castle (seen when I visited in September 2019) that could have been similar to the unknown tableware used in the Shaw household. For examples, see a transfer printed blue and white mug, c.1800 (item number X.3566) and an earthenware plate, c.1810 (item number 2003.2351/Cer.), both earthenware printed in underglaze blue. At the time of my visit, these items (and others) were in a cabinet in the Ceramics gallery. Transfer printed blue and white mug, c.1800, earthenware printed in underglaze blue, at the Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle, item number X.3566. Earthenware plate, c.1810, earthenware printed in underglaze blue, at the Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle, item number 2003.2351/Cer.

[17] For examples, see Hutton, R., *Pagan Britain*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013; of especial relevance are fig.3 (p.10, "Images from Creswell Crags"), figs.5-7 (pp.19-20, "Iconic Palaeolithic images" including Venuses and anthropomorphic figures), figs.8-12 (pp.23-25, "Less familiar Palaeolithic images", including abstract forms, extra lines, and figures of indeterminate identity), fig.27 (p.68, "Most common repertoire of designs on rock faces in Britain, certainly or probably Neolithic. Redrawn after Ronald Morris.) and fig.28 (p.69, "Complex designs on rock faces").

For specifically local examples of rock art, see the Gainford Stone in the Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle, found at Gainford in 1932 according to the interpretation board in the museum (visit undertaken 10 September 2019). Gainford Stone, Neolithic or Early Bronze Age, carved sandstone or limestone, at the Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle, item number 1958.1455/ARC. (Gainford is the location of Charles Mackay and Ann Wade's legal wedding in 1809, and possibly where Charles Mackay was born. Kirkpatrick, R. J., *Charles Dickens, Nicholas Nickleby and the Yorkshire Schools: Fact v Fiction.* Middleton-in-Teesdale: Mosaic (Teesdale) Ltd., 2017, pp.144-145.)

See also the stones on Barningham Moor (less than ten miles away from Bowes); the *England's Rock Art* project on the Archaeology Data Service has some images of some of the Barningham stones. *England's Rock Art*, Durham County Council, Historic England, Northumberland County Council, Ilkley Archaeology Group, Newcastle University, 2021. Available at: https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/era_eh_2009/downloads.cfm?archive=Image [Accessed 17 January 2023.]

[18] Barrett, E., *Characterisation, context, and contemporary considerations*, 2019. Available on academia.edu and ResearchGate; see Appendix 3 for details.

[19] Blake, W., and Keynes, G. (Introduction and commentary). *Songs of Innocence and of Experience*. Originally published London: William Blake, 1789 and 1794. Facsimile with commentary first published Oxford: Oxford University Press,1970; this edition Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988. *The School-Boy* is Plate 53, with transcript overleaf. Keynes' commentary on the poem is pp.154-155. Nelson Hilton interpreted the poem as a work "whose sincerity evaporates in the elaborate artificiality of his plea to be released from 'learnings [sic] bower'". Hilton, N., 'Blake's early works', in Eaves, M. (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to William Blake*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, pp.191-209. Quote from p.201.

[20] Ward, A., 'William Blake and his circle', in Eaves, M. (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to William Blake*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, pp.19-36. Quote from p.26.

[21] This is relevant to my case study because ophthalmia was also known as Egyptian

ophthalmia at the time, “as it was first recorded in British soldiers in Egypt at the turn of the century” (Kirkpatrick, R. J., *Charles Dickens, Nicholas Nickleby and the Yorkshire Schools: Fact v Fiction.* Middleton-in-Teesdale: Mosaic (Teesdale) Ltd., 2017, p.91). With regard to the presence of the researcher, I was surrounded by ancient Egyptian imagery as I grew up; I later pursued projects focussed on ancient Egyptian characters during my MA. For some of my MA work, see Barrett, E., *2016 Project*, (Instagram Story highlight) 10 December 2021. Available at: https://www.instagram.com/stories/highlights/18192905920181457/ [Accessed 28 June 2023.]

[22] Lucia Gahlin described the *ba* as “the non-physical attributes that make any human being unique” while Joyce Tyldesley detailed it as "an active spirit representing the soul or personality of the deceased. Often depicted as a human-headed bird, the *ba* lived in the tomb but was able to pay flying visits to the land of the living.” Gahlin, L., *Gods, Rites, Rituals and Religion of Ancient Egypt*, London: Lorenz Books (an imprint of Anness Publishing Ltd), 2011 (originally published as *Egypt: Gods, Myths and Religion*, 2001). Tyldesley, J., *The Penguin Book of Myths & Legends of Ancient Egypt*, London: Penguin Books, 2011, p.114.

Gahlin listed the *ba* on p.143 of *Gods, Rites, Rituals and Religion of Ancient Egypt*, along with the *ka* (“often translated as ‘spirit’ or ‘vital force’, as in the creative life force of an individual that enabled the generations to continue through the ages”), the *akh* (which “may well have been considered the result of the successful reunion at death of the *ba* and the *ka*”), the name, and the shadow.

Joyce Tyldesley only mentioned the first three of these components: the *ba*, the *ka* (“a more passive spiritual essence, or life-force [than the *ba*], which was created when the body was formed and which could only survive death if the corpse survived in a recognisably human form”), and the *akh* (“an ill-understood spirit representing the immortality of a deceased person which has become effective through the performance of the correct rituals and knowledge of the correct spells”), saying that “it is extremely difficult to translate [ancient Egyptians’] subtle ideas using our own words and concepts” (pp.113-114). Tyldesley discussed named elsewhere - “the personal name, an integral and inseparable part of the identity, carries its own powers … knowledge of a name conferred authority over the name’s owner, and … the memory of a name might prevent the Second Death if all other earthly trace of the deceased had vanished” (p.209).

[23] For the feather of Ma’at, used in the judgement of the dead in ancient Egyptian afterlife beliefs, see Barrett, C., *The Egyptian Gods and Goddesses: The Mythology and Beliefs of Ancient Egypt*, London: The Aquarian Press (an imprint of HarperCollins), 1991, p.45.

[24] I uploaded p.1 to Instagram on 15 August 2019: https://www.instagram.com/p/B1MKV1yhelm/

[25] I posted p.2 to Instagram on 18 August 2019: https://www.instagram.com/p/B1TrQe0HRio/ A contemporary medical illustration from John Vetch’s *An account of the ophthalmia* shows the scarred cornea and distorted eyelid. Book illustration published by Longman & Co., London, 1806, available at: https://wellcomecollection.org/works/xpf55ttu [Accessed January 12 2023.] That image originally in Vetch, J., *An account of the ophthalmia which has appeared in England since the return of the British Army from Egypt*, London: Longman & Co., 1807. Available at: https://wellcomecollection.org/works/gpjvntty [Accessed January 12 2023.]

[26] I posted p.3 to Instagram on 20 August 2019: https://www.instagram.com/p/B1ZB60fn64n/ Lloyd’s description of William Shaw (which I already mentioned in Chapter 2: Case Study) can be viewed at Lloyd, H. F., *The Life of an Actor: An Autobiography by H. F. Lloyd, Comedian, Late of the Theatre Royal Edinburgh and Glasgow*, in *The Glasgow Weekly Herald*,1886. Available at: http://www.arthurlloyd.co.uk/HoratioBiog/HoratioLloydAutobiographyChapter1.htm [Accessed 13 December 2022.]

[27] I posted p.4 to Instagram on 22 August 2019: https://www.instagram.com/p/B1dFg87nSZK/

[28] The tree also resembles some of Samuel Palmer’s trees, such as that in *In a Shoreham Garden* (for which, with commentary, see Lubbock, T., *English Graphic*, London: Frances Lincoln Ltd, 2012, pp.144-147). Palmer was a follower of Blake, in the words of Robert N. Essick, “one of the young artists who gathered worshipfully around Blake in his final years” (Essick, R. N., ‘*Jerusalem* and Blake’s final works’, in Eaves, M. (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to William Blake*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, pp.251-271. Quote from p.267). I posted p.5 to Instagram on 23 August 2019: https://www.instagram.com/

p/B1fpcABn4xW/

[29] I posted p.6 to Instagram on 27 August 2019: https://www.instagram.com/p/B1p8k3UHQ2/

Regarding the pomegranate, David Fontana claimed that it was "the symbol of Persephone and of the return of life in spring. With its countless seeds, the fruit stood for fertility and the unity in diversity of all creation." Fontana, D., *The Secret Language of Symbols: A Visual Key to Symbols and Their Meanings*, originally published by Pavilion Books Limited, 1993; this edition London: Judy Piatkus (Publishers) Limited, 1997, p.106.

[30] Kirkpatrick said that the letters William Shaw sent to the parents of George Brooks (see Kirkpatrick, pp.120-126) "suggest that William Shaw was deeply religious, an aspect of his personality not noted before (although a wholly cynical view would be that he was artfully responding to Brooks's piety)" on p.126. Kirkpatrick, R. J., *Charles Dickens, Nicholas Nickleby and the Yorkshire Schools: Fact v Fiction.* Middleton-in-Teesdale: Mosaic (Teesdale) Ltd., 2017.

[31] For further interpretive exploration, this can be compared with Blake's poem "The Garden of Love", which ends with the lines "And Priests in black gowns, were walking their rounds, / And binding with briars, my joys & desires." This poem appears in Blake, W., and Keynes, G. (Introduction and commentary). *Songs of Innocence and of Experience*. Originally published London: William Blake, 1789 and 1794. Facsimile with commentary first published Oxford: Oxford University Press,1970; this edition Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988. *The Garden of Love* is Plate 44, with transcript on preceding unnumbered page. Keynes' commentary on the poem is p.150.

[32] See the Shaw/ Brooks letters, pp.120-126 of Kirkpatrick, *Fact v Fiction*. See also George Ashton Taylor's gravestone, St Giles' churchyard, Bowes.

[33] The inscription runs:

"The youth who lies beneath this tomb
Was like a flower to sight,
When Death quick Blighted all his Bloom
And closed his eyes in night.
In vain affection heaves the sigh
In vain is grief pourtray'd. [sic]
Every youth was born to die
Every flower to fade."

See Kirkpatrick, *Fact v Fiction*, pp.117-119 for more on Dobson.

[34] Ezz El-Din, D., & Elkasrawy, S., 'Pomegranates of ancient Egypt: representations, uses and religious significance', originally published in Graves, C. (ed.), *BEC 4: Proceedings of the Fourth British Egyptology Congress, 7-9 September 2018, University of Manchester*, London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 2020. Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/344460047_Pomegranates_of_ancient_Egypt_representations_uses_and_religious_significance [Accessed 4 May 2023.]

The fifteenth edition of *Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase & Fable* described the pomegranate as "a Christian symbol of the Resurrection through its association in classical mythology with Proserpina, who returned every spring to regenerate the earth. Its many seeds in a single case also make it a symbol of the unity of many under one authority, as well as of chastity. As a Resurrection symbol, the pomegranate is held by the infant Christ in some paintings." *Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase & Fable*, fifteenth edition (revised by Room, A.), London: Cassell Publishers Ltd., first edition 1870; fifteenth edition 1995; paperback fifteenth edition 1996. p.844.

[35] I return to Florence Grant and Ludmilla Jordanova's definition of a graphic history as a work in which "any meaningful distinction between 'text' and 'illustration' has vanished", which I quoted in Chapter 3: Case Study. Grant and Jordanova, Introduction, in *Writing Visual Histories*, eds. Grant, F., and Jordanova, L., London: Bloomsbury, 2020, p.13.

[36] I took "extend" and "subvert" from Ward, A., 'William Blake and his circle', in Eaves, M. (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to William Blake*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, pp.19-36. Quote from p.26.

[37] Some believe that there is a window dedicated to William Shaw somewhere in this church; for an example, see Winn, C., *I Never Knew That about England's Country Churches*, London: Random House, 2014, p.85. Possible sources of confusion may include the west window and a tablet dedicated to Reverend Richard Wilson. The west window is dedicated to Shaw's daughter and her husband, and depicts the Ascension of Jesus. There is a memorial tablet on the wall, dedicated to Shaw's one-time business partner, Reverend Wilson, "erected in token of their gratitude and respect, by his surviving pupils" (which can be read on the tablet in the church, but is easier to read in Mallet, D., and Dinsdale, F., *The Ballad of Edwin and Emma, A New Edition*, London: George Bell, 1849. Available at: https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/The_ballad_of_Edwin_and_Emma/IVIEAAAAQAAJ?hl=en [Accessed 13 July 2021.]). For more details on the church itself, see Historic England's listing. Historic England, 'Church of St Giles', list entry number 1323050. Available at: https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1323050?section=official-list-entry [Accessed 26 July 2022.]

[38] For planetary associations and some correspondences, see Carr-Gomm, P., and Heygate, R., *The Book of English Magic*, originally published London: John Murray/ Hachette UK, 2009; this edition London, Hodder & Stoughton Ltd, 2014, pp.283-289.

For a more in-depth look at intentions and correspondences, involving Western zodiac signs associated with the planets, see Conway, D., *Magic: An Occult Primer*, originally published London: Jonathan Cape Ltd., 1972; this edition London: Granada Publishing Limited/ Mayflower Books Ltd., 1976, pp.111-118. See also Barrett, F., *The Magus, or Celestial Intelligencer, being a Complete System of Occult Philosophy*, London: Lackington, Allen & Co., 1801; this edition Glastonbury: The Lost Library, 2016, pp.126-127, for a chart incorporating the planets and some of their associations.

For a broad range of images of ancient Egyptian artefacts, with exploration of relevant beliefs, see Gahlin, L., *Gods, Rites, Rituals and Religion of Ancient Egypt*, London: Lorenz Books (an imprint of Anness Publishing Ltd), 2011 (originally published as *Egypt: Gods, Myths and Religion*, 2001).

[39] Which I posted to Instagram on 28 March 2020. https://www.instagram.com/p/B-RskawHDHM/

[40] See Kirkpatrick, R. J., *Charles Dickens, Nicholas Nickleby and the Yorkshire Schools: Fact v Fiction.* Middleton-in-Teesdale: Mosaic (Teesdale) Ltd., 2017, pp.16-19 for descriptions of brimstone and treacle at other schools; and p.105 for an account of an ex-pupil (which originally appeared in *Tit-Bits*, 14 June 1890, p.12) who discusses "the great basin, with either Mrs S. or one of the daughters. But, then, it was done at every school in Yorkshire in those days. … once we tried to get hold of the basin and have a feed". Brimstone is another name for sulphur, and contemporary medical publications recommend using treacle or honey to make it more palatable; for instance, in *J. Davies & Co.'s Catalogue of Drugs, Chemicals, &c.* (1835), it can be used as a laxative, to cure the itch (scabies, mentioned in Richard Jones's evidence during the ophthalmia trials), and to increase perspiration (p.46). Davies, J., *J. Davies & Co.'s Catalogue of Drugs, Chemicals, &c.*, Bath: Henry Edmund Carrington, 1835. Available at: https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/J_Davies_Co_s_Catalogue_of_Drugs_Chemica/zlVKGSv3E4AC?hl=en [Accessed 26 July 2022.]

[41] Gettings said that Sun-type people were likely to have "creative or artistic ability … a physical dignity and self-reliance … a generous, affectionate and commanding nature" but could also be "showy, ostentatious, overconfident, egotistical and selfish", and that solar people can allegedly "transmit [energies] for the benefit of those around them" and "seek positions where power, dignity and responsibility may be combined". (Gettings, F., *Encyclopedia of the Occult: A guide to every aspect of occult lore, belief, and practice*, London: Book Club Associates by arrangement with Century Hutchinson, 1986, pp.213-214)

In her position in the Shaw household, and possibly managing the domestic organisation of the Academy, Bridget could have had a high level of authority and responsibility, in which she would have overseen the care of those around her, and presumably worked for their benefit.

[42] The exception here is Kirkpatrick, who briefly mentioned some of them, such as Sarah Elgey, who married George Clarkson (see p.159 for their marriage and p.162 for their school's adverts, where Sarah taught girls as George taught boys) and who later married Thomas Grainger Coates (see pp.265-268). The majority of Kirkpatrick's references to schoolmasters' wives seems to be in the context of when the schoolmasters married, and any resulting offspring, rather than investigations into the women and their experiences. Kirkpatrick, R. J.,

Charles Dickens, Nicholas Nickleby and the Yorkshire Schools: Fact v Fiction. Middleton-in-Teesdale: Mosaic (Teesdale) Ltd., 2017.

[43] Barrett, E., *Characterisation, context, and contemporary considerations*, 2019, pp.15-19; in this essay, I show Charley surrounded by flames.

[44] Quote from Barrett, F., *The Magus, or Celestial Intelligencer, being a Complete System of Occult Philosophy*, London: Lackington, Allen & Co., 1801; this edition Glastonbury: The Lost Library, 2016, p.84. On p.161, Francis Barrett (I do not know whether he is a distant relative or not) described talismans of Mars for causing fear in others, and for "obtaining boldness, courage, and good fortune, in wars and contentions". Conway gives the intentions for Mars rituals as "Discord, to cause", "Friendship, to disrupt", "Military success", and "War … to cause". Conway, D., *Magic: An Occult Primer*, originally published London: Jonathan Cape Ltd., 1972; this edition London: Granada Publishing Limited/ Mayflower Books Ltd., 1976, pp.112-113. See also Gettings, F., *Encyclopedia of the Occult: A guide to every aspect of occult lore, belief, and practice*, London: Book Club Associates by arrangement with Century Hutchinson, 1986, pp.141-142.

[45] I posted this illustration to Instagram on 4 May 2020. https://www.instagram.com/p/B_xcCORHpgM/

[46] According to Joyce Tyldesley, the goddess Ma'at (also spelt Maat) "represented harmony and world order" (p.19) and is "the personification of the concept of 'rightness' or non-chaos" (p.47); her feather is "the symbol of truth and justice" (pp.163-164).

The concept of order (as opposed to chaos) is also known as *ma'at* or *maat*, and Tyldesley wrote that, among other dualities, "the conflict between chaos (*isfet*) and order (*maat*) was fundamental to Egyptian thought. Chaos is simple for us to understand; in ancient Egypt the concept included such 'non-right' things as illness, injustice, crime and the unusual (i.e. non-Egyptian) behaviour of foreigners. *Maat* is a more difficult concept; the opposite of *isfet* with no equivalent English name, it may be defined as a powerful combination of rightness, the status quo, control and justice." (pp.28-29) Tyldesley, J., *The Penguin Book of Myths & Legends of Ancient Egypt*, London: Penguin Books, 2011.

[47] For discussion of comparisons between William Shaw and Wackford Squeers, see Kirkpatrick, R. J., *Charles Dickens, Nicholas Nickleby and the Yorkshire Schools: Fact v Fiction.* Middleton-in-Teesdale: Mosaic (Teesdale) Ltd., 2017, pp.112-117. I use the black orb - a motif I initially borrowed from Ben Wheatley's 2013 film *A Field In England* - as a recurring image in my PhD work and my personal work; I sometimes use it to refer to my own psychological unease. *A Field In England,* [Film], London: Film4 and Rook Films, 2013.

[48] In addition to associations with time and death, Fred Gettings described Saturn's links with materialism and limitation; Saturnine people can be "practical, patient, reliable, prudent and honest, if a little austere … emotionally cold or despondent, narrow in outlook, and subject to melancholia", sometimes needing to engage in "activities demanding control and organizational [sic] ability". (Gettings, F., *Encyclopedia of the Occult: A guide to every aspect of occult lore, belief, and practice*, London: Book Club Associates by arrangement with Century Hutchinson, 1986, p.190.)

In my interpretation, William's adverts suggest that he probably wished to appear dependable and responsible, but I interpret some things - such as the Shaw/ Brooks letters, and the incident that I explored in *Disorder* - as hinting that he may have been "subject to melancholia". Running a school (in addition to his other activities, such as dabbling in setting up a chapel, and acquiring a substantial amount of property, see Kirkpatrick, *Fact v Fiction*, p.83) would require orderliness and efficiency, which may appeal to a Saturnine William.

[49] Gettings listed Mars' attributes including intense physicality and energy, and a Martian person's potential tendencies were said to be "courageous, enterprising, confident, active and proud … rough, reckless, destructive and self-centred" and that such people required "activities demanding the exertion of physical energy, and especially in connection with activities which give rapid results". (Gettings, F., *Encyclopedia of the Occult: A guide to every aspect of occult lore, belief, and practice*, London: Book Club Associates by arrangement with Century Hutchinson, 1986, pp.141-142)

In my interpretation, particularly as I developed Charley in contrast to William using Blake's concepts of the Imagination and Reason respectively, as a character that I created, Charley is very active and enthusiastic in comparison to his employer's reserve. For further

examples, see Barrett, E., *Characterisation, context, and contemporary considerations*, 2019.

[50] Walker, J., 'Antonio Foscarini in the City of Crossed Destinies', in Munslow, A., and Rosenstone, R. A. (eds.), *Experiments in Rethinking History*, Abingdon: Routledge, 2004, pp.124-155. Originally published in *Rethinking History* journal, vol. 5, no. 2, 2001, pp.305-334.

[51] Walker, J., 'Antonio Foscarini in the City of Crossed Destinies', in Munslow, A., and Rosenstone, R. A. (eds.), *Experiments in Rethinking History*, Abingdon: Routledge, 2004, pp.124-155. Originally published in *Rethinking History* journal, vol. 5, no. 2, 2001, pp.305-334. p.125 of *Experiments in Rethinking History.*

[52] For the Tarot used as a game, see Walker's notes on p.154; for "ambassadors and spies, interpreting political information was an occult science akin to cartomancy", see p.152 of Walker, J., 'Antonio Foscarini in the City of Crossed Destinies', in Munslow, A., and Rosenstone, R. A. (eds.), *Experiments in Rethinking History*, Abingdon: Routledge, 2004, pp.124-155. Originally published in *Rethinking History* journal, vol. 5, no. 2, 2001, pp.305-334.

[53] "Comparisons involving specific themes, subjects and symbols lie at the heart of visual analysis, as we know from scholarly traditions of iconography." Jordanova, L., *The Look of the Past: Visual and Material Evidence in Historical Practice*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, p.218.

[54] Zinsser, J. P., 'A prologue for La Dame d'Espirit: a biography of the marquise Du Châtelet' in Munslow, A., and Rosenstone, R. A., (eds.) *Experiments in Rethinking History*, Routledge: Abingdon, 2004, pp.195-208. p.201.

[55] After discussing how a client is likely to (sometimes unwittingly) reveal "much of themselves, their current preoccupations and their hopes and plans", which a card-reader can explore "without seeming to do so", Richard Cavendish said that this was "assisted by the vague and woolly nature of fortune-telling language, which makes it easy for an inquirer to fit [them]self and [their] past, present and future into a loosely-worded observation which could apply equally well to many other people and situations." Cavendish, R., *The Tarot*, originally published London: Michael Joseph Ltd, 1975; this edition London: Chancellor Press, 1986, pp.150-151.

[56] Fiebig, J., 'A Talking Mirror: Visual Language & the Creation of Meaning', in Hundley, J., (ed.), *The Library of Esoterica: Tarot*, Köln: Taschen, 2020, pp.504-507. Quote from pp.506-507. On pp.506-507, Fiebig deployed a useful metaphor in which the cards are like a street with a number of people on it, "every person seeing this street differently. The physical act of seeing, which depends on each viewer's height, angle of vision, visual acuity, etc., all result in very different perceptions of the same street", which will also be influenced by "[p]ersonal experiences and attitudes", "[s]pecific interests", "current moods and personal habits, your personal grades of openness, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, neuroticism, and many other factors". This metaphor can be applied to history, and how each researcher will understand the same traces of the past differently, in (sometimes unacknowledged) connection with their own personal circumstances.

[57] Southgate, B., 'In Search of Ariadne's Thread', in Munslow, A. (ed.), *Authoring the Past: Writing and Rethinking History*, Abingdon: Routledge, 2013, pp.153-164. Originally published in *Rethinking History*, vol.9, no.1, 2005, pp.91-104. Quote from pp.153-154.

[58] For examples of eighteenth century woodcuts, see Ashton, J., *Chap-books of the eighteenth century*, London: Chatto and Windus, 1882. Available at https://archive.org/details/chapbooksofeight00asht [Accessed 20 July 2021.]

[59] I eventually made 24 cards that could be interpreted as Major Arcana, including two variants of the Magician(s) and two of the Moon. Some of these Major-Arcana-type cards exist as what I refer to as 'split' cards, in which two images share a single card, halved.

[60] Hundley described the Tarot's "obscure" histories as "a web of mysteries", full of uncertainty and conjecture. Hundley, J., (ed.), *The Library of Esoterica: Tarot*, Köln: Taschen, 2020, p.13. I discuss the historical sublime briefly in Chapter 2: Case Study, and then more thoroughly in Chapter 5 and the Conclusion.



[61] Cavendish, R., *The Tarot*, originally published London: Michael Joseph Ltd, 1975; this edition London: Chancellor Press, 1986, p.150; see also pp.173-174 for shuffling methods.

[62] For example, in addition to renumbering and renaming several Major Arcana cards, Court de Gébelin turned the Hanged Man upside down and titled it “Prudence”; however, Arthur Edward Waite described the Hanged Man as having been “falsely” understood through various previous explanations, but ultimately claims that “we may exhaust all published interpretations and find only vanity” before explaining that, for him, “it expresses the relation, in one of its aspects, between the Divine and the Universe”.

Court de Gébelin, A., and Tyson, D. (translation in English), *Du Jeu des Tarots*, from Court de Gébelin, A., *Le Monde Primitif, analysé et comparé avec le monde moderne (“The Primitive World, analysed and compared with the modern world”)*, vol. 8, book 1, (1781, Paris) Available at: https://web.archive.org/web/20111004232937/http://www.donaldtyson.com/gebelin.html [Accessed 27 March 2022.] Waite, A., E., *The Pictorial Key to the Tarot, Being Fragments of a Secret Tradition under the Veil of Divination*, London: William Rider & Son, 1910. Available at: https://secureservercdn.net/198.71.233.138/16i.962.myftpupload.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/Pictorial-Key-to-the-Tarot.pdf [Accessed 27 March 2022.]

[63] Ouspensky, P. D., *The Symbolism of the Tarot*, (originally published 1913; London: Bibliotech Press, 2012), quoted on p.10 of Hundley, J., (ed.), *The Library of Esoterica: Tarot*, Köln: Taschen, 2020.

[64] In Walker’s Afterword to ‘Antonio Foscarini in the city of crossed destinies’, he said that “[m]eaning does not inhere automatically in events but it may be put there by participants as well as by retrospective interpreters.” p.152 in Walker, J., ‘Antonio Foscarini in the City of Crossed Destinies’, in Munslow, A., and Rosenstone, R. A. (eds.), *Experiments in Rethinking History*, Abingdon: Routledge, 2004, pp.124-155. Originally published in *Rethinking History* journal, vol. 5, no. 2, 2001, pp.305-334.

[65] Cavendish, R., *The Tarot*, originally published London: Michael Joseph Ltd, 1975; this edition London: Chancellor Press, 1986. p.150

[66] In the literature accompanying *(U)KA*, I encouraged the audience to make their own, and included blank cards that they could use if they wished. On pp.9-10, I specifically directed the audience towards Wikipedia’s *Tarot of Marseilles* page, explaining that it was my main reference for the visual style of my cards, in addition to “cards like these [being] likely to have been used around the time of my case study” (Barrett, E., *(Un)Known Associates*, 2023).



Dodal, J. (publisher), Major Arcana Tarot cards, c.1701-1715, woodcut printed ink on card with hand-colouring. Available at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tarot_of_Marseilles [Accessed 7 March 2022.]

[67] Kroll, M., ‘The Oracle Divine’, p.36 in Hundley, J., (ed.), *The Library of Esoterica: Tarot*, Köln: Taschen, 2020. p.36.

[68] Cohen, A., *Remedios Varo's Surrealist Paintings Inspire Witches and Academics*, *Artsy*, 2018. Available at: https://www.artsy.net/article/artsy-editorial-surrealists-paintings-inspire-witches-academics-alike [Accessed 10 May 2023.]

[69] Alina Cohen mentioned Ricki O'Rawe's interpretation of a journey narrative in "a 1961 triptych called *Weaving the Earth's Mantle*". Cohen, A., *Remedios Varo's Surrealist Paintings Inspire Witches and Academics*, *Artsy*, 2018. Available at: https://www.artsy.net/article/artsy-editorial-surrealists-paintings-inspire-witches-academics-alike [Accessed 10 May 2023.]

The first painting Cohen described is *Hacia La Torre* (*Towards The Tower*), followed by *Bordando el Manto Terrestre* (*Embroidering the Earth's Mantle*), and *La Huida* (*The Flight*).

Varo, R., *Hacia La Torre* [*Towards The Tower*], 1960, oil on masonite, private collection. Available at: https://www.wikiart.org/en/remedios-varo/towards-the-tower [Accessed 10 May 2023.]

Varo, R., *Bordando el Manto Terrestre* [*Embroidering the Earth's Mantle*], 1961, oil on masonite, private collection. Available at: https://www.arthistoryproject.com/artists/remedios-varo/embroidering-the-earths-mantle/ [Accessed 1 June 2023.]

Varo, R., *La Huida* [*The Flight*], 1961, oil on masonite, at Museo De Arte Moderno, Mexico City. Available at: https://www.wikiart.org/en/remedios-varo/the-flight [Accessed 10 May 2023.]

[70] For journeys, see *El Vagabundo* (*The Vagabond*) or *La Expedicion Del Aqua Aurea* (*Expedition Aqua Aurea*). *Visita al cirujano plástico* (*Visit to the plastic surgeon*, 1960) suggests transformation. An anthropomorphic owl-like character works to create birds in *Creacion de las Aves* (*Creation of the Birds*) while *El Gato Helecho* (*The Fern Cat*) is a composite of feline and plant lifeforms.

Varo, R., *El Vagabundo* [*The Vagabond*], 1957, oil on masonite, private collection. Available at: https://www.wikiart. org/en/remedios-varo/vagabond-1 [Accessed 10 May 2023.]

Varo, R., *La Expedicion Del Aqua Aurea* [*Expedition Aqua Aurea*], 1962, oil on canvas, private collection. Available at: https://www.wikiart.org/en/remedios-varo/expedition-aqua-aurea [Accessed 10 May 2023.]

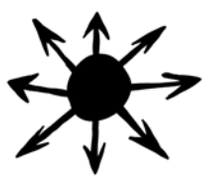
Varo, R., *Creacion de las Aves* [*Creation of the Birds*], 1957, oil on masonite, at Museo De Arte Moderno, Mexico City. Available at: https://www.wikiart.org/en/remedios-varo/creation-of-the-birds [Accessed 10 May 2023.]

Varo, R., *El Gato Helecho* [*The Fern Cat*], 1957, oil on canvas, private collection. Available at: https://www.wikiart.org/en/remedios-varo/the-fern-cat [Accessed 10 May 2023.]

[71] For more on Parent's tableaux boxes, see Mahon, A., 'Obituary: Mimi Parent: Provocative artist who kept alive the spirit of surrealism', *The Guardian*, 6 July 2005. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/news/2005/jul/06/guardianobituaries.artsobituaries [Accessed 10 May 2023.] For examples of Parent's work, see McLean, A. (no date) *Paintings of Mimi Parent*, *The Surrealism Website*. Available at: https://surrealism.website/Mimi%20Parent.html [Accessed 10 May 2023.]

[72] *The Times* quoted William Jones as saying that "The pot-skimmings were called broth, and we used to have it for tea on Sunday; one of the ushers offered a penny a piece for every maggot, and there was a pot-full gathered: he never gave it them." "Court Of Common Pleas, Guildhall, Oct. 30." *The Times*, Friday 31 October 1823, issue 12017. *The Times Digital Archive.*

[73] Moorcock's work features conflict between the forces of Law and Chaos, and he described the chaos star as "eight arrows representing all possibilities" and "diversity" compared against "one arrow representing the single, certain road of Law" and "the kind of mind who believes there is only one version of the truth". Quotes from Moorcock, M., interviewed by Arias, B., and Storch, J., *Origin of the multi-arrowed Chaos symbol?*, *Moorcock's Miscellany*, 2007. Available at: https://www.michaelmoorcock.net/forum/q-a/q-a-○-questions-for-mike-news/the-q-a-archives/sporting-club-square-archive/7083-origin-of-the-multi-arrowed-chaos-symbol#post7083 [Accessed 11 May 2023.]





Chapter 6 - Voicelessness

By drawing, I can (literally) draw attention to the voicelessness of the people in my case study, bringing my interpretations of their potential voices into discourse with interpretations of them by historians and other researchers; however, my presence (as the creator of the images, and as a self-inserted character) must not function in a way that further unvoices them.[1]

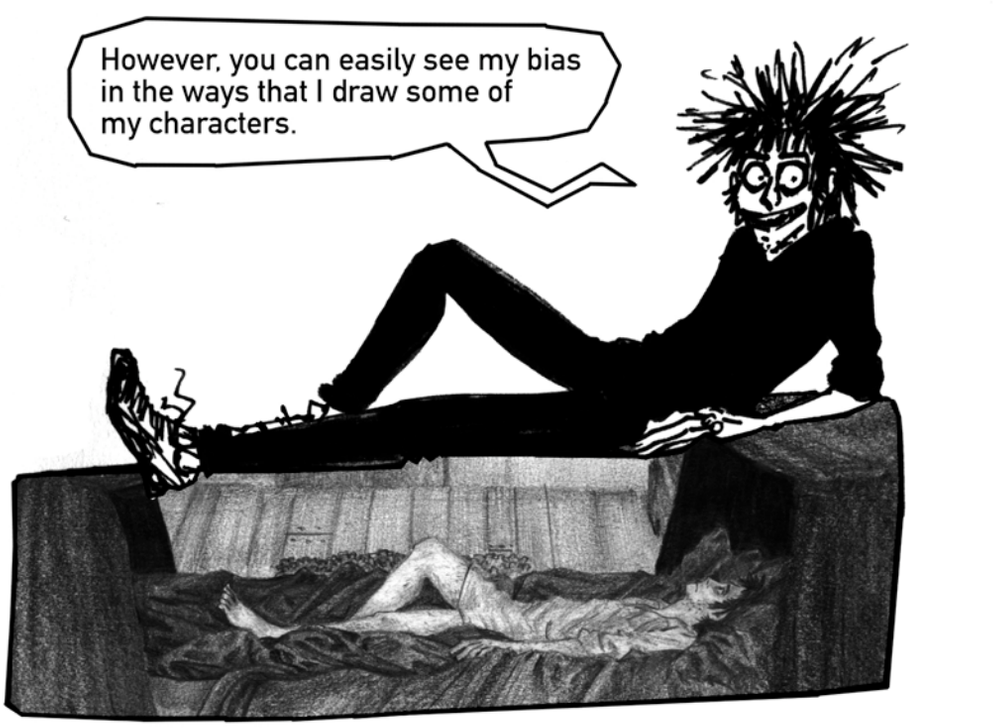
I wanted to focus on an observation by Munslow about how the audience "is likely to be inventing a meaning different to that intended" by the creator of the text they are engaged with.[2] I do not know what any of the people in my case study thought, and I will not claim to know what they thought, but I can make my interpretations of them communicate ideas that the audience may or may not decide to be plausible.[3]

I also wondered whether voicelessness in history should be limited to focussing on the people echoed in traces of the past, and the resulting characters in history-communications. In my work, I wanted to extend the range of voices in history to include those of the audience, empowering them to create their own interpretations. (However, as I have not yet tested my ideas with a live audience, I know that I still have work to do on this front before I can fully evaluate it.)

Disorder is concerned with the multiplicity of (narrative) interpretations, and, rather than suggesting more explicitly what I might like the viewer to believe in the manner of most historians, my project goes further by actively encouraging the audience to create their own interpretations. I wanted to encourage the audience to act like historians, trying to make sense of the images, rather than being guided (and, to a certain extent, controlled) by writing, such as the main body of the text and any captions. Likening the images to "traces in the historical record", I encouraged the viewer to analyse

and interpret them, “comparing and contrasting them with the rest of the book and with sources outside the book”.[4] I also wanted the audience to understand that their interpretations would vary, and that there is “no right or wrong interpretation”.[5] As there is no finality in history, there is no finality in *Disorder.*

I did not state what my ‘true’ intentions may be for the narrative/s shown in *Disorder*. The number of narratives will change, depending on the



viewer, and on their situation when they view (and re-view) the comic; I chose to do this partly to emulate how we can never access the ‘true’ intentions of the creator of any trace of the past, and how my own ideas shift and change. When I started the project, I considered *Disorder*’s most significant function to be as a vehicle for exploring the effects of a certain situation on a specific individual (William) and the affect that has on the establishment that he presides over. However, I would now say that *Disorder* is still (superficially)

about that, but has a greater focus on allowing the viewer to interpret the images for themself, as a historian would interpret their sources.

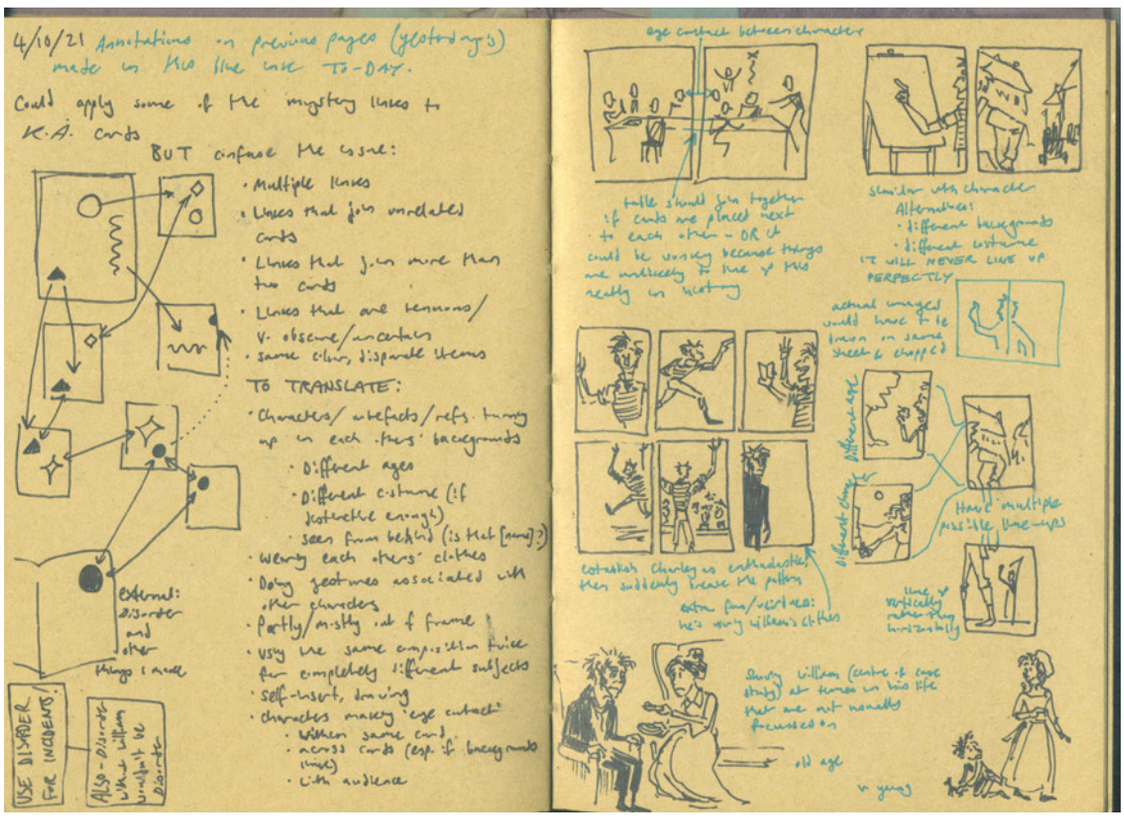
I openly invited multiple interpretations of *Disorder*, a decision reflected in the attitudes of other practitioners and researchers. In an interview with Annie Nocenti, author-illustrator Edward Gorey described his reaction to multiple interpretations of his work: “I always feel, ‘what you see is what you get,’ but if you want to read something into it, then you can.” He then described how readers would approach him and tell him “something completely bizarre” about what his work is about, “And I’ll think, ‘If that’s what you want to see, it’s okay by me.’”[6] Frank Ankersmit, comparing novelists to conventional historians, said that presenting things to the reader and allowing them to make their own conclusions is the reason “why the (great) novel is endlessly reinterpretable and why the (great) novel resembles life itself. The historian, on the other hand, always aims for explicitness and wishes the text to be as unambiguous and as resistant to multiple interpretations as possible.”[7] This demonstrates a distinction between my work and that of more orthodox historians.

The format of *Disorder* empowers the reader to experiment with interpreting and manipulating images in a space where they can, I hope, feel free to participate imaginatively with the illustrations. The images take up the entire page, and I intended them to be printed at full bleed, although this is at the discretion of the user; this lack of margin encourages the viewer to experience a sense of immersion in the world(s) presented in the illustrations. (However, printing the pages with a margin would allow for the viewer to draw their own extensions to the images, and to add their own notes.) As a graphic history, it looks like a comic, which may initially dissuade some viewers from taking it seriously. Hugo Frey and Benjamin Noys mentioned that “comics are

not generally considered to be legitimate objects of cultural analysis" and quoted Art Spiegelman saying "the word comics brings to mind the notion that they have to be funny" - however, *Disorder*'s theoretical underpinnings distance it from prevailing expectations of 'comics' and move it into the area of experimental historiography.[8] As I mentioned on p.46, Frey and Noys suggested that the "particular hybrid form of the graphic novel might offer a testing place to probe the limits of history and historiography" and that "the graphic novel is something good to think with and precisely where we might start to rethink history".[9] This appraisal appears to endorse *Disorder* as an innovative historiographical experiment.

To return to Ludmilla Jordanova's insight into the "veritable explosion of interest among historians in recent times in thinking visually" (which I previously mentioned in Chapter 1: Methodology, on p.49) they may not be accustomed to being advised to print off their own copies of a work, cut it up, and rearrange it to make new narratives.[10] Using *Disorder*, I aimed to disrupt the boundaries around who is traditionally permitted to create interpretations and narratives: as I refuse to hide behind a wall of writing and proclaim a pretence of objectivity, so I want the viewer to break the fourth wall from their side of it, to reach into the book and manipulate it as they see fit. In part due to the need for the viewer themself to interpret the narratives, rather than being told what conclusions they should come to, *Disorder* satirically "frustrat[es] normal expectations about the kinds of resolutions provided by stories cast in the other modes", to borrow the words of Hayden White; it could be compared against his descriptions of the four modes of narrative emplotment (Romance, Comedy, Tragedy, and Satire).[11] The viewer decides how the narratives play out. They can rearrange the images, and take them away or add new ones, to make their narratives function according to their personal preferences.

Like *Disorder*, I designed *(Un)Known Associates)* to require the viewer to imagine possible narratives based on their interpretations of the images on the cards. I supplied no narrative, but I deliberately placed clues in the cards that could suggest links between them. I based this on a strategy used by author W. G. Sebald, whose work flowed conversationally from topic to topic via



seemingly inconsequential or random connections. Some of these are completely separate events, not presented in chronological order; for instance, in *The Rings of Saturn*, he began chapter seven with a brief mention of a walk to Dunwich Heath, which prompted a history of ancient British forests, with a discussion of the continual exploitation of forests by humans, the use of combustion in industry, “luminance” as a metaphor for the nature of “human civilization [sic]”, an apparently first-hand description of a fire consuming the vegetation of a Greek island, and, with the arrival of the next paragraph, the anonymous narrator left Dunwich.[12]

I designed the images on some of the cards to fit together, but never to line up perfectly; as historians can interpret traces of the past as presenting competing or contrasting views to historians' questions, and as those traces will never suggest a single story, so the cards will never present a coherent image.[13] For example, three cards show parts of William's body in various states, and can be 'read' any way up. One shows him and Charley alarmed in the schoolyard. This is a completely imagined incident, but it is highly likely that he and his staff intervened in playground disturbances. This can be compared with Rosenstone's aims for understanding history films (another way of doing history visually), in which he advocates "seeing such works not


some spiders' webs on a bed on fire with a candle, instead of using a brush. The flames communicated from the spiders' webs to the curtains.—On Wednesday night, the 19th inst., as Mr and Mrs Shaw, of Bowes, near Barnard Castle, were returning home, a farmer's cart ran against them, and upset the gig, and broke the springs and arms of the gig. Fortunately Mr and Mrs Shaw did not receive much personal hurt. The driver made his escape, and has not yet been discovered.—On the 25rd inst. at Barnard Castle Wesleyan Methodist chapel, three sermons were preached in aid of the funds; collections were made after each service, amounting to 16l. 17s. 6d.—Dr Doye, the catholic bishop of Kildare, has addressed a let-

just in terms of whether all their individual moments can be verified, but rather in terms of whether their overall portrait or vision has something meaningful

and important to say about our past".[14] Another shows William and Bridget lying in the road, although only presents the right side of William's body, and refers to a road traffic collision in 1828 that the couple were involved in.[15] The third shows William's left leg on his bed, referring to a few pages of *Disorder*, which links the cards to the comic, and encourages the viewer to cross-reference the two projects in order to play with their interpretations of both.



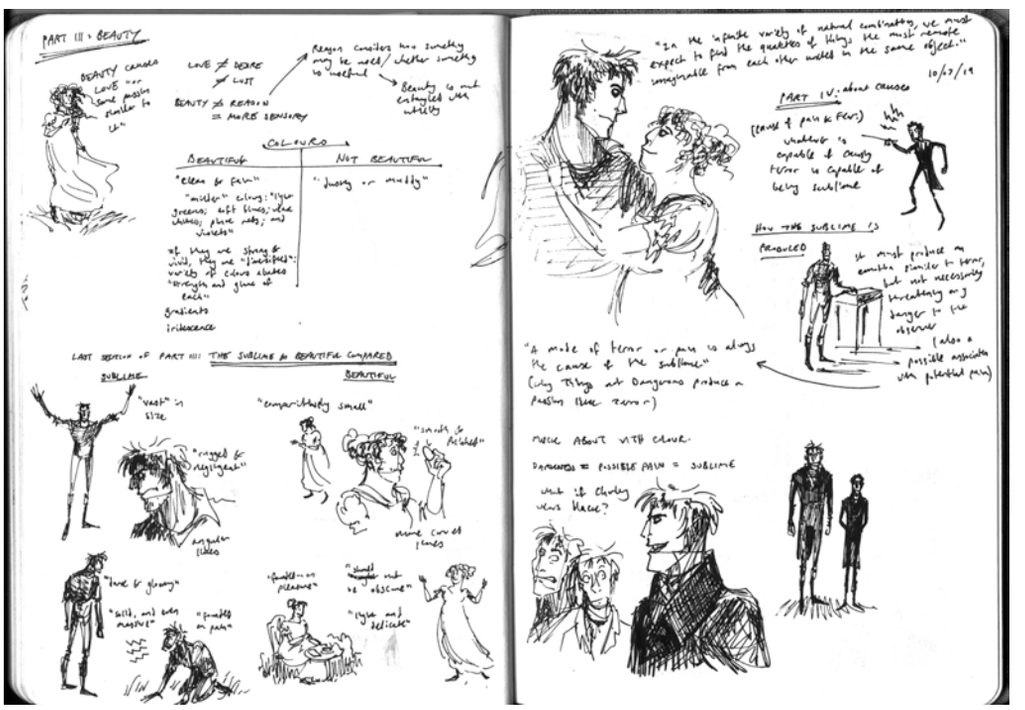
When creating the characters, I used visual contrasts to suggest my interpretations of what their originals might have been like.[16] Aiming to engage the viewer's curiosity about Bridget and Ann, I deliberately designed these two characters with the intention that they may be understood as potentially preferable to their husbands.

Neither Bridget Shaw nor Ann Mackay are likely to have been taught to write in their early education, as both signed their marriage documents with an X mark; this is pure conjecture and wishful thinking, but I hope that they learnt later, possibly with help from their schoolmaster husbands. As far as I am aware, there is nothing attested to them (suggestive of their experiences)

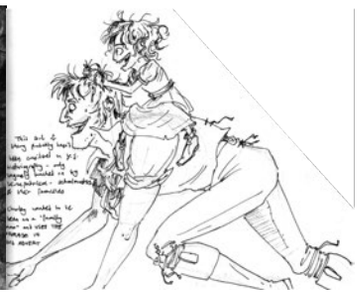
extant in the historical record.



Upon later appraisal of my character designs, I noticed that my four major characters (William, Bridget, Charley, and Ann) leant towards an unfortunate reliance on binaries, which may appear to tolerate traditional and outdated understandings of gender and comparable categories that could be interpreted as "either/or".[17] Not only did this occur by contrasting Bridget and







Ann with their husbands, but by contrasting William against Charley as personifications of the Blakean concepts of Reason and Imagination. However, my contrast between the women and their husbands may be the more problematic issue here: I portray Bridget and Ann (somewhat one-sidedly) as pleasant and good-natured, while I portray the two men as less likeable but more complex. A potential solution could call in multiplicity: for instance, using a network of multiple contrasts in the creation of characters.



One of the ways in which I intended to contrast Bridget with William occurred in *Disorder*. I wanted to use her visual language to comment on whose experiences get to survive in traces of the past and are created in subsequent histories: traditionally, if William had recorded anything about the incident explored in *Disorder*, his perspective (as a relatively affluent man) would probably have had a higher chance of surviving in the historical record, whereas Bridget's perspective (as a woman who



signed her marriage document with an X) would have been more likely to have been lost.[18] In my representation, Bridget's pages are much brighter and clearer than William's pages. I wanted to imply that her experiences are more vibrant and more likely to engage an audience, as are her daughter's.

Mary Ann Shaw, the eldest of William and Bridget's children, is likely to have already held some responsibility in the household, most probably helping her mother look after her siblings, and possibly assisting with the domestic side of the school.[19] I wondered how the added strain on her parents may have affected her. In terms of how the characters are drawn, Mary Ann's visual language more closely resembles her father's (which, in turn, resembles mine) while her colours and media more closely reflect those that I assigned to her mother, partly suggesting that they occupied the same domestic environment.

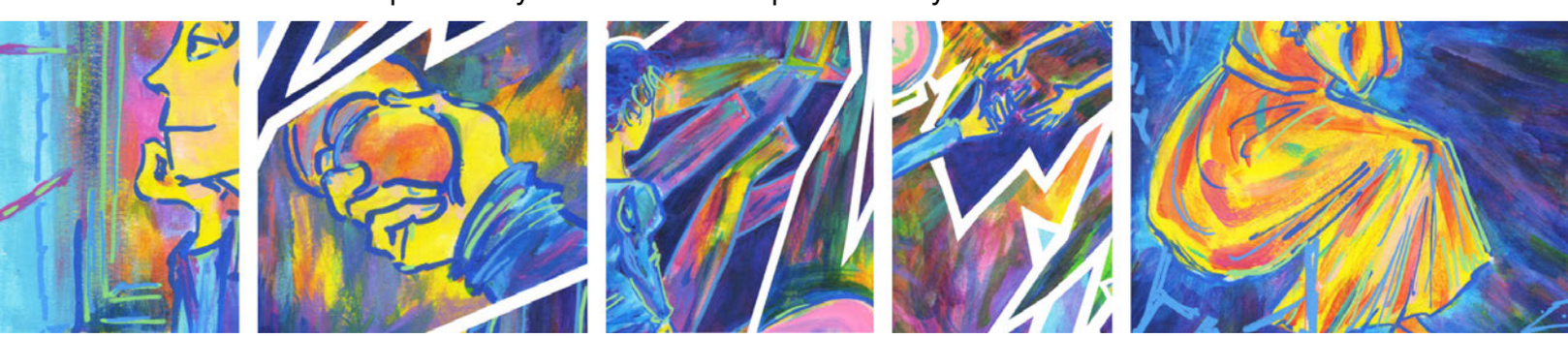
I represented Mary Ann, aged about ten or eleven at the time when *Disorder* is set, as initially optimistic, and used bright acrylic paint for her visual

language. This medium allowed for both clarity and obscurity in marks, and gradually dimmed to include bluer hues and darker tones as her father's health declined and the atmosphere in the house became more melancholy. I avoided



black due to its common connotations of negativity and death, and its ability to dull other colours. I also wanted to disorientate the viewer with the dissonance between the cheerful colours and the increasing confusion and misery I depicted.

Further into the comic, I made more energetic marks on Mary Ann's pages, as the situation began to affect her more; I represented her involved in circumstances in which she would have to take more responsibility in caring for her siblings, while her awareness increased that her parents' circumstances could potentially result in the collapse of family life as she knows it. I tried to



communicate a sense of uncertainty by making Mary Ann's marks increasingly abstract; intending to indicate that not only is her immediate situation ambiguous, and the content of *Disorder* itself speculative, but history is generally unclear, and that we can never have irrefutably definite facts about personal experiences.

I chose to make *Disorder* mostly wordless to allow the viewer greater freedom to interpret it in their own way. The overall lack of written words can allow the audience to insert their own, to decide what the characters are saying and how they are saying it. It may make *Disorder* more appealing to a broader audience.[20] It also facilitates the cutting up and rearranging of the comic, as the scenes are not tied in a particular sequence by the order of the words; they can be repositioned and not be encumbered by incongruent sentences.[21]

If I had included more words (such as in speech bubbles or captions), then these words would have driven the narratives depicted in certain directions, which is an effect I hoped to avoid. Harriet E. H. Earle said

> silent comics allow the events to be presented without comment, involving the reader to a much higher degree … The removal of words, then, can assist the author in the creation of the text, while simultaneously creating a disturbing textual experience that unnerves the reader.[22]

This unnerving experience could push the reader to try creating their own narratives and interpretations to make sense of what they are seeing.[23] *Disorder* may not be comfortable reading for some viewers because there are very few written clues as to how it is 'meant' to be interpreted. The audience must act like historians, considering the images, comparing them and cross-referencing them, with other images elsewhere in the comic, and with external sources; for example, they may recognise how certain illustrations contain references to artefacts from material and visual culture associated with attitudes towards death in early 19th century England.[24]

I showed only two characters speaking using words: William (p.2, p.5, and p.41) and Jane (p.41). (All page numbers in this paragraph refer to my original pagination for *Disorder*, which, as stated previously, is subject to rearrangement by its user.) Other characters speak (for instance, Mary Ann on p.10) but their speech bubbles contain images rather than written words. I

occasionally included written words elsewhere - as a title or subtitle in Bridget's visual language on p.6, the phrase on the plaque in Mary Ann's visual language on p.21, and in fragments of newspaper text in the boys' visual language on p.20, p.25, and p.36 - but I did not depict these as direct speech.

Both characters who 'speak' using written words do so only in William's visual language. I have already discussed William's speech in Chapter 3: Case Study (pp.127-128), and will now focus on that of Jane, William and Bridget's four-year-old daughter, who died in 1820.

I drew the third and final instance of written speech in *Disorder* on p.41, in a conversation between William and Jane. I intentionally premeditated her arrival using images of a portrait of her (which William and Bridget may have had, which I have no evidence for or against) that appears on numerous pages in multiple characters' visual languages. My characterisation of Jane as an angel is based on William's letter informing the parents of George Brooks that their son had died at the school, in which the schoolmaster attempted to offer solace to the boy's parents:

> … I have no doubt his happy spirit is now with the one I lost some time since, and that both are now better provided for, than being here below … I sympathise very much with Mrs Brooks and Yourself as your feelings will be indescribable, but the thought of having a little Angel in heaven, how consoling, when calm reason resumes her seat again …[25]

I presume that Jane is the "one [William] lost some time since", as she was the only one of William and Bridget's children to have died by the time that her father wrote to the Brooks family in 1826.

I did not base Jane's speech on any extant documentation, but on how I imagined she may - or may not - have spoken. Her first utterance ("Hullo, Papa!") immediately establishes the relationship between her and William, while his astonished response ("J-Jane?!") names her, acknowledging her as the lost child, and encouraging the audience to search for her in extant records

(such as the Bowes parish register and in the churchyard) and in other works featuring William Shaw and his family. Her next utterance could be read with uncertainty regarding when William's narrative takes place; as his life was being "despaired of" by this point, he would not be absolutely certain that he would survive, and so his pages could be interpreted as (my suggestion of) his thoughts on the matter in hindsight.

In William and Jane's speech bubbles, I intended the appearance of the speech itself to factor into the audience's interpretations; Baetens and Frey said "In the graphic novel words are not only meant to be read, but they must be looked at, both in themselves and in relation to the place they occupy in the work."[26] In Walker's *Pistols! Treason! Murder!*, illustrated by Dan Hallett, different characters are assigned different fonts; characters from the 17th century speak in a handwritten serifed font, while the historians in the early 20th century speak in a typewriter-style font that matches the transcripts of their conversations.[27] I drew William's speech in a respectably serifed style, which I considered appropriate to his characterisation and how he (being a schoolmaster) may have wished to see himself. As Jane exists in William's mind, possibly concocted from his memories and imagination, her speech is a variant of this; however, as she is a child, I made her letter-forms more lively and playful. The two characters' speech bubbles follow a similar pattern: William's appears almost rectangular, while Jane's flow in more irregular shapes. By giving Jane's speech an appearance similar to that of her father, I hoped to encourage the audience to consider questions such as whether or not she is completely a figment of his imagination, whether she is speaking how he would remember (or how he would prefer to remember), and whether she is his imagined perception of her or the 'real' Jane, manifesting to console him in a time of despair.


Hullo, Papa!
T-Jane?!
It's not time for you to join me.
Not yet.
Not today.



I gave the final ‘voice’ to some of the boys, who I suspected may have had some speculations over where their schoolmaster had gone and what he was doing, and whether or not he would return. For this group, I developed a visual language based around cut-out paper silhouettes and collage. I thought that a silhouette technique would be appropriate for the boys as it is a contemporary art form that some of the people in my case study would have been able to access (such as the boys’ families, since the majority of them are likely to have originated from middle-class backgrounds), and it also helps to anonymise the people depicted while still ensuring that they appear as distinctive individuals. As the boys in *Disorder* have no specific identity - they are all imaginary - I did not want to assign names or faces to them. This lack of specific identity could encourage the viewer to project their own thoughts onto them, aiding in the empowerment of the audience in interpreting their own narratives from my work.

I framed the main illustration on each of their pages with one of the boys’ heads, emphasising that it is (presented as) a product of their imaginations. I deliberately wanted to give their silhouettes variety to show that there is a group of them. While I refer to them in speech and in writing by the homogenising term ‘the boys’ (common in Yorkshire schools historiography, such as Kirkpatrick’s *Fact v Fiction*), I intended to rehumanise them and so I portray them with individual characteristics, despite the anonymity of their silhouettes.

I made the experiment shown on p.230 when I was looking at Remedios Varo’s work, in the process of working on *(U)KA*.[28] I intended the profusion of mouths, many speaking simultaneously, to suggest multiple voices, multiple stories, and multiple versions of stories. Charley’s mouths are everywhere except the

usual place, symbolically indicating that the viewer is not likely to find the information they seek where they expect it to be.

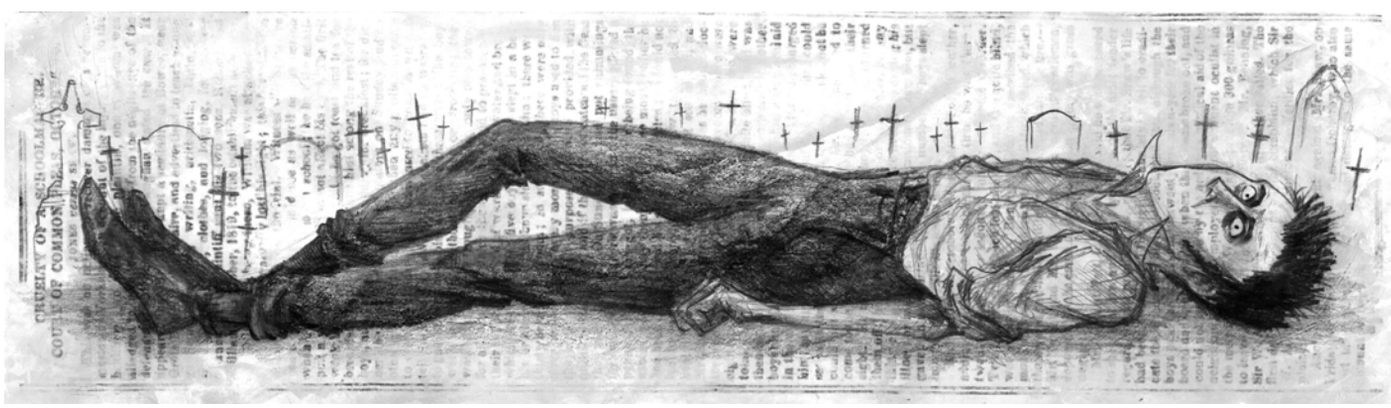
I wanted this to be about one individual who is associated with multiple narratives. I could have chosen any number of people from my case study (the most obvious being William, but I use him for most of my experiments and wanted to try a different character). I decided on Charley, partly because he may have had a hand in gossiping to Dickens and Phiz about William and his school.[29] Another reason I chose him was because of the variety of potential origin stories associated with him - some accounts claim that he was born locally, with at least two villages as possible candidates, while he himself alleged in his adverts to be from London.[30]

I drew him as a ghost, although, as this is a working drawing (intended for me to try out the ideas behind it, rather than an



externally-facing illustration, despite the fact that I later shared a coloured version of it online) I did not make his ghostliness immediately obvious; the shroud-like cloth could be interpreted in that regard, as could the stains on his breeches.[31] Knowledge about Charles Mackay is inexact (except for a few basic statements supported by evidence, such as he taught at Shaw's Academy, and died on October 10th 1849) and, as he is dead, he cannot tell us anything.[32]

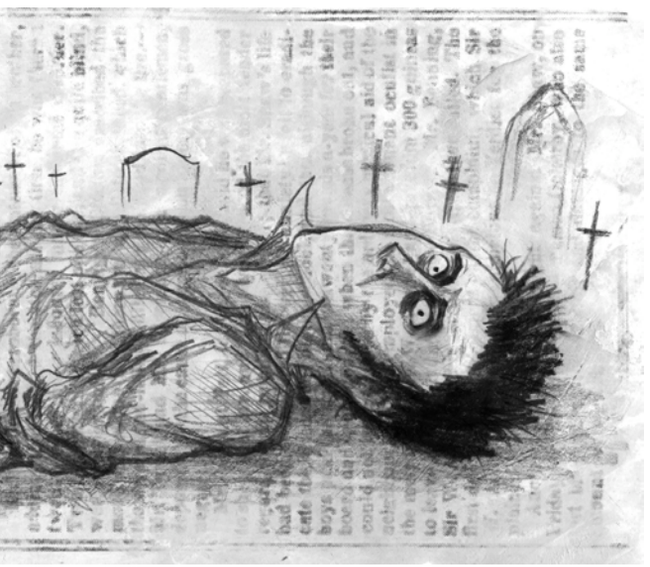
After creating this drawing, I realised that it paired well with another drawing I had already made about voicelessness, in which William lies in a graveyard.



I printed a copy of a contemporary article about the ophthalmia trials, covered it lightly in misty shades of white and pale grey household emulsion, and used pencils and graphite sticks (the media I used for William's visual language in *Disorder*) to draw William in a graveyard once the paint was dry.[33] The graveyard itself is an imaginary arrangement, but I intended the headstones to resemble those belonging to people associated with Bowes Academy: a stone echoing that shared by William, Bridget, and their son, is at his head.[34] I use grave markers repeatedly in my work for multiple purposes; here, they act as reminders that, like the other people in my case study, William Shaw is dead, and cannot tell us anything. They also evoke tangible traces of the past that

are not grounded in words on a page (and are instead monumental markers), and hint towards contemporary ideas about death, mourning, and the afterlife.[35]

I drew him attempting to make 'eye contact' with the audience, gazing out of the image and apparently trying to establish some form of communication, but, combined with his lack of mouth, I hoped to suggest that he cannot make himself (or his thoughts/ words) understood. His uncertain expression is intended to reinforce this, implying that he is aware of the constraints of his situation. This not only reflects his silence in death, but also his silence in the courtroom. As the Jones vs Shaw and Ockerby vs Shaw trials were both tort cases, neither the plaintiffs (the parents of the affected boys) nor William (the defendant) could testify in the legal proceedings.[36] They could confer with their legal teams (which *The Times* said that William did, in the second trial) but the newspaper reports described the more public proceedings of the court.[37]



This illustration could also be physically uncomfortable for the audience to view. If the viewer wants to read William's expression, they tilt their head one way; if they want to read the words, they tilt their head the other way.[38] Focussing on William's face, there is a very indistinct word where his mouth should be. This is "twenty", part of "the small sum of twenty pounds a-year" that the article states the parents and guardians paid for the boys' education. This is not intentional on my part - that is just where I happened to draw his face - but, if we want to interpret something that I did not deliberately put in, it

could be seen as suggesting that William is prioritising his fees over his pupils' health.

In much of my work, I have noticed - usually only on later reflexion - that I tend to depict William in ways that imply a level of vulnerability. In this specific instance, William has lost several items of clothing, and he is on his back. To play with words and social perceptions, he is no longer upright and respectable-looking, which, considering his profession and his (projected) position in society, he probably would not approve of. I do not know exactly why I draw him in apparently vulnerable positions; it may be an expression of empathy, an attempt to make remote historical figures more resonant and relatable to a modern audience, or (in the instance of the *Disorder* preliminary sketches, drawn in the aftermath of my then-recent appendectomy) as a reflection of my own experiences.

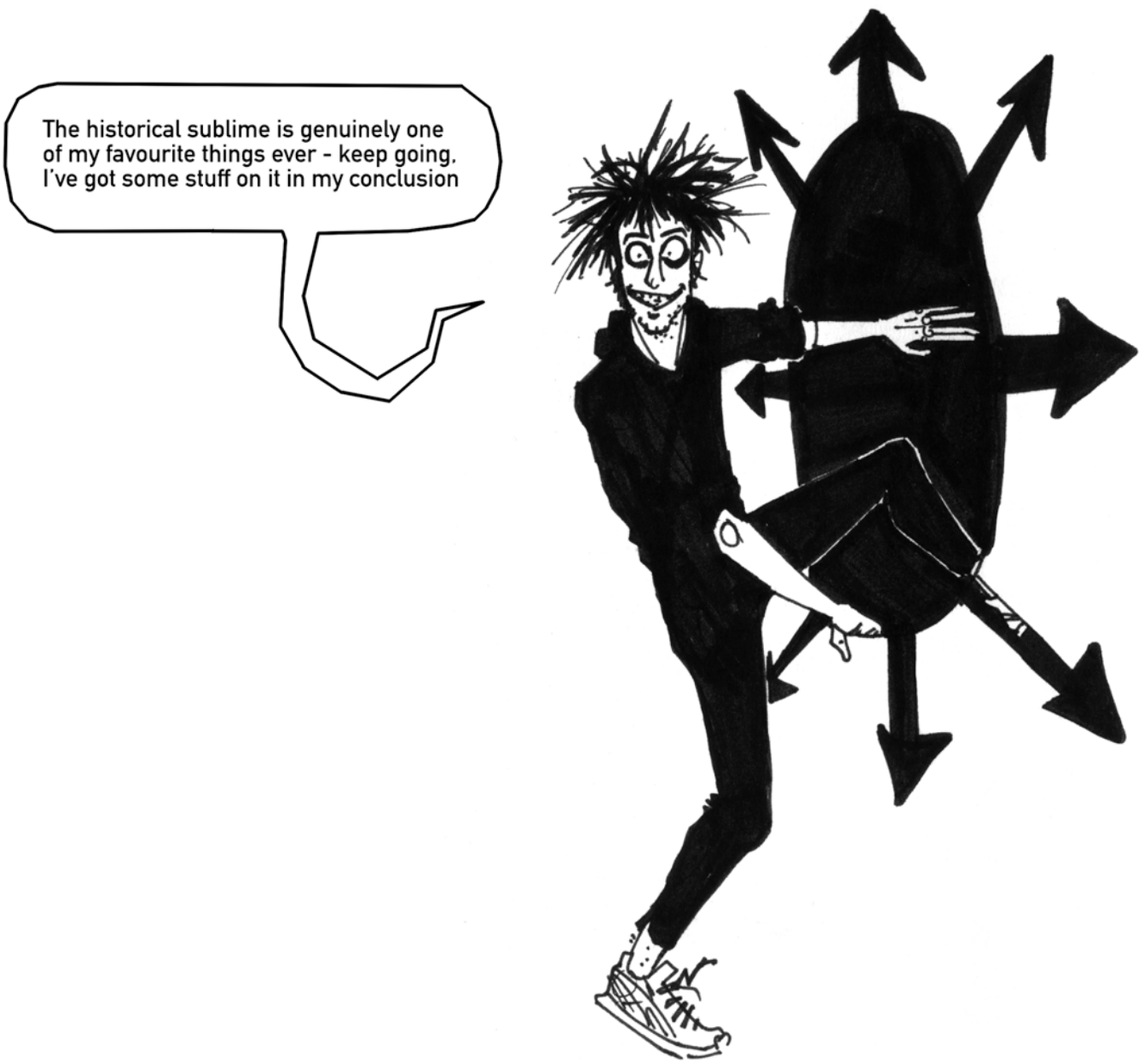


I extend this interpretation to hint toward the vulnerability of the unvoiced in the face of people who have the power of interpretation, who can decide how they are depicted, and what they say and think - people like me, the creator of the illustration, and you, the audience, looking at it and making up your own understandings.

On later consideration, this drawing of William in the graveyard might communicate things about

the historical sublime that I did not intend (or know much about) at the time when I made it. Certain features of the above - how I do not know why I tend to depict William's implied vulnerability, how I didn't intend to have the word "twenty" where his mouth should be, and how it can be used to generate interpretations regardless of my intentions - reflect aspects of the concept of the historical sublime, such as ambiguity, uncontrollability, uncertainty, and possible meaninglessness. The fact that I have drawn William with no mouth, lying on his back in a graveyard, could be taken as absurd - we have no evidence regarding his thoughts on suitable activities to pursue in graveyards, and the lack of mouth pulls the image into the domain of the fantastical - but then, that could be argued for my entire practice.

The corpus of work I have made (and continue to make) for my PhD project, and beyond, indicates my tendency towards experimentation and investigation, towards strange and arguably dubious interpretations and narratives, towards the gaps filled with the potential for new understandings (verifiable or nonsensical). My work is centred around the speculations and absurdities of the historical sublime, which I explore in greater depth in the conclusion.


The historical sublime is genuinely one of my favourite things ever - keep going, I've got some stuff on it in my conclusion

Chapter endnotes

[1] Hollow explored the potential for historians to use their presence to act as a representative for demographic groups, "[w]hen the 'I' assumes labels … it then becomes not just the subject, or actor playing the subject, it also becomes a representative for others who share these labels" (p.48) describing this as the "danger of a new kind of exclusion … if only 'academic' individuals are empowered to speak on behalf of specific groups in society … It becomes a perilous balancing act between trying to give a voice to those who have been denied a stage while at the same time trying not to take away this voice by assuming to be a 'representative' figure" (p.50). This danger of claiming to speak for people can change "when the historian is prepared to experiment with and disrupt the 'I' presented in the text. Only through a self-critical style of self-writing can excluded groups gain a platform in historical discourse without, at the same time, being silenced." (p.51). Hollow, M., 'Introducing the historian to history: Autobiographical performances in historical texts' in *Rethinking History*, vol.13, no.1, 2009, pp.43-52.

[2] Munslow, A., *Deconstructing History*, London: Routledge, 1997. p.105

[3] Barrett, E., *Disorder*, 2023. Download links for *Disorder* are available at https:// www.academia.edu/99280267/Disorder and https://www.researchgate.net/publication/369618594_Disorder [Accessed 18 April 2023.] pp.53-57.

[4] Barrett, E., *Disorder*, 2023. Download links for *Disorder* are available at https:// www.academia.edu/99280267/Disorder and https://www.researchgate.net/publication/369618594_Disorder [Accessed 18 April 2023.] p.xxv.

[5] Barrett, E., *Disorder*, 2023. Download links for *Disorder* are available at https:// www.academia.edu/99280267/Disorder and https://www.researchgate.net/publication/369618594_Disorder [Accessed 18 April 2023.] p.xxv.

[6] Gorey, E., in Nocenti, A., 'Writing *The Black Doll*: A Talk with Edward Gorey', pp.196-215 in Wilkin, K. (ed.) *Ascending Peculiarity: Edward Gorey on Edward Gorey*, Florida: Harcourt, 2001. Quote from p.202. The article originally appeared in *Scenario*, Spring 1998, pp.171-177.

[7] Ankersmit, F., 'Manifesto for analytical political history' in *Manifestos for History* (eds.: Jenkins, K., Morgan, S., and Munslow, A.), (2007), Abingdon: Routledge, pp.179-196; quote from footnote 3 on p.195.

[8] Frey, H., and Noys, B., 'Editorial: History in the Graphic Novel', in Frey, H., and Noys, B. (eds. of special issue on history in the graphic novel), *Rethinking History*, vol.6, no.3, 2002, pp.255-260. Quote from p.255.

For a definition of experimental history, which fits my work, see Munslow, A., *Narrative and History*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, p.133. Munslow said that experimental history "expressly confronts the nature of the connection (as a representation) between the reality of the past and its correspondence in the text (or in any other mode of expression). By definition, experimental historians make epistemological choices that challenge those of reconstructionist, constructionist (and maybe also) deconstructionist historians. Like the art movements of impressionism, naturalism, surrealism and cubism, experimental history is not necessarily anti-realist but it is anti-representational."

[9] Frey, H., and Noys, B., 'Editorial: History in the Graphic Novel', in Frey, H., and Noys, B. (eds. of special issue on history in the graphic novel), *Rethinking History*, vol.6, no.3, 2002, pp.255-260. Quotes from p.259. Their description of the graphic novel as a "particular hybrid form" refers to graphic novels as "hybrid forms which mix text (without being novels) and images (without being films)", and that "the form has actually been the site for some sustained and sophisticated engagements with the problems of representing historical events" (Frey and Noys, 'Editorial', p.255).

[10] Jordanova, L., *The Look of the Past: Visual and Material Evidence in Historical Practice*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, p.2.

Encouraging the audience to rearrange the work may not be accepted easily among illustrators, either. Richard Dyer, interviewing Gorey in 1984, described Gorey's disrelish towards the *Amphigorey* anthologies, which re-present a number of his works in arrangements

that do not resemble their original carefully designed formats: “Part of the fun is not knowing what you are going to find when you turn the page”. (Gorey, E., in Dyer, R., ‘The Poison Penman’, pp.110-125 in Wilkin, K. (ed.) *Ascending Peculiarity: Edward Gorey on Edward Gorey*, Florida: Harcourt, 2001. This quote is from p.121. The article originally appeared in *The Boston Globe Magazine*, 1 April 1984, pp.8-9, 26, 28, 30, 32, 34, 26, 44-45.) This element of surprise is linked to Gorey’s fondness for working with a group of actors, when “you never know what’s going to happen”. (Gorey, E., in Pinsent, E., ‘A Gorey Encounter’, pp.188-195 in Wilkin, K. (ed.) *Ascending Peculiarity: Edward Gorey on Edward Gorey*, Florida: Harcourt, 2001. Quote from p.191. This article originally appeared in *Speak*, Fall 1997, pp.42-47.)

[11] White, H., *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in 19th-Century Europe*, originally published Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973; this edition Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014, p.7. Satire is about recognising that “human consciousness and will are always inadequate to the task of overcoming definitely the dark force of death” (p.8, *Metahistory*) - death is a prominent theme in *Disorder* - unless the viewer decides to cut the comic up and remove all reference to it. *Disorder* could probably be classed as primarily appearing in the mode of satire (in White’s words, it operates “in the awareness of its *own* inadequacy as an image of reality”, [italics original] *Metahistory*, p.10) but, as it can be re-interpreted, it could be recast in other modes by the audience if they chose.

White’s four modes of emplotment are Romance (the protagonist wins, “a drama of the triumph of good over evil” p.8), Tragedy (the protagonist loses but this is “not regarded as totally threatening” (p.9) as the viewer learns something), Comedy (“hope is held out for the temporary triumph of man [sic] over his [sic] world by the prospect of occasional *reconciliations* of the forces at play” p.8, italics original), and Satire (which sees “hopes, possibilities, and truths Ironically, in the atmosphere generated by the apprehension of the ultimate inadequacy of consciousness to live in the world happily or to comprehend it fully … presuppos[ing] the *ultimate inadequacy* of the visions of the world dramatically represented” in the three other genres, p.10, emphases original); for further explanation of these, see *Metahistory*, pp.7-10.

[12] Sebald, W. G., (translation by Hulse, M.), *The Rings of Saturn*, London: The Harvill Press, 1998. Originally published as *Die Ringe des Saturn*, Frankfurt am Main: Vito von Eichborn Verlag, 1995.

[13] “Historians use the same documents, but read different parts of them, or read them in different ways, or quote different parts of them, or link them together in a different order.” Rosenstone, R. A., *History on Film/ Film on History*, Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd., 2006, p.61.

[14] Rosenstone, R. A., *History on Film/ Film on History*, Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd., 2006, p.49.

[15] “Newcastle, November 28.” *The Newcastle Courant etc* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, England), Saturday 29 November 1828, issue 8028. *British Library Newspapers.*

[16] I have already discussed designing William and Charley elsewhere; for which, see Barrett, E., *Characterisation, context, and contemporary considerations: a reflective essay using practical examples to illustrate some potential advantages and disadvantages of historical research by drawing*, 2019. Available online at academia.edu and ResearchGate; see Appendix 3 for details.

[17] In *Queer: A Graphic History*, Meg-John Barker and Jules Scheele recommended that people “avoid essentializing [sic] and unifying. Whatever you are considering is probably plural, rather than singular, and in process, rather than fixed and immutable” (p.170) and advised the reader “[t]ry to avoid polarizing [sic] into either/or binaries: male/female and straight/gay … Instead ask what an idea or representation opens up and closes down. What is included and what is excluded? Might it be a matter of both/and rather than either/or?” (p.171). This could be a potential avenue for future research. Barker, M.-J., and Scheele, J., *Queer: A Graphic History*, London: Icon Books Ltd, 2016, pp.170-173.

Gerry Holloway, discussing Simone de Beauvoir’s arguments about gender and otherness, described how “this concept of otherness underlies categories of contrasting characteristics labelled masculine or feminine - strong/weak; active/passive; independent/dependent; competitive/co-operative; rational/intuitive, etc., which are all opposites that have gender connotations.” Holloway, G., ‘Writing women in: the development of feminist

approaches to women's history', in Lamont, W. (ed.), *Historical Controversies and Historians*, London: UCL Press, 1998, pp.177-187. Quote from p.181.

Barker and Scheele explore and examine similar ideas throughout *Queer*; in comparison to Holloway's list of "categories of contrasting characteristics", they focus on Diana Fuss's analysis of the hierarchical nature of binary oppositions via Derrida's concept of the supplement (pp.91-92).

[18] Ann-Marie Gallagher, Cathy Lubelska, and Louise Ryan examined some of the ways of doing history that can result in "the misrepresenting, or lack of representation, of the histories of the overwhelming majority of women", which includes "the denial of women's actual historical agency, which is evinced in both conventional historical sources and historians' interpretations of these." Gallagher, A.-M., Lubelska, C., and Ryan, L., 'Introduction', pp.1-19, in Gallagher, A.-M., Lubelska, C., and Ryan, L. (eds.), *Re-Presenting the Past: Women and History*, London: Pearson Education Ltd, 2001. Quote from p.3.

If Bridget or William, or anyone else involved in my case study, actually *did* record anything about the events depicted in *Disorder*, I have not seen it. All I know of the incident that sparked off the entire comic was a remark made by surgeon and apothecary Henry Benning in the ophthalmia trials. See Barrett, *Disorder*, pp.xiv-xv.

[19] In a letter from William Shaw to the parents of George Brooks, dated 1st February 1826, informing them of their son's illness, Shaw stated that "my daughter observed him sitting up in bed" which could be interpreted as suggesting that Mary Ann held some position of responsibility; her sisters, Jane and Emily, would have been too young. The letter is quoted in Kirkpatrick, *Fact v Fiction*, p.123.

[20] Bell and Sinclair say that wordless narrative illustration has the "obvious advantage" of not being communicated in "any particular language and therefore immediately understandable to an international audience". Bell, R., and Sinclair, M., *Pictures and Words: New Comic Art and Narrative Illustration*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003; this edition London: Laurence King Publishing Ltd, 2005, p.10.

[21] However, if I had included sentences that would have become incongruous, this could have been used to explore the concept of the historical sublime, with particular reference to it having been described as incomprehensible or absurd. (For the sublime as incomprehensible, see Jenkins, K., *On "What is History?"*, London: Routledge, 1995, pp.140-141, *On "What is History?"*. For the sublime as absurd, see Jenkins, *On "What is History?"*, p.137.) This may be a matter to consider for further experimentation in future projects.

[22] Earle, H. E. H., *Comics, Trauma, and the New Art of War*, Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2017. p.53.

[23] Discussing Andrzej Klimowski's wordless graphic novel *The Depository*, Bell and Sinclair say that "the reader is made to work hard to uncover the storyline." *The Depository* relies on the viewer's interpretation of the images into a dreamlike - but ultimately coherent - narrative. (The distinction here is that, while *Disorder* can be 'read' from front to back to experience a semi-coherent narrative, for its full effect, it requires the viewer to create storylines.) Regarding the creation of an unsettling atmosphere, Bell and Sinclair said that "[p]anels with words in them convey a sense of time's passage; the events take as long as the copy takes to read" and that the lack of words in Klimowski's *The Depository* gives a "lack of any sense of linear time or space, which provides the spooky atmosphere that is so important to the story's success. To add text would be to bring the narrative back into a safer, more understandable world and the story would lose its magical quality." Bell, R., and Sinclair, M., *Pictures and Words: New Comic Art and Narrative Illustration*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003; this edition London: Laurence King Publishing Ltd, 2005, p.10.

[24] For examples, see Llewellyn, N., *The Art of Death: Visual culture in the English death ritual c. 1500 - c. 1800*. London: Reaction Books Ltd in association with the Victoria and Albert Museum, 1991.

[25] Quoted in Kirkpatrick, *Fact v Fiction*, p.124. Capitalisation as it appears in *Fact v Fiction*. Originally dated 3 February 1826. George Brooks was born in 1816, the same year as Jane Shaw.

[26] Baetens, J, and Frey, H., *The Graphic Novel: An Introduction*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015, p.152.

[27] Walker, J., *Pistols! Treason! Murder!: The rise and fall of a master spy*, originally published Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2007; this edition Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009. On p.25, Walker and Vano both speak in the handwritten serif font, but Walker stands up and speaks in a font similar to that used in Roy Lichtenstein's work, while the footnote at the bottom of the page apologises to Lichtenstein.

[28] I uploaded a coloured version of this drawing to Instagram on 23 February 2022. Available at: https://www.instagram.com/p/CaUGWb1oS1O/ [Accessed 22 December 2022.]

[29] Kirkpatrick suspected that Mackay is likely to have met Dickens and Phiz during their visit to Yorkshire, but whether or not they met "on more than one occasion is debateable [sic]" (p.144). Kirkpatrick summarised Mackay's possible contribution to "the creation of Dotheboys Hall" with reference to his having, "for a couple of years, run a school, and had worked in three of the schools in the area" including "George Clarkson's school, which arguably had more in common with Dotheboys Hall than the school owned by William Shaw" (p.152). Kirkpatrick identified Mackay's places of employment as Reverend Joseph Adamthwaite's school at Cotherstone where Mackay was (in his own words) "Classical and Commercial Assistant" (Mackay's advert in *The Times*, 13 July 1814, quoted p.146); Mackay's own school at Cotherstone (claiming, in his adverts, to have "re-opened" Adamthwaite's school, pp.146-147); possibly George Clarkson's Bowes Hall Academy (according to a report in the Yorkshire Gazette, 8 January 1831, Mackay "acted as usher to Clarkson" but also "swore he never was usher to Mr Clarkson", quoted pp.147-148); and Kirkpatrick said that, after leaving Clarkson, Mackay "moved almost immediately to William Shaw's Bowes Academy" (p.149). Kirkpatrick, *Fact v Fiction*, 2017, Chapter 7: The Malcontent 'McKay', pp.143-152.

[30] Kirkpatrick discussed Mackay's potential birthplaces on pp.144-145. Mackay claimed to be "a native of London" in his advert in *The Times*, 6 July 1815 (quoted p.147 of Kirkpatrick, *Fact v Fiction*); this phrase also appears in his adverts dated 9 January 1815, and 23 January 1816. "Education, At the old-established Classical, Commercial, and Naval Academy,", *The Times* (London, England), Monday 9 January 1815, issue 9413. *The Times Digital Archive*. "TO PARENTS and GUARDIANS" *The Times*, (London, England), Tuesday 23 January 1816, issue 9738. *The Times Digital Archive*.

However, in Durham Bishop's Transcripts, at their wedding at Gainford, Teesdale, on 15 November 1809, Charles Mackay and Ann Wade were noted to be "both of this Parish". "England, Durham Diocese Bishop's Transcripts, 1639-1919," images, *FamilySearch* (https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:S3HY-6WSQ-CCY?cc=1309819&wc=9K53-YW5%3A13618101%2C24397601%2C24397602 : 12 June 2014), Durham > Gainford > 1763-1851 > image 206 of 436; Record Office, Matlock. [Accessed 18 July 2023.]

[31] I usually draw the dead version of Charley with stained breeches, as he died of cholera. Kirkpatrick, *Fact v Fiction*, p.151. For deeper exploration of the 1849 cholera epidemic and its impact on Barnard Castle, see Pilcher, B., *Barnard Castle and the Cholera Outbreak, 1849*, privately published, 2004.

[32] For discussion of basic/ single statements, see Munslow, A., *Deconstructing History*, London: Routledge, 1997, p.169. Munslow discussed how "the correspondence of evidence with reality works reasonably satisfactorily at the basic level of the single sentence supported by the evidence … such correspondence does not exist when we shift a gear to the level of interpretation through the imposition of an emplotment or argument … While it may be possible to demonstrate a strong, even a probable correspondence between a single statement about the past and a single piece of evidence, sufficient to generate a factual statement, to then translate this inductive 'truth' to a whole historical interpretive narrative, so as to recover the past as it actually was, is a flawed practice."

In the *Times*'s coverage of the Jones vs Shaw trial, Mackay is described as "Charles Mackie, assistant to Mr. Shaw, had lived there [at the school] for six years; is there now." "Court Of Common Pleas, Guildhall, Oct. 30." *The Times*, Friday 31 October 1823, issue 12017. *The Times Digital Archive.*

Mackay's death was briefly mentioned in the *Newcastle Courant*, which announced "At *Barnard Castle*, … On the 10th inst., aged 58, Mr Charles Mackay, teacher" [emphasis original], listing him along with six others. "Births, Deaths, Marriages and Obituaries" *The Newcastle Courant* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, England), Friday 12 October 1849, issue 9123.

British Library Newspapers.

[33] The article is “CRUELTY OF A SCHOOLMASTER” *The Hull Packet and Original Weekly Commercial, Literary and General Advertiser* (Hull, England), Monday 10 November 1823, issue 1932. *British Library Newspapers*.

[34] Other stones based on those in St Giles’ churchyard at Bowes (from right: Jane and Eliza Shaw, John Cuthbert Dobson, and George Ashton Taylor); at his feet is a cross, based on the monument above the mass cholera grave at Barnard Castle, where Charles Mackay is buried.

[35] For some contemporary attitudes around death, including aspects such as mourning and the afterlife, see ‘Last Words’ (chapter 12) pp.322-343 in Adkins, R., & Adkins, L., *Eavesdropping on Jane Austen’s England: How Our Ancestors Lived Two Centuries Ago*, originally published London: Little, Brown, 2013; this edition London: Abacus (an imprint of Little, Brown Book Group), 2014.

[36] “This was an action of tort and unfaithful performance of contract, brought in consequence of injury alleged to have been brought upon the eyes of three sons of the plaintiff, through the gross negligence of the defendant … The case was of the same nature as that which was tried yesterday, in which a verdict was pronounced against the same defendant, with 300l. damages.” "Court Of Common Pleas, Guildhall, Oct. 30." *The Times*, Friday 31 October 1823, issue 12017. *The Times Digital Archive*.

Kenneth S. Abraham noted that “between about 1600 and 1850, neither the plaintiff nor the defendant in a tort suit could testify in that suit. In fact, during this period the parties could not testify in any civil suit, and the defendant could not testify in a criminal case. These prohibitions were features of a broader common law rule providing that any potential witness who had an ‘interest’ in the outcome of a case was not competent to testify in it. It was not until statutes abolishing this evidentiary prohibition were enacted in England in the 1840s … that the parties were permitted to testify in tort (and other) suits.” Abraham, K.S., ‘The Common Law Prohibition on Party Testimony and the Development of Tort Liability’, *Virginia Law Review*, vol.95, no.3, 2009, pp. 489–515. Available at: http://www.jstor.org/stable/25478712 [Accessed 11 May 2023.] p.490.

[37] “The counsel for the defence consulted with their client … Mr. Sergeant PELL [emphasis original] then informed the Court, that … the defendant consented that the case should be immediately disposed of, and that the verdict should be pronounced with the same damages which were given in the action of yesterday.”"Court Of Common Pleas, Friday, Oct. 31." The *Times*, Saturday 1 November 1823, issue 12018. *The Times Digital Archive*.

[38] Unless they view it on a printed sheet, or a device that they can turn. I uploaded it to Instagram on 29 October 2020, and it can be swiped through - the first image shows the full illustration, and the user can swipe through three panels that show the illustration close-up, with the unplanned impact of ending on William’s face. https://www.instagram.com/p/CG76Ok4B1lm/ I had not considered whether or not to upload it before I drew it - I merely uploaded it because I thought it looked decent, and could be viewed as an example of my research.



Conclusion

My project is titled *Historical deconstruction and re-creation by narrative illustration, evoking the multiplicity of unheard narratives within historical experience*. As I proceeded with the project, I found that my research explored and interrogated this title, but also allowed for unanticipated divergences which add richness and depth to my research.

I remain a deconstructionist historian, as earlier described. (For my exploration of Munslow's genres of historians, see pp.28-32.)

Regarding the *narrative illustration* aspect, I did not focus on delivering traditional narratives, communicated using drawing-based illustration, to an audience for their passive consumption and possible acceptance. I made items that could be rearranged and manipulated by an audience in order to make new narratives and interpretations. *Disorder* had a vaguely linear narrative, viewed through five visual languages that I assigned to a number of characters, although it could be reworked by its users to suggest different narratives. *(Un)Known Associates*, being a deck of cards, was nonlinear, although it still had fragments of narratives, derived from traces of the people in my case study, and from my own imaginings.

I hyphenated "*re-creation"* to distinguish it from a more conventional understanding of "*recreation"*, as I do not pretend that my work is solidly factual, and I emphasise the created nature of what I make rather than meticulously pursuing accuracy. I evoke what I want to communicate in my work, making suggestions rather than definitive statements. This allows an audience to imagine their own interpretations, rather than giving me the traditional historian's authority to say what (I think) happened. My work deliberately courts fictiveness and doubt, foregrounding the sublime aspects of history and the created nature of history-communication.

In my work, the audience encounters fragments of my views, my thought processes, my biases, my private system of internal symbolism. They see who and what and how I choose to draw, and can accordingly infer who and what I ignore, and how I do that: what I focus on, what I exaggerate, what I include more subtly, what I accidentally or deliberately forget. For instance, I can flick through my sketchbooks and see which characters I prefer to focus on, but also who is absent. Another example of this occurred when I was drawing the cards for *(Un)Known Associates* (which I refer to as *(U)KA)*, and I realised that I was mainly drawing characters that I felt I knew more about, rather than trying to highlight those about whom I know less. This became paradoxical with regard to my aims for *(U)KA*, which included exploration of the historical sublime and the unknowable aspects of the past. (Postdoctorally, I intend on further investigations into the people in *(U)KA*, which will result in expansion packs for the initial deck.) The use of drawing therefore acts as an effective mechanism for the appraisal and evaluation of my work, and for the identification of my standpoint/s, and can indicate potential openings for responses within my own work and in the work of others, recycling my ideas or reacting to them as they feel appropriate.[1]

Some parts of my work engage more fully with the historical sublime. For instance, in *Disorder*, I did not explain why I made Charley's visual language resemble prehistoric artwork as opposed to, say, medieval manuscripts or classical sculpture. I left the audience to interpret this choice, and others, for themselves. By these choices, and by inviting the audience to interpret and rearrange and tell their own narratives with my work, I hoped to encourage them to view my publications in a similar way as they would view traces of the past; not only must they build interpretations and narratives from them, but they have to accept gaps and things that are never explained and

that may remain inexplicable or meaningless (or, if they felt inclined, they could build their own gap-fillers and explanations and meanings). Some parts of *Disorder* and *(U)KA* are deliberately mysterious - in his manifesto, 'Performing cross-culturally', Greg Dening discussed mystery as

> a most complicated truth clothed in story or play or sacramental sign. Being mysterious means that there is work to be done - not just by the storyteller, not just by the author, not just by the priest, but by the audience, the reader and the believer as well. There is no closure to mystery, only another story, another translation.[2]

Mystery and sublimity can call the audience to action. They can be empowered to access (versions of) the less tangible and to make their own understandings of it, and to manipulate their interpretations if they choose. In my work, I do not want the audience to be passive - historians would not passively gaze upon traces of the past, waiting for them to disclose all the secrets apparently inherent within them. We have to actively work for our interpretations - "at the heart of an historian's work is [their] reading and interpretation of texts", according to Benjamin Ziemann and Miriam Dobson.[3] I invite the audience into the mystery. I achieved this by not fully explaining the imagery of *Disorder* and *(U)KA* in writing (such as with elucidatory speech bubbles, captions, or a full written clarification of every element of every image, for example), and by including elements within the images that encourage questioning, such as recurring motifs and incongruous recontextualisations. (However, I have not yet tested either *Disorder* or *(U)KA* on an audience to any significant depth, although *(U)KA* has received useful feedback from postgraduate illustration students and undergraduate history students.) This demonstrates a way in which drawing-based illustration strategies can provide innovative ways of active engagement with ideas about the past.

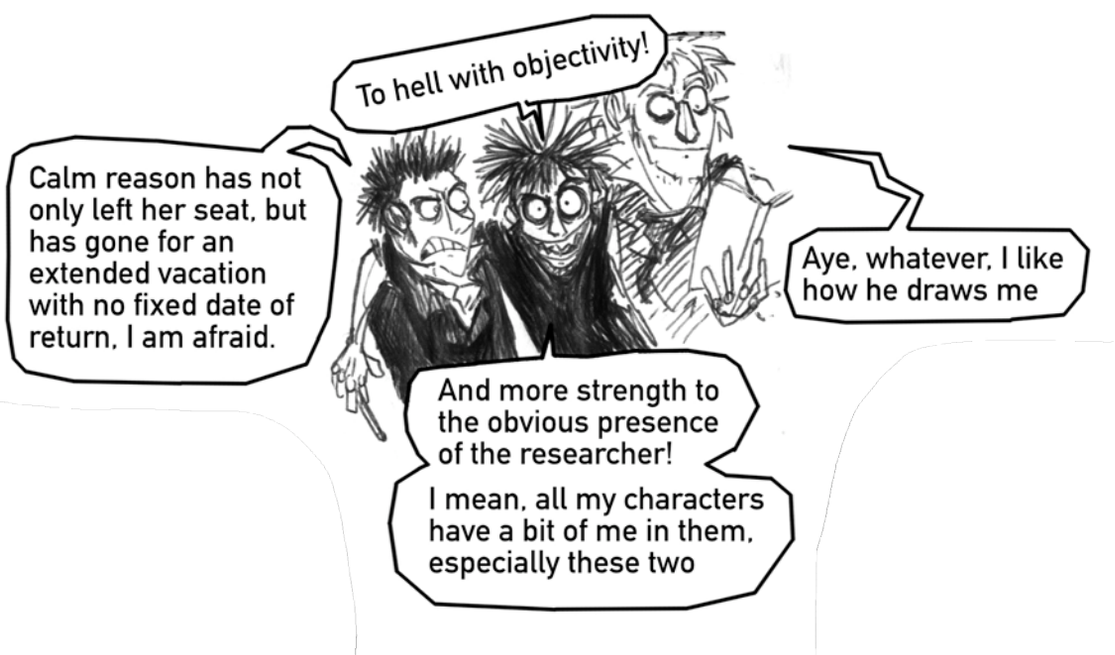
When I began my PhD, I wanted to use this project to investigate three things, as stated on pp.8-9 of my introduction. My first aim was to explore the ways in which strategies from illustration can be used to reveal deeper understandings of historical contexts, by evoking a sense of the experiences of multiple participants and observers in historical events. My second aim was to use illustration and its methods to interrogate traditional historiographical practices and concepts. My third aim was to demonstrate an interdisciplinary methodology with the intention of enriching understandings of a variety of historical perspectives.

I want to reconsider my three research aims, beginning with the first: to explore ways in which illustration strategies can be used to reveal deeper understandings of historical contexts. I had intended to do this by evocatively conveying a sense of the experiences of people involved in historical events, highlighting the multiplicity of those experiences. By looking at my sketchbooks and experiments - *Disorder*, *(U)KA*, and my numerous smaller, unnamed experiments - I can see that I focus heavily on several characters, primarily William Shaw, sometimes Charley Mackay (often interacting with either Ann Mackay or William), less frequently Bridget Shaw, Mary Ann Shaw, Jane Shaw (the angel), followed by the other characters - and also myself. I frequently draw (a version of) myself in my work, providing an alternative voice and communicating with the characters and the audience in ways that encourage more imaginative and experimental engagements with my work and with the ideas and concepts I explore.

Next, I wanted to use illustration and its methods for the interrogation of traditional historiographical practices and concepts. In the early stages of my project, I identified the prioritisation of words over images in the communication of history as one of these traditional practices; I intended on

challenging this, and giving images priority, and making the words support them from a secondary position. I experimented with wordlessness (such as the mostly wordless *Disorder* and some of the other experiments) but I found that I enjoy explaining things verbally, especially about my case study or the practice and theory of history, and can do so with greater clarity than simply relying solely on illustrations.[4] As the project developed, I decided that I should integrate the images and the words - the result being this thesis.

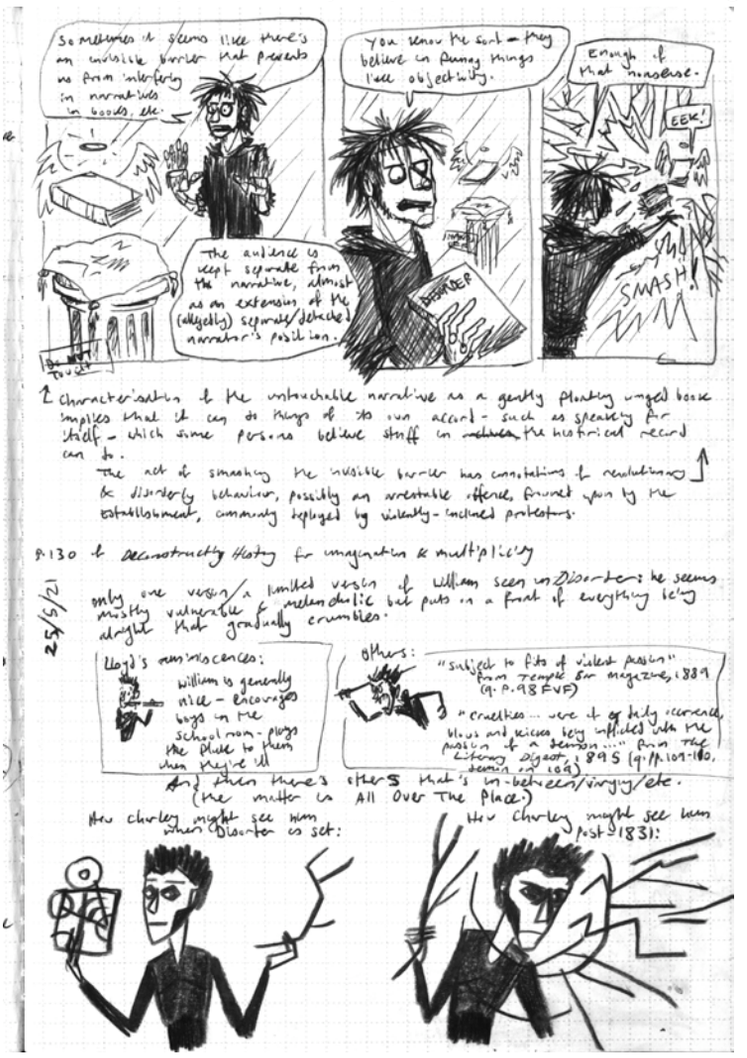
Still reconsidering my second research aim, I also decided, as one of my early examples, that I wanted to interrogate the idea that historians can possibly be objective. While many historians of all varieties understand that this is unachievable, there still seemed to be a pervading undertone of the ideal of firm detachment from the sources, stepping back, taking a dispassionate overview, not getting involved. Before beginning my PhD, I would have agreed. However, as I progressed with my project, I found that I cannot (will not?) engage with that level of disinterest. (This is also evident in



this thesis, particularly in the drawings. William and Charley, for instance, are heavily based on aspects of me.) I am invested in the characters that I make,

and the situations that I put them in, that I created from my interpretations of traces of the lives and experiences of their originals.

In my introduction, I listed my third aim as demonstrating an interdisciplinary methodology, intending to enrich understandings of a variety of historical perspectives. I would argue that I have demonstrated an interdisciplinary methodology: the things I made cannot be said to be either pure history or pure illustration. With regard to enriching understandings of a variety of historical perspectives, while my work has focussed on the perspectives of a few (as I discussed slightly earlier in this conclusion), I hope that some of my work can be used as a stimulus for other researchers to explore and enrich further understandings of other subjects and case studies, or could be applied to other disciplines. To my delight, my own understandings of the practice and theory of history have been improved and strengthened beyond what I could have imagined when I decided I wanted to pursue a PhD. Subsequently, I want to pursue further practice-research projects interrogating and playing with the theory and philosophy of history; for instance, I have ideas for a comic intending to disrupt popular perceptions of historians and what they do.



Communicating historical narratives visually can empower the audience to create their own interpretations and their own narratives more freely than if they were guided by written text. There is an unstated opinion that a narrative, once communicated, is untouchable; I challenged this idea in *Disorder* by encouraging *Disorder*'s audience to cut the pages up and rearrange them.[5] Historical interpretations are naturally subject to change as ideas move in and out of fashion, new (old) traces of the past are accessed, and different researchers consider different topics. No interpretation is final; no analysis has absolute authority. Part of the nature of history is that it is a constantly shifting discipline. We never experience exactly the same interpretation twice; as we move through our lives and experiences, we have new thoughts, or variations of old ones, and, like the interpretations we present, we are also in a state of constant flux. Aaron Sachs mentioned that "[e]ven the most fact-based history gets rewritten by every subsequent generation", while John Lewis Gaddis said that "[b]ecause no two historians will ever perform this task in just the same way, there can be no single standard for objectivity in biography, or for that matter in all of history".[6] I would add - from my own experience over the duration of this project, watching my ideas change, and being able to track those changes in my sketchbooks - that no single historian would ever perform a task in the same way, never mind two historians.

The project changed as I progressed with my research. In my original proposal, I did not acknowledge any historiographical theory because I had not looked into it and I had no idea what historians did. Later in the project, I was much more focussed on exploring and interrogating historiographical theory, which drove a lot of my work.

Throughout the project, my work remained sketchbook-focussed; this

thesis is intended to resemble one of these. When I wrote my initial proposal, I did not intend to include much writing in my sketchbooks; as I proceeded, and wrote a more formal proposal, I altered my plan to include that I wanted to communicate the majority of the work in drawing, with some writing to support it if required. Now, towards the end of my PhD, I want both of these modes of exploration and communication to be integrated: they can work independently, but, for fuller comprehension, they should be 'read' together.

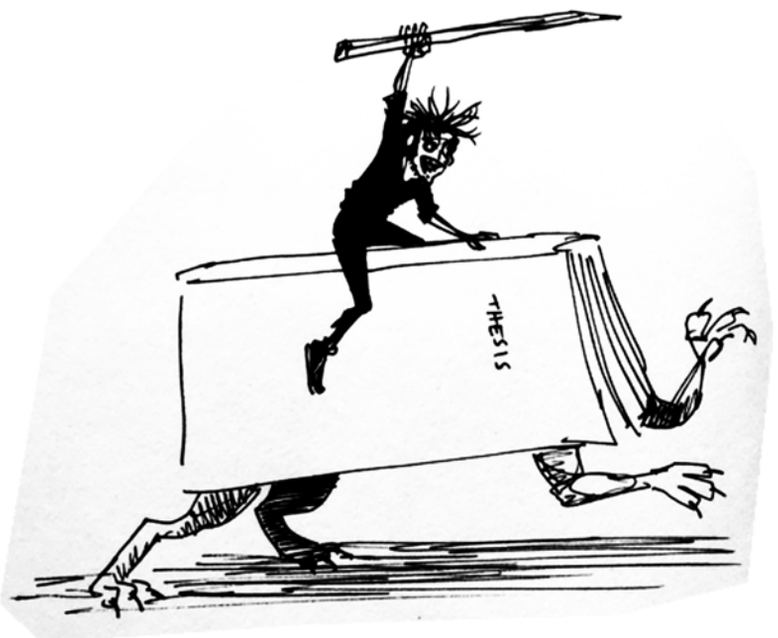
I have developed a substantial interest in the historical sublime, which, as I mentioned on p.117, is a concept that Keith Jenkins described as "the idea that the past has neither rhyme nor reason to it; that it is grotesque, or absurd, or sublime".[7] Alun Munslow, discussing Hayden White's ideas, said that, by sublime, "White means the celebration of the undiscoverable, possibly meaningless, and open-ended nature of the past."[8] White himself wrote that "we require a history that will educate us to discontinuity more than ever before; for discontinuity, disruption, and chaos is our lot."[9] The historical sublime has become a significant feature of my project, of my output of personal work, and of my approach to my own lived experiences; postdoctorally, I intend on pursuing further work on various elements of this concept, and on bringing it to the attention of people beyond the more philosophically-minded corners of the discipline of History.[10] I believe that the historical sublime is something to be engaged with and embraced, as it can empower those whose voices have been lost, and those whose resonances with past experiences have been damaged by the way versions of the past (and versions of *their* pasts) have been presented. The historical sublime can be used to decentralise the established focal points of narratives about the past, and to include marginalised peoples. It can allow History, as a discipline, to move progressively and to innovate, rather than clinging to traditionally

accepted ways of conducting research and sharing interpretations.

Drawing and other unconventional ways of exploring and communicating ideas about the past are ideal for engaging with the historical sublime, and with other historiographical/ theoretical concepts such as the created nature of history, the presence of the researcher/ creator, and the presence of the audience. Non-traditional methodologies can allow for more effective investigation of things that might not be (or cannot be) conveniently expressed in the traditional written formats preferred by conventional historians; these elusive and hard-to-communicate things can include the lost experiences and voicelessness of people in the past. Researchers can generate other interpretations using recontextualisation and decontextualisation, considering innovatory ways of enquiring into the historical imagination and its usage. A non-written approach, such as drawing, can open up History (the discipline and all it comprises, including case studies, working practices, and theory) to people who do not find a logocentric approach appropriate to their needs. At the same time, using an historical case study as a vehicle for experiments in practice-research could encourage mainstream historians to develop their historical practices using creative methodologies. These examples support the wider adoption of interdisciplinarity, which would result in greater methodological accessibility for more researchers, and a broader range of insights.[11]

Overall, in addition to what I established through conducting my practical work, and as indicated by the pioneering attitudes of historians such as the contributors to *Rethinking History* and by creative practitioner-researchers, as seen throughout my thesis, I strongly believe that interdisciplinarity and experimentation are the most advantageous ways of developing understandings about the multiplicity of past experiences, and

interrogating the practices and theory of History. The drawing-based methods I use demonstrate an effective methodology for deconstructing and reappraising traditional historical praxis, which can be utilised and developed by further research, by other researchers and myself.



Chapter endnotes

[1] Mixed-media artist Sarah Winkler discussed her three types of sketchbooks with Gallery MAR, calling them “Field Sketchbooks, Lab Sketchbooks, and Daily Sketchbooks”. She uses her Lab Sketchbooks in an “experimental, almost scientific” way, trying different media in them, while her Daily Sketchbooks are for recording her analyses of her work as it develops. Gallery MAR, *The Sketchbook Diaries: Sarah Winkler*, Gallery MAR, published 16 December 2020. Available at: https://www.gallerymar.com/2020/12/the-sketchbook-diaries-sarah-winkler [Accessed 13 July 2023.]

In *Good Old Drawing*, Monika Umbar said that drawing “can reveal so many things about the artist”. Similarly, in *Drawn to Drawing*, John Vernon Lord reflected that “[t]he drawing becomes a kind of record but also a representation that projects my own state of mind about what I think I saw, rather than what the subject actually looked like.” Holder, J., and Hodgkinson, P., (eds.), *Good Old Drawing: G. O. D.: A Hundred Illustrators, Artists and Cartoonists who Believe in Drawing*. London: Haus Publishing Ltd., 2012, p.96. Lord, J. V., *Drawn to Drawing*, London: Nobrow, 2014, p.22.

In a blog post for the V&A, Cara Williams stated that “[d]rawing speaks to others, it is a record of our expression, it connects ideas. Time nurturing this skill is time well spent”. Discussing the work of reconstruction artist David Neal, Judith Dobie explained that Neal “used the drawings to present the possibilities of the archaeological evidence to his fellow professionals. In this way the expert argues his case to another expert using a language they both understand.” Williams, C., *Drawing is Thinking on a Page*, V&A Blog, 2017. Available at: https://www.vam.ac.uk/blog/news/drawing-is-thinking-on-a-page [Accessed 13 July 2023.] Dobie, J., *Illustrating the Past: Artists’ interpretations of ancient places*, Swindon: Historic England, 2019, p.17.

[2] Dening, G., ‘Performing cross-culturally’ in Jenkins, K., Morgan, S., and Munslow, A. (eds.), *Manifestos for History*, London: Routledge, 2007, pp.98-107. This quote from pp.102-103.

[3] Dobson, M., and Ziemann, B. (eds.), *Reading Primary Sources: The Interpretation of Texts from Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century History*, Abingdon: Routledge, 2009, p.2. Their definition of ‘text’ is broad: "Usually a written statement of varying length. In discourse theory, the term denotes a sequence of utterances or signs which show a connection with regard to their meaning, or, in other words, a semantic structure. Thus, also a series of photos, the questionnaire of an opinion poll or a statistical tabulation can be interpreted as a text.” (p.245 of Dobson, M., and Ziemann, B., ‘Glossary’, pp.243-245, in Dobson, M., and Ziemann, B. (eds.), *Reading Primary Sources: The Interpretation of Texts from Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century History*, Abingdon: Routledge, 2009.)

[4] For example, I like to post my work on Instagram - https://www.instagram.com/ed.smike/ - and some of my captions became longer than I anticipated. This is not an account I created specifically for my project, but my personal account, which I began in April 2012, on which I post anything I choose, which is mostly my own drawings and the occasional selfie; I do not hold sharp distinctions between arbitrary categories such as the personal and the professional. There are a few examples of this thinking throughout this thesis.

[5] Barrett, E., *Disorder*, 2023. Download links for *Disorder* are available at https:// www.academia.edu/99280267/Disorder and https://www.researchgate.net/publication/369618594_Disorder [Accessed 18 April 2023.] p.53

[6] Gaddis, J., *The Landscape of History: How Historians Map the Past*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002, p.125. Sachs, A., ‘Letters to a tenured historian: imagining history as creative nonfiction - or maybe even poetry’, in *Rethinking History*, vol. 14, no. 1, 2010, pp.5-38, p.22.

[7] Jenkins, K., *On “What is History?”*, London: Routledge, 1995, p.137

[8] Munslow, A., *Deconstructing History*, London: Routledge, 1997, p.12.

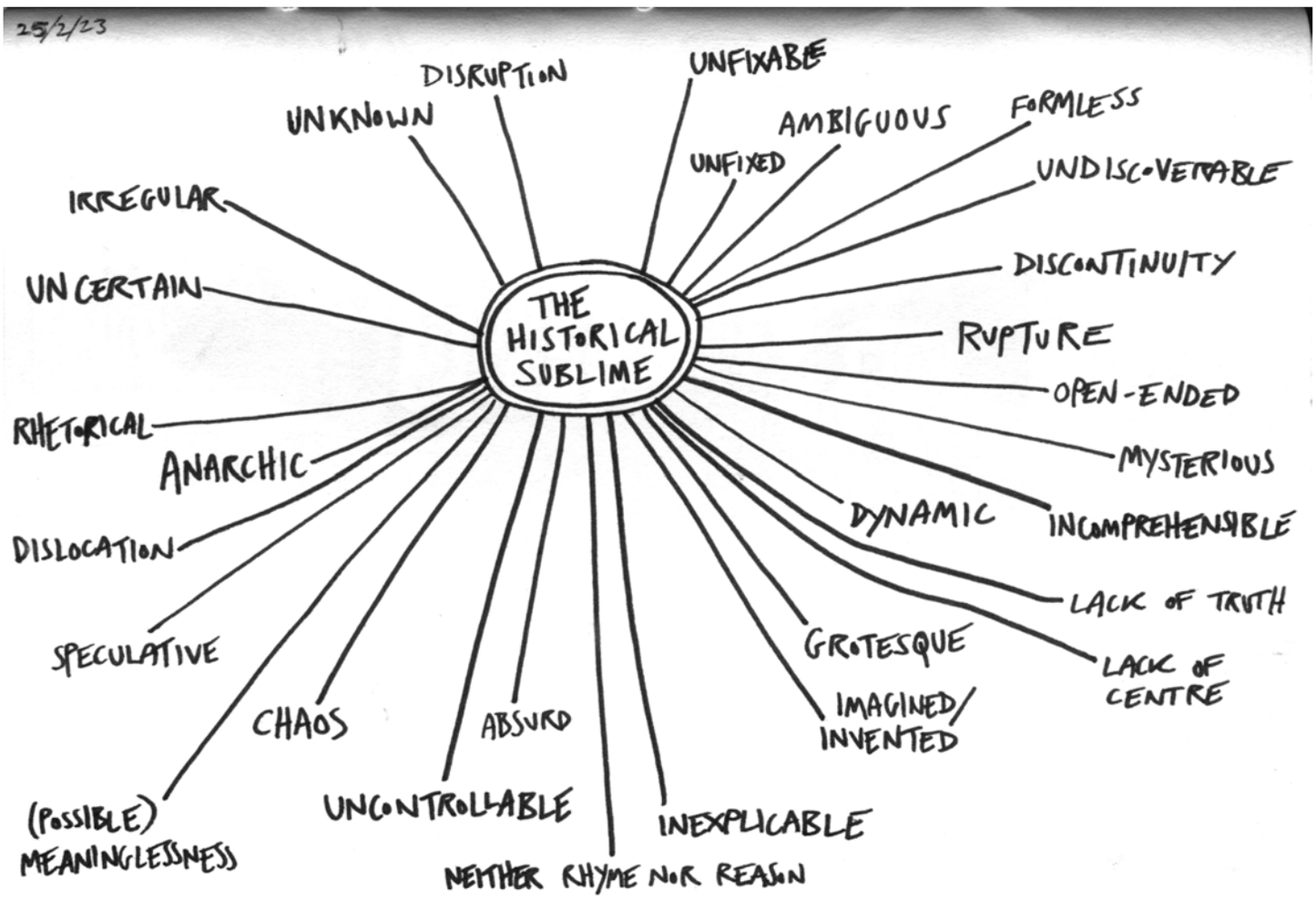
[9] White, H., *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978, p.50..

[10] I carry out my personal work away from the PhD, largely for the benefit of my mental health

(as I find it useful for processing my experiences), and for my own entertainment. The largest and most significant part of this is a fiction project mainly set in the 1830s - engaging with themes such as magic, belief, and the control of knowledge and information - which I eventually intend on publishing as a multi-book series, although I have not yet decided on its final form.

[11] Not only does an interdisciplinary approach facilitate innovation, but I have found that, being a disciplinary outsider, with regards to History, I am not used to the territory, and am more likely to notice things that the discipline's occupants are familiar with.

Appendix 1 - Words Associated with the Historical Sublime



This is a more legible version of a diagram I made to help myself understand the historical sublime, accompanied by useful quotes from relevant thinkers.

“In the construction of their historical narratives historians inevitably combine known or found parts (facts) with ultimately **unknown** and thus **imagined/ invented** wholes” - Keith Jenkins, *On “What is History?”*, p.134

“We require a history that will educate us to discontinuity more than ever before; for **discontinuity**, **disruption** and **chaos** are our lot.” - Hayden White, *Tropics of Discourse*, p.50, quoted in Jenkins, *On “What is History?”*, pp.144-145

“The historian has at some point to grapple with the problems of finding/ giving a form to explain what went on in the past. This is at the heart of the issue of history’s ‘aboutness’. This process is especially difficult and complex in the face of the sublime, usually **ambiguous** and always **tentative** nature of the past.” - Alun Munslow and Robert A Rosenstone, *Experiments in Rethinking History*, p.85

“… the **anarchic**, **unfixed** and **unfixable** nature of reality - the sublime …” - Munslow, *The Routledge Companion to Historical Studies*, p.218

“White defines history as ‘a narrative discourse the contents of which are as much **imagined/ invented** as found’, and why, in the name of individual freedom, emancipation and empowerment via an acknowledgement of the sublime, [White] can offer a critique of such narration in favour of history as ‘**rupture**’, ‘discontinuity’ and ‘**dislocation**’.” - Jenkins, *On “What is History?”*, p.144

“The present generation needs … a willingness to confront heroically the **dynamic** and **disruptive** forces in contemporary life” - White, *Tropics of Discourse*, p.50, quoted in Jenkins, *On “What is History?”*, pp-144-145

“White argues that … narrative history took on the form of the ordered, the measured and the beautiful, as opposed to a view of a past that lacked these aesthetic proportions, so that the aesthetic tamed the **irregularities** and **grotesqueness** of the sublime.” Jenkins, *On “What is History?”*, p.141

“the idea that the past has **neither rhyme nor reason** to it; that it is **grotesque**, or **absurd**, or sublime” - Jenkins, *On “What is History?”*, p.137

“**Openness** and **uncontrollable** nature” of the past can “encourage an open and different emancipating future” - Jenkins, *On “What is History?”*, p.138

“In effect history was to become a discipline in a quite literal way. [White] argues that this was done by distinguishing the narratives of history from those of fiction via the rigorous application of the ‘rules of evidence’ to the ‘historical record’ as facticity, so eventually pushing out the **rhetorical**, the **speculative**, the **incomprehensible** and the sublime, so gradually affirming that the stories historians told were ‘found’ in the corroborated ‘evidence’ rather than being ‘imagined’.” - Jenkins, *On “What is History?”*, pp.140-141

“History … is made sense of in the same way that the poet or novelist tries to make sense of it, i.e. by endowing what originally appears to be **problematical** and **mysterious** with the aspect of a recognisable … form” - White, *Tropics of Discourse*, pp.94-98; quoted in Jenkins, *On “What is History?”*, p.153

“**Imagined** (fictive) element in all histories” - Jenkins, *On “What is History?”*, p.19

“We ought to be more open to the **possible meaninglessness** or sublime character of the past.” - Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, p.5

“Most historiography is the attempted imposition of meaningful form onto a **meaningless** past” - Jenkins, *On “What is History?”*, p.137

“Narrative is normally deployed, therefore, not to defend the correspondence theory of empiricism so much as to act as its vehicle - getting at *the* story - but always at the expense of the historical sublime. By this, White means the celebration of the **undiscoverable**, **possibly meaningless**, and **open-ended** nature of the past. Such a meaninglessness is the only invitation that potentially oppositional and dissenting groups of historians may get to challenge certaintist (e.g. fascist) history. They, and we, empower ourselves when we can find **no objective certainty** in the past - in the sense of a factual correspondence of evidence with Truth - that can be used to validate the

authority of those in power over us." - Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, p.12

"The traditional disciplining or domestication of the past through constant historical revisionism empties the past of what White calls the sublime: the inherent **uncertainty** of **inexplicable** change. The deconstructive consciousness willingly acknowledges the sublime nature of the past - its literal **meaninglessness**, its **lack of centre**, and its consequent **lack of truth** - while mainstreamers still insist on asking what the past was really like and, through dint of professional archival research, still believe they can get ever closer to its truthful reality." - Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, pp.146-147

"… we can never really know the past; that there are **no centres**; that there are no 'deeper' sources (no subtext) to draw upon to get things right; all is on the surface." - Jenkins, *Re-Thinking History*, p.47

"Those utopians who viewed history as a sublime, **formless** spectacle were excluded from the modern notion of being genuinely historical." - Michael S. Roth, Foreword: "All You've Got Is History" in White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in 19th-Century Europe (40th Anniversary Edition)*, p.xv

Appendix 2 - Images in this Thesis

In order to make these images clearer, I have digitally processed a number of them (particularly comics) and replaced my handwriting with typed versions of the same text.

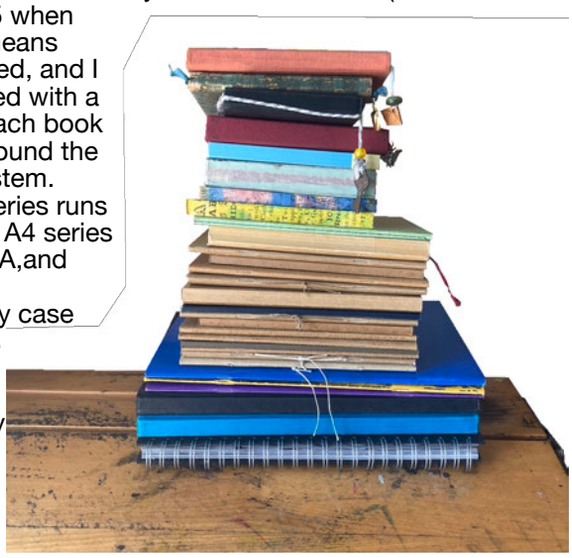
Images that are not mine are marked as such in the main body of the thesis and in this list.

All mentions of *Disorder* are marked with that page's number in my original arrangement.

I created a reference system for my sketchbooks. PhD sketchbooks are typically indicated by a string of letters, followed by the date. The IB series are my main sketchbooks (IB stands for "investigation book") and are approximately A5 when closed, or slightly smaller. The SB series (SB means "small book") are usually around A6 when closed, and I also have an A4 series. Each book is then coded with a letter in alphabetical order, and each entry in each book is dated, with the exception of some entries around the start of my PhD before I had developed my system.

At time of writing (June 2023), the IB series runs to 16 books, the SB series to 8 books, and the A4 series to 6 books. I am currently using IBP, SBH, A4BA,and A4BF.

I also have work relating to my PhD, my case study/ characters, and potential future projects in other sketchbooks.



For further discussion of significant items in my sketchbooks, an index of informal blog posts about the books is available here: https://eddrawshistory.blogspot.com/2023/07/introduction-to-eds-phd-sketchbooks.html

Introduction
p.7 - Reader's voice - digital media. Drawn for the thesis.
p.9 - Actually, my research began - black ink in sketchbook. Drawn for the thesis.
p.13 - William Shaw's advert, 4 January 1823, The Times.
p.14 - NNSHS2:28/5/18 - black ink in sketchbook. Response to Kirkpatrick's FvF, chapter 7 'The Malcontent McKay', pp.143-152.
p.15 - IBB:28/8/18 - black ink in sketchbook. Response to Kirkpatrick's description of the ophthalmia trials.
p.19 - Kate Beaton, *Gettysburg*, undated, available at: http://www.harkavagrant.com/index.php?id=27 [Accessed 29 May 2023]
p.20 - William Blake, *The Good and Evil Angels*, created 1795/ c.1805, Tate collection: ref N05057, available at: https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/blake-the-good-and-evil-angels-n05057 [Accessed 29 May 2023]
p.22 - IBM:25/2/22 - biro (black and other colours) in sketchbook. Response to reading Experiments in Rethinking History.
p.23 - Once I really got going - black ink in sketchbook. Drawn for the thesis.
p.25 - Quite literally - black ink in sketchbook. Drawn for the thesis.
p.26 - By the fact that you, the reader - black ink in sketchbook. Drawn for the thesis.
p.27 - And here it is - black ink in sketchbook. Drawn for the thesis.
p.33 - Methodology diagram - black ink in sketchbook. Drawn for the thesis.
p.38 - IBD:25/1/20 - black ink in sketchbook. Response to Evans.
p.43 - What's for dinner? - black ink in sketchbook. Drawn for the thesis.

Chapter 1 - Methodology
p.46 - Art Spiegelman, *Maus*, p.214.
p.52 - display at Bath Fashion Museum, photographed on a visit in January 2020, focussing on a girl's pelisse from the 1810s (reference number not known). IBD:24/1/20, black ink in sketchbook, Mary Ann wearing the pelisse. Detail of p.5 of *Disorder*, graphite.

p.56 - SBD:14/10/21 - black ink and coloured pencil in sketchbook. Ideas for *(Un)Known Associates*, with influence from Remedios Varo, most notably from her *Woman Leaving the Psychoanalyst* (undated).
p.58 - IBF:25/3/20 - black ink in sketchbook. Early response to coronavirus pandemic.
p.59 - IBA:AUG/18 - graphite and black ink in sketchbook. Costume reference based on items in museum collections. Realising that I didn't know what shoes looked like.
p.61 - IBJ:24/2/21 - black and orange biro in sketchbook. Thinking about own experiences/ presence of the researcher.
p.65 - The objective Historian and the Voice of the Past - black ink in sketchbook. Drawn for the thesis.
p.66 - What do you think to that, William? - black ink in sketchbook. Drawn for the thesis.
p.68 - IBF:29/3/20 - black ink in sketchbook. Response to pp.89-90 in Alun Munslow's *The New History* (2003): "For [Oakeshott] history is not a re-animation: it is a fabricated or constructed re-presentation based on the sources."
p.70 - IBO:4/7/22 - black ink in sketchbook. Made during a time when I was making jokes about being a terrible 19th century father to my thesis.

Chapter 2 - Comics, Drawing, and History
p.82 - Posy Simmonds, *Gemma Bovery*, p.89.
p.82 - Simon Grennan, *Dispossession*, pp.38-39.
p.83 - IBP:29/3/24 - black ink in sketchbook. Drawn for the thesis.
p.84 - Chester Brown, *Louis Riel*, p.27.
p.84 - Chris Ware, *Building Stories*. Various parts of the boxed set.
p.85 - Frans Masereel, *The Idea*, page unnumbered.
p.87 - In the majority of these comics - main Drawn Ed: IBP:29/3/24, drawn for the thesis. Panels numbered left to right, top to bottom. Panel 1: ink and watercolour for a seditious pamphlet I made to inform myself about my intentions for this project in 2019. Panel 2: IBB:5/3/19, black ink in sketchbook. Panel 3: IBF:29/3/20, black ink in sketchbook, response to pp.89-90 in Munslow's *The New History*. Panel 4: IBI:2/10/20, black ink in sketchbook. Panel 5: IBG:24/6/20, black ink in sketchbook. Panel 6: photograph of Ed Barrett (me) at *Irregular Interpretations* exhibition at the Hardwick Gallery, Cheltenham, 12 December 2023.
p.90 - Chester Brown, *Louis Riel*, p.166 and p.192.
p.91 - IBP:29/3/24, black ink in sketchbook, drawn for the thesis. In the table are A4BB:13/6/19, IBJ:7/11/21, IBM:15/2/22, IBL:10/11/21, IBJ:25/4/21, and IBJ:18/4/21. All black ink in sketchbooks.
p.93 - Posy Simmonds, *Gemma Bovery*, pages 4, 10, 17, 24, 28, 39, 44, 46, 49, 50, 63, 72, and 79.
p.96 - Simon Grennan, *Dispossession*, pp.44-45.
pP.98 - Simon Grennan, *Dispossession*, pp.64-65.
p.99 - p.36, p.13, and p.11 of *Disorder*.
p.101 - IBP:29/3/24 - black ink in sketchbook. Drawn for the thesis. Incorporating p.ii of *Disorder*.
p.105 - Images accompanying endnote 26. Scott McCloud, 'The visual magic of comics' TEDtalk, screenshot at 10:13. Scott McCloud, *Understanding Comics*, p.36. Frans Masereel, *Mein Stundenbuch* (*My Book of Hours*), screenshotted from Martin S. Cohen's article 'The Novel in Woodcuts: A Handbook', pp.171-195 in *Journal of Modern Literature*, vol.6 no.2 (April 1977). Available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/3831165 [Accessed 22 February 2024.] pp.184-185.

Chapter 3 - Case Study: William Shaw's Bowes Academy, 1814-1840
p.111 - IBB:1/9/18 - black ink in sketchbook. Response to Kirkpatrick's account of the ophthalmia trials.
p.113 - IBG:8/5/20 - black ink in sketchbook. More thinking about the trials, and also about Dickens's *Pickwick Papers*.
p.114 - Know Your Schoolmasters - black ink in sketchbook. Drawn for the thesis.
p.115 - diagram of social circles within the Shaw household and Bowes Academy, with overlap. William: *Disorder* introduction, p.xvii, black ink and alcohol-based markers. Bridget: IBF:24/3/20, alcohol-based markers. Mary Ann: *Disorder*, p.8, acrylic paint. Shaw siblings (Will, Jonathan, another Jane, Emily, John, and Eliza): SBD:14/5/21, graphite and black ink in sketchbook. Jane the angel: A4BF:23/5/23, black ink in sketchbook. Kitty: *(Un)Known Associates*, p.14, black ink. Unknown servant carrying Thomas Laidman Shaw: *Disorder*, p.10, acrylic paint. Unknown servant, also cleaning William Jones's eye: *Disorder*, p.39, graphite. Charley: A4BF:23/5/23, black ink in sketchbook. William Bewick: *Un)Known Associates*, p.15, black ink. John Head: card from *Un)Known Associates*, black ink. James 'Evans' Powell: *Un)Known Associates*, p.16, black ink. Three other ushers: SBF:6/5/22, black ink in

sketchbook. The boys, clockwise from underneath Head: SBE:22/4/21 (black fountain pen in sketchbook), faux-1980s film poster (digital), card from *Un)Known Associates* (black ink), *Disorder* p.36 (collage), *Disorder* p.1 (graphite).
p.118 - Phiz (Hablot Knight Browne), 'The Internal Economy of Dotheboys Hall'. Engraving in 1895 edition of Dickens's *The Life and Adventures of Nicholas Nickleby*.
p.119 - Miss Ryland, *Dotheboys Hall*, 1841, photographic reproduction of watercolour; published in Forster, J., *The Life of Charles Dickens*, London: Chapman & Hall, 1872-1874. British Library. Available at: https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/photographic-reproduction-of-dotheboys-hall-bowes-1841 [Accessed 29 May 2023]
p.120 - illustrations by E. Ridsdale Tate in T. P. Cooper's *With Dickens in Yorkshire*.
p.121 - illustration by Ridsdale Tate in Cooper's *With Dickens in Yorkshire*.
p.123 - IBB:2/9/18 - black ink in sketchbook. Face translation of Phiz's Wackford Squeers into my usual style, then de-exaggerated into a possible approximation of what William Shaw might have looked like.
p.124 - IBG:26/4/20 - black ink in sketchbook. Response to Alun Munslow's *Deconstructing History* (1997), p.2.
p.125 - Some historians might say - black ink in sketchbook. Drawn for the thesis.
p.126 - IBB:3/9/18 - black ink in sketchbook. Reference for William's clothes, based on an 1810 fashion plate on the Rijksmuseum's online archive (reference RP-P-2009-2411) and a tailcoat (c.1825) on the LACMA online archives (reference AC1992.17.3).
p.127 - detail of p.2 of Disorder, mixed media. Digitally processed to highlight William's visual language, graphite.
p.128 - detail of p.5 of Disorder, graphite.

Chapter 4 - The Created Nature of History
p.135 - Another possible problem with characters - SBG:6/11/22 - black ink in sketchbook.
p.136 - panel from 'Lord Snooty' comic drawn by R. T. "Bob" Nixon, in *The Beano*, 29 June 1968. Reproduced p.193 of Riches (ed.), *The History of the Beano*, 2008.
p.137 - IBK:6/5/21 - black ink in sketchbook. Response to Munslow's *Deconstructing History*, p.127. In my sketchbook, I mentioned that, on p.127 of Munslow's *Deconstructing History*, Foucault suggests that the idea of empirical facts is, in Munslow's words, "nothing more than a naïve discourse of nineteenth century science". In the original version of this comic, William began with "But of COURSE we can get at THE truth!" to which Drawn Ed responded with "No, we CAN'T. What century are you from?" and the comic proceeded as seen here. In this version, William quotes the definition of 'historian' from p.451 of *The Improved London Edition of Barclay's Dictionary, Superbly Embellished*, published by J. McGowan, Great Windmill Street, London. c.1812.
p.138 - As we've just seen - black ink in sketchbook. Drawn for the thesis.
p.138 - panels from 'Dennis the Menace and Gnasher' comic drawn by David Sutherland, in *The Beano*, 22 March 1986. Reproduced pp.238-240 of Riches (ed.), *The History of the Beano*, 2008.
p.139 - 'Dennis the Menace and Gnasher' comic drawn by David Sutherland, in *The Beano*, 5 April 1986. Reproduced p.239 of Riches (ed.), *The History of the Beano*, 2008.
p.140 - illustrations by Dan Hallett in Jonathan Walker's *Pistols! Treason! Murder!* - pp.168-169.
p.141 - illustrations by Dan Hallett in Jonathan Walker's *Pistols! Treason! Murder!* - pp.24-25 and p.199.
p.142 - Like this! - black ink in sketchbook. Test image for trial runs of using images in the thesis, which made it to the final cut.
p.143 - triangle diagram - IBP:10/2/23 - black ink in sketchbook. Drawn for the thesis.
p.144 - Art Spiegelman, *Maus*, p.54.
p.144 - own reference photograph. SBF:20-21/6/21, black biro in sketchbook. Final illustration, p.46 of *Disorder*, graphite.
p.145 - appendectomy drawing, personal sketchbook, November 2020, graphite. Detail from *Disorder*, p.5, p.1, p.28, and p.35, graphite.
p.146 - IBJ:22-24/11/20 - biro (black and other colours) in sketchbook. Response to own post-appendectomy experiences. Also a rough map of Barnard Castle, with approximate locations of some of William's associates.
pp.148-149 - IBG:24-25/6/20 - black ink in sketchbook. Response to Alun Munslow's *Deconstructing History*.
p.149 - IBH:6/9/20 - black ink in sketchbook. I thought I had decided on a subject to present in a paper.
p.150 - two cards from *(Un)Known Associates*, black ink, and p.32 of *Disorder*, graphite.
p.150 - IBK:5/5/21 - black ink in sketchbook. Response to p.105 of Alun Munslow's *Deconstructing History*.

p.151 - I don't actually know - comic from p.54 of *Disorder*, black brush-tipped pen and alcohol-based markers.
p.151 - You seem to enjoy - black ink in sketchbook. Drawn for the thesis. Charley calls us "caingy", a word meaning "Ill natured" (p.18), from Frederick Dinsdale's *A Glossary of Provincial Words used in Teesdale in the County of Durham* (1849).
p.152 - image from 'Lines on a Page' presentation, black ink and black coloured pencil.
p.152 - IBK:19/10/21 - black biro in sketchbook.
p.153 - IBG:24/6/20 - black ink in sketchbook. Both of these images are responses to Munslow's *Deconstructing History*.
p.154 - IBG:24/6/20 - black ink in sketchbook. Another response to Munslow's *Deconstructing History*.
p.155 - IBP:10/2/23 - black ink in sketchbook. Drawn for the thesis.
p.156 - IBG:25/6/20 - black ink in sketchbook. Response to Munslow's *Deconstructing History*.
p.158 - black ink in sketchbooks. Charley teaching is in SBB:9/9/19. Charley reading to his family is in SBC:7/12/19. Charley and Ann are in IBH:18/8/20.
p.159 - IBP:27/5/23 - black ink in sketchbook. Drawn for the thesis.
p.159 - So that's me in my context - black ink in sketchbook. Drawn for the thesis.
p.162 - card from *(Un)Known Associates*. Black ink.

Chapter 5 - Decontextualisation and Recontextualisation
p.164 - IBG:15-16/7/20. Black coloured pencil in sketchbook.
p.167 - illustrations by Dan Hallett in Jonathan Walker's *Pistols! Treason! Murder!* - p.109, p.111, and p.115.
p.168 - illustration by Dan Hallett in Jonathan Walker's *Pistols! Treason! Murder!* - p111.
p.169 - IBG:23/4/20 - black ink in sketchbook. Initial version of mermaid Bridget.
p.170 - IBG:26/5/20, black ink and blue acrylic marker in sketchbook, and IBG:3/7/20, blue markers in sketchbook.
p.171 - IBI:7/10/20, blue ink, blue watercolour, black biro, and graphite in sketchbook. SBA:5/5/19, blue and red biro, early development drawings for William and Charley.
p.172 - IBG:21/5/20 - coloured pencil in sketchbook.
p.173 - Blake's *The School-Boy*, markers and coloured pencil, A4BB, summer 2019.
p.174 - William Blake's *The School-Boy*, from *Songs of Innocence and of Experience*, Copy T (printed 1789, 1794, 1818), relief etching printed with coloured ink and hand colouring, at the British Museum, London, accession number 1856,0209.337-90. Available at: https://www.blakearchive.org/copy/songsie.t?descId=songsie.t.illbk.53 [Accessed 18 July 2023.]
p.175 - Blake's *The School-Boy*, markers and coloured pencil, A4BB, summer 2019.
p.176 - card from *(Un)Known Associates*. Black ink.
p.176 - SBB:11/8/19 - black ink in sketchbook.
p.177 - Blake's *The School-Boy*, markers and coloured pencil, A4BB, summer 2019.
p.178 - detail from *Disorder*, p.5 and p.9 in original layout, graphite.
p.179 - Blake's *The School-Boy*, markers and coloured pencil, A4BB, summer 2019.
p.180 - gravestones of George Ashton Taylor and John Cuthbert Dobson, photographed on site visit to Bowes, March 2020.
p.181 - Blake's *The School-Boy*, markers and coloured pencil, A4BB, summer 2019.
p.183 - Blake's *The School-Boy*, markers and coloured pencil, A4BB, summer 2019.
p.185 - East Window - black ink, watercolour, and coloured pencil.
p.186 - What things? - black ink in sketchbook. Drawn for the thesis.
p.187 - Charley and flames - black ink. Drawn for a writing blank. Writing blanks were used in schools contemporary with Shaw's Academy, and consisted of a blank sheet with a decorative frame of printed images; the child would use the blank space in the middle to produce a specimen of handwriting for their friends and relations. The images around the edges were frequently depicted scenes of an instructional or aspirational nature. I have no evidence whether or not writing blanks were used at any time at Bowes Academy.
p.188 - West Window - black ink, watercolour, and coloured pencil.
p.192 - Ok, so this is how I usually start - graphite and black ink in sketchbook. Drawn for the thesis.
p.195 - IBM:7-8/3/22 - black and coloured biro in sketchbook.
p.195 - Bear and Snake - black and coloured biro in sketchbook.
p.195 - card from *(Un)Known Associates*. Black ink.
p.196 - card from *(Un)Known Associates*. Black ink, with digital colour to highlight different elements of the image that could be associated with different Tarot interpretations. (The interpretations are taken from *(Un)Known Associates*, p.31 and p.33.)
p.197 - Remedios Varo, *Bordando el Manto Terrestre* (*Embroidering the Earth's Mantle*), 1961. Available at: https://www.arthistoryproject.com/artists/remedios-varo/embroidering-the-

earths-mantle/ [Accessed 1 June 2023]
p.198 - cards from *(Un)Known Associates*. Black ink.
p.199 - slide from Caldicot and District Local Historical and Archaeological Society talk, March 2020, black ink and wash. Two cards from *(Un)Known Associates,* black ink. p.11 of *Disorder*, hard pastel on brown paper.
p.200 - from top: faux-1980s film poster, digital. p.47 from *Disorder*, household emulsion and acrylic paint marker. p.10 from *Disorder*, acrylic paint. p.33 from *Disorder*, hard pastel on brown paper.
p.201 - card from *(Un)Known Associates*. Black ink.
p.202 - IBN:27/3/22 - final illustration for *(U)KA* card and notes. Black ink.
p.203 - What do the cards say? Nothing! - black ink in sketchbook. Drawn for the thesis.
p.211 - cards from *(Un)Known Associates*. Black ink.
p.211 - *Le Fol* (The Fool) from Jean Dodal's early eighteenth century Tarot of Marseilles. Dodal, J. (publisher), Major Arcana Tarot cards, c.1701-1715, woodcut printed ink on card with hand-colouring. Available at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tarot_of_Marseilles [Accessed 7 March 2022.]
p.212 - chaos star and arrow of law, digital.

Chapter 6 - Voicelessness
p.214 - However, you can easily see my bias - black ink in sketchbook. Drawn for the thesis. With part of p.44 of *Disorder*, graphite.
p.217 - SBF:4/10/21 - black and blue ink in sketchbook.
p.218 - cards from *(Un)Known Associates*, black ink. Part of p.35 of *Disorder*, graphite. Detail from *The Newcastle Courant etc* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, England), Saturday, November 29, 1828; Issue 8028. *British Library Newspapers, Part I: 1800-1900.*
p.219 - A4BB (undated), black ink and dip pen in sketchbook.
p.220 - When I was designing them - black ink in sketchbook. Drawn for the thesis.
p.220 - SBA:9/7/19 - black ink in sketchbook.
p.221 - detail of p.39 of *Disorder*, graphite. Detail from IBG:2/7/20, black ink in sketchbook.
p.221 - SBG:3/11/22 - black ink in sketchbook.
p.222 - p.24 (household emulsion and acrylic paint marker) and p.39 (graphite) of *Disorder*.
p.223 - p.8, p.10, p.15, p.17, p.21, p.26, and p.30, *Disorder*. Acrylic paint.
p.227 - p.41 of *Disorder*, graphite.
p.228 - p.20 of *Disorder*, collage of coloured paper, and laser-printed and ink-smeared page from an article about the ophthalmia trials from "Multiple News Items" *The Bury and Norwich Post: Or Suffolk, Essex, Cambridge, Ely, and Norfolk Telegraph* (Bury Saint Edmunds, England), Wednesday, November 05, 1823; Issue 2158. *British Library Newspapers.*
p.230 - A4BF:19/10/21 - graphite and black ink in sketchbook.
p.231 - laser-printed article about the ophthalmia trials ("CRUELTY OF A SCHOOLMASTER" *The Hull Packet and Original Weekly Commercial, Literary and General Advertiser* (Hull, England), Monday, November 10, 1823; Issue 1932. British Library Newspapers, Part I: 1800-1900.), household emulsion, and graphite.
p.232 - see above.
p.233 - Finally! I am sure I made my initial request - black ink in sketchbook. Drawn for the thesis.
p.235 - The historical sublime is genuinely - black ink in sketchbook. Drawn for the thesis.
p.240 - SBG:30/12/22 - black biro and markers in sketchbook.

Conclusion
p.245 - SBG:15/12/22 - black biro in sketchbook. William's speech is based on his letter to Mr and Mrs Brooks (dated 3 February 1826, quoted in Kirkpatrick, *Fact v Fiction*, p.124) in which Shaw seemed to expect a time "when calm reason resumes her seat again".
p.246 - IBK:23/5/21 - black biro and coloured pencil in sketchbook.
p.252 - IBO:3/7/22 - black ink in sketchbook. Drawn for the thesis.

Appendix 1 - The Historical Sublime
p.253 - black ink in sketchbook.

Appendix 2 - Images in this Thesis
p.256 - photograph of sketchbook pile. All PhD sketchbooks.

Appendix 3 - More of my Work

I try to post regularly on Instagram. https://www.instagram.com/ed.smike/

I post less regularly on my blog. https://eddrawshistory.blogspot.com

This post is an index of informal posts about my sketchbooks; on each of those posts, I discuss the most significant/ interesting/ useful things in each sketchbook. https://eddrawshistory.blogspot.com/2023/07/introduction-to-eds-phd-sketchbooks.html

Barrett, E., *Characterisation, context, and contemporary considerations: a reflective essay using practical examples to illustrate some potential advantages and disadvantages of historical research by drawing*, 2019. Available on academia.edu at https://www.academia.edu/118742814/Characterisation_context_and_contemporary_considerations_a_reflective_essay_using_practical_examples_to_illustrate_some_potential_advantages_and_disadvantages_of_historical_research_by_drawing and available on ResearchGate at https://www.researchgate.net/publication/380402858_Characterisation_context_and_contemporary_considerations_a_reflective_essay_using_practical_examples_to_illustrate_some_potential_advantages_and_disadvantages_of_historical_research_by_drawing [Accessed 8 May 2024.]

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PRIMARY SOURCES - directly relating to William Shaw, Bowes Academy, and Shaw's associates

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