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Portraiture, Biography and Public Histories

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Abstract

Portraits and biographies play a central role in engaging non-specialists with the past, and hence invite careful scrutiny. Major enterprises, such as the National Portrait Gallery in London and the *Dictionary of National Biography*, in both its original and Oxford versions, provide rich examples for reflecting on public history and on the relationships between types of writing about past times. These issues relate to literature as well as to history, given the prominence of biographies of literary figures, and the role of literary scholars as authors of biographies. Using materials concerning the artist John Collier (1850–1934), the publisher George Smith (1824–1901) and the surgeon James Paget (1814–1899), this article examines the relationships between portraits and biographies and the types of insight they afford. Colin Matthew's innovation of including portraits in the *Oxford Dictionary*, together with his own scholarship on William Gladstone (1809–1898), including his portraits, provide the basis for suggestions about the role of work when representing lives, including those of historians. Public history can only benefit from research practices being discussed in an accessible manner, as attempted here.

Keywords: portrait; biography; John Collier; George Smith; James Paget; Colin Matthew; *Dictionary of National Biography*; public history; National Portrait Gallery; William Gladstone

On 6 June 1894, contributors to the *Dictionary of National Biography* (DNB) gave a dinner to honour George Smith (1824–1901), the publisher behind this complex, ambitious and costly venture. Drawing on newspaper reports, a pamphlet recounted the occasion in some detail. One copy found its way into the archives of London's National Portrait Gallery (NPG) in the folder, or 'registered packet', associated with a portrait of Smith 'presented by a group of the sitter's friends' to the gallery in 1911.¹ Smith died seven years after the

¹ The pamphlet was simply entitled 'Dinner to Mr. George Smith'. The wording is from the NPG website: <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw05841/George-Smith?LinkID=mp04146&role=sit&rNo=0> (last accessed 8 Mar. 2022).

dinner; his likeness was painted posthumously by John Collier (1850–1934), a well-connected artist to whom many prominent figures sat from Charles Darwin and Thomas Henry Huxley in the 1880s to Rudyard Kipling in 1891 and 1900 and George Bernard Shaw in the 1920s.² It is not clear precisely how Collier went about making the image of Smith, although his sitters' book indicates that he undertook a number of posthumous works and so presumably had developed effective techniques for doing so.³ In any case it seems highly likely that Smith and Collier knew one another. Towards the end of his life Smith dictated an autobiography to Dr Fitchett, substantial portions of which were published in a volume written by Collier's brother-in-law, Leonard Huxley (1860–1933).⁴ The registered packet for NPG 1620 also contains letters from Smith's widow Elizabeth about the portrait.⁵

'Portrait' is an evocative idea, hence it is plausible to think of the pamphlet, with its verbatim reports of speeches, as portraying a special occasion associated with a great biographical venture. The painting of George Smith entered a prominent national institution dedicated to displaying representations of significant figures from the past. In Elizabeth's understanding it was his 'work for literature' that was being honoured: George was a successful publisher and businessman, a generous nurturer of writers and played a prominent role in the literary world of the British Empire.⁶ Publishing was not Smith's only

² Information on many of Collier's portraits may be gleaned from the Art UK website: https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/view_as/grid/search/makers;john-collier-18501934 (last accessed 13 Jan. 2022). See also note 3 below. For the artist's views on portraiture see *The Art of Portrait Painting* (1905). His values were close to those of his father-in-law, Thomas Henry Huxley, and are set out in *The Religion of an Artist* (1926). Collier was skilled in finding suitable visual idioms for his subjects, including his controversial father-in-law. On portraiture in general see Richard Brilliant, *Portraiture* (1991); Joanna Woodall (ed.), *Portraiture: Facing the Subject* (Manchester, 1997); and Andreas Beyer, *Portraits: A History* (New York, 2003). On portrait prints, see Antony Griffiths, *The Print before Photography: An Introduction to European Printmaking 1550–1820* (2016), 396–400.

³ A photocopy of John Collier's sitters' book may be consulted in the Heinz Archive of the National Portrait Gallery, London. It indicates that Collier made drawings for Thackeray in 1879 and that the originals were in the possession of George Smith, 5–6. Smith had hired Thackeray in 1860 to edit the *Cornhill Magazine*. See also notes 4 and 9 below.

⁴ Leonard Huxley, *The House of Smith Elder* (1923). Huxley had worked for the firm. John Collier married Marian Huxley in 1879; two years after her death in 1887 he married her sister Ethel in Norway, since marriage to a deceased wife's sister remained illegal in England until 1907. He painted many members of the Huxley family and his own family. Smith's 'Recollections of a Long and Busy Life' is a two-volume typescript in the National Library of Scotland MS239191-2. Volume II, chs. 18 and 19 concern artists he knew. Considerably more space is given to authors and his broader contacts in London society. Throughout, Smith is precise about the financial side of his businesses. Sidney Lee drew on it and many other sources for his 'Memoir' of Smith, first published in 1901, Sidney Lee (ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography* (1909), vol. xxii (Supplement), xi–xlix. See xlvi for the 1894 dinner and other honours Smith received.

⁵ All items in the primary collection have a unique reference number, starting with NPG 1 (the Chandos portrait of Shakespeare), the first formal accession, and a registered packet in the Heinz Archive, which also contains administrative records and comparative materials on sitters and artists. Collier's portrait of Darwin is NPG1024, presented by one of his sons in 1896; his portrait of Huxley is NPG 3168, donated in 1943, also by a son.

⁶ In addition to Leonard Huxley's book cited above, see Jenifer Glynn, *Prince of Publishers: A Biography of George Smith* (1986). Smith owned the *Cornhill Magazine* and the evening newspaper

business, as Sidney Lee's account of his life made clear; he was shrewd, hard-working and generous.⁷ As a result he became wealthy, with his munificence to writers and artists whose company he enjoyed a manifestation of his success. Noting how the elements of a life such as his can be given expression is a historical-cum-literary task. Smith portrayed himself in his speech at the 1894 dinner, which was a deft blend of patriotic sentiment and becoming modesty about a unique and arduous achievement: 'Well gentlemen, the "Dictionary of National Biography" was my idea. (Loud cheers.)'⁸ The agency of this particular publisher is historically significant, all the more so since credit for initiating the *DNB* is often given to Leslie Stephen. Smith's richly detailed memoir enabled Leonard Huxley, who knew him well, to record not only the history of a publishing business, but an individual's contributions to public life. Portraits and biographies intermingled then as they do now, enabling us to form a lively sense of the worlds of Thackeray and Darwin, Gladstone and Charlotte Brontë.⁹

Similar connections and resonances are alive in the present day. They are singularly apt when honouring Colin Matthew (1941–1999), a distinguished historian, editor and biographer, and the founding editor of the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, the successor to George Smith's venture, from 1992 until his death. He also collected and wrote about portraits. Colin valued clear exposition and was deeply committed to sharing historical knowledge as widely as possible. He was indeed a public historian.

The story of George Smith, his dinner and the posthumous portrait is public history. The sources mentioned so far are in the public domain, they are not arcane but touch on areas of wide interest. Thus they can be put to work in accounts that are suitable for non-specialists. Such rich materials from Victorian and Edwardian Britain, a time when biography and portraiture were, as today, prominent genres, reveal the potential of two major cultural forms to speak to both academic and broader audiences. These genres enjoy

the *Pall Mall Gazette*, as well as trading extensively with India. Claire Harman, in *Charlotte Brontë: A Life* (2015), discusses Brontë's dealings with Smith, Elder and with George Smith. Both Leonard Huxley and Jenifer Glynn emphasise, as does Smith himself in 'Recollections', Smith's centrality in literary life.

⁷ Sidney Lee initially assisted Leslie Stephen in editing the *DNB*, and then became sole editor. See note 4 above.

⁸ 'Dinner', 7, where he also made claims about uniqueness; and on 8 emphasised his work as 'a private individual without any of that aid which is given by the State to the production of such national works on the Continent'.

⁹ George Smith was closely associated with both Thackeray and Brontë. He published volumes by Darwin, who was painted by Collier (NPG 1024), and was on friendly terms with James Paget and Leslie Stephen, the first editor of the *DNB*. Gladstone consulted Paget for medical advice, and attended an oration he gave in 1877, discussed below. Leslie Stephen had worked with George Smith on the *Cornhill Magazine*, edited by Thackeray before Stephen did so; his first wife was Thackeray's daughter. Gladstone was familiar with works by Brontë, Darwin, Stephen and Thackeray: H. G. C. Matthew (comp.), *The Gladstone Diaries with Cabinet Minutes and Prime-Ministerial Correspondence*, xiv: Index (Oxford, 1994), 316, 352, 567, 576. John Collier's father Robert, politician, judge and amateur artist, also featured in Gladstone's life, 55.

a long-established place in hearts and minds and invite the attention of historians. Like ‘portrait’, ‘biography’ is an evocative and versatile notion with a life history of its own, encompassing many types of text from brief dictionary entries to popular books on familiar figures and learned multi-volume works.¹⁰ Biographical forms – including documentaries and biopics, websites and blogs – make a major contribution to public history. While currently some biographies at least are both profitable and popular, this category of writing occupies a more complex position in the academy, especially among historians.¹¹

As a practice and as an object of study, biography does not sit neatly within a single discipline. Its closest kinship is with literary studies – the background of many biographers whether they work outside or inside the academy – but biography is everywhere. Biographers come from many backgrounds and disciplines where the craft of writing is given less attention. In university departments of history, for instance, little emphasis is placed on close reading in the service of analysing writing as such and on honing students’ literary skills, although historians too are writers. Writing in the spare way expected in biographical dictionaries presents its own distinctive challenges. Since biographers and biographees are necessarily historically located, life-writing in all its forms is certainly a proper study for historians. Portraiture raises different questions for the discipline of history. Few writers, no matter what their discipline, are likely to have the artistic skills to capture a likeness, while there are distinct disciplines, such as art history, museology and visual culture studies, where the study of portraiture finds a home. As a practice and object of study, then, portraiture is more distant from historical practice than biography, yet it occupies a prominent place in public history as is evident from the popularity of portrait galleries, especially in the English-speaking world, and from the ubiquity of portraits in publications, websites, film and television. Taking our cue from Colin Matthew, historians do well to consider the relationships between portraits and biographies, alongside public history and routine historical activities. We can work at untangling the changing fortunes

¹⁰ On the history of biography, in addition to works cited elsewhere, see Harold Nicolson, *The Development of English Biography* (1927); A. O. J. Cockshut, *Truth to Life: The Art of Biography in the Nineteenth Century* (1974); David Ellis (ed.), *Imitating Art: Essays in Biography* (1993); and Juliette Atkinson, *Victorian Biography Reconsidered: A Study of Nineteenth-Century ‘Hidden’ Lives* (Oxford, 2010) – ch. 7 of which concerns the DNB.

¹¹ Introductions to ‘biography’ include Hermione Lee, *Biography: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford, 2009), and Nigel Hamilton, *Biography: A Brief History* (Cambridge, MA, 2007). See also Barbara Caine, *Biography and History*, 2nd edn (Basingstoke, 2018); Eric Homberger and John Charmley (eds.), *The Troubled Face of Biography* (New York, 1988); Paula Backscheider, *Reflections on Biography* (Oxford, 1999); and Peter France and William St Clair (eds.), *Mapping Lives: The Uses of Biography* (2004). Any ambivalence historians may feel about a genre so closely associated with literature is seemingly allayed when the subject is politically powerful or intellectually majestic. Blanning and Cannadine reveal something of historians’ ambivalence: ‘Few historians today trouble themselves with large-scale, full-dress biographies. Even fewer biographers write anything that is recognisable as serious history.’ T. C. W. Blanning and David Cannadine (eds.), *History and Biography: Essays in Honour of Derek Beales* (Cambridge, 1996), 1. These sentiments are repeated in the book’s blurb: ‘biography is too important to be left to the amateurs.’

of biography and portraiture and the genres' position within general culture, academic settings and distinct areas of scholarship. In any case, the fact remains that scholars are wordsmiths, and thus are less at home working with visual materials, such as paintings, prints, drawings and sculptures of specific people. Portraits are a fertile source for historians, but they still have to be elucidated verbally. When reflecting on visual culture we rely on words and their skilled deployment.

Historical practices are changing all the time. Approaches, subject matter and value systems shift; teachers, whether in schools or higher education, adapt accordingly, as do publishers and the media. It is an integral part of being historians that we note, reflect on and critique such trends. The rise of public history since the Second World War exemplifies the point. In so far as 'public history' refers to a field dedicated to charting and evaluating the innumerable ways in which versions of the past reach wide audiences, then it does indeed reveal significant alterations in historical practice over recent decades, with university courses and publications proliferating at a remarkable rate. 'Public history' has a second meaning, however, since it also refers to historical products – plays, merchandise, novels, documentaries, magazines, websites and much more – through which non-specialist audiences engage with the past.¹² Technological innovation notwithstanding, these broad phenomena are not new at all, and might be deemed coeval with history itself. The task of assessing the historical forms that reach wide audiences need not be confined to practitioners of a relatively new subfield called 'public history', it can be performed by historians no matter what their specialism, since it leads to the re-evaluation of methods, sources, consumers, audiences and co-creators, their interests and concerns.

Certain genres, portraiture and biography above all, have played a prominent role in bringing notable figures to diverse publics over many centuries. Statues with inscriptions in streets and squares, there for anyone to view, provide an excellent example, illustrating not only how likenesses together with key pieces of (verbal) information occupied public spaces, but also how the individuals they recognise, along with their deeds, were of general interest and of concern to a polity. Portraits and biographies are ancient, related, even co-dependent types of artefact through which the present is recorded, celebrated, represented and disseminated for the sake of the future, when they come to evoke a past. These genres continue to function in such ways, working together in the public realm to recognise a select few; hence they invite the attention of historians.¹³ To explore such phenomena this article uses materials linked with the National Portrait Gallery in London, the *Dictionary of National Biography* and its successor the *Oxford Dictionary of*

¹² Works that indicate the range of public history include Roy Rosenzweig, *Clio Wired: The Future of the Past in the Digital Age* (New York, 2011); Hilda Kean and Paul Martin (eds.), *The Public History Reader* (2015); Alix Green, *History, Policy and Public Purpose: Historians and Historical Thinking in Government* (2016); James Gardner and Paula Hamilton (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Public History* (New York, 2017); and Ludmilla Jordanova, *History in Practice*, 3rd edn (2019), esp. ch. 7.

¹³ I take 'the public realm' to include publications and websites.

National Biography. The goal is to examine lives and likenesses, the relations between them, and the insights these phenomena afford, insights that are, especially in a digital world, of wide significance. Historical activities, no matter who undertakes them, draw upon ubiquitous skills, habits and forms of curiosity.

In their different modes, portraits and biographies represent lives; so much is obvious. Precisely how they do so is less clear, given the diverse ways in which they work and the range of responses they elicit. ‘Bringing the past to life’ is a familiar claim, and people have been inclined not only to accept that portraits above all may do so but more generally to see the boundaries between living beings and images as distinctly fragile. Attributing animation to artworks has been common practice in Western art traditions. Finding life in a portrait is hardly far-fetched.¹⁴ Visual representations of human beings, especially those depicting nameable persons, can provoke strong reactions in viewers.¹⁵ It is thus no surprise to find that both Leslie Stephen and his successor at the DNB, Sidney Lee (1859–1926), reflected on the writing of biography in terms of portraiture and the ways in which it could animate figures from the past.¹⁶ In any case, portraits can hardly exist apart from words, whether spoken or written. Records of commissions, conversations about likenesses, texts that evoke a life and images that accompany biographies show visual and verbal elements intermingling, illuminating and modifying each other. Take, for example, the use of signatures under portrait prints, which exemplifies the kinship of visual and verbal, and present in a book about the life of an eminent Victorian surgeon. The *Memoirs and Letters of Sir James Paget* (1814–99), edited by his son Stephen (1855–1926), was published in three editions between 1901 and 1903, and adorned with portraits of the prominent medical man. The frontispiece to the first edition includes his signature – ‘Ever yours James Paget’ – based on a work by George Richmond (1809–1896) from 1867 (see Figure 1).

Writing one’s name with one’s own hand may be construed as an act of portrayal, one that enhances viewers’ sense of the person depicted and in a historically precise way. The signature, put under Mr. Richmond’s portrait of him, was written in 1891, when he was 77 years old.¹⁷ Further, Paget’s signature had an aural dimension: ‘we knew the moment when he signed a letter, and the etching sound of his pen changed to a swishing sound as he wrote his name.’ Richmond’s original work, in the collections of London’s Portrait Gallery (NPG 1635), is a chalk drawing on buff paper. It shows Paget’s head

¹⁴ Caroline van Eck et al. (eds.), *The Secret Lives of Art Works: Exploring the Boundaries between Art and Life* (Leiden, 2014), esp. the introduction.

¹⁵ The names of sitters can be lost, but other evidence may indicate that the image is a ‘portrait’, a visual representation of a specific, *nameable* person, designed to indicate their appearance. There are many ways of defining ‘portrait’.

¹⁶ Key texts include Leslie Stephen, *Studies of a Biographer*, 1 (1898), 1–36, and *Men, Books and Mountains* (1956), 7–15; Sidney Lee, *Principles of Biography* (Cambridge, 1911).

¹⁷ Stephen Paget (ed.), *Memoirs and Letters of Sir James Paget with Portraits and Other Illustrations* (1901), 256. The pagination and illustrations vary slightly over three editions; the second was published in 1902, the third in 1903, where all the previous impressions are listed.



Figure 1 Frontispiece to *Memoirs and Letters of Sir James Paget edited by Stephen Paget One of His Sons with Portraits and Other Illustrations*, London, New York and Bombay, 1901. Plate 11 × 15 cm, page 14 × 21.8 cm. Engraved by Walter L. Colls.

and shoulders, giving no indications of his surgical activities, and was made for an elite club to which he belonged. Members exchanged engraved versions of the drawings.¹⁸ Richmond's artwork can be viewed on the NPG website, where the standard details of the size, medium, date and manner of acquisition are provided, alongside other depictions of Paget made from 1849 onwards.¹⁹ The latter include prints after paintings by Richmond and Millais and a

¹⁸ Paget was a member of Grillion's. See note 33 below.

¹⁹ <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw04828/Sir-James-Paget-1st-Bt?LinkID=mp03420&search=sas&sText=James+Paget&OConly=true&role=sit&rNo=0> (last accessed 8 Apr. 2022).

Vanity Fair cartoon from 1876. Stephen Paget sold the drawing to the gallery in 1911 to raise funds for the children of a brother who had recently died.²⁰

Such conjunctions of life and likeness were commonplace by the nineteenth century. Arguably their roots go back to the beginnings of European print culture and the common practice of placing portraits of authors as frontispieces, although in such cases the portrait was likely to be more prominent than any biographical material, which was frequently minimal or absent.²¹ A tighter relationship is envisioned when the two forms are explicitly treated as complementary to one another, as if each on its own would somehow be incomplete. A notable example is the eighteenth-century work by Thomas Birch (1705–1766), *The Heads of Illustrious Persons of Great Britain*, where portraits and biographies sit side by side on facing pages. The ‘illustrious persons’ appear chronologically so that history unfolds before the reader’s eyes. Birch was the author of other historical works; his selection of heads emphasises monarchs and those prominent in politics and military affairs. Isaac Newton and William Harvey, for example, figure, in acknowledgement of their exceptional intellectual attainments.²² The elaborate, high-quality engravings by leading figures indicate the value placed on the portraits. It is noteworthy that the plates generally mentioned the owner of the original artwork from which the print was derived, so that patterns of collecting are woven into the engagement with lives and likenesses, encouraging wide-ranging associations to be made.²³

The complementarity between biographies and portraits can also be discerned in extra-illustrated volumes, sometimes described as ‘grangerised’, after the Rev. James Granger (1723–1776), whose *A Biographical History of England from Egbert the Great to the Revolution: Consisting of Characters Disposed in Different Classes, and adapted to a methodical catalogue of engraved British heads* went through several editions from 1769 onwards, with a portrait of Granger as the frontispiece.²⁴ His *Biographical History* lists known portraits of individuals, generally accompanied by fairly brief biographical comments, and arranged first by reign and then by ‘class’ starting with the highest

²⁰ <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/person/mp03420/sir-james-paget-1st-bt> (last accessed 14 Jan. 2022). Registered packet for NPG 1635, letter from Stephen Paget, dated 25 Oct. 1911. NPG Ax39071 is a 1916 photograph of Stephen. The importance of providing the basic details of artworks is articulated in Florence Grant and Ludmilla Jordanova (eds.), *Writing Visual Histories* (2020), e.g. 157–8, 164. Regrettably it is not standard practice in biographies illustrated by portraits.

²¹ Griffiths, *The Print before Photography*, 185–6, is illuminating on frontispieces. Cf. Richard Wendorf, *The Elements of Life: Biography and Portrait-Painting in Stuart and Georgian England* (Oxford, 1990).

²² Several copies of these prints are in the NPG collections, e.g. NPG D27271 (Harvey) and NPG D 19601 (Newton).

²³ *The Heads of Illustrious Persons of Great Britain, Engraved by Mr Houbenken and Mr. Vertue with Their Lives and Characters* by Thomas Birch (1743). Cf. his *The History of the Royal Society of London* (1756–7) and *The Life of Henry Prince of Wales* (1760). On Birch see A. E. Gunther, *An Introduction to the Life of the Rev. Thomas Birch* (Halesworth, 1984); 50–1 is about *Heads*, which had a complex publishing history and titles vary. I have used the copy in the library of New College, Oxford (NB.120.20. X3). The 1747 edition is available on Google Books.

²⁴ I have used the fourth edition, James Granger, *A Biographical History of England ...* (4 vols., 1804).

rank – working through the royal family, great officers of state, peers and so on, ending with class XII, ‘Persons of both Sexes ... remarkable from only one Circumstance of their Lives; namely such as lived to a great Age, deformed Persons, Convicts, &c.’²⁵ The practice whereby a book is disassembled, and prints, often but not always portraits, inserted into a blank sheet placed to face the relevant text, and then rebound, frequently in folio volumes, reveals much about the relationships between likenesses and lives. This labour-intensive and highly skilled activity continued into the twentieth century.²⁶ The resources and deliberation that extra-illustration demands invite us to follow past mindsets about the relationships between portraits and biographies. The set of seventy-three extra-illustrated volumes of the *Dictionary of National Biography* in the Heinz Archive was compiled by the twentieth-century print collector J. H. MacDonnell and includes some 7,000 portraits.²⁷ There is no additional commentary by the compiler, as is sometimes present. Somewhat like Birch’s *Heads*, biography and portrait sit side by side complementing one another. Thanks to Colin Matthew, this is also the case for many lives in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, published in 2004 and continuously updated online since then.²⁸ The innovation arose from his own interest in portraits and the advent of digital technologies.²⁹ In its nineteenth-century form many entries noted the subject’s physical appearance together with portraits of them – an indication of attentiveness to visual characteristics.

If Colin Matthew’s commitment to public history found its fullest expression in the *Oxford Dictionary*, it is evident in his earlier research, including when it took the most rigorous scholarly forms, as in his work on William Gladstone (1809–1898). One of Matthew’s crowning achievements is the index to the multi-volume edition of Gladstone’s diaries, cabinet minutes and prime-

²⁵ On Granger, portraits and extra-illustration see Marcia Pointon, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven, 1993), esp. 53–78; all Granger’s classes are listed on 56. See also Lucy Peltz, *Facing the Text: Extra-illustration, Print Culture and Society in Britain: 1769–1840* (San Marino, CA, 2017).

²⁶ Extra-illustrated versions of Wheatley’s *London Past and Present*, 1891, and of the DNB are in the Heinz Archive, NPG; for a twentieth-century extra-illustrated version of a nineteenth-century biographical compilation by William Munk, held in the Royal College of Physicians, London, see Ludmilla Jordanova, *Physicians and Their Images* (2018), 96–103; the compilers’ explanatory preface is reproduced in full on 98.

²⁷ In some cases several prints accompany a single biographical entry. There is no additional commentary by the compiler, which is sometimes present, as in the version of Munk’s *Roll* discussed in Jordanova, *Physicians*.

²⁸ On the ODNB see Robin Myers et al. (eds.), *Lives in Print: Biography and the Book Trade from the Middle Ages to the 21st Century* (New Castle, DE, 2002), 171–92; H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (eds.), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 1 (Oxford, 2004), Introduction, also issued as a separate pamphlet; and Keith Thomas, *Changing Conceptions of National Biography: The Oxford DNB in Historical Perspective* (Cambridge, 2005).

²⁹ Colin Matthew set up a partnership with the NPG in order to include portraits with entries and have a clear policy for doing so: Arianne Burnette, ‘A Report on the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Picture Research Project 1996–2003’ (2003). Special thanks to ODNB staff for supplying a copy of the report. Colin Matthew collected portraits, especially of Gladstone, and was a trustee of NPG 1998–9.

ministerial correspondence. In fact his 1994 tome contains three indexes: a *dramatis personae*, Gladstone's lifetime reading and a subject index. As Dennis Duncan put it in *Index, A History of the*, its 'job is to mediate between author and audience ... The ordering of an index is reader-orientated ...'³⁰ Volume XIV allows those with no special knowledge of Gladstone's life and work to glimpse and grasp elements of them and explore them further. Formidable historical complexities are rendered accessible. It is possible to consider portraits of Gladstone, those by John Everett Millais (1829–1896) and George Richmond, for example, in the context of the sitter's biography through this publication.³¹ As a result, the artists, their worlds and those of their sitters can be brought to life and given flesh so to speak. Thus we learn that Gladstone's relationship with Richmond included their shared religious interests, while many of those he knew, Thomas Henry Huxley (1825–1895), for example, held quite different views in key areas.³²

Gladstone had consulted James Paget on medical matters in 1873; both were depicted by Millais, while George Richmond, who had drawn the politician in 1843, was a mutual friend.³³ A significant encounter occurred in 1877; thanks to Colin Matthew's labours, it is possible to marry Gladstone's and Paget's accounts and to appreciate something of the portrait-biography nexus in action.³⁴ Gladstone recorded that on Tuesday 13 February he heard Paget deliver the Hunterian Oration at the College of Surgeons between 3 and 4 in afternoon.³⁵

³⁰ Dennis Duncan, *Index, A History of the* (2021), 2, 7.

³¹ *Gladstone Diaries ... Index*, 177 and 762 (Millais), 215 (Richmond) and 792–3 for references to all Gladstone's portraits. See also H. C. G. Matthew, 'Portraits of Men: Millais and Victorian Public Life', in *Millais Portraits*, ed. Peter Funnell et al. (1999), 139–61. John Collier commented on Gladstone and Millais in *Art of Portrait Painting*, 62–3, and was a great admirer of Millais, who in turn worked, and was close friends with, George Smith according to Sidney Lee's 'Memoir', xxv.

³² For their shared religious interests see M. R. D. Foot and H. C. G. Matthew (eds.), *The Gladstone Diaries, III: 1840–1847* (Oxford, 1974), 89 and 90. On Richmond's religiosity see Raymond Lister, *George Richmond: A Critical Biography* (1981). For Huxley, see 133 in *Gladstone Diaries ... Index*, and 431 for the works by Huxley that Gladstone read. Huxley was explicit about his disagreements with Gladstone when writing to his friend and associate Michael Foster; see W. F. Bynum and Caroline Overy (eds.), *Michael Foster and Thomas Henry Huxley, Correspondence, 1865–1895* (2009), e.g. letters 309–11 and 318.

³³ Millais's 1872 portrait of Paget is in St Bartholomew's Hospital, London, and is reproduced in Paget, *Memoirs*, 1901, facing 252. Gladstone, Richmond and Paget's membership of Grillion's club suggests further dimensions of these relationships. On Grillion's see Paget, *Memoirs*, 265, 287, 360, 362, 406: he joined in 1873 and encountered Gladstone there. Numerous references to the club appear in Matthew, *Gladstone Diaries ... Index*, 652. P.G.E., *Grillion's Club from its Origins in 1812 to its Fiftieth Anniversary* (1880), includes a portrait frontispiece of Thomas Dyke Acland with his signature, and specimen signatures of fifty-five members as an appendix; Richmond's is no. 36. *Grillion's Club: A Chronicle 1812–1913 compiled by the Secretaries* (Oxford, 1914) lists all members, 35–92, where the biographical component consists of a list of offices and honours; 99–109 concerns club portraits (a collection of prints made after drawings, hung on the walls where dinners took place and circulated among members). Many of them were by Richmond, who is described as 'artist to the club', 79.

³⁴ For Gladstone's contacts with Paget see *Gladstone Diaries ... Index*, 195; see Paget's *Memoirs*, 155, 284, 362, 406, 416 for his references to Gladstone.

³⁵ H. C. G. Matthew (ed.), *The Gladstone Diaries with Cabinet Minutes and Prime-Ministerial Correspondence, IX: 1875–1880* (Oxford, 1986), 193.

The Oration was named after John Hunter (1728–1793), whose collections form the centrepiece of the College, with him as venerated forebear. Gladstone then proposed Paget's health at the dinner, which took place in the 'Museum', that is, among items acquired by John Hunter and displayed by those who considered themselves his heirs. Stephen Paget observes that his father spoke 'under Reynolds's magnificent portrait of Hunter' and quotes passages from the oration. James was a renowned public speaker, who memorised his text, delivering it with apparent ease. He drew attention to Reynolds's canvas and its significance: 'In that masterpiece of portraiture, which teaches like a chapter of biography, Hunter ... is at rest and looking out, ... as one who is looking far beyond and from things visible into a world of truth and law which can only be intellectually discerned.'³⁶ It is not hard to see why Paget was drawn to Reynolds's version of Hunter, as a man who, although he was known to lack social graces, possessed intellectual prowess, a 'scientific mind', discernible to the artist, who was on visiting terms with John and his wife Anne. Through Reynolds, Hunter became both vividly present to and a strategic asset for later surgeons aspiring to combine commitment to 'the highest scientific culture' with the status of gentleman. As James Paget put it, 'Yes: Hunter did more than anyone to make us gentlemen'³⁷ – with the artist playing a vital mediating role. It is striking that this portrait spawned more than twenty derivative prints.³⁸ John Hunter and later commentators worked hard, in and through the portrait, which becomes a portal to concerns about science, social status, masculinity, collecting human remains – shown in the portrait – and more.³⁹

Reynolds's 1786 depiction remains central to the College's identity; it features in later group portraits of the institution's leading figures and until recently was usually hung in the Council Room, its organisational heart.⁴⁰ When the work was first exhibited, anatomy and dissection remained controversial practices.⁴¹ If portraits and biography are manifestly entwined in this example, so they are in the entry for John Hunter in the *Dictionary of*

³⁶ Paget, *Memoirs*, 284–5. A copy of Reynolds's portrait is in the NPG (NPG 77); the original, in the Royal College of Surgeons, is available on the Art UK website: <https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/john-hunter-17281793-146023> (last accessed 14 Jan. 2022).

³⁷ Paget, *Memoirs*, 286

³⁸ Derivative prints may be found in the National Portrait Gallery, the Wellcome Collection and the British Museum, for example.

³⁹ On Paget's contexts see W. F. Bynum, *Science and the Practice of Medicine in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1994), esp. 142–4, 218–19, and M. Jeanne Peterson, *Family, Love, and Work in the Lives of Victorian Gentlewomen* (Bloomington, 1989), which uses much material relating to the Paget family. It is possible that the long legs shown on the right-hand side of the canvas belonged to Charles Byrne (1761–1783), who had tried to prevent his corpse being dissected.

⁴⁰ At the time of writing, there is building work being undertaken so there will no longer be a 'Council Room'. Reynolds's portrait will hang in the museum. See also Keren Hammerschlag, 'The Gentleman Artist-Surgeon in Late Victorian Group Portraiture', *Visual Culture in Britain*, 14 (2013), 154–78. On 156 there is a painting of the Council 1884–5, including Paget, in the company of Reynolds's portrait of Hunter.

⁴¹ David Mannings, *Sir Joshua Reynolds: A Complete Catalogue of his Paintings* (2 vols., New Haven, 2000), text volume, 271–2, is an authoritative, 'plain' account; the portrait was exhibited in 1786, 1813, 1846 and 1873 before the twentieth century. James Paget spoke in Oxford in 1886 when a

National Biography, written by George Thomas Bettany (1850–1891), who also penned articles on John's older brother William, Anne Hunter and John's nemesis Jesse Foot amongst his 206 contributions.⁴² In Bettany's account both appearance and depiction were noteworthy:

In person Hunter was of middle height, vigorous, and robust, with high shoulders and rather short neck. His features were strongly marked, with prominent eyebrows, pyramidal forehead, and eyes of light blue or grey. His hair in youth was a reddish yellow, in later years white. The fine portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds ... in the possession of the Royal College of Surgeons was a happy and sudden inspiration, due to Hunter's falling into a reverie.⁴³

Reynolds's 'chapter of biography', to use Paget's words, does not deny Hunter's surgical and anatomical interests, but it does elevate them, by visual means, to higher social and intellectual status.

Every figure mentioned so far, with the exception of Bettany, figures in the DNB and/or the ODNB.⁴⁴ In each case it was necessary for the editors to be clear about why individuals are worthy of inclusion, and if so how long an entry each merited. Such criteria are sensitive to historical change, including shifting languages for describing work, status, attainment and attributes. Leslie Stephen's writings make clear that these issues could generate considerable frustration, conflict and anger for those involved. He was also attentive to contributors' writing style, which he insisted should be spare and to the point given the pressures on space, a valuable reminder of the textual diversity of 'biography'. Conveying a subject's distinctive features was also effected by a 'tag' that follows name and date of birth. This practice may be found in Birch's *Heads*, and is also followed by the NPG on labels and the website.

statue of Hunter was unveiled in the University Museum, *Memoir*, 359–60. Although Hunter is shown standing, his head on hand and faraway look echo Reynolds's depiction.

⁴² Gillian Fenwick, *The Contributors' Index to the Dictionary of National Biography 1885–1901* (Winchester and Detroit, 1989), xvi, 28–30. Jesse Foot, *The Life of John Hunter* (1794), is a relentlessly hostile account; there is an extra-illustrated version in the Wellcome Collection, London. Hunter's alleged coarseness was held up for ridicule in both versions.

⁴³ GTB, 'John Hunter', in *Dictionary of National Biography*, x, ed. Sidney Lee (1908), 287–93, at 290. The NPG version of Reynolds's painting is an 1813 copy by John Jackson; another copy is in Oriel College, Oxford. According to Bettany, 'Sharp's engraving from it (1788) is one of his best works.' See also Ludmilla Jordanova, 'Medical Men 1780–1820', in *Portraiture*, ed. Woodall, 101–15; 112 reproduces a watercolour from the grangerised version of Foot's biography that depicts John Hunter as a wheelwright or a carpenter before his brother William brought him to London – issues around manual and intellectual labour are central to surgical identity.

⁴⁴ Colin Matthew decided that everyone included the first time round would receive an entry in the ODNB. Candidates in both cases had to be dead; currently the interval between date of death and appearance online is four years. Bettany wrote popular science books, including ones with a historical slant – *Life of Charles Darwin* (1887); *Eminent Doctors: Their Lives and Their Work* (1885) – as well as more obviously 'historical' volumes, such as *A Popular History of the Reformation and Modern Protestantism* (1895).

Thomas Birch was simply 'historian' for the NPG, 'compiler of histories and biographer' for *ODNB*. James Granger is 'biographer and collector' on the gallery's website. Birch and Granger were both ordained and are shown with clerical bands in their portraits. John Hunter is 'surgeon and anatomist'.⁴⁵ Charles Byrne, one of the 'Irish giants' and dissected by John Hunter, is simply given the tag 'giant' in the *ODNB*; he would fit neatly into Granger's class XII. Such terms have their histories, including the organisational settings in which they arise and are deployed and broad linguistic shifts.

Ways of assessing past figures are further complicated by the presence of 'national', whether this pertains to an institution or a publishing project. Judging an individual's national significance takes place in contexts shaped by familiar, long-standing and well-worn debates, which have generally focused more on politics than on culture broadly defined. It seems relatively straightforward to judge the importance of the politically prominent, those who hold significant amounts of power whether by virtue of birth, election or wealth, and leaders within the domains that most closely align with the national interest, such as military commanders and judges. In reactions to these figures what Sidney Lee called the 'commemorative instinct' is deeply embedded and reinforced by institutional practices, although these have come under increasingly critical scrutiny in the twenty-first century.⁴⁶

It is much less obvious, yet absolutely essential for understanding the interlacing of biography and portraiture, how historians might think afresh about 'work' – here simply a catch-all for diverse activities, whether directly remunerated or not, whether professional or amateur, whether a vocation, a craft or a form of art. Lives and likenesses can furnish invaluable 'occupational' insights.⁴⁷ The manner in which James Paget drew upon Hunter and specifically upon Reynolds's depiction of him reveals much about the occupational culture of surgeons, as Stephen Paget was certainly aware. A medically trained 'biographer and essayist', he emphasised the 'professional' status of medical men.⁴⁸ The distinguished audience present at the Hunterian Oration ensured that assertions about the intellectual and social refinement of surgeons reached influential ears, giving specific resonances to 'surgeon' that expressed collective aspirations. Close biographical inspection further allows Paget's full range of activities and the contexts in which he carried them out to be better appreciated. They include making watercolour depictions of specimens and cataloguing medical collections as well as his associations with prominent contemporaries such as Gladstone and Darwin. There is an analytical point here as well as an empirical one. In addition, an opportunity presents itself to bring

⁴⁵ Hunter's tag on both NPG website and *ODNB*; the terms are reversed in *DNB*.

⁴⁶ Lee, *Principles*, 7.

⁴⁷ Hermione Lee's biographies of writers, for example: *Virginia Woolf* (1996) and *Edith Wharton* (2007); see also her *Body Parts: Essays on Life Writing* (2005). Cf. Frances Spalding, *Virginia Woolf: Art, Life and Vision* (2014), where portraits are integral.

⁴⁸ M. Jeanne Peterson, *The Medical Profession in Mid-Victorian London* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1978); Anne Digby, *Making a Medical Living: Doctors and Their Patients in the English Market for Medicine* (Cambridge, 1994). The description of Stephen Paget comes from the NPG website; in the *ODNB* he is described as 'writer and pro-vivisection campaigner'.

aspects of medicine's past to general audiences in such a way that familiar tropes around 'blood and guts', with their proven popular appeal, are supplemented by an emphasis on friendship networks, collecting and the generation of artworks, also engaging topics.⁴⁹ Biography as a route into contexts is now a well-established conceptual device, which is all the more effective when the full range of the subject's activities and concerns are taken seriously.⁵⁰ Even in the more compact format of a biographical dictionary, it is possible to give a rounded sense of a life, indicating the settings and historical patterns within which it is best placed in an accessible manner. Portraits are integral to this approach: an understanding of portraiture can complement and extend the insights biographies afford and vice versa.

In practice, portraits often serve as illustrations to biographies accompanied by little that would enable readers to grasp their interconnections. For this to change, it is necessary not only to explore the changing relationships between these genres but to look afresh at the design of publications and websites, that is, to see portraits not as mere embellishments to a text, but as layered sources inviting considered attention.⁵¹ In their efforts to make collections more widely accessible, most museums and galleries have constructed websites that enable users to appreciate the layered nature of artefacts. London's Portrait Gallery is no exception. Every item in the primary collection may be viewed, together with basic information such as date and manner of acquisition.⁵² It is easy to find other representations of the same sitter and further works by the artists. Brief biographical information is commonly made available. In some cases, considerably more is provided.⁵³ Take, for example, Charles Darwin (1809–1882) – 'naturalist, geologist and originator of the theory of evolution' – of whom the NPG possesses thirty-five portraits, including the well-known painting by John Collier. Painted in 1883, NPG 1024 is an exact copy of a work he had undertaken for the Linnaean Society two years earlier. The website draws attention to the connections between Darwin and Thomas Henry Huxley, to Collier's status as the latter's son-in-law and quotes the

⁴⁹ I take the phrase 'blood and guts' from one of Roy Porter's many lively books that brought the history of medicine to wide audiences: *Blood and Guts: A Short History of Medicine* (2002).

⁵⁰ In the history of science, biographies of Darwin and Newton have done just this: e.g. Adrian Desmond and James Moore, *Darwin* (1991), and Rob Iliffe, *Priest of Nature: The Religious Worlds of Isaac Newton* (New York, 2017). See also Michael Shortland and Richard Yeo (eds.), *Telling Lives in Science: Essays on Scientific Biography* (New York and Cambridge, 1996); their preface and introduction are particularly useful and ch. 8 is on Darwin. See also Janet Browne, 'Making Darwin: Biography and the Changing Representations of Charles Darwin', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 40 (2010), 347–73.

⁵¹ Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (2001), esp. 25–30, and Ludmilla Jordanova, *The Look of the Past: Visual and Material Evidence in Historical Practice* (Cambridge, 2012) esp. 188–206. Critical attention also needs to be paid to the reproduction of images and any accompanying text in historical publications.

⁵² In a few cases, generally contemporary portraits, an image cannot be provided for copyright reasons.

⁵³ For NPG 1635 (Richmond's portrait of Paget), there is an extended entry, which forms part of the Later Victorians Portrait Catalogue: <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/personExtended/mp03420/sir-james-paget-1st-bt> (last accessed 12 Jan. 2022).

former's eldest son, who presented the canvas to the gallery. Another son's account of this depiction of his father is also cited. A single canvas thus provides a jumping-off point for intellectual, personal and familial phenomena with rich biographical potential, whilst offering links to further materials. It is not just that the site is freely available and easy to use; it also indicates something of the research processes undertaken when placing an iconic image in context – public history indeed. With a light touch, then, it also sheds light on historians' work. Webs of association – Darwin–Huxley–Collier, for example – are present in the entry for NPG 1024. Collier's interpretations of his sitters also indicate ways in which historians can trace connections between people. Such palpable links enhance historical understanding.

One possible next step is to consider the NPG itself as an object of historical analysis; many accounts of its foundation in 1856 and its early years exist.⁵⁴ Its contemporary profile is illuminating for history and public history.⁵⁵ Given the popularity of portraiture, the gallery receives considerable media attention, for example, when (some) new works arrive, whether by purchase, gift or bequest.⁵⁶ Acquisitions are history in the making and they bear on biography and national history in their most generous senses. Economic and administrative processes are an integral part of the picture. Portraits become available in unpredictable ways and at varying costs, thus multiple contingencies bear on the composition of the collection. In this respect the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* could not be more different, since the staff are free to include a high-quality biography of anyone who meets the entry criteria. It does not depend on complex art markets or the wishes of donors and preferences of trustees, nor on the success of fundraising, to acquire highly prized items. Economic and administrative processes remain vital for an understanding of the *DNB* and of Colin Matthew's role at the *ODNB*. George Smith's 'Recollections' makes clear the meticulous approach he took to publishing in general and to the *DNB* in particular, enabling us to see not only the kinds of work involved but the business decisions he took. While he did not seek to make the *DNB* commercially viable, he nonetheless needed to keep an eye on his losses. The *ODNB* has been supported by the publisher, with some input from public funds; the online version is behind a paywall, although more than half the UK's public libraries subscribe and through them it is

⁵⁴ E.g. Pointon, *Hanging the Head*, 227–44; Paul Barlow, 'Facing the Past and Present: The National Portrait Gallery and the Search for "Authentic" Portraiture', in *Portraiture*, ed. Woodall, 219–38; Charles Saumarez Smith, *The National Portrait Gallery* (1997); Paul Barlow and Colin Trodd (eds.), *Governing Cultures: Art Institutions in Victorian London* (Aldershot, 2000), ch. 9; Lara Perry, *History's Beauties: Women and the National Portrait Gallery 1856–1900* (Aldershot, 2006); David Cannadine, *National Portrait Gallery: A Brief History* (2007).

⁵⁵ Like other public bodies that receive government funding, the NPG website includes, for example, annual reports and minutes of the Board of Trustees; it also contains research materials, details of events, publications and so on. On its governance issues, see Ludmilla Jordanova, 'Historians, Accountability and Judgement', *Historical Research*, 96 (2021), 849–68.

⁵⁶ Many recent acquisitions concern celebrities with a high profile in popular culture, a vital object of analysis for public historians, e.g. Jerome de Groot, *Consuming History: Historians and Heritage in Contemporary Popular Culture* (London and New York, 2009).

possible to use it at one's leisure. Details of access, costs if any to consumers and sources of funding need to be assessed when reflecting on vehicles for public history, just as governance and ethos are. While George Smith was not answerable to a board, he did employ staff to read and comment on manuscripts, and Leslie Stephen published lists of potential biographees, inviting comments. The *ODNB* staff consult widely and work with external advisers; the project is part of Oxford University Press, the largest such press in the world with its own governance structures. Producing and disseminating biographies, acquiring and displaying portraits are economic and administrative phenomena as well as literary, aesthetic, national, political and cultural ones. It is possible to move seamlessly from the life and visual representations of George Smith, for instance, into broader historical questions: from tags, through work and administrative processes to business history and commemoration, professional and social status, public personae, national recognition, state-funded institutions and cultural trends.

Portraits and biographies walk hand in hand; they go well, even naturally, together and have done for centuries. This was Colin Matthew's position. There is a huge amount of evidence that an 'authentic' portrait, one depicting a named sitter and demonstrably taken from life, exercises an especially powerful allure, while even those of doubtful origin can meet a deep need, experienced by individuals, families and institutions alike, to know what someone in the past (allegedly) looked like. Authenticity may be in the eye of the beholder. Whether portraits really can achieve such truthfulness is another matter; rather it is the thirst for a likeness, whatever the medium, that is remarkable. These points are only reinforced by frequent uses of 'portrait' to mean a faithful rendition of a phenomenon, whether that be a city, an area, a river, a period or a person. 'Portrait' is a compelling idea, evident in its use by Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee. Its potency is further borne out by the notion's appeal to writers of fiction, including Nathaniel Hawthorne in the mid-nineteenth and Iain Pears in the early twenty-first centuries. The relevance of fiction for historical practice is considerable.⁵⁷

The examples presented in this article suggest that it is useful to think in terms of a portrait-biography nexus, both in general terms, and in specific cases where it is possible to trace the relationships between these two means of grasping a life, which are a familiar part of everyday existence, now as in the past. They reveal the ways in which people, such as artists and those they depict, are connected, the routes through which collections are formed and publications assembled. They are well suited to public history

⁵⁷ Nathaniel Hawthorne, 'The Prophetic Pictures', first published 1837; Iain Pears, *The Portrait* (2005). Other fictional works about portraits include Edgar Allan Poe's short story 'The Oval Portrait', first published in 1842; Charles Atkins, *The Portrait* (New York, 2008); Willem Jan Otten, *The Portrait* (Melbourne, 2009); Antoine Laurain, *The Portrait* (2017). See ch. 3 of Ross McKibbin's *Democracy and Political Culture: Studies in Modern British History* (Oxford, 2019) for a recent example of a historian's engagement with fiction.

as well as to analysing the deployment of portraits and biography in historical practices of many kinds.

Colin Matthew's own entry in the *ODNB* exemplifies my key themes – 'historian and founding editor of the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography'.⁵⁸ Written by the eminent historian Ross McKibbin (1942–), a colleague and friend, the same generation as his subject, the entry follows an unfolding life starting with his family of origin, while also assessing the significance of specific aspects of it. The tone is frank yet affectionate, full of personal detail, but also soberly measured about Colin's contributions to scholarship. One finishes reading it with a genuine sense of a person, their achievements and legacy. It is an admirably rounded account. The portrait photograph that accompanies it shows a man at work, looking up for just a moment, we may suppose. The image maintains an emphasis on the sitter's occupation, which decontextualised head-and-shoulder representations cannot do unless a uniform of some kind is involved.⁵⁹ In addition to the narrative element of the *ODNB* entry, there are routine sections of further information at the end, which include the size of the estate, as well as sources and likenesses. As a result, it is indeed possible to imagine both the research processes behind the memoir and those that might be prompted by it, as the NPG website also permits. These points suggest the special value of forms of public history that hint at research processes and make historical toil transparent. All historians can share their labours, indicating why they matter, with the public, exploring in the process how portraits and biographies keep those we value alive. Thus Colin Matthew lives, not just in the hearts of his family, friends and colleagues, but in the fruits of his working life. He approved of the idea that historians should share their endeavours as fully as possible, that exploring portraits and biographies can have public benefit and that clear, well-crafted prose is a professional ideal. It is fitting that his portrait – available to all – shows him mid-flow, still present.

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⁵⁸ On the NPG website, he is simply 'historian and editor'.

⁵⁹ NPG x132537 is the same image, taken in 1993 by Judith Aronson.