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First published in 1980, *Rutgers Art Review* (RAR) is an open-access journal produced by graduate students in the Department of Art History at Rutgers University. The journal is dedicated to presenting original research by graduate students in art history and related felds. For each volume the editors convene an editorial board made up of students from the department and review all new submissions. The strongest papers are then sent to established scholars in order to confrm that each one will contribute to existing scholarship.

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For more information about RAR, to download previous volumes, or to order printed volumes from our archives, please visit our website at http://rar.rutgers.edu.

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Acknowledgments

Many people were involved in the creation of this volume of the *Rutgers Art Review*. We owe each of them a debt of gratitude. We would foremost like to thank our contributors: Samantha Lyons, Ramey Mize, and the ten scholars who form the core group of Material Collective. It was a pleasure to collaborate with each of them and we thank them for their thoughtful contributions. As publication delays led us to combine our respective volumes, this issue benefits from the faculty guidance of both Professors Benjamin Paul and Andrés Mario Zervigón. Thanks to them, as well as the Department of Art History at Rutgers University, for their support and feedback throughout this project. For taking on the role of designer and webmaster, co-editor Kathleen Pierce deserves special recognition. We would also like to thank Francesca Giannetti for her keen insights as we continue to explore our new online platform.

We are particularly indebted to the scholars who served as anonymous outside readers for the essays considered for this volume. We benefited deeply from their time, efforts, and insights into the papers under consideration, and we thank them for their generous assistance. We would similarly like to thank the editorial board for their dedicated help in reviewing submissions as well as the graduate students who sent in their work for consideration. The opportunity to read and publish the work of fellow graduate students is a real privilege. We hope you enjoy this volume of RAR.

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An Interview with the Material Collective

In its earliest issues, the *Rutgers Art Review* (RAR) published interviews with established art historians alongside essays by graduate students. For Volume 33/34, the editors of RAR have renewed these efforts with the publication of our first interview since moving to a fully online publication model. Embracing the possibilities of this new platform, it seemed appropriate that we interview not just one, but ten art historians who are themselves invested in exploring the internet as a productive platform for scholarly communication, publishing, crowdsourcing, activism, and community building. Together, these scholars form the Core Committee of the Material Collective (MC). We wanted to speak with the Material Collective because they push the boundaries of art history. They engage timely issues of interest not only to RAR's readership and scholars of visual culture, but also to academics from related fields interested in rethinking traditional modes of organizing and communicating within the academy. The following interview took place via email in September and October 2018 between the editors of RAR Volume 33/34 (Kaitlin Booher, Stephen Mack, Sophie Ong, and Kathleen Pierce) and the Material Collective's Core Committee (Marian Bleeke, Jennifer Borland, Rachel Dressler, Martha Easton, Anne F. Harris, Asa Simon Mittman, Karen Overbey, Ben C. Tilghman, Nancy M. Thompson, and Maggie M. Williams), who composed their responses collectively. We thank the MC for generously agreeing to participate and providing such thoughtful, considered answers to our questions. If you're interesting in joining the Material Collective, you can find them online, on Facebook, on Twitter, and on Instagram.

**While links are embedded into the PDF version of this interview, they may not function properly on all operating systems. To explore these links fully, please consult the online version of this interview, available at rar.rutgers.edu.*

The History and Structure of the Material Collective

RAR: Would you please begin by describing what is particular about the Material Collective (MC)? How does it function? What are the benefits and challenges of your non-hierarchical structure?

MC: Our leadership consists of ten people (the Core Committee). Many of us were already friends or knew each other from conferences when we formed,

and we all have a great deal of respect for one another. That basis of respect and good-will allows us to operate from a solid base. One of the first things we wrote together was our Manifesto, which we read aloud during a session at Kalamazoo in 2012. The manifesto expresses the collaborative, experimental nature of the Material Collective that continues to fuel our work and our relationships with each other.

The Core Committee engages in near-daily conversations via email to decide on which projects we want to pursue and how to go about getting things done. We bring in additional partners to work on projects on a case-by-case basis. We believe that one of the primary benefits of this structure is that we can share the burden of completing tasks. In terms of challenges, the biggest one is probably that we ten have seen our personal and career paths change significantly over the years, and it is sometimes difficult to balance doing the (unpaid) work of the collective with our many other (often also unpaid) obligations. We try to support one another and pick up the slack when one or the other of us has to attend to other matters. With ten of us, *someone* is always on hand to jump in.

In addition to the organization structure, creating a supportive, mutually respectful atmosphere has been essential for us. We strongly advocate for humane practices and transparency in all arenas, and we do our best to enact that amongst ourselves as well. The Core Committee has served as more than just a professional space: the conversations we have include sharing our personal challenges and joys, in addition to discussing new projects and ideas.

RAR: According to your early blog posts, it seems that the MC grew out of another collective, the BABEL Working Group. Could you describe that development? Are there key tenets that you follow to distinguish yourselves from other groups such as BABEL?

MC: We were definitely inspired by the BABEL Working Group, and we developed the idea of the Material Collective at their 1st Biennial Meeting in Austin, TX in 2010. Several of us worked together to organize a session for that conference, which later developed into the punctum books volume *Transparent Things*. BABEL broadened our view of what was possible in an academic setting and at an academic conference. They truly revolutionized medieval studies by doing work that connects contemporary human life with a deep understanding and appreciation for the historical past.

For us, the idea of making change in academic settings comes out of a grassroots organizing model in which collective action and a sense of participation is key. We hope that our project will create a space for anyone

who's interested to embrace broader views of visual culture, to incorporate humane practices towards other scholars, and/or to feel free to pursue more playful and non-traditional scholarly forms that have the potential to reach new audiences.

Fighting for progressive change in academia is also one of our primary objectives, especially with regard to unions for graduate assistants and adjunct faculty. Despite the public perception of universities as the bastion of liberalism, the reality is that most American colleges and universities function like corporations. As such, they rely on the cheap labor of graduate students and adjunct faculty, and they tend on the whole not to address significant issues like systemic racism and harassment/discrimination of multiple kinds. The ten of us in the Core Committee have all experienced institutional discrimination, despite having achieved a relative amount of privilege and "success" in academia. We are working towards ways to minimize those problems for future academics.

RAR: Do you have different audiences for different facets of the MC's output, such as the blog, publications like *Tiny Collections*, or your Facebook group?

MC: Yes and no. We prefer not to think of the Facebook group as an "audience," but rather as a membership. As a loose organization without any dues structure, we welcome anyone who is interested and motivated to participate. We are thrilled when conversations and ideas are sparked on the FB page, especially if those develop organically, without the Core Committee's direct prompting. We've recently been working with some folks who contacted us through our website and we'd welcome more volunteers!

As for the blog, we have used that as a venue for longer-form thoughts on the Collective's overarching goals, and these are geared toward our colleagues and students in the field, and sometimes—we hope—they are of interest to the general public. Often, those pieces of writing serve as examples of the kinds of alternative scholarship and teaching we'd like to promote and validate. This includes projects that are not fully formed yet; it is a place open to experimentation and the development of ideas. At other times, posts serve to present or clarify a current political issue that we care deeply about, or to describe collaborative efforts to explore and expose such issues. The public nature of the blog makes it available to a wider readership as well. We welcome guest posts, and have had a chance to publish some wonderful short-form essays this way. We're currently working on a call for new posts, so stay tuned for that. In the meantime, we would be happy to hear from your readers, if they have ideas for posts!

Tiny Collections is a manifestation of our interest in open-access publishing and alternative scholarship. Many of us have done work in the past which didn't fit neatly into the rigid categories of academic publishing—essays that considered anthropological approaches to objects normally in the purview of art history, for example, or essays that integrated an explicitly subjective perspective into an examination of a work of art. These pieces of writing were being rejected for not fitting into narrow categories of what art history might be, and we wanted to make them available to those readers who might be interested in similar ways of thinking or in expanding their thinking. We hope that, going forward, *Tiny Collections* will provide a space for scholars and creatives alike to explore some of their orphaned projects. Since they are, as the name suggests, *tiny*, books in this series are also a good home for collaborative volumes that grow out of great conference sessions or small side projects that authors don't intend to ever work up into traditional monograph-length works.

The open-access, web-based journal *Different Visions* has played an important role in the development of the Collective. Founded by Core Committee member Rachel Dressler in 2006, it served for many of us as a model of forward-looking and socially engaged scholarship before we had formed the Collective in a formal sense. *Different Visions* also served as the venue for one of our first formally published projects, which consisted of essays arising out of the "Active Objects" sessions at the 2012 Kalamazoo. And several of us have published special issues and individual essays in the journal. Though it has been quiet recently, we still see the journal as a possible venue for future projects.

Medieval Studies

RAR: Why do you think the MC came out of medieval studies and how does your identity as medievalists (presuming that this is the case) shape your goals for the collective?

MC: On some level, this was the result of being in the right place at the right time; that is, the first BABEL conference in 2010 as we note above. Many of us were already feeling somewhat disenchanted/frustrated with the traditional nature of much of medieval art history. We saw other medieval groups doing progressive scholarship and creative and adventurous conference sessions; but it felt like medieval art history was being left behind.

Our sense that the Middle Ages had been sidelined within art history was one of the things that drew us together. One of our goals is to raise the

profile of medieval within art discourse, in part by advocating with the organizers of CAA, in part by engaging with current debates about politics and the past, and in part by teaching and writing about the Middle Ages in ways that reach wider audiences.

Many of our subfields within medieval art history are considered marginal in the context of the academic job market. A number of us started out or continue to specialize in early medieval material, Irish or early English art, or some combination of these fields, locating us outside the art-historical mainstream of Romanesque and Gothic art in continental western Europe. Many of us have also worked on marginalized media like stained glass, or on marginalized people, such as women and Jews, or with sometimes controversial methods like feminism. All of this together has perhaps allowed us a certain freedom from conventional art-historical practice and opened a space for interventions such as the Material Collective.

RAR: For a number of years you were rather well known among medievalists, but now the Facebook group has members from all disciplines of art history and visual culture studies. To what do you attribute this development?

MC: We all spend much of our time thinking about a far broader swath of art history, both in terms of our teaching and our training. Our jobs are in departments with art historians in other periods (especially modern and contemporary) as well as studio art; we all teach survey courses that take us far outside of medieval material. Most of us—though not all—identify as art historians first and medievalists second, and we continue to take an active interest in the rest of the field because we constantly get new ideas from the scholarship of other periods. We continue to foreground cross-temporal scholarship: at CAA 2016 Jennifer Borland and Ben Tilghman chaired a successful session titled "Out of Time and Out of Place: Comparative Approaches in Art History," sponsored by the International Center of Medieval Art; a number of us have also collaborated with Art History That, created by modernists Amy Hamlin and Karen Leader, at numerous conferences, starting with SECAC in 2015. The 2016 volume of *postmedieval* edited by Karen Overbey and Maggie Williams on the Staffordshire Hoard demonstrates another example of collaboration between the MC and numerous non-medievalists, including modernists, scientists, and contemporary artists. We have tried to engage other sub-disciplines in art history not only because we think it will lead to richer scholarship but also because, in a time of tightened budgets and antagonism towards the humanities, we think it is important to work together within our discipline. Other fields of art history clearly saw something very exciting in the creativity and adventurousness of medieval studies. Indeed, very quickly our colleagues in other fields of art history heard us talk about the Material Collective and wanted in!

Materiality

RAR: Why do you think that materiality has been so successful in fostering this kind of collective academic space, as opposed to other modes of inquiry that also cross disciplinary lines, such as gender?

MC: Because medieval art history is often less concerned with biography and provenance, it's more inherently sympathetic to approaches that negotiate materiality, reception, and experience. Our "material" interests developed out of an interest in subjectivity, which felt so absent in our field in 2010; at that time, we were still getting pushback about "anachronism" when thinking about medieval material through the lens of theories like phenomenology. But that has changed radically since then. Did the MC contribute to that change? Possibly, but medieval art history might have been already on that trajectory as well.

We're not sure that we agree that materiality is, by its nature, necessarily *more* collective. Certainly, the work of Bruno Latour and Deleuze and Guattari stresses connectivity and inter-relationships, so in that way collective work is in keeping with some materiality theory. And truth be told, we chose the name before we really grasped how important materiality studies was going to become in the field, and only part of what we've done as a collective has been directly engaged with materiality studies.

Several of us have gone on to collaborate with each other, or with others, on various projects and publications, sometimes having to do with topics of materials or materiality, but often not. For example, several members of the Core Committee (Marian Bleeke, Jennifer Borland, Rachel Dressler, and Martha Easton, along with Elizabeth L'Estrange) collaborated on the chapter "Artistic Representation: Women and/in Medieval Visual Culture" for *A Cultural History of Women in the Middle Ages*. In fact, some of our Core Committee members do not focus on materiality at all, but we all share an interest in collectivity.

We have drawn quite a lot of inspiration from feminist scholarship in thinking about how to work as a collective. There are excellent examples of collective endeavor in medieval studies, with groups like the Society for Medieval Feminist Scholarship, as well as in feminist art and activism, such as the Guerilla Girls. And the heart of our theory of collectivity also comes out of the labor movement and other forms of activism.

RAR: Is there some irony in a flourishing study and/or discussion of materiality occurring online?

MC: It is probably no mere coincidence that the increased interest in materiality among scholars of all types has accompanied the increasing role of digital technology in scholarly work and in our lives more broadly. As we all spend more and more of our time manipulating data on our screens, it is easy to become nostalgic for actual contact with material things. We can see that nostalgia in the wider world in the renewed popularity of crafts and the DIY movement. And we can see it in scholarship as understanding that contact, how it works and what it means, has become an interesting intellectual issue.

At the same time, the ongoing proliferation of digital forms holds some specific attractions for scholars. It promises us increased access to one another. What we do in the Core Committee wouldn't be possible without email. And what we do in the broader Collective wouldn't be possible without Facebook and Twitter. And it promises us increased access to research materials through digitization projects as well as new avenues for publishing our work.

The promise of digitization requires some careful thinking-through, however. What does and does not get digitized has the potential to shape what does and does not receive attention from scholars. Some materials may receive valuable new attention because they have been digitized, but other equally valuable things may be overlooked because they have not. We do have the opportunity to reward less-studied collections that have chosen not only to digitize their collections, but also to release the resultant images under Creative Commons licensing and other such "copyleft" systems that allow for the free (and hassle-free) use and reuse of the images. However, digitization can become problematic if it is positioned as replacing access to material sources. That can happen as repositories decide to limit scholars' access to things once they have been digitized.

RAR: Some scholars critical of focusing on issues of materiality steer or try to steer graduate students away from pursuing such topics for their dissertations, often arguing that publishers won't be interested in the future. Have you encountered much pushback and, if so, how do you respond to such criticism? What are some of the challenges for materiality studies in the coming years?

MC: When some of us first started working on questions of materiality around 2010, a lot of the negative response was of the "been there, done that" variety. It wasn't clear to most scholars, at first, how the material turn was all that much different from "Thing Theory" or Marxism. At the same time, there was also a perception that the interest in materiality was

primarily a product of blogs and social media, the kinds of discourses that are perceived as producing more heat than light. So it was simultaneously outmoded and too faddish, which was a frustrating double-bind. The excellent scholarship on materiality over the past decade, we believe, has demonstrated that a reinvigoration of the earlier strains of materiality studies is both fruitful and necessary. One measure of the success of this work in medieval studies is that the International Medieval Congress at Leeds has chosen materiality as the theme for their 2019 meeting.

The challenges facing materiality studies are, in many ways, the same as those that face any other scholarly project: the need to continue demonstrating the use and interest of the approach as the scholarly community starts to take interest in the next new thing. There's that double-bind again. As a group, we've been dismayed to see feminist scholarship becoming increasingly relegated (by some) to the disciplinary sidelines even as the need for continued engagement in feminist critique is present in contemporary culture. This was something that Rachel Dressler, member of the Core Committee, wrote about eloquently in 2007 in her essay "The Contracting Discourse: Feminist Scholarship and Medieval Art." The same concern haunts materiality studies: that academia might move on despite a deepening ecological crisis and unsettled ethical questions about our material culture taken broadly.

The question implicitly identifies one of the culprits: a neo-liberal conception of the university that takes the production of a commodity (books) as a primary aim of its faculty labor. This is one reason we have partnered with punctum books to become publishers ourselves, and thus to take a more direct role in making sure that there continue to be opportunities for scholars to publish the work they (and we) feel is necessary and important, even if it is unclear precisely how that fits into existing disciplinary and theoretical boundaries. Moreover, many of our actions to open things up for adventurous scholarship and younger scholars are also intended to counteract the rigidity of traditional publishing forms. Some of us have worked in other ways to provide spaces for publications, by editing journal issues and book series that are receptive to the study of materiality, to collaborative work, and to other themes and approaches that have not always been in the mainstream.

Another way that we have resisted this pressure is by focusing on our work as teachers, which is the most valuable work we do. If materiality studies does have a lasting impact on the field, it might be by encouraging instructors to augment traditional lectures and discussions with more hands-on activities, which students often find more enriching and memorable.

RAR: Many art historians interested in materiality have gravitated towards Graham Harman's philosophical inquiry into Object Oriented Ontology (OOO). Have Harman's writings been particularly influential for the Material Collective? Are there other scholars or publications that have had a notable impact on the MC, your ideals, and/or scholarship?

MC: While Harman's writings are crucial to OOO and "New Materialism" more broadly, he has not been particularly important to the Material Collective, nor does he seem to have become a particular touchstone in the field. Some of his close compatriots—Ian Bogost and Timothy Morton—have perhaps been more helpful to art historians. This might be because much of Harman's work has been particularly concerned with how OOO relates to the history of philosophy, while Bogost, Morton, and others have taken on the work of connecting it to other fields of inquiry more directly.

Several authors not directly connected to Harman have been more important to our thinking. Jane Bennett's 2010 book *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things* was especially galvanizing. Bennett applies the concept of flat ontology, the concept that that all things are, and are equal in the world, to several case studies. Right at the beginning of *Vibrant Matter*, Bennett recounts her encounter with a seemingly random assortment of objects in a drain sewer: "one unblemished dead rat," a mat of oak pollen, a white plastic bottle cap, a large black plastic work glove, and a smooth stick of wood. These objects, she argues, came together and now act together as agents in the world. This way of thinking about objects as agents, about objects as all acting equally in the world, is so compelling because it provides a framework for looking at works of art as powerful things in and of themselves, rather than as things whose meanings only exist in the minds of humans. We were all thrilled when Bennett agreed to respond to our first session on the Staffordshire Hoard at the 2012 BABEL conference in Boston.

Bennett's conception of object agency owes much to Bruno Latour, who continues to be a major source for many art historians, especially those interested in the social functions of art and the relationships between artworks and beholders. Also important along these lines is Alfred Gell, whose concept of artistic agency continues to be both challenging and fruitful. The work of Gell and Latour, of course, has been around for decades, but to us it has never mattered so much when something was written as how it can help us in our current work. Even as many of us are eager to open the discipline up to new methods, we all still believe wholeheartedly in the continuing value of many of the discipline's oldest methods, like iconography, connoisseurship, and patronage. We believe very strongly in the "yes, and" model of scholarship that seeks to build shared insights through multiple methods.

The Material Collective as an Academic Intervention

RAR: Above, you mentioned the MC's *Tiny Collections* as one aspect of the MC's academic output. Given the MC's emphasis on "collective" and "collaboration," have there been additional moves towards more collective scholarship and publication?

MC: Yes! While we all value solo authored work and continue to produce and publish it, we also believe that rich scholarship results when conversation and exchange are central to its creation. As we state in our Mission Statement:

> "We believe that excellent scholarship can grow out of collaboration, experimentation, and play, and we work to create spaces where scholars from many different backgrounds, both traditional and non-traditional, can come together for mutual enrichment."

Most scholarship in the humanities is still produced largely on the model of the nineteenth century, which constructs writing as a solitary activity. This mode of production is often romanticized in all sorts of ways, from films and novels about writers to the way we and our colleagues discuss our work—writing retreats, isolation chambers, dropping off the map for a while, and so on. This is the standard mode in the humanities and is inculcated in formal as well as informal ways. Essay assignments are almost invariably individual and some syllabi even have statements that "unauthorized collaboration will result in failure of the course and a report to Student Judicial Affairs." Dissertations are solo enterprises. This trains us to write solo-authored monographs, and on and on and on.

We have run conference sessions that mandate all papers be co-written and delivered (many of which have subsequently been published), published co-written blog posts and articles, and, through our *Tiny Collections* imprint at punctum books, published co-edited collections. Indeed, we first published our manifesto as a co-authored piece in Burn After Reading: Miniature Manifestos for a Post/medieval Studies. Some of us even co-wrote together before the founding of the Material Collective, and Anne Harris and Nancy Thompson are co-authoring a new Medieval Art History textbook (which will be published with Oxford UP at some point in the next two years!).

We hope to bring about a change in the way collaboration is viewed in the field, in our teaching, research, job searches, and evaluation for tenure and promotion. Some of us are in positions now (chairs, deans, a provost) to put this rhetoric into immediate, if local, practice, rewarding rather than

discounting collaborative work. We hope, though, to press for what is, in essence, a cultural shift in how collaborative work is viewed throughout the humanities.

RAR: How can the humanities embrace collaborative work more effectively? Is the MC's organizational structure replicable for future groups?

MC: This is one of those areas where we are the only thing standing in our own way. If we collectively decided to value and celebrate collaborative work, then it would by definition be valued. However, many colleagues still ask questions like, "which half of the article did you write?" Administrators still declare that two co-written essays should count as one credit in the tenure process. To combat this, academics could take a few concrete steps:

1. Actively invite collaborative contributions to conference sessions, journal, edited volumes, book series, and the rest;
2. Sponsor grants explicitly limited to collaborative projects;
3. Sponsor awards for collaboratively written scholarship;
4. And, for the long term, integrate collaborative writing in our courses, from freshman to graduate levels. This needs to be done thoughtfully and with understanding of the reticence that many students have about "group projects," often rooted in considerable negative experience with the process in high school. This would produce a generation of new scholars for whom collaborative work would be the assumed norm rather than a deviation.

As for the MC's structure, yes, it is certainly replicable, and easily, since it is fairly loose. In essence, one needs only to find a group of wonderful colleagues willing to throw in with energy, care, support, and dedication. This is easier said than done, of course, but in essence, the challenge is finding a group that can jibe relatively smoothly and productively.

In addition to our Core Committee, we have found several fantastic partners for projects, such as organizing conference sessions, and would like to expand this element of our structure so that we can accomplish more!

RAR: How has the MC impacted your individual scholarship? For those affiliated with teaching institutions, how has the collective impacted your teaching practices?

MC: This actually links very directly to the previous discussion about fostering collaborative scholarship. Many of us had participated in collaborative work before, but may have been concerned about its reception or evaluation. The creation of the Collective, with some of its central missions focused on

collaboration and experimentation, further legitimized and solidified the validity of such approaches—for other scholars whom we wanted to encourage and support and also for ourselves. For some of us, it freed us to be not only more collaborative, but more adventurous, and less concerned with the norms of the field. The encouragement we found in the Collective was intellectually liberating and emboldened us to seek out projects and ideas that might not work, that might not come to fruition, or that might fail (like the fittingly failed *Academic Failblog*). It has encouraged all of us to take ourselves less seriously and to work against a system that insists on one way of doing things.

This has led us to think more about how to do similar things in our classrooms—to relinquish control, to experiment, to think about the benefits of process as much as results. We have seen our classroom activities and topics change, and we have also seen the connections between our research and teaching illuminated and strengthened. We more often seem to be talking about teaching in our conference papers and sessions, and some of us have even begun to publish pedagogical research. Asa Mittman, for example, contributed to a volume about teaching monsters in the classroom. And Jennifer Borland and Louise Siddons created a collaborative, in-class project around local public art, a Remington cowboy sculpture, that they discuss in a forthcoming article for the journal *Art History Pedagogy and Practice*.

The Role of the Material Collective Blog and Social Media

RAR: You branched out from your blog and now have quite an extensive presence on social media, on Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram. Do you approach and use these online spaces differently? Do your audiences vary based on each platform?

MC: We began the Collective via email and Facebook, which are now among the older tools and platforms of online organizing. Those older venues have been instrumental for us, though, since the ten of us in the Core Committee are geographically dispersed throughout the country. We branched out to Twitter for two main reasons: in order to be able to live tweet from conferences, and in order to amplify important activist voices. We believe strongly in open access to knowledge, and we wanted to be able to share interesting conference presentations with people who might not be able to attend due to financial constraints or other limitations on travel. As for Instagram, that seemed like a logical venue for a group interested in visual culture. IG is a great way to connect with contemporary artists and it also offers us a chance to share our own research and travel pictures. In practical terms, all ten of

us are administrators of all three accounts. This allows for a bigger pool of contributions and it also lets each of us present our individualized sense of the Collective's focus.

RAR: Do you find that these open forums mostly invite meaningful discussion of issues? How do you avoid online devolution?

MC: We have found that the Facebook group is particularly conducive to meaningful discussion, and feedback from members has confirmed that they are especially fond of that aspect of the group—although we do struggle with using Facebook given the corporation's unethical practices. The FB group gives us a sense of how far a reach the Material Collective really has. It started out as a relatively small group of medieval art historians but has grown into an active community of over 1800 members as of September 2018. It is clear that many of our members are neither medievalists nor art historians but are interested in the topics we discuss and the collective spirit we foster. Of course, the nature of FB is such that anyone in the group may post, so many of our best conversations are started by people outside our Core Committee. These often start out with basic requests for information—the identification of an iconographic motif; a call for bibliographic suggestions—or passing on conference CFPs or links to interesting articles. Our members also do not hesitate to tackle weightier issues such as institutionalized racism and sexism in the academy. Perhaps because we consciously accept that our scholarly activities cannot, and probably should not, exist outside of our personal and political identities, and because we actively promote a spirit of constructive cooperation, it is likely that we have a somewhat self-selected audience—after all, anyone signing up for a FB group that has "Collective" in its title is going to make some assumptions about the nature of said group. Most of our online conversations seem to be generous and open-minded even when people disagree, and we hope that we will be able to maintain that culture of positivity going forward.

RAR: Recently, public humanities and digital humanities efforts have cropped up across disciplines, including in art history. How do you envision the MC in relation to those efforts? Where do you imagine the role of social media in academia going?

MC: There is no question that one of the reasons the Material Collective has focused on encouraging non-traditional and experimental forms for scholarship is that many of those also have the potential to reach wider audiences. The specialization within disciplines like art history or medieval studies, and the isolated nature of much scholarly production, inevitably limits access to that scholarship. Collaborative writing, open-access publishing, blog writing

and other social media: these all have the benefit of reaching more readers be they inside or outside of academia. We have also thought about how we can contribute to these more accessible forms as a way to get our scholarly ideas into other disciplines or fields as well as into more classrooms (possibly into K-12 classrooms as well as those in universities). This is less about "saving" the humanities, than it is about sharing excellent scholarship and compelling ideas with wider and more diverse readers or viewers. Some of us have worked on our own campuses to promote digital humanities, public humanities, and community-engaged scholarship, and the Material Collective was where we first began to explore the potential opportunities in those areas.

Scholar-Activism

RAR: We understand that activism is a key tenet in the MC's manifesto. How do you approach the notion of the "scholar-activist"? Do scholars in the humanities need to take a more active role in political action in the Trump era than before? How can we do this more effectively?

MC: We believe that all scholarship is inherently political because it is conducted by human beings who have unexamined as well as conscious biases and who live in cultural contexts that determine how they approach their material. Activism, on the other hand, requires a conscious decision to support a particular position and work towards concrete change. So, for us, the idea of the scholar-activist can take many forms. Scholarly activism might feature speaking and writing about issues within academic discourses (e.g. feminist or postcolonial scholarship) in academic or more public venues, or it might involve a more broadly defined activism designed to change conditions within academic institutions (e.g. union organizing). We participate in and encourage both.

We've seen many of the issues that we believe are important to address developing over decades—both within academia and beyond—but they have certainly intensified and become more visible since Trump has been in office, and related events, such as the Unite the Right rally in Charlottesville, have proved galvanizing.

RAR: While the MC has a page dedicated to numerous resources on academic activism on its website and frequently calls attention to these issues on its social media pages, do you have actionable suggestions for scholar-activism that can be implemented in art historians' everyday lives, or for scholars who might just be coming to this idea?

MC: Our best advice is to choose your issue, get some training, and speak up! At every level, academic work is 24/7/365, so it's essential to focus on one or two things that you're passionate about or else you'll burn out too quickly. Next, find a local group where you can learn more, meet like-minded people, and get some training. Don't be afraid to look into undergraduate activist groups on your campus, for instance, or local chapters of organizations like Showing Up for Racial Justice (SURJ) or Jobs With Justice.

As academics, we're encouraged to believe and act as if we know everything, but that kind of blind confidence needs to be set aside in an activist setting. To really be an effective activist, you have to listen to the advice of the people who've devoted their lives to that kind of work. Be humble, listen, and volunteer to help in the ways that THEY suggest. Don't act like you know better, and don't overanalyze!

Lastly, on the issue of safety, many academics are afraid to speak out for fear of professional retribution. Always remember that there is safety in numbers, so go find some comrades and be vocal and public, while also being cautious about protecting online information. It might seem counterintuitive, but you're often safer if you speak up because powerful individuals and institutions don't want the public stigma of suppressing dissent. It is also probably time for us all to advocate that our campuses develop clear and helpful action plans for *when* things go sideways.

RAR: What is the role of scholars in informing the broader public about their field? How should scholars react to misinformation being propagated by malevolent actors?

MC: As medievalists, we've seen this quite a bit recently, particularly among white nationalists and white supremacists. We've been working to call out these mis-uses of medieval imagery and other modes of attack wherever possible, and we're publishing on it as well. Several of us have given public lectures on the topic, and others are contributing to an important forthcoming volume called *Whose Middle Ages? A Reader* from Fordham University Press. Perhaps that collection could serve as a model for similar volumes in other areas of art history. We also should mention the excellent Public Medievalist site, edited by Paul Sturtevant, and would like to draw particular attention to its special series on Race, Racism and the Middle Ages.

RAR: What can the Material Collective do to make the humanities, and art history specifically, more inclusive and diverse?

MC: It is easy to feel like there is nothing we could do about such a massive

problem, but there are also *so many things* we can do about this massive problem, none of which will "fix" it, but all of which can be of some help.

In our local contexts, we work to achieve change by serving on search committees, serving as peer reviewers, and serving on curriculum committees. Beyond that, we believe that making change more broadly will only happen when people organize to push for it. We can encourage and guide, but we need more people to step up and do the work of making change happen.

The most direct thing we can do is recruit a more diverse next generation of scholars out of our classrooms, and that means changing the ways and the material we teach. The folks over at Art History Teaching Resources have some great lesson plans that can help, including this one on representations of Native Americans and this one on including the work of contemporary artists of color who critique the canon in intro courses.

Some of us in the Material Collective have been teaching about race in the Middle Ages for many years now, and some of us, prompted by the 2016 election, have begun to do this more recently. There are many good resources out there now for teaching race in the medieval period, and we can all take from them to create courses that dispel the notion of a white Middle Ages. In our introductory courses, some of us have begun to assign only books and articles written by female scholars and scholars of color in order to shift the authorial voice for our students, and this shift has slowly but surely changed the enrollment demographics in these courses. We've also begun to discuss race and difference explicitly and consistently in survey courses; for example, students have found discussions of the whitewashing of Roman sculpture to be particularly compelling.

Graduate students and the Material Collective

RAR: What kinds of interactions does the MC have with graduate students? How can graduate students become more involved?

MC: Many of the graduate students and early career scholars that we've worked with we met at conferences, especially the annual International Congress on Medieval Studies at Kalamazoo (ICMS) and the College Art Association Conference, or through social media. Since collaboration is so important to us, we've often partnered with early career scholars to organize conference panels, or to contribute to a publication, and those folks have become our extended network. We often share calls for participation in projects on the Facebook group, and we are actively looking for graduate students

and early career scholars to write blog posts, co-organize panels, give papers, and help plan events. So, if you are interested in being involved, please let us know!

We also piloted a mentoring program at the 2017 ICMS, where we tried to bring together scholars from different stages in their careers. Mentoring programs are often built around a model where a person with experience shares their wisdom with someone younger, either one-to-one or in a group. But recent research into mentoring and support networks shows that this isn't really how these relationships work best: it's important to recognize that we seek advice and wisdom from multiple sources for different areas of our work, and that insight flows back and forth in those relationships. Our mentoring groups were an effort to help all our colleagues, but especially graduate students, think about how to build those networks of mutual support. The initial feedback from the 2017 program was positive, and we've been thinking about how best to continue in that work, particularly how to encourage mentoring groups to nurture their relationships after the initial meetings.

RAR: It can be intimidating for graduate students first encountering the Facebook group, seeing established scholars sharing articles and debating the iconography of artworks. Do you have advice for graduate students engaging with the Facebook group or fostering their own presence on social media?

MC: Maybe it's less intimidating to lurk for a bit before jumping in. But then: ask a question. Is there something in your research that you're wondering about? Don't worry that the question may have been asked before—there are always people interested in discussing images and artworks, and for the most part the debates are friendly. Our aim is to make the FB group non-hierarchical and easy to access. All voices are welcome; we like to think of ourselves as facilitators and stimulators, and never as gatekeepers. And of course it's also okay to be a reader without participating. You could use the Facebook group to find scholars whose voices you like and then contact them directly; this is a great way to make use of the network even if you are uncomfortable speaking up on FB. There are many ways to use social media. That said, we all love it when we meet or hear from someone who knows us from the FB page. Heck, didn't this fabulous invitation from Rutgers essentially come about that way?!

RAR: How do you envision materiality studies changing in the coming years? Are there types of topics within materiality studies you think are deserving of more attention than they are currently receiving?

MC: For us, the issue is less the future of materiality studies than creating a future in which a wide range of diverse approaches are seen as valid, whether it is materiality studies or something else. We hope that openness provides graduate students and others a lot of flexibility and freedom for experimentation. To talk specifically about materiality studies, it is important that it be able to articulate how and why it matters to contemporary society. In the present moment, in medieval studies, other issues—combatting the misuse of the medieval past by white supremacists and white nationalists and working towards diversity and inclusion—seem much more pressing.

The Future of the Material Collective

MC: ¯\(ツ)/¯

RAR: How have your goals for the MC changed from its earliest inception?

MC: When we started working together in 2010, we were focused on creating non-traditional scholarship: more affective, personal, and community-focused. Part of that was an activist orientation, a way to bridge the gap between personal/political lives and academic lives. That sense of drawing parts of our lives closer together has been a constant over the years, and that mission has grown to inform our teaching, the way we work in the bureaucracy of our institutions, how we advocate for students and colleagues, how we think about the humanities, how we build a better place for the kids in our communities, how we act in politics… and in so many other spheres. In a sense, that's still the same mission. But it has expanded in ways we didn't expect.

The expanded perspective that we've tried to bring to our field has also, somewhat surprisingly, helped us individually to maintain a healthy perspective on the limits of our professional work. Striving for a more humane mode of scholarship has inspired us to think constantly about how to be more humane in everything we do. None of us expected that when we started this adventure; we were mostly looking for some fun and dedicated co-conspirators that could help make medieval art history more vibrant and expansive.

We've also expanded our scope, largely by trusting each other to take up individual projects while holding on to the Collective's values. The goals haven't changed very much, maybe because they were somewhat abstract to start with. That is, we began with values rather than tasks we wanted to

accomplish, and we've taken on new projects (from publishing to advocacy to institutional administration) always with those values—transparency, collaboration, experimentation—in mind.

RAR: What are the MC's biggest challenges in the next years? What do you foresee for the MC's future?

MC: One of the biggest challenges seems to be how we've aged—that we've gone from anti-establishment upstarts to becoming the establishment (at least in the eyes of some). For a group that came together because we felt a bit on the outside of the field, that is a new and somewhat disconcerting notion! We were able to ride for some time the wave of being new and shiny, but now we are on the boards and have become administrators and run a somewhat respected organization that looks deeply entrenched to some. How do we feel about this? Can we change this perception? Do we want to? What can we do with that authority, with our collective wisdom?

We also all have less time to do this this thing, it seems, than we used to—what does that mean for the group? Do we quit innovating and focus on maintaining what we have so far created? Do we prepare to pass it on? Or do we find ways to reinvent ourselves, individually and collectively? We look forward to figuring out how to answer these questions in the years to come.

We want to thank *Rutgers Art Review* for their very thoughtful and thorough questions! We appreciate the opportunity to reflect on what we've done and where we're going.

"Home" Revisited in Roger Shimomura's Minidoka

by Samantha Lyons

To Roger Shimomura, home during World War II was a four-walled barrack, identical to its neighbors, surrounded by open blue sky but enclosed with barbed wire. Shimomura's lithograph *When I moved to Minidoka, all of my friends lived close to me*, from his artist book *Memories of Childhood* (1999), visualizes this place in a scene of childhood inspired by his internment experience at Camp Minidoka in Idaho, where he and his family were detained from 1942 to 1944. In the print, two small figures, represented only through their hands and partial views of their limbs on either side of the frame, play catch in front of two barrack-like structures (Fig. 1). These dark buildings, connected by threads of black barbed wire visible in the background, press uncomfortably close to the picture's foreground, creating a restricted and compressed sense of space. The lithograph is compartmentalized into hard-edged, schematically rendered forms: the barbed wire's sharp lines echo both the rivets in the barracks and the foreshortened horizon line, while the structures' vertical wooden slats further divide the composition into a series of rigid lines and angles. Adding to the scene's regimented linear appearance, the thin, translucent sheets of Japanese *goyu* paper placed over the image in the artist's book leave traces of faint vertical lines in the weave, an overlay that emphasizes the grid-like composition and creates the impression of prison bars. The image's schematic formal effects heighten the sense of confinement and alienation, suggesting that even though the two small figures in the scene engage in play, they are prisoners within this environment.

This article considers how Shimomura's depictions of Camp Minidoka engage with social, cultural, and psychological notions of home. Throughout his oeuvre, most noticeably in the *An American Diary* and *Memories of Childhood* series, Shimomura depicts his family's living spaces and daily activities both before and during their internment. I argue that Shimomura's depictions of the internment camp that focus on both the physical space of home and the familiar activities enacted within unfamiliar spaces, render an uncanny version of home, revealing the trauma of dislocation as they engage with the everyday behaviors and routines associated with the term. In his pop art-styled depictions of the camp barracks, Shimomura does not normalize these spaces as home; rather, through specific formal and textual strategies, he heightens their uncanny qualities—what Freud termed the *unheimlich* (unhomely)—rendering familiar spaces into something strange

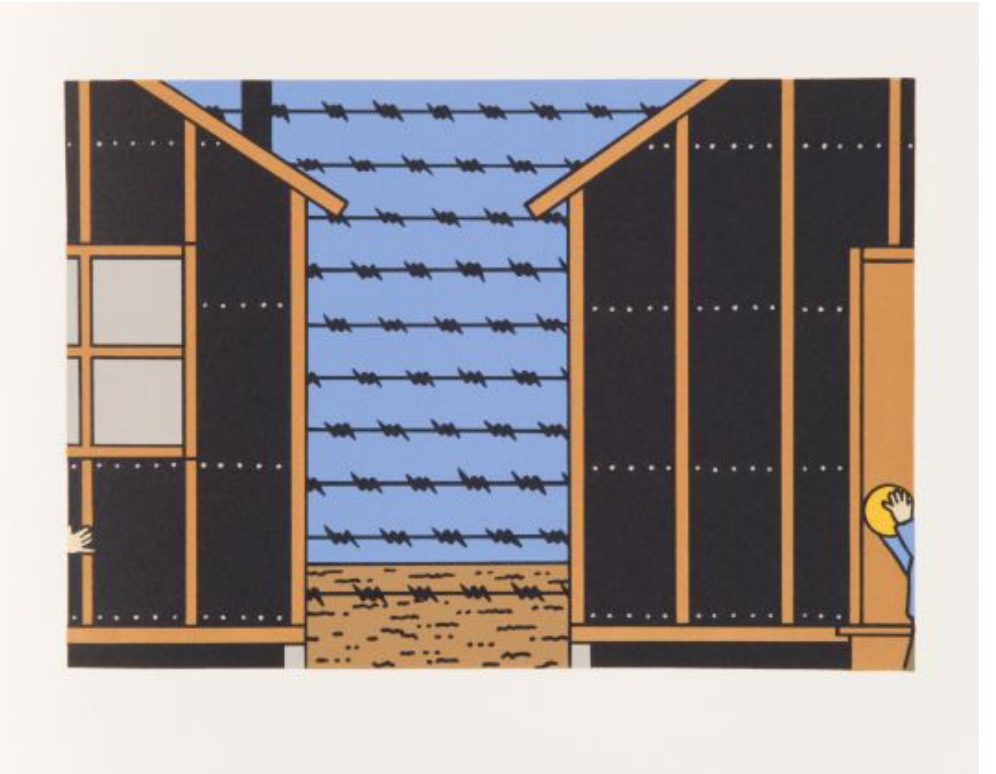

Fig. 1. Roger Shimomura, *Memories of Childhood: When I moved to Minidoka, all of my friends lived close to me*, 1999, color lithograph, 10 x 12 1/16 inches (25.4 x 30.7 cm). Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Museum purchase: Lucy Shaw Schultz Fund, 2002.0045h

and disturbing. Depicted in unsettling representations, Shimomura's scenes of camp life emphasize the loss of home through empty and unfamiliar interiors, spatial disorientation, and the palpable vulnerability of the figures exposed to the viewer's scrutiny.

As an artist, Shimomura's prints and paintings of life in the camps formally underscore visualizations of exile and loss. However, a crucial part of his practice explores the recuperative measures of artmaking employed by fellow interned individuals. While this article begins by examining how Shimomura's art explores the loss of home through specific compositional strategies and subject matter, the second section considers how the artist's curatorial endeavors seek alternative formations of homemaking that were put into practice by camp residents. Shimomura's curatorial project *Shadows of Minidoka*, a 2011 exhibition featuring objects originally created by incarcerated Japanese Americans and later collected by the artist, explores the role of artmaking as an important practice in producing a meaningful sense of place.

Visualizing "Home" and the Japanese American Internment Experience

Shimomura's artistic output has continually engaged with the forced incarceration of his early years by featuring scenes of daily life in the camps. Several series of prints and paintings represent and reimagine the memories of his family in these camps, including *Minidoka* (1978–79), *Diary* (1980– 83), *An American Diary* (1997), *Memories of Childhood* (1999), and *Minidoka on My Mind* (2006–10). Since 1978, Shimomura has continuously returned to the site of Minidoka—both physically, at the location in Idaho, and symbolically, in his various prints, paintings, and installations. A rich literature exists on the internment camp as subject in Shimomura's art, including William Lew's exhibition and accompanying catalogue *Minidoka Revisited: The Paintings of Roger Shimomura*, which analyzes specific works from *Minidoka*, *Diary*, and *American Diary* that focus on Japanese American internment subjects. In addition to his own chronological essay on Shimomura's engagement with internment camps throughout these series, Lew also includes essays from an interdisciplinary group of scholars who consider Shimomura's internment subjects from their respective disciplines of history, philosophy, feminist studies, and law, among other fields.[1] Several recent dissertations have also made valuable contributions to existing scholarship, including Stacey Uradomo's 2005 "Legacies: Family Memories, History, and Identity in Japanese American Art," which draws upon the concept of postmemory, a term formulated by Marianne Hirsch to describe the transmission of traumatic personal and collective memories from one generation to the next by means of stories, images, and other mediated forms. Uradomo explores how Shimomura's scenes of incarceration—as well as his larger engagement with Japanese American history and identity—are shaped by his grandmother's diary.[2] Allison Morgan McCormick's 2013 dissertation, "Rhetorical Pop: The Art of Roger Shimomura," further expands the discussion of Shimomura's internment images, as she argues that a "secondary iconography" is apparent in the artist's works through his appropriation of *ukiyo-e* elements, parody, and other visual sign systems.[3]

Most relevant to my focus on home is Emily Stamey's 2009 dissertation, "Pop, Place, and Personal Identity in the Art of Roger Shimomura."[4] Stamey explores the significance of place in Shimomura's representations of his various residences. Her study pays particular attention to the culturally distinct locations in which Shimomura has lived, namely Seattle, Washington and Lawrence, Kansas, and their impact on the artist's depictions of Japanese American experience and ethnic stereotypes. Stamey argues that the artist's formative experiences in both locations—particularly his racialized experiences as an Asian American in the Midwest—helped shape his representations of a third place, Camp Minidoka, as:

> these two different contexts consistently allowed Shimomura to look

> back on Minidoka, and the historical moment of which it was a part, from the perspective of those in the Midwest for whom it is relatively unknown and disconnected and from the perspective of the Japanese American community in Seattle for whom it is an integral part of their family history.[5]

While Stamey's dissertation meaningfully engages with the cultural impact of *place* on Shimomura's art, defined by the author as a "location of meaning," her study leaves room to explore further the notion of home in Shimomura's depictions of camp life and how his later curatorial contributions can be considered as an alternative practice to establish sites of collective meaning.[6]

While the concept of home has been widely analyzed in the fields of social geography, sociology, and psychology, there is no consensus on a single definition. It can be a physical place, interconnected with a particular structure, location, or nation.[7] It can also be a symbolic space, imbued with memories, feelings, and meanings.[8] As social geographers have articulated, it can act as a boundary between public and private space, and the inside and outside world.[9] A psychological model considers home as a symbolic extension of one's self, where one's ability to act upon and modify the dwelling and freely express one's ideas and values is interpreted as a subconscious expression of the self. Home also functions as a space for accommodating a psychological need for privacy.[10] The dual need for autonomy and privacy provides the foundation for the "home as haven" model, a concept that scholar Shelly Mallett defines as a familial realm clearly differentiated from public space and removed from public scrutiny and surveillance.[11] In this particular model, home serves as a refuge, a space that fulfills a basic human need for personal well-being, privacy, comfort, and safety. However, for those detained in internment camps, these definitions of home become radically destabilized. As Martin Heidegger contends, "Not every building is a dwelling," as the latter term indicates a structure that provides a sense of comfort and belonging.[12] Moreover, not every home or homeland carries the same kinds of inclusive and stable associations for its inhabitants, particularly for those who have been forcibly relocated through the systematic efforts of their own government.

In 1942, Roger Shimomura and his mother, father, and grandmother were only a few of the 120,000 Japanese Americans living on the West Coast who were removed from their residences in the single largest forced relocation in U.S. history.[13] His family lived in a temporary assembly center, Camp Harmony in Puyallup, Washington, for four months before moving to a more permanent internment area at Minidoka in Jerome County, Idaho.[14] The camp was opened on August 10, 1942 and closed on October 28, 1945. While operable, its maximum population peaked at approximately 9,397 citizens.[15] Like many other internment camps, Minidoka was located

in an isolated and desolate area, built on undeveloped federal reclamation land.[16] Identical and austere barracks, roughly twenty feet wide by 120 feet long, served as makeshift living units and filled the camp space along with other communal buildings and facilities.[17] Families were assigned individual apartments based on their size, spaces which averaged about twenty by twenty feet per unit. Each barrack lacked proper insulation to keep the space properly heated, cooled, and clean. Kitchens and bathrooms—two spaces of the home traditionally associated with family gathering and privacy, respectively—did not exist in the barracks. Rather, meals were served in large mess halls and individuals waited in line for communal bathrooms. As Stamey notes, although the barracks were euphemistically referred to as "apartments," they often lacked the autonomy one associates with the term.[18] Life was crowded, confined, and difficult for most families living in these temporary housing structures. In Shimomura's own words, "The barracks when first occupied were antithetical to the visual concept of 'home.'"[19]

Shimomura visualizes the contrasting living environments of the camps and his family's home in a series of paintings called *An American Diary* (1997). The thirty paintings that comprised this series follow his family's physical surroundings before and during internment and were each based on a diary entry written by Shimomura's grandmother, Toku Shimomura.[20] When exhibited, the artist accompanied each painting with a wall panel transcribing a specific passage from his grandmother's diary.[21] Shimomura's inclusion of his grandmother's diary entries, which describe events both mundane and deeply personal, adds a new layer of meaning to Shimomura's treatment of these living spaces, one that further unsettles our understanding of the meanings of home, comfort, and security. In an early work in the series, *American Diary: December 31, 1941*, Shimomura depicts the family's suburban Seattle home; it is dated before his family's relocation (Fig. 2). The second, *American Diary: August 17, 1942*, features the new and bleaker environment of Idaho (Fig. 3). In *American Diary: December 31, 1941*, the artist presents an interior view of a room in an orderly and well-furnished middle-class home, complete with picturesque views of snow-capped mountains outside the window. The room is comfortably furnished with soft furniture, cheery bright yellow curtains and a framed landscape picture on the wall. The accompanying entry from Toku's diary is transcribed by the artist as follows:

> At last, today will end this year which has been full of changes. This has been the first time in my life that I had to encounter such horrible events. All of the family got together and spent time in the warmth of the house. There is nothing as precious as family gatherings. We did a lot of house cleaning preparing for the New Year.[22]

Toku's diary entry and her grandson's visualization of home at first appear to present a moment of relative normalcy within the turbulent time of World

Fig. 2. Roger Shimomura, *American Diary: December 31, 1941*, 1997, acrylic on canvas, 11×14 inches (27.9 x 35.6 cm). Private collection. (Photo courtesy of the artist, © Roger Shimomura.)

Fig. 3. Roger Shimomura, *American Diary: August 17, 1942*, 1997, acrylic on canvas, 11×14 inches (27.9 x 35.6 cm). Private collection. (Photo courtesy of the artist, © Roger Shimomura.)

War II, particularly in the aftermath of Pearl Harbor. Although her entry begins with an anxious reflection on the previous year, her words offer a reassuring sense of family and community. While Shimomura depicts an orderly and comfortable living space, he intentionally renders an empty home; the warmth and fullness described in Toku's diary is noticeably absent. This vacant domestic space, in contrast to Toku's description of family togetherness, seems to already visualize the loss of home for Shimomura's family in the following year. An image that without Toku's text could be read as tidy and comfortable now appears quiet and empty, devoid of the people and activity that make a space meaningful. The room seems more like an isolated fragment of interior space, rather than as a coextensive part of a family home. The blue sky seen through the windows is rendered as a flat, matte blue—the absence of any reflection or glare in the window panes makes it seem as if there is no glass present, indeed no barrier at all to protect inside from outside. An enclosed room suddenly opens up to the outside world, disturbing one's perception of familiar spaces and negating the feelings of safety and comfort one associates with home.

The uncanny, empty suburban home featured in this painting finds distinct formal parallels with the prison-like camp setting seen in *American Diary: August 17th, 1942*. The painting features another wall text diary entry from Toku Shimomura written on the same date:

> We arrived at Arlington, Idaho, unnoticed, at 5:30 a.m. Everybody looked terribly depressed. After lunch, the heat increased. Barely alive, we continued on. We made it to Rock Mountain at 2:30 p.m. We changed to buses, and after a two and a half mile ride we arrived at the newly built camp at 4 p.m. Though the camp was still unfinished we could see the grand scale of this city near the mountains. We stared in amazement. I was assigned to Block 5-B-6, apt. A. After cleaning the dust from the room, I went to bed.[23]

With a similar palette of golden yellow, blues, and browns, the artist makes a clear formal connection between the two paintings. The black latticed strokes delineating the window panes in *American Diary: December 31, 1941* echo the intersection of lines created by the barbed wire and the barracks' wooden slats in *American Diary: August 17th, 1942*. Although the strict ordering of horizontal and vertical lines remains consistent, the position of the viewer and the setting has radically changed. In the former painting, Shimomura places the viewer within the interior space of the living room, both compositionally and, with the addition of the diary entry, narratively. Looking out upon the landscape from within the first image, the viewer journeys out of the home and towards Minidoka in the second, where the viewer occupies space outside of the camp. Sharp lines of horizontal barbed wire demarcate inside from outside. As contemporary viewers, we are outsiders to the camp, but the relationship between our own position and the subject

matter remains undetermined. The sudden transition from inside to outside creates a disorienting effect in the viewer, destabilizing a fixed sense of place as one moves from one side of a scene to another and creating an uncanny moment of spatial disturbance.

Fig. 4. Ansel Adams, *Baseball Game at Manzanar Relocation Center*, 1943, gelatin silver print, dimensions unknown. Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, reproduction number, LC-A35-4-M-56

Fig. 5. Dorothea Lange, *Pledge of Allegiance, Raphael Weill Elementary School, San Francisco*, 1942, gelatin silver print, 13 3/8 x 10 1/16 inches (34 x 25.6 cm). Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, reproduction number, LC-USZ62-17124

While many of Shimomura's artworks project a similar sense of unease brought on by shifts in spatial orientation, not all of his depictions of domestic interiors are uninhabited. Throughout the *American Diary* series, Shimomura represents residents partaking in a range of quotidian activities including eating, cleaning their living spaces, washing laundry, and celebrating birthdays. Such representations may be considered alongside similar scenes in the highly selective internment camp imagery released to the public during World War II, as they too offered a seemingly normal representation of home. Photographs by government-hired War Relocation Authority (WRA) photographers like Ansel Adams and Dorothea Lange produced a then-definitive record of the internment experience for the U.S. public. These photographs highlight the camps' inhabitants and their everyday activities, reinforcing a benign summer camp-like representation of internment.[24] Published photographs usually did not emphasize the interiors of barracks or the difficult living conditions many faced, but rather illustrated the leisure activities, productive labor, or civic

obedience displayed by those who were incarcerated.[25] Adams' photograph of a game of baseball at Camp Manzanar or Lange's of young students reciting the pledge of allegiance reassured those on the outside that containing Japanese Americans was the right course of action, and that life was continuing as usual for those who were interned (Figs. 4 and 5).

Shimomura's representations of daily life in the camps provide an alternative account to the dominant wartime depictions of the internment experience, largely influenced by the perception of artificiality in the pop art style he adopts. Unlike the problematic WRA photographs, whose black-and-white documentary quality presented a seemingly factual yet highly selective, manipulated view of life in the camps, Shimomura's graphic, comic-book style paintings instead highlight the superficial, packaged qualities of previous representations.[26] The ironically bright views of Shimomura's Minidoka, full of vivid, cloudless skies and smooth uninflected surfaces, offer formal choices that offset the false naturalism of photographic representations, as does his strategy of merging depictions of everyday activities with surprising and unsettling reminders of imprisonment. In many of his prints and paintings, Shimomura chooses to show the very things the government had required Adams and Lange to avoid: views of barbed wire, watchtowers, and armed soldiers. These jarring additions become the compositional and thematic elements that structure Shimomura's scenes of camp life.

In the early work, *Minidoka No. 3 (Diary)* (1978), which is also based on Toku's diary entries, Shimomura depicts his grandmother in the foreground holding a brush and paper (Fig. 6). Although the woman's form takes up two thirds of the painting, the glimpse of bright sky in the upper right-hand corner, which contrasts with the darker color palette of the surrounding walls and floor, draws the eye to the painting's upper-right corner, where a mother teaches a child to walk. The figures are positioned in front of a door, beyond which seven slim lines of barbed wire echo the horizontal lines of the floor. Through such intrusions, everyday events associated with home, including childrearing and familial bonding, become charged with a sense of confinement and immobility. Appearing on the threshold of the door, positioned between inside and outside, the mother instructs her child to move on his own, yet his very movement and autonomy remains circumscribed by the camp's threatening borders. Similar obtrusive elements are also found in the series *Memories of Childhood* (1999), which the artist describes as "images that are scraped from the linings of my mind—not necessarily what I remembered specifically, but what I respond with when I think of Camp Minidoka."[27] Throughout this collection of prints, a young Shimomura engages in predominantly solitary activities in or around the barracks. In the work entitled *When I caught the chickenpox, my mom and I had to live alone*, a young boy appears alone in the corner of an empty barrack,

Fig. 6. Roger Shimomura, *Minidoka No. 3 (Diary)*, 1978, acrylic on canvas, 59 7/8 x 72 1/16 inches (152.1 x 183 cm). Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Museum purchase, 1979.0051

Fig. 7. Roger Shimomura, *Memories of Childhood: When I caught the chicken-pox, my mom and I had to live alone*, 1999, color lithograph, 10 x 12 1/16 inches (25.4 x 30.7 cm). Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Museum purchase: Lucy Shaw Schultz Fund, 2002.0045l

crouching to look at a mouse (Fig. 7). The formal qualities of his blue and white striped shirt are echoed in the upper right corner, where a glimpse of blue sky can be seen through a window lined with barbed wire.

Shimomura's depictions of Minidoka present an uncanny version of the everyday activities associated with home, especially those unassuming practices that result from one's sense of comfort and security by living in a particular place. In their articulation of home and place, social geographers Edward Relph and David Seamon describe how neighborhoods and communities have particular rhythms to them that arise naturally and without directed intervention. Relph's term for this is "existential insidedness"—when a place is experienced without deliberate and self-conscious reflection.[28] Drawing upon Relph's ideas, Seamon formulates the concept of place-ballets and space-routines, where people experience positive and dynamic exchanges through a series of everyday habits.[29] Even the internment camps resonate with Seamon's idea of place-ballet, in that new patterns and routines were experienced and repeated, and new communities were forged and perhaps strengthened; however, the controlled circumstances under which these patterns emerged makes them anything but natural or freely experienced.

Shimomura frequently depicts the uncanniness of daily routines enacted within unfamiliar spaces by emphasizing the alienation of his subjects. Not only are the figures typically represented in isolation or in partial views, but they are also seen repeating ordinary activities in a sequential progression of fragmented, isolated spaces. The serial, comic-book style of the narrative's thirty paintings, each 11 by 14 inches, lays out internment in a repetitive arrangement of individual tasks and actions. His figures play, eat meals, and read books. Shelter and everyday routines—markers of home—are consistently presented, yet the lack of autonomy ascribed to the subjects inhabiting these scenes and performing such activities heightens the sense of unnaturalness.

Karen Higa has effectively argued that Shimomura's art can be seen as a response to the insensitive refrain often used to justify the internment: if Japanese American citizens maintained some semblance of normal life in the camps, then it might not have been too much of a hardship.[30] Shimomura does represent the banal and celebratory aspects of daily existence, yet the power of his works—and the critique launched against the power structures that allowed such a sustained event to occur—can be interpreted in his formal strategies. His paintings and prints focalize the relentlessly controlled and bound aspects of his subjects' daily activities through their isolated, fragmented, and depersonalized presentation. Returning to Higa's claims, it is this "sense of silent oppression" that stays with the viewer long after disengaging with the images.[31]

Fig. 8. Roger Shimomura, *Memories of Childhood: One time a friend from Seattle came to visit me while I was in camp*, 1999, color lithograph, 10 x 12 1/16 inches (25.4 x 30.7 cm). Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Museum purchase: Lucy Shaw Schultz Fund, 2002.0045t

As previously noted, Shimomura's works frequently manipulate the composition's spatial dimensions to suddenly change the viewer's position or confuse distinctions between interior and exterior space. These formal choices often present an ambiguous sense of inside and outside as one moves through the artist's depictions of camp life. In many of his works, Shimomura implicitly asks viewers to consider their own sense of place and belonging by how he situates them compositionally. In *One time a friend from Seattle came to visit me while I was in camp* from *Memories of Childhood*, a young Shimomura speaks to a light-haired boy, while a female figure, visible only by the lower third of her body, stands in front of Shimomura (Fig. 8). The two boys are separated by seven thin black lines of barbed wire that extend beyond the picture's cropped edges. Placed on the same side of the fence as Shimomura and his mother, we are both inside the camps as intimate observers, aligned with the artist and other Japanese Americans whose identities as American citizens were called into question during the war, and outside this barrier, at a remove from time and place.

The barbed wire that structures Shimomura's works also serves as a barrier between inside and outside and between those who are "in place"

(those outside of the camps perceived as American citizens) and those who are "out of place" (Japanese Americans interned in the camps). In such images, the common belief of home as haven, elaborated in Mallett's essay as private domestic space protected from the outside world, exists only for those beyond the fences, which do not protect the inside from outside, but rather the outside from the inside.[32] During wartime, these measures were justified as protecting Japanese Americans from harm, when of course this national policy involved a great deal of personal loss for those who were interned.[33] Home as haven is a bankrupt concept for those on the inside. Rather than a haven or space of protection, these spaces served to contain, to keep the so-called "enemy aliens" away from the general populace.

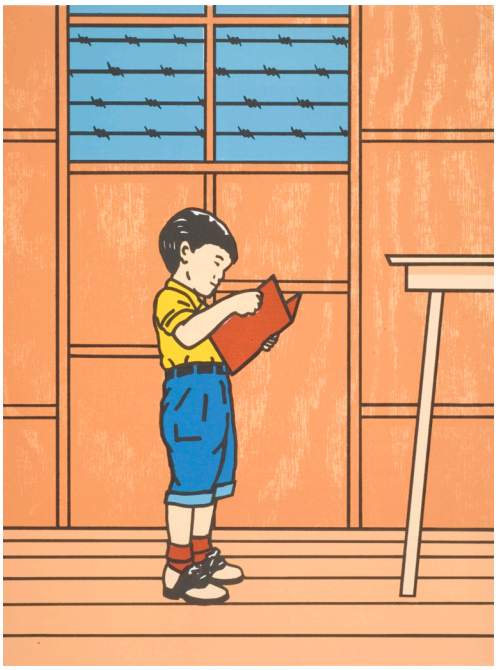

Fig. 9. Roger Shimomura, *American Citizen #2*, 2006, color lithograph, 15 7/8 x 11 7/8 inches (40.3 x 30.2 cm). Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Gift of the artist, 2007.0094

Shimomura's *American Citizen #2* aptly references the contradiction of reconciling homeland as both a terrain where one was born and as a place of non-belonging for people who are targeted for their cultural and racial identities (Fig. 9). It is a work whose title suggests a sense of estrangement from one's nation. In this lithograph print, a young Shimomura stands alone in a barrack, reading a red book. Another barbed wire window appears directly above him, its rectangular shape and horizontal barbed lines emulating the stripes of an American flag. The barbed flag serves as a dark reminder that one's homeland can quickly turn into a violent place of marginalization and alienation for entire communities.

Shimomura's shifting stylistic references can also be situated within this discussion of loss of home and identity. In his early series *Minidoka* (1978-79), Shimomura touches upon stories from the internment camp in a style reminiscent of Japanese *ukiyo-e* prints, while later series, such as *Memories of Childhood*, adopt the visual vocabulary of pop art.[34] These works possess the strong graphic sensibility of commercial design, with flat, unmodulated colors, bold linear compositions, and dark figural outlines. In

her essay, "Delayed Reactions," Lucy Lippard points out the disjointed and humorous nature of Shimomura's cultural mixing, an approach that underscores Western perceptions of Japanese art rather than their historical realities. She writes, "By juxtaposing modern American objects and styles with nineteenth-century Japanese costume and styles, especially *ukiyo-e* prints from the 'floating world' of the lower classes, he reveals another kind of floating world, that of the 'homeless' or 'multicentered' bicultural America."[35] Lippard's assessment of *ukiyo-e* prints as a nineteenth-century phenomenon highlights how Eurocentric attitudes, largely shaped by European collectors and artists, perpetuated the Orientalizing myth of *ukiyo-e* imagery as authentic contemporary representations of Japanese culture, despite the fact that the genre had developed much earlier in Japan's Edo period (1603-1868). Lippard further explores homelessness as a metaphor to describe the unanchored multicultural visual vocabulary that Shimomura uses, as he frequently draws from both American and Japanese cultural contexts. In the *American Diary* and *Memory of Childhood* series, he integrates internment imagery in the familiar commercial stylings of pop art, a strategy that creates tension with the "otherness" of Japanese-American identity. Shimomura's deft use of an artistic style popularized in the mid-twentieth century by and typically identified with white male American artists such as Andy Warhol, James Rosenquist, and Tom Wesselmann, features marginalized figures and political events often excluded from the subject matter these artists tended to draw from, namely the palatable figures and products of mainstream white culture.

Shimomura also plays with pop art's familiar aim for subversive effect. The pop style of Shimomura's Minidoka works pull in viewers with their surface appeal before their content can be fully understood. Perhaps the most compelling aspect of Shimomura's style, with its vibrant colors and eye-catching graphic quality, is that it belies the emotional and traumatic content surrounding such a formative event. It depicts the internment experience of the everyday in a relatively bright, yet seemingly artificial fashion. The cartoonish quality of his paintings and prints present a visually simplified depiction of life in the camps. Shimomura's deployment of a recognizable and easily consumed American art style becomes all the more disturbing once visible elements of imprisonment, such as barbed wire and watchtowers, become apparent. Moreover, the decision to position contemporary viewers both inside and outside of the camps, occupying the place of both the interned and the viewer, further compels viewers to question one's homeland as a secure and inclusive place, producing an uneasy and unanchored sense of home across place and time.

Like thousands of other imprisoned citizens, when Shimomura's family arrived at the camps, they were housed in identical blocks of impersonal barracks. Eventually the barracks at Minidoka became more

domesticated as materials such as scrap lumber became available and residents were able to build their own furniture. Household items such as curtains, furniture and bedding from Sears and Roebuck catalogues were ordered by camp residents and used to decorate individual spaces.[36] These physical changes made to the barracks do not appear in Shimomura's *American Diary* and *Memories of Childhood* series—indeed, the artist has indicated most of his camp depictions feature the barracks in their original and unadorned state.[37] While "home" is present in Shimomura's works, it is largely conveyed by what is not there, rather than what is. Image after image features figures alone in empty barracks, or outside unadorned buildings, without the personalization, privacy, and security that define an individual's sense of home. Shimomura's works show the absence of home as something not only defined by physical and geographical estrangement, but also as a loss of those qualities and objects most associated with it.

Making a Home Elsewhere: The Exhibition and Display of Japanese American Internment

In the field of humanistic geography, home acts as a central place of significance and meaning, where people experience and modify their living space to create a place of comfort and belonging.[38] As Shimomura's artwork indicates, for those forcibly interned in temporary barracks, the act of homemaking in an inhospitable environment remained tenuous. Instead of looking at the physical space of the barracks as a site for homemaking, one may turn to artmaking as a more autonomous practice pursued by interned individuals, and as arguably the closest activity to homemaking and community building in a traditional sense. As a collector and curator, Shimomura has explored the role of artmaking as an important practice for those who were interned. The following section explores the artist's curatorial involvement in displaying objects created by interned individuals who extended acts of creativity and agency outside of the barracks to produce a meaningful sense of place.

As Jane Dusselier argues in her study *Artifacts of Loss: Crafting Survival in Japanese American Concentration Camps*, many imprisoned Japanese Americans turned to artmaking practices as a means of recovering personal identity, as a survival practice, and to create a portable sense of place.[39] In opposition to the depersonalized living spaces of the camps, Shimomura turns to the creative output of those who lived there to provide visual accounts of loss and displacement, self-preservation, and personal identity. The most prominent voice in Shimomura's art, as previously discussed, was his grandmother. In addition to writing daily diary entries, Toku Shimomura also wrote haiku poetry, which often expressed thinly veiled anger about her internment.[40] Other examples of creative expression include the cultivation

of desert gardens and uniquely patterned clothing, creations that gave a sense of individuality and familiarity in an otherwise unfamiliar and hostile place. Camp residents also pursued art practices in the form of landscaping projects and Japanese arts and crafts classes.[41] Shimomura has described his own memories about the formation of artistic classes at Minidoka. According to the artist, the Japanese American community was quick to establish educational and creative opportunities in the camps; among them were classes in traditional Japanese musical instruments, writing haiku and poetry, as well as classes in *sumi-e* (or ink wash painting). His grandmother participated regularly in these artistic activities.[42]

The inclusion of Toku's diary entries in his representations of Minidoka serves as one of many actions Shimomura has taken to make visible the voices of Japanese American internees. In addition to incorporating his grandmother's writing in his art and exhibitions, Shimomura has also been active in collecting and displaying works by other Japanese American artists and camp residents. In 2011, Shimomura helped organize *Shadows of Minidoka*, an exhibition held at the Lawrence Arts Center, Kansas, and contributed essays for its accompanying catalogue.[43] For this exhibition, Shimomura evoked a wide variety of Japanese American wartime experiences by displaying objects created in camps, including not only art and craft objects, such as jewelry made from sea shells, lamps made from local sea scraps, handmade furniture, and rock vases, but also deeply personal and individualized objects of remembrance like high school yearbooks and poetry books. These objects were displayed alongside official wartime records, including government documents justifying the policy of internment, to suggest the impact of mass internment on a personal level. On the importance of displaying these objects, the artist states:

> I think the war time products made by camp incarcerees were a testament to their positive creative spirit…I think it helped that I have always been a collector of objects. It seemed a natural extension of this interest to turn this passion to any physical evidence related to the camp experience.[44]

In adjacent galleries at the Lawrence Arts Center, Shimomura displayed works from *Minidoka on My Mind* (2010), a series of thirty paintings that similarly engage with the subject of internment.[45] Shimomura's artwork and his accompanying collection of objects created by interned individuals develops an important and ongoing conversation between past and present representations of Japanese American experience. *Shadows of Minidoka* and related exhibitions devoted to representing personal stories of Japanese American internment through material culture create important spaces of meaning, where individual voices may be recovered, expressed, and experienced.[46]

While the internment camps acted as sites of confinement and surveillance, they nevertheless were active places for the production of

individual and collective memory. The camps became sites of artistic production and communal experience, reconstituted by those on the inside into some semblance of *a meaningful place*, even if their designation as "home" remains in question. Shimomura connects his own experience and artistic production to these exhibitions by including images and objects of his family, including his grandmother's diaries, which became important source materials for his future work. In this sense, his own practice—as an artist and as a politically motivated citizen—is fundamentally intertwined with the project of making a place for the memories of internment camp residents.

To think about belonging or dwelling in a place founded upon exclusionary practices naturally calls for a nuanced discussion of home in relation to the lived experiences of camp residents, and for an understanding of how artmaking, rather than homemaking, became a recuperative measure for combatting the fragmenting effects of displacement. Roger Shimomura's continued engagement with representing internment through his own artistic and curatorial practice effectively explores the fraught context of home both within and beyond its physical boundaries. While his own art shows the internment camps as living spaces founded on institutionalized racial oppression, Shimomura's curatorial activities offer an expanded and deeply felt examination of home's absence through the creative practices of other exiled and marginalized American citizens. In opposition to the empty, uncanny homes depicted in his art—unhomely spaces that reveal the disorienting effects of displacement and loss—the objects and activities represented in such curatorial endeavors uncover the material realities of internment and create powerful accounts of the absence of home.

* I would like to thank David Cateforis and Charles Eldredge at the University of Kansas for their invaluable feedback on the seminar paper that served as the basis for this article. My gratitude also to the editors of *RAR* and the outside reader for their thoughtful readings and critical insights. I am especially grateful to Roger Shimomura for sharing his experiences with me, and to Sofia Galarza Liu and Morgan Hunter at the Spencer Museum of Art for their generous assistance with reproductions.

Notes

1. William Lew, *Minidoka Revisited: The Paintings of Roger Shimomura* (Clemson, SC: Lee Gallery, Clemson University, 2005).

2. Stacey Uradomo, "Legacies: Family Memories, History, and Identity in Japanese American Art" (PhD dissertation, University of Southern California, 2005). On postmemory, see Marianne Hirsch's study of Holocaust remembrance in the second generation of family survivors: Marianne Hirsch, "The Generation of Postmemory," *Poetics Today* 29,1 (Spring 2008): 103-128. https://doi.org/10.1215/03335372-2007-019.

3. Allison Morgan McCormick, "Rhetorical Pop: The Art of Roger Shimomura" (PhD dissertation, Florida State University, 2013).

4. Emily Stamey, "Pop, Place, and Personal Identity in the Art of Roger Shimomura" (PhD dissertation, University of Kansas, 2009).

5. Stamey, "Pop, Place, and Personal Identity," 167.

6. Ibid., 122.

7. See: Alison Blunt and Robyn Dowling, *Home* (London: Routledge, 2006); Marcus Cooper, *House as a Mirror of Self: Exploring the Deeper Meaning of Home* (Berkeley, CA: Conari Press, 1995); C.P. Gilman, *The Home, its Work and Influence* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2002). Significant articles and chapters in edited volumes include: Huma Bhabha, "The World and the Home," in *Dangerous Liaisons: Gender, Nation, and Postcolonial Perspectives*, eds. Anne McClintock, Aamir Mufti and Ella Shohat (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997); Carole Després, "The Meaning of Home: Literature Review and Directions for Future Research and Theoretical Development," *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research* 8, 2 (1991): 96-115; Alison Blunt and Ann Varley, "Geographies of Home," *Cultural Geographies* 11 (2004): 3-6. https://doi.org/10.1191/1474474004eu289xx.

8. Blunt and Dowling, *Home*, 2.

9. See: Irwin Altman and Carol M. Werner's edited volume *Home Environments* (New York: Plenum Press, 1985).

10. Després, "The Meaning of Home," 100.

11. Shelly Mallett, "Understanding Home: A Critical Review of the Literature," *Sociological Review* 52,1 (2004): 71. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-954X.2004.00442.x.

12. Martin Heidegger, "Building Dwelling Thinking," in *Martin Heidegger: Basic Writings*, ed. David Farrell Krell (New York: Harper & Row, 1977), 347.

13. Jeffrey F. Burton, *Confinement and Ethnicity: An Overview of World War II Japanese American Relocation Sites* (Tucson: Western Archaeological and Conservation Center, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 2000), 1.

14. Marita Sturken, "Absent Images of Memory: Remembering and Re-enacting the Japanese Internment," *Positions* 5,3 (1997): 692. https://doi.org/10.1215/10679847-5-3-687. Although the term "concentration camp" was used frequently at the time, this term carries different associations than the Nazi death camps stationed throughout Europe during World War II. The Japanese internment camps were isolated and desolate, although few government or military deaths were inflicted.

15. Camp Harmony makes its first appearance in Shimomura's art in his *Minidoka* series (1978-79). In *Minidoka No. 1 (Notification)* and *Minidoka No. 2 (Exodus)*, the artist depicts the evacuation announcement and chaotic migration in a style reminiscent of Japanese *ukiyo-e* prints. These earlier paintings on camp experience, while significant in the trajectory of Shimomura's stylistic and thematic development, remain outside the scope of this paper.

16. Roger Daniels, Sandra C. Taylor, and Harry H. L. Kitano, eds. *Japanese Americans: From Relocation to Redress* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991), xxi.

17. Burton, *Confinement and Ethnicity*, 38.

18. Stamey, "Pop, Place, and Personal Identity," 161.

19. Interview with Roger Shimomura conducted by the author, December 6, 2013.

20. Susan L. Smith, "Midwife at Minidoka: Toku Shimomura and World War II," in *Minidoka Revisited: The Paintings of Roger Shimomura*, ed. William M. Lew (Clemson, SC: Lee Gallery, Clemson University, 2005), 56.

21. Stamey, "Pop, Place, and Personal Identity," 53-54. Roger Shimomura

received funding from the Civil Liberties Public Education Fund in 1996 to create these paintings, which toured the country as a group until 2001. The exhibition was organized by the Smithsonian Institute and traveled to the following museums: Bellevue Art Museum (2002), Chicago Cultural Center (2001), Boise Art Museum (2001), San Jose Art Museum (2001), National Museum of American History (2000), Phoenix Art Museum (2000), Japanese American National Museum (1999), Indianapolis Museum of Art (1999), Mississippi Museum of Art (1999), Steinbaum Krauss Gallery, New York (1999), Priebe Gallery, University of Wisconsin (1998), Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies, Philadelphia (1998).

22. "Roger Shimomura: An American Diary series, 2002-2003," Greg Kucera Gallery, accessed November 29, 2013, http://www.gregkucera.com/shimomura_diary.htm.

23. Ibid.

24. Kristine C. Kuramitsu, "Internment and Identity in Japanese American Art." *American Quarterly* 47,4 (1995): 623. https://doi.org/10.2307/2713369.

25. The U.S. government did not publish images that appeared to indict WRA policy. See: Jasmine Alinder, *Moving Images: Photography and the Japanese American Incarceration* (Champaign, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2010).

26. Recent discussions about the ambivalence of documentary photography and photographic objectivity have been explored in several publications and exhibitions, including the anthology *Photography and Doubt*, ed. Sabine T. Kriebel and Andrés Zervigón (New York: Routledge, 2017) and the exhibition *Faking It: Manipulated Before Photoshop* at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (2012).

27. "Roger Shimomura: Small Paintings – Minidoka on My Mind, February 18 – March 27, 2010," Greg Kucera Gallery, accessed December 2, 2013, http://www.gregkucera.com/shimomura_minidoka.htm. In her catalogue raisonné of Shimomura's prints, Emily Stamey notes that plans emerged to have the works in this series commercially reproduced as a children's book. Although this plan ultimately fell through, Shimomura created an artist's book instead. Emily Stamey, *The Prints of Roger Shimomura: A Catalogue Raisonné, 1968-2005* (Lawrence, KS: Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas, in association with University of Washington Press, 2007).

28. David Seamon, "Body-Subject, Time-Space Routines, and Place-Ballets,"

in *The Human Experience of Space and Place*, ed. Anne Buttimer and David Seamon (London: Croom Helm, 1980), 161. See also Edward Relph's discussion of existential insidedness in Edward Relph, *Place and Placelessness* (London: Pion, 1976).

29. John Agnew, *Place and Politics: The Geographical Mediation of State and Society* (Boston: Allen and Unwin, 1987), 36. "This sense of place reinforces the socio-spatial definition of place from *inside*, so to speak. The identification with place that can follow contributes yet another aspect to the meaning of place: one place or 'territory' in its differentiation from other places *can* become an 'object' of identity for a subject. This is *not* the same as community in the sense of a way of life based on a high degree of personal intimacy and sociability." Agnew, 27-28.

30. Karen M. Higa, "Barbed Wire and Barracks: Roger Shimomura's Paintings and Collections," in *Shadows of Minidoka: Paintings and Collections of Roger Shimomura*, ed. Janet Jaeger (Lawrence, KS: Lawrence Arts Center, 2011), 15-17.

31. Ibid, 17.

32. Mallett, "Understanding Home," 70-73.

33. Alice Yang Murray, *Historical Memories of the Japanese American Internment and the Struggle for Redress* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), 22. "Few Americans questioned Lieutenant General John L. DeWitt's call to remove Japanese Americans from the West Coast because they shared his assumption that Japanese Americans were members of an enemy race and were predisposed to be spies and saboteurs. People throughout the nation had long viewed both Japanese immigrants and their American-born children as suspicious foreigners, but the West Coast had a particularly virulent history of racism." Ibid.

34. Kazuko Nakane argues that Shimomura's use of traditional Japanese aesthetics derived ironically from his misidentification as a Japanese artist in the United States. See: Kazuko Nakane, "Not Made in Japan: Roger Shimomura's Paintings and a Japanese-American Identity," in *Roger Shimomura, Delayed Reactions: Paintings, Prints, Performance and Installation Art from 1973 to 1996* (Lawrence, KS: Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas, 1995), 21.

35. Lucy Lippard, "Delayed Reactions," in *Roger Shimomura, Delayed Reactions*, 7. In context, Lippard does not explicitly identify *ukiyo-e* prints as origi-

nating in the nineteenth century and, one can reasonably assume, recognizes their historical connection to the broader Edo period.

36. Shimomura, interview.

37. Ibid.

38. Blunt and Dowling, *Home*, 11.

39. Jane E. Dusselier, *Artifacts of Loss: Crafting Survival in Japanese American Concentration Camps* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2008), 1.

40. Anne Collins Goodyear, "An American Artist," *American Art* 27,1 (2013): 88.

41. Dusselier, *Artifacts of Loss*, 52.

42. Shimomura, interview.

43. *Shadows of Minidoka: Paintings and Collections of Roger Shimomura* (Lawrence, KS: Lawrence Arts Center, 2011).

44. Shimomura, interview.

45. In addition to *Shadows of Minidoka: Paintings and Collections of Roger Shimomura*, the artist has also curated an exhibition featuring the works of Japanese American artist Jimmy Mirikitani. In 2006, Shimomura curated Mirikitani's first solo exhibition, titled *Jimmy Tsutomu Mirikitani*, at the Wing Luke Asian Museum in Seattle. Mirikitani (1920-2012), a Japanese American citizen who received some artistic education in Japan, was sent to Tule Lake, California, where he was incarcerated for nearly four years. Like Shimomura, Mirikitani created art that drew upon his experiences while in the camps. Although it extends beyond the scope of this article, Mirikitani's life, which is partly documented in Linda Hattendorf's 2006 film *The Cats of Mirikitani*, provides a compelling counterpoint to the discussion of home and homelessness for Japanese American incarcerees in the decades following the war. See also Michael J. Shapiro, *Cinematic Geopolitics* (London: Routledge, 2009), 86.

46. Shimomura's curatorial projects stand alongside several important recent exhibitions, including *The View from Within: Japanese American Art from the Internment Camps, 1942-1945*, curated by Karin Higa at the Japanese American National Museum in 1992, and permanent exhibitions at the Smithsonian's

American History Museum in Washington D.C. and Japanese American National Museum in Los Angeles that have bolstered the visibility of important voices previously left out of American historical narratives. Internment representations have also been expanded beyond the museum space. As Elena Tajima Creef contends, representations of Japanese American wartime experiences has moved beyond artistic and academic realms and has reached forms of popular visual culture: "In the last twenty-five years, the visual archive of camp representation has noticeably expanded with the new body of work by Asian American filmmakers and video artists who continue to explore the historical trauma heaped on individuals and families," 17, in *Imaging Japanese America: The Visual Construction of Citizenship, Nation, and the Body* (New York: New York University Press, 2004).

"Whatever happens, we have got, the Maxim, and they have not": The Conspicuous Absence of Machine Guns in British Imperialist Imagery

by Ramey Mize

"At first, before firing, one felt a little gun shy. I well remember the Instructor saying, 'It can't hurt you, the bullets will come out the other end.'"[1] –P. G. Ackrell

In 1893 in Southern Africa, British colonial police slaughtered 1,500 Ndebele warriors, losing only four of their own men in the process.[2] This astronomical, almost unfathomable victory was earned not through superior strength, courage, or strategic skill, but because the British were armed with five machine guns and the Ndebele were not.[3] The invention and development of the machine gun by engineers such as Richard Gatling, William Gardner, and Hiram Maxim proved vital in the colonization and subjugation of Africa; although Zulu, Dervish, Herero, Ndebele, and Boer forces vastly outnumbered British settlers, all were rendered helpless in the face of the machine gun's phenomenal firepower.[4] These brutal imperial campaigns were subsequently met with a "mountain of print and pictures" in order to satiate the interests of an eager British public.[5] Few artists contributed as prolifically as Richard Caton Woodville, Jr. to the wealth of war imagery that colored the widely circulated illustrated newspapers.[6] A self-professed "special war artist" of the 1880s and 1890s, albeit one who had never personally experienced battle,[7] Woodville submitted thousands of drawings to a wide variety of publications, covering almost every imperial crusade.[8] His illustrations, prints, and oil paintings incorporated the accepted motifs of high Victorian military art, such as the belief in great men and military heroes, the depiction of war as an inspiring adventure filled with "noble sacrifice," and a compositional focus on hand-to-hand combat and glorious cavalry charges, fraught with soldiers courageously "lunging and thrusting with swords and bayonets."[9] However, almost never does the machine gun, upon which the majority of these colonial "victories" were wholly dependent, make an appearance.

Woodville was not the only British military artist to ignore, fail to represent, or de-emphasize the machine gun's influence in the context of colonial imagery.[10] It is the same story for most of his contemporaries, including John Charlton, Frederic Villiers, Elizabeth Thompson Butler, William Barnes Wollen, Melton Prior, and others.[11] Through a discussion of the machine gun's technical workings and the shifting constructions of late nineteenth-century Victorian masculinity, I will establish the significance of the

deadly instrument's distinctive absence or minimization in selected works by Woodville. Indeed, the painter's conspicuous occlusion belies soldiers' attachment to, and identification with, the weapon that held such consequence in the colonial project. F. Norreys Connell, in his 1899 account *How Soldiers Fight*, comments on the inextricability of British manhood, guns, and military training: "Apart from his physique, the Britisher has no particular qualification as a cavalier, and he lacks the quick intelligence of the born artilleryman; but give him a rifle and a bayonet, and let him have two year's training to make a man of him, and yet two more *to remind him that he cannot be one without the other*."[12] In this estimation, the firearm is not simply an ancillary tool, but rather a constitutive agent in the making of the modern male soldier. Woodville's pictures, when examined through this lens, demonstrate that the machine gun's usage and physical mechanisms both analogize and reinscribe the volatile nature of constructions of masculinity at the turn of the century.

Although Richard Gatling had produced an early version of the machine gun in 1868, it was the American-born, London-based inventor Hiram Maxim who contributed the most "lasting and revolutionary" version of the gun in 1884, one capable of firing five hundred rounds a minute.[13] The Maxim gun was officially adopted by the British army in 1887 and was first wielded six years later in a battle against the Ndebele people.[14] Distinguishing the Maxim from earlier versions of the weapon was its productive harnessing of excess energy from the exploding charge towards the activation of the weapon's internal engine.[15] The ammunition belt constantly fed ammunition into the gun; the Maxim gun could fire automatically and continually as long as a soldier applied pressure to the trigger because the force of the initial shot was recycled, thereby activating another internal mechanism that lined up an additional, fresh round. The movement of the recoil spring then followed, driving another bullet forward.[16]

A common feature shared by all machine gun models was not only their provision of a staggering increase in firepower, but also their relative invulnerability on the colonial battlefield. By invulnerability, I refer to the fact that the effectiveness of the gun was impervious to mass casualties—as long as one man survived to aim a functional gun, the odds remained in his favor.[17] Manpower was rendered almost irrelevant, and the gun reigned supreme. As such, the machine gun was a "vitally useful tool in the colonization of Africa" and, as John Ellis chillingly pronounces, "Time and time again automatic fire enabled small groups of settlers or soldiers to stamp out any indigenous resistance to their activities and to extend their writ over vast areas of the African continent."[18] Yet, also according to Ellis, "In England and other countries, machine guns remained hidden until the very outbreak of World War I."[19] As previously mentioned, this is certainly corroborated by the machine gun's absence in popular war imagery and news

Fig. 1. Chromolithograph after Richard Caton Woodville, Jr. *'All That Was Left of Them', 17th Lancers Near Modderfontein, 17 September 1901,* 1902, published by Gilbert Whitehead and Company Limited, National Army Museum, London. Photograph courtesy of the Council of the National Army Museum, London.

coverage. What might be the underlying reasons for such reluctance on the part of the army and special war artists to acknowledge the machine gun's influence in their campaigns? For one, to quote Ellis once more: "Where was the glory, where was the vicarious excitement for the readers back home, if one told the truth about the totally superior firepower? One couldn't pin a medal on a weapon."[20] The machine gun refuted the need for almost all forms of traditional Victorian military heroics—direct combat, cavalry charges, and the traditional British infantry square. As Ellis observes, "Europeans, particularly the British, were too concerned with trumpeting the virtues of their small squares of heroes to admit that much of the credit for these sickeningly total victories should go to the machine guns."[21]

Richard Caton Woodville's popular painting *'All That Was Left of Them', 17th Lancers Near Modderfontein* reflects this chronic denial, as it propagates the delusion that solely the defiant, collaborative strength of a minor contingent of soldiers could guarantee sweeping military success (Fig. 1). The picture commemorates an event that took place during the Second Boer War on September 17, 1901.[22] That day, a confrontation broke out between the Duke of Cambridge's 17th Lancers and General Jan Smuts's commando

at Modderfontein Farm near Johannesburg.[23] Although most members of the British squadron were killed, a single troop—the one pictured by Woodville—managed to escape, having been posted somewhat further away from the brunt of the combat and possessing a substantial supply of heavy ammunition, including rifles, a mountain gun, and a machine gun.[24] The machine gun is noticeably missing, however, from the Woodville's representation; the artist instead shifts the emphasis to the rifles, but even more so to the soldiers' fierce, overwrought facial expressions and postures that bristle with bravado. The central standing figure gazes masterfully forward, seemingly unaffected by the wounded or dying men and horses that surround him. The same may be said for his comrades, rendered by Woodville as equally stoic before their enemies. It is clear that their fearlessness would have been made possible primarily through the active engagement of their machine gun, but Woodville portrays a valor based on the major tenets of Victorian masculinity, which have been identified by Angus McLaren as "strength, military preparedness, courage, hardness, aggression, vitality, comradeship, and productivity."[25] In other words, Woodville posits the male body, rather than the machine gun, as the prime agent of influence, one that required only a very limited and select array of auxiliary equipment to emerge victorious.

In England at this time, there existed a pervasive fear that urbanization would undermine traditional and admirable masculine traits.[26] Robert Baden-Powell, leader of the Scout Movement, expressed such disquietude, lamenting that men were becoming "stunted, narrow-chested, easily wearied; yet voluble, excitable, with little ballast, stamina or endurance."[27] By way of remediation, society ennobled qualities like forcefulness and aggression in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[28] It was through this way of thinking that imperialism came to be heralded as a kind of antidote to the emasculating effects of industrialization.[29] Rudyard Kipling extensively disseminated this view; according to Preben Kaarsholm, "[Kipling's] tales from the outposts of Empire imply a criticism of contemporary over-civilized and 'degenerate' British society for which imperialism and the military life might provide a necessary cure for revitalization."[30] In this paradigm, it was not enough to rely on a machine gun to establish one's mettle. With the considerable advantage of their weaponry (as was the reality of the colonial context), the legitimacy of one's vigor, bravery and fortitude is called into question. Masculinity in this period was construed as adequate only if physically and rigorously earned. McLaren remarks, "To be a man required effort and labor that was not required of a woman. One did not goad a female by force to will her to 'be a woman,' she was born one."[31] To "be a man" involved profound exertion and activity.[32] Men were driven to perpetually construct their manhood in all phases of life, and the battlefield represented one of the more high-stakes settings in which this proving

of masculinity could transpire.[33] In order to align with these expectations fully, the acts that verified manliness were predicated upon virility, confrontation of dangers, robust strength, and brazen violence.[34]

The machine gun, however, negated most of these characteristics. Indeed, it obstructed any opportunity for legitimate confrontation when used against poorly armed opponents and rendered obsolete qualities like strength and skill in hand-to-hand combat. With these perceptions of acceptable masculinity in mind, it is no wonder that war imagery and documentary accounts avoided an outright identification of the genuine guarantor of British conquests. For, as we will continue to see in the example of Woodville's oeuvre, the skewed interpretations of imperial experiences were produced wholly in response to what Ellis calls a Victorian "demand for myth."[35] Following Britain's disastrous performance in the Crimean War, society at large exhibited an appetite for a new narrative of British ascendance that could counteract the effects of dampened national morale.[36] The domination of Africa fed this voracious national desire for supremacy, and artists recognized the necessity of attributing the outrageous casualty figures to men rather than machines in order to safeguard their victors' reputation.

A comparison of the paintings *'All That Was Left of Them'* by Woodville and *Quatre Bras* (1875) by Elizabeth Butler throws many conventions of Victorian battle art into sharp relief (Fig. 2).[37] Notable for our purposes is the fact that the square formation, a defensive strategy employed by the infantry against cavalry charges, was considered applicable and evocative for a representation of a skirmish that was part of the greater Battle of Waterloo in 1815 as well as a scene depicting the second Boer War in 1899.[38] Butler's painting *Quatre Bras*—which has received little critical analysis to date—is compositionally and emotionally complex, combining and projecting episodes of resistance, weariness, courage, fear, and especially aggressive defense. This is another laudatory picture, commemorating the bravery of the troops led by Wellington against the Napoleonic invasion, with a focus on the battle that took place on June 16, 1815—only two days before Waterloo.[39] Butler selects the 28th Regiment as the composition's focus and represents them standing in a field of rye, braced against a ferocious, desperate charge led by French *cuirassiers* and Polish lancers. No two faces are alike, Butler assures us of this in her diary, proudly alleging the diversity of models she used.[40] Although each man is undoubtedly unique, the impression of the square is one of unity, uniformity, and compactness; the canvas teems with a dense mass of male bodies, all of whom brandish muskets fitted with glinting bayonets. The guns and the hands that clutch them further exude a sense of tightness and barely-contained energy. Woodville evokes a similar tautness amongst the figures in his smaller, but no less pugnacious, congregation. This comparison exposes the antiquarian nature of Woodville's visual approach, since the machine gun's involvement in colonial campaigns relegated the square tactic

Fig. 2. Elizabeth Thompson Butler, *The 28th Regiment at Quatre Bras, 16 June 1815*, 1875, oil on canvas. 38.2 x 85.1 inches (97.2 x 216.2 cm). National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne. Photograph courtesy of the National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne.

to a position of inconsequence. With that said, the infantry square could also be seen as a kind of precursor to the machine gun's dehumanizing and automatic firepower. After all, the work of many firearms triggered simultaneously and en masse, whether muskets or rifles, simulates (to a certain extent) the mechanized, rapid-fire propulsion of bullets from implements like the Maxim gun. Notice, for example, the attention paid by both Butler and Woodville to the actual firing process in their respective pictures. Each artist renders the flashes of active discharge in great detail, with the muskets in *Quatre Bras* streaming forth smoke and the rifles in *'All That was Left of Them'* erupting fiery orange spurts. The infantry square may be likened, therefore, to a kind of human machine gun, with each soldier functioning as a discrete, component round of fire. War's increasing mechanization is thus reflected, indeed embedded, in these Victorian images, whether or not the machine gun appears.

The two compositions are similar in more ways than just the square tactic; both canvases also incorporate a heavy emphasis on the inspirational heroics of the British military, the omission of bodily mutilation and death, as well as an immediate perspective on an intricately-packed assemblage of seething male bodies. The frontal viewpoint contributes to the theatrical nature of the paintings, with each presenting their soldiers as objects of

scrutiny, celebration, and awe. Critics recognized this detail, specifically in relation to Woodville's work, with one observing that "his combatants appear to be on a stage rather than a battlefield, each strenuously exerting himself with voice and weapon at the same moment in order to make as much tumult as possible."[41] If the battlefield more closely resembles a stage in these paintings, it follows that the male actor-soldier's body deserves the viewer's attention more than his accompanying props/guns. Joseph Kestner identifies this as a common feature in Victorian military art: "Victorian imperial battle painting represents the intensification of the male body as the site for negotiating masculinity through empowering political, economic, and racist programmes."[42]

The 1901 photogravure after an original painting by Woodville, entitled *A Chip Off the Old Block: Charge of C Squadron 5th Lancers at Elandslaagte*, provides further visual evidence of the male body's preeminence over the machine gun in the colonial military context (Fig. 3).[43] Here, Woodville represents another Boer War event, specifically the cavalry charge of the 5th Lancers' C squadron. The picture highlights the central figure of the boy trumpeter, Bugler Shurlock, who reportedly took down several Boers with the aid of merely a single revolver and stouthearted courage.[44] Woodville portrays Shurlock in the midst of the deed, actively firing while his horse vaults forward and his Boer victim collapses. The frenzy of battle is depicted in lurid detail in the composition's middle ground; an unfortunate soldier is shown trampled by the onslaught, a man screams before being slashed by a cavalryman's rapier, and spears undulate through the fray. A machine gun appears in the bottom left-hand corner, but in this rare example of the instrument being included in a composition at all, Woodville emphatically downplays

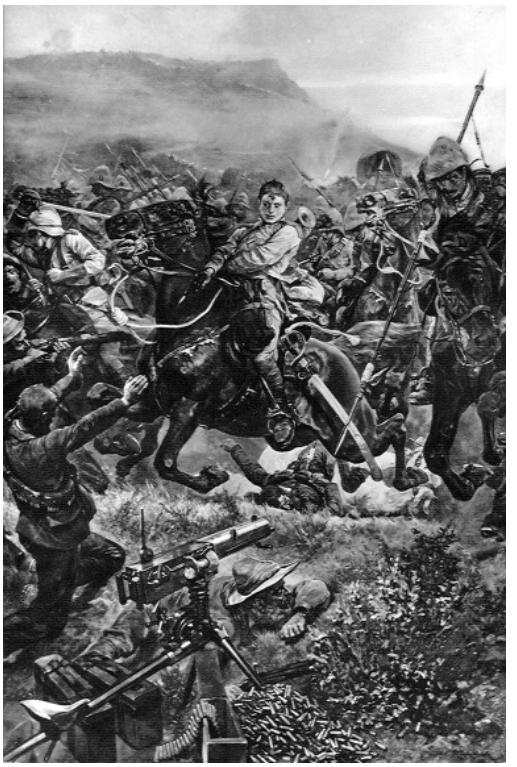

Fig. 3. Photogravure after Richard Caton Woodville, Jr., *A Chip Off the Old Block: Charge of C Squadron 5th Lancers at Elandslaagte*, 1901, published by Henry Graves, London. National Army Museum, London. Photograph courtesy of the Council of the National Army Museum, London.

its utility. Although the weapon is technically manned by the Boer who crouches beside it, a British soldier on horseback menaces above him, leveling his spear with murderous intent. Clearly, the confrontation's result will not favor the gunner. In fact, with the exception of Shurlock, none of the British soldiers brandish firearms. By elevating the mounted troops over the machine gun, Woodville establishes a misleading visual hierarchy that distinguishes the outmoded tactic of the cavalry charge as more expedient in battle.

Fig. 4. Richard Caton Woodville, Jr., *Maiwand: Saving the Guns*, 1882, oil on canvas. 52 x 78 inches (133 x 199 cm). National Army Museum, London. Photograph courtesy of the Council of the National Army Museum, London.

In 1882, Woodville produced one of his most popular works, *Maiwand: Saving the Guns* (Fig. 4), which employs a similar visual rhetoric to that of *A Chip Off the Old Block*. The artist selected as his subject a celebrated incident during the battle of Maiwand, one of the decisive episodes of the Second Anglo-Afghan War. The original painting, as well as the subsequent print, focuses on the moment when Afghan tribesmen broke through the British infantry line in an attempt to capture the machine guns of the E/B Battery Royal Horse Artillery (RHA).[45] Horses and their British riders race at a break-neck pace across an arid plain; their collective speed is somehow so rapid that the four steeds in the foreground are shown in mid-air, without a single hoof grazing the ground. Ultimately, the British gunners managed to

fend off the Afghan troops, but Woodville again ascribes their salvation to the cavalry's efforts and implies a greater vulnerability with regards to the firearms than pure physical fortitude. Even the title suggests as much—it is the guns that require saving, rather than the mounted troops. Nevertheless, the artist's projection of dauntless grit does not completely hold. A telltale array of debris litters the lower register, including a saber, saddle, and saddlebag emblazoned with the RHA logo. The random disposal of these objects echoes the disturbing arbitrariness of war itself, as does the state of the rider shown at the far right. He leans backward, the rapier falls from his hand, and the stirrup slips from his foot; he has been shot, a fact that is evident from the slightest hint of crimson on his forehead. Although Woodville often pictures careening bodies tumbling towards imminent death (as seen in the unfortunate horseman to the far left in this image), he rarely includes the gore that inevitably results from those bullets that find their marks, whether from machine guns or any other type of firearm. Here, even the faintest suggestion of blood signifies a slight, yet telling, fissure in the intended visual narrative. For all his effort to circumvent the machine gun's lethal presence and to deflect popular awareness of the gun's necessity in British imperialist campaigns, the belabored insistence of this denial suggests just the opposite. As a closer look at *Maiwand: Saving the Guns* indicates, Woodville ultimately lets slip the reality of the British cavalry's vulnerability in spite of his best efforts.

Even with an acute awareness of the machine gun's destructive power, the majority of gunners experienced a fierce loyalty and intimate connection to the device.[46] As Major Frank William Arthur Hobart alleged: "However much one may deplore the use of force, it must be admitted that men who are trained to become expert in the use of the reliable and effective Machine Gun and have used it in war develop a real affection for it.[47] During a battle that took place at Abu Klea in Sudan in 1884, the Naval Brigade employed machine guns in an attempt to relieve General Charles George Gordon in Khartoum. John Ellis narrates the events that followed: "The British immediately formed a square with the Gardner [machine gun] in the middle and managed to fight off the Dervish assaults. In fact the Gardner only managed to fire seventy rounds before jamming, but even so its effect was most heartening."[48] In this episode, the machine gun, at once faulty and confidence-boosting, merited a paradoxical combination of protection and praise by those who wielded it. In the end, however, the mechanism contributed to the grisly demise of its proponents; following an infiltration by Dervish opponents, "the entire complement of the naval party [was] killed as they successively tried to get the gun working again."[49]

This example suggests a compulsion to remain in physical contact with the machine gun—a compulsion so irresistible that numerous deaths in the gun's defense were evidently not too dear a cost.[50] This phenome-

non raises the question: Who, or what, is in control? Is the gunner the true authority, or does the weapon exert a psychological force that is greater than the gunner's own instincts for survival?[51] If we consider period-specific notions of the ideal machine gunner, prescriptions that dictated that he be a "manly man" in possession of a "good physique, willpower and determination, initiative, and a mechanical turn of mind," we may note a discrepancy: to be so fiercely protective of the machine gun denies logic and undermines the notion of the gunner's own "willpower" in relation to the machine.[52] Later, in 1915, the *Illustrated London News* explicated the relationship between man and machine gun in a featured article (Fig. 5). The piece includes photographs of men interacting with and using the gun, as well as images and diagrams of the Maxim gun's intricate, composite parts. In the lower section of the spread detailing the instrument's components, the author included the following label: "A sign of perfect construction: the many gauges used to test the parts of a Maxim Machine-Gun." This report bears significance with regards to the general question of an interrelationship between the male body and the body of the gun, or the bonds that emerged between man and machine. For one, the diagram and the caption both suggest an immense esteem for the astonishing complexity of the Maxim's intricacy. Interestingly, this feature also signifies that the machine gun is perhaps even more imposing when dismantled or exposed. The inimitable nature of the gun, in other words, is quite literally premised on its assembly, peerless in both bound and unbound states. Other diagrams convey similar messages, such as the illustration of the internal mechanisms of a Maxim Machine Gun included in *The Machine Gunner's Handbook* of 1911 (Fig. 6). The gun's durable encasement sheathes the volatile process of firing that occurs within, and the elaborate, almost delicate nature of its steely

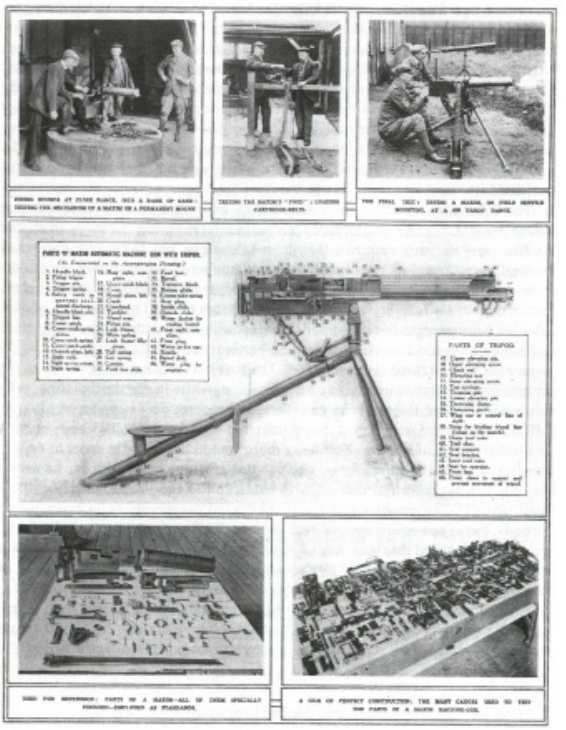

Fig. 5. Artist Unknown, "The Machine Gun," in *Illustrated London News*. July 1, 1915.

innards, laid out piecemeal or revealed in a cross-section, recalls the display of body parts upon an anatomy table. When assembled, however, the gun's design attains deadly proportions, and its "perfection" is synonymous with lethality.

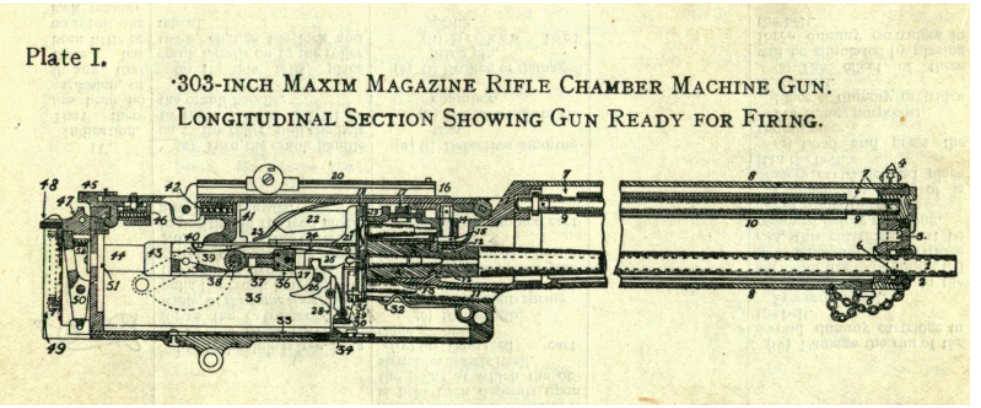

Fig. 6. Artist Unknown, "Maxim Magazine Rifle Chamber Machine Gun. Longitudinal Section Showing Gun Ready for Firing," in J. Bostock, *The Machine Gunner's Handbook*. Including the Vickers, Maxim, Lewis and Colt Automatic Machine Guns, London: W. H. Smith & Son, 1916, 62.

The beginning of this essay stressed the anxious precariousness underlying late nineteenth-century British constructions of masculinity, and the ways in which this instability may be identified in contemporary visual representations of the machine gun (or lack thereof). Images that scrupulously document multiple views of the gun, such as those examined above, elucidate the ambivalent role played by the weapon in this paradigm. Caroline Arscott posits an important connection in the following observation:

> The gun is a body that is already penetrated with metal parts . . . . As the body of the gun is pieced together, there is a reversal of the tearing apart, pieces are joined rather than sundered. The gun is the double of the fallen soldier, the torn fragments reassembled; this is to make the body of the gun not an intact, unspoiled living body but a dead-alive body.[53]

Death is thus at the core of the gun-body, but because the weapon remains capable of functioning, it is also considered "alive." The machine gun is thus akin to a kind of ideal "double"—its impenetrable metal carapace both conceals and contains the volatile combustion that occurs within. In this way, guns demonstrated a function that surpassed man's ability; as Hal Foster eloquently surmises, "They can discharge and still remain whole."[54] Furthermore, Arscott's indication of a male desire for bodily coherence, even in the

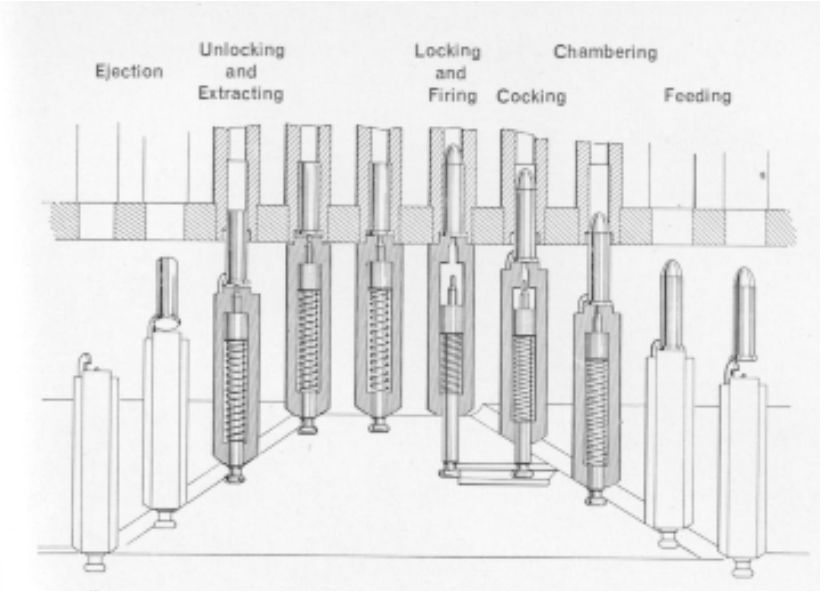

Fig. 7. Artist Unknown, "The Action of the Gatling Gun." In F. W. A. Hobart's *A Pictorial History of the Machine Gun*. London: Ian Allan, 1971.

Fig. 8. Artist Unknown, *Maxim Gun Detachment of the 1st Battalion, King's Royal Rifle Corps, Chitral Expedition*, 1895, gelatin silver print. National Army Museum, London. Courtesy of the Council of the National Army Museum, London.

midst of violent rupture enabled by the machine gun's incredible destructiveness, aligns with modern notions of embodiment. Ian Burkitt describes this development as one involving "the closed body of modernity, where the emphasis is placed on the body's surfaces rather than its openings to the world."[55] For Burkitt, the modern body is not only a "communicative" entity, but also "a signifying surface that exposes but at the same time conceals part of itself behind its armoring."[56] In this formulation, the body itself is seen to harden into a seamless, iron-clad "surface" in an uncanny approximation of the gun-body that so transfixed its users.

It is thus possible to pinpoint a distinctly modern, masculine affinity with the dissonant dynamics between the gun's form and fiery release. Bostock, author of *The Machine Gunner's Handbook*, succinctly describes the mechanics of the discharge process: "The machine gun is divided into two portions, the non-recoiling and the recoiling, and when firing the gun is worked automatically by two forces: the explosion, which forces the recoiling portion backwards and opens the breech, and the fuse spring, which carries it forward and closes the breech."[57] A diagram entitled "The Action of the Gatling Gun," included in Hobart's *A Pictorial History of the Machine Gun*, depicts the intricate steps of this firing cycle, from chambering to feeding (Fig. 7).[58] A comparison of Hobart's diagram and a photograph from 1895 entitled *Maxim Gun Detachment of the 1st Battalion, King's Royal Rifle Corps, Chitral Expedition* illustrates the ways in which male soldiers exhibited a mechanization that parallels the inner components of the machine gun—in a way that is strikingly reminiscent of the infantry square discussed earlier (Fig. 8).[59] The men, all of whom were members of Lieutenant-General Sir Robert Low's Chitral Relief Force, are expertly posed in uniform precision. On the right, six soldiers aim their Lee-Metford Magazine Rifles toward an unseen enemy, while on the left, a trio demonstrates the proper drill formation required for operating a Maxim gun: the standing soldier located enemy targets, the gunner held the trigger, and the third man fed the ammunition belt through the gun to facilitate continuous firing.[60] At least three people were required to properly activate and wield the gun, and this image underscores the ways in which the machine fastened them together, physically and mentally. The gun acts as a conduit to the enemy, and its direction dictates their actions and attention: it is the locus of their homosocial bond.[61]

The emphatic stiffness of the group's pose and uniforms is analogous to the very structure of the weapons they wield. Through a comparison of the soldiers' repeating, erect postures with the equally erect bullets in corresponding barrels of Hobart's Gatling gun diagram, it is possible to conclude that the men and the bullets both connote tightly-coiled energy and phallic verticality. A surprising and striking visual similarity emerges, one that drives home Klaus Theweleit's observation that "the weapon is never external to the soldier body."[62] The gun is pictured as inextricably integrated with

the male form, and even psyche, in the military context. Indeed, the guns are so closely linked to the male figures, so visually similar in their pillar-like forms, that the body itself is imbued with a rigid instrumentality, recalling this sentiment discovered by Theweleit in the memoirs of a fascist *Freikorps* member: "It was as if I myself could feel every jolt that shook the metal parts of the gun as a bullet slicing into warm, living human bodies. A wicked pleasure: was I now perhaps one with the weapon? Was I not machine—cold metal?"[63] As we have seen, this notion of human mechanization as a prerequisite for machine gun usage is promoted and codified in *The Machine Gunner's Handbook*, a manual that mandates "above all, a mechanical turn of mind."[64] These instructions imply that it is imperative not only to wield the machine, but to embody it as well.[65] Importantly, the allusions to man-machine melding in the visual culture of this moment foreshadow the more pronounced cyborgian dogmas and interests that came to define later artistic movements, such as Futurism and Dadaism.[66] In other words, the disquieting affiliation briefly assessed here was to form the crux of entire aesthetic manifestos just a few years later, with roots evident in nineteenth-century documents—technical, photographic, painterly, and otherwise—that are easily overlooked.

Throughout this article, multiple manifestations of tension and volatility reflect and refract each other, evident in paradoxical constructions of Victorian masculinity, in the impulse behind the persistent obfuscation of the machine gun's fundamental role in the colonial theater, and in the explosive recoil within the obdurate shell of the weapon itself. Around the turn of the century, a wide range of visual material, including battle paintings, drill formation photographs, and technological diagrams, exhibits an uneasy awareness of the machine gun's lethal, precarious proportions—as well as man's fraught relationship to them. Here lies the key to the machine gun's absence in British imperialist imagery by artists such as Richard Caton Woodville. The sinister, sing-song phrase, "Whatever happens, we have got, the Maxim, and they have not," coined by Hilaire Belloc in his 1898 account *The Modern Traveler*, betrays the very presumption upon which Western claims to preeminence rest.[67] Behind the boastings of the British soldiers' physical and racial superiority over their colonial conquests, whether in Africa, China, or India, lurked the knowledge that the machine could lay waste to them all; any person, regardless of race, class, or nationality was capable of pulling a trigger.[68]

Notes

1. P. G. Ackrell, *My Life in the Machine Gun Corps* (Devon: Arthur H. Stockwell, 1966), 7.

2. This grisly episode, known as the Battle of Shangani River, took place at the beginning of the First Matabele War, fought between the British South Africa Company and the Ndebele Kingdom from 1893 to 1894, in what is now Zimbabwe. Niall Ferguson, *Empire: The Rise and Demise of the British World Order and the Lessons for Global Power* (New York: Basic Books, 2003), 188.

3. Roger Pauly, *Firearms: The Life Story of a Technology* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 123–124.

4. John Ellis, *The Social History of the Machine Gun* (Suffolk: The Cresset Library, 1987), 18.

5. Steve Attridge, *Nationalism, Imperialism and Identity in Late Victorian Culture* (New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 3. According to Attridge, the four main areas of publication that covered the British Imperial campaigns were "the press, juvenile literature, educational texts, and documentary accounts," 43.

6. These illustrated journals were largely a Victorian innovation. See Roger T. Stearn, "Boer War Image-Maker: Richard Caton Woodville," in John Gooch, ed., *The Boer War: Direction, Experience and Image* (London: Frank Cass, 2000), 216. Woodville was described in 1896 as "one of the many distinguished painters who have first made their reputation in the illustrated journals," J. Anon, "Artists and Their Work," *Pearson's Magazine* 1 (January 1896): 6. For additional articles on Woodville's output and critical reception, see T. H. Latey, "Richard Caton Woodville and His Work,"*Illustrated London News* 7 (December 1895) and Athol Mayhew, "Battle Painters of the Nineteenth Century I: Richard Caton Woodville," *Illustrated Naval and Military Magazine* 1 (July 1884). A collection of his personal memoirs, entitled *Random Recollections*, represents the main source of information on Woodville's personal life, although a significant portion of this autobiography is likely misleading and exaggerated. See Richard Caton Woodville, *Random Recollections* (London: Eveleigh Nash, 1914).

7. Although Woodville experienced some overseas assignments, he was not, in fact, a true "special war artist" like some of his contemporaries, among

them Frederic Villiers or Melton Prior. Villiers even alleged that "[Woodville] never witnessed a shot fired in anger." See Frederic Villiers, *Peaceful Personalities and Warriors Bold* (London: Harper, 1907), 24.

8. These publications included the *Penny Illustrated Paper*, *Boy's Own Paper*, *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, *Illustrated Naval and Military Magazine*, *Black and White*, *Cornhill Magazine*, *Sketch*, *Sphere*, *Windsor Magazine*, *Harper's Magazine*, *English Illustrated Magazine*, and *Pearson's Magazine*. Founded in 1842 by Herbert Ingram, the original and most popular of these was *The Illustrated London News*, which served as Woodville's employer throughout most of his career. Roger T. Stearn elaborates the details of Woodville's professional development in "Boer War Image-Maker," 216. Tom Gretton provides a probing account of the ways in which the development of photographic illustrations in the *Illustrated London News* later affected Woodville's role as a "news picture-maker" for the publication. See Gretton, "Richard Caton Woodville (1856–1927) at the *Illustrated London News*," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 48 (Spring 2015): 87–120. https://doi.org/10.1353/vpr.2015.0006.

9. Stearn, "Boer War Image-Maker," 214–219.

10. In this essay, I will make no attempt to explicate the complex history of British imperialist expansion. As such, I will not focus on any particular battle, colony or war. Instead, I will explore the machine gun's capacity and meaning within the general context of colonialism, drawing on a wide range of images and events as examples and evidence. For a thorough introduction to the historiography of British imperialism, the reader is advised to refer to Richard Johnson, *British Imperialism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003). For a broad assessment of firearms and their intersection with empire, see Karen R. Jones, Giacomo Macola, and David Welch, eds., *A Cultural History of Firearms in the Age of Empire* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016).

11. This conclusion is based largely on the comprehensive source of British nineteenth-century war imagery by Peter Harrington in *British Artists and War: The Face of Battle in Paintings and Prints, 1700–1914* (London: Greenhill Books, 1993).

12. F. Norreys Connell, *How Soldiers Fight: An Attempt to Depict for the Popular Understanding of the Waging of War and the Soldier's Share in it* (London: James Bowden, 1899), 171–172. Emphasis added.

13. F. W. A. Hobart, *A Pictorial History of the Machine Gun*, (London: Ian Allan, 1971), 10. According to Major H. B. C. Pollard: "Mr. Maxim was visiting the exhibition of Electricity at Paris in 1881, and proceeded to Vienna, where he

met an American, who exclaimed, 'Hang your chemistry and electricity! If you wish to make a pile of money, invent something that will enable these Europeans to cut each other's throats with greater facility.'" See Major H. B. C. Pollard, *A History of Firearms* (London: Geoffrey Bles, 1930), 230. For more information on Hiram Maxim's biography, see his memoir *My Life* (London: Methuen, 1915).

14. H. B. C. Pollard, *History of Firearms*, 230. For a discussion of the significant technological developments and innovations that impacted both the British army and the navy in the last decades of the nineteenth century, see John M. MacKenzie, ed., *The Victorian Vision: Inventing New Britain* (London: Victoria & Albert Publications, 2001).

15. Roger Pauly, *Firearms: The Life Story of a Technology*, 122. This automatic system replaced the gun's dependence on the motion supplied by the hand crank. The "excess energy" refers to what was previously known as the "recoil" or "mule kick" of the gun, set off by the explosion of the propellant within the barrel. The hand crank operating system was the predominant feature of the Gatling gun, which fired 200 rounds per minute. Earlier, in 1854, Sir Henry Bessemer patented a self-acting breech-loading gun that utilized steam to operate the gun's mechanisms of feeding, locking, and firing. See John Ellis, *The Social History of the Machine Gun*, 17.

16. Pauly, *Firearms: The Life Story of a Technology*, 123.

17. Here I consider the gun's usage on a colonial battlefield only; of course, the invulnerability of the machine gun deteriorates quickly if one's opponent wields them as well. Lieutenant-Colonel Graham Seton Hutchison observes, in his *Machine Guns: Their History and Tactical Employment*, "[T]he efficiency of the gun is not affected in action by severe casualties. With a body of infantry of the equivalent firepower, at a minimum of fifty men, the loss of the officer commanding may destroy, or will certainly militate severely against effective fire-control. . . . [D]arkness has always prevented the rifleman from anything but haphazard fire. The machine gun, by nature, is affected by none of these things, and, by the use of various devices, can be made effective in darkness as in light. While one man of a gun team survives even the most exacting of casualties, the gun is capable of remaining in action to the maximum of its firepower. No other weapon is possessed of such power and facilities for battle action." In Hutchison's remark, the machine gun is elevated to divine proportions, "possessed of such power," deadly in "darkness as in light."

18. Ellis, *The Social History of the Machine Gun*, 101.

19. Ibid., 18.

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid. For more information on British military tactics of this time, see Anne Summers, "Militarism in Britain before the First World War," *History Workshop Journal* 1 (1976): 104–123. https://doi.org/10.1093/hwj/2.1.104.

22. In 1902, the Boer War became the most prolifically represented conflict in England's history. According to Roger Stearn, the event "can fairly claim to be the world's first 'media war.'" See Stearn, "Boer War Image-Maker: Richard Caton Woodville," 216.

23. Peter Harrington, *British Artists and War*, 297.

24. "'All that was left of them', 17th Lancers near Modderfontein, 17 September 1901," National Army Museum, accessed May 10, 2013, http://www.nam.ac.uk/online-collection/detail.

25. Angus McLaren, *The Trials of Masculinity: Policing Sexual Boundaries, 1870–1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 36.

26. Ibid.

27. Robert Baden-Powell qtd. in ibid., 34.

28. Ibid., 111.

29. Imperialism and militarism were also viewed as moralizing institutions. Colonel Henry Knollys, a respected commentator on military issues, strongly endorsed military control over soldiers' personal lives, including drinking and eating habits and even marriage plans and prospects. Knollys proclaimed this control as a positive force, arguing that it yielded soldiers of "higher moral calibre." See Knollys, "English Officers and Soldiers—As They Will Be," *Blackwoods*, February 1896, 196–211.

30. It is important to stress that Kipling's writings and sentiments enjoyed popularity with a mass audience in England. Kaarsholm describes his influence as a "powerful, ideological force." See Preben Kaarsholm, "Kiping, Imperialism and the Crisis of Victorian Masculinity," in *Patriotism: The Making and Unmaking of British National Identity*, ed. Raphael Samuel (London and New York: Routledge, 1987), 217–218.

31. Peter N. Stearns, *Be a Man! Males in Modern Society* (New York and London: Holmes and Meier, 1990), 66. For further study into the increasing importance placed on health and strength as emblems of robust masculinity, see Bruce Haley, *The Healthy Body and Victorian Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978) and Donald E. Hall, ed., *Muscular Christianity: Embodying the Victorian Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

32. McLaren, *The Trials of Masculinity*, 34. For additional discussion on this topic, see David D. Gilmore, *Manhood in the Making: Cultural Concepts of Masculinity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990).

33. Joshua Goldstein, in his sociological study War and Gender, provides a diverse range of case studies that support this claim. Goldstein concludes: "Men are made, not born. Across a broad sweep of cultures, this central theme recurs with stunning regularity. Unlike women, men must take actions, undergo ordeals, or pass tests to become men. They are told to "be a man," and a surprising number of cultures converge in their treatment of masculinity as something that must be created by individual or collective will against the force of instinct." See Joshua Goldstein, *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 264.

34. For an account of the acceptable forms of violence within late nineteenth-century society, such as the duel, see Robert Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor in Modern France* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993). For a period account of desirable traits in British soldiers, see Henry Knollys, *The Recruiting Question* (London: Kegan Paul & Co., 1891). For more contemporary examples, see Kenneth Polk, *When Men Kill: Scenarios of Masculine Violence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) and M. F. Ashley Montagu, ed., *Man and Aggression* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968).

35. Ellis, *The Social History of the Machine Gun*, 107.

36. Ibid.

37. For a nuanced and comprehensive examination of Victorian battle art conventions, see Stearn, "Boer War Image-Maker," 194.

38. As Mark Adkin suggests, "The price for not being in a square when attacked by cavalry was extremely high." See Adkin, *The Waterloo Companion: The Complete Guide to History's Most Famous Land Battle* (London: Aurum

Press, 2001), 172. Major-General B. P. Hughes expands upon the reasons for this, stating, "The length of time taken in reloading the musket made it essential for small groups of men to be able to fire successive volleys under strict control so that each face of the square could constantly deliver some fire while the remainder presented a wall of bayonets to the attacker." Hughes, *Firepower: Weapons' Effectiveness on the Battlefield, 1630–1850* (London: Arms and Armour Press, 1974), 100.

39. For a close analysis of the military history of the strategic battle at Quatre Bras, see Albert A. Nofi, *The Waterloo Campaign* (London: Greenhill Books, 1993). According to Nofi and other military historians, the results of the battle at Quatre Bras were unclear—both the French and the British suffered some losses and achieved some success. As a result, the conflict has generally been deemed a tactical draw.

40. Elizabeth Butler, *An Autobiography* (London: Constable & Co., Ltd., 1922), 124.

41. C. Reginald Grundy, "Current Art Notes," *The Connoisseur* 47 (1918): 110.

42. Joseph Kestner, *Masculinities in Victorian Painting* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1995), 189. Roger Stearn draws a similar conclusion: "The male body becomes the signifier of an empowered masculinity which, in the special example of imperial iconography, can become the signifier of cultural Caucasian superiority." See "Boer-War Image Maker," 194.

43. The location for the original painting upon which the chromolithograph is based is unknown. However, the original print of the painting was included in a 1990 publication by Henry Graves & Co. I am indebted to both Peter Harrington, Curator of the Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection at Brown University, as well as Pip Dodd, Senior Collections Content Curator at the National Army Museum, for their assistance regarding the provenance of this particular work.

44. Harrington, *British Artists and War*, 277.

45. Ibid.

46. Certain accounts even asserted the racist view that Europeans' possession of superior weapons was a God-given gift and therefore evidence of the fact that Europeans represented the superior race. V. A. Majendie wrote, in regards to the machine gun and racial superiority, "The tide of invention has developed the 'infernal machine' of Fieschi into the mitrailleur and Gatling

Battery of our own day—this stream took its rise in the God-like quality of reason." See Sir Vivian Dering Majendie, *The Arms and Ammunition of British Service* (London: Cassell, 1872), viii.

47. Hobart, *A Pictorial History of the Machine Gun*, 1.

48. Ellis, *The Social History of the Machine Gun*, 101.

49. Ibid.

50. Similarly, four Gatling guns also accompanied an expedition into the Zulu Kingdom led by Lord Chelmsford in 1879. The Navy had supplied one of these guns, manned by Midshipman Lewis Cadwaller Coker. Coker's extreme dedication to the gun ultimately contributed to his death, though not from battle: he died of disease in the field, disease that was exacerbated because "to the last he had insisted on sleeping in the open beside his beloved Gatling gun." At the Battle of Ulundi, the climax of Chelmsford's second campaign, the machine gunner was hit in the thigh and "pour[ed] blood all over the frame that held the chattering barrels. He waved the litter bearers aside, and sank down beside the gun to help load the drums of ammunition." See ibid., 102.

51. Gabriel Koureas investigates this question in *Memory, Masculinity and National Identity in British Visual Culture, 1914–1930: A Study of 'Unconquerable Manhood,'* (London: Ashgate, 2007), 99.

52. J. Bostock, *The Machine Gunner's Handbook Including the Maxim, Lewis and Colt Automatic Machine Guns* (London: W. H. Smith & Son, 1916), 1.

53. Caroline Arscott, *William Morris and Edward Burne-Jones: Interlacings* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008), 79.

54. Hal Foster, "Armour Fou," in *Visions and Textuality*, ed. Stephen Melville and Bill Readings (London: Macmillan, 1995), 75.

55. Ian Burkitt, *Bodies of Thought: Embodiment, Identity, and Modernity* (London: Sage, 1999), 65.

56. Ibid.

57. Bostock, *The Machine Gunner's Handbook*, 1.

58. Hobart, *Pictorial History of the Machine Gun*, 35.

59. There is no known photographer of this image.

60. P.G. Ackrell describes the process in greater detail: "The gun was fed by a second man on the right who pushed the tag of the belt through the feed block when No. 1., the man who fired the gun, pulled the belt-tag until the cartridge was located in the breach and ready for firing. The belts held 250 cartridges. To fire, No. 1. had to lift the safety catch and press the thumb piece. This set the first bullet away, which automatically set off the remainder. This would continue until the gunner released pressure from the thumb piece or all the rounds were expended. Usually there were six men to a team who took it in turns to fire when in action, if possible, and there were casualties." See Ackrell, *My Life in the Machine Gun Corps*, 6.

61. As Ackrell states in the note included above, the men would take turns firing the machine gun when embroiled in active combat. This equal and staggered interaction with the gun recalls Klaus Theweleit's observation of the homosocial nature and sexual undertones of gun usage: "The gun is the good whore—one man is permitted to take the first turn, then the other; they remain friends, indeed become friends in the process; and the barrel dutifully emits its steam." See Klaus Theweleit, *Male Fantasies, Volume 2: Male Bodies: Psychoanalyzing the White Terror*, trans. Chris Turner and Erica Carter (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989), 184.

62. Ibid., 283.

63. Ibid., 179.

64. Bostock, *The Machine Gunner's Handbook* 1. Burkitt expands on this conclusion in his reading of modernization of the body: "In modernity, the body becomes a machine, or like the different bits of various machines, internally fragmented and separated from the public world of others by layers and barriers." See Burkitt, *Bodies of Thought*, 131.

65. For further study of the motivations and consequences of mechanized warfare, see Daniel Pick, *War Machine: The Rationalisation of Slaughter in the Modern Age* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993).

66. For more on these particular movements, consult Christine Poggi, *Inventing Futurism: The Art and Politics of Artificial Optimism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009) and Jed Rasula, *Destruction Was My Beatrice: Dada and the Unmaking of the Twentieth Century* (New York: Basic Books, 2015).

67. Hilaire Belloc, *The Modern Traveller* (London: E. Arnold, 1898), n.p.

68. George Crile draws a similar conclusion: "Whatever the future may bring, however, man today betrays at every turn that he is in reality a red-handed glutton whose phylogenetic action patterns are facilitated for the killing of his own and of other species; that with all of his beneficent control of the forces, he has also created vast forces for his own destruction, so vast that civilized man is today in a death struggle with a Frankenstein of his own creation; that, although he controls a world of limitless force and endless machinery, he yet fails to control that all-important mechanism—himself." See Crile, *A Mechanistic View of War and Peace* (Philadelphia: Macmillan Company, 1916), 95–96.

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