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## The Making of a Best-Selling Book on Reproduction: Lennart Nilsson's *A Child Is Born*

SOLVEIG JÜLICH

**SUMMARY:** This article examines the 1965 first edition of Swedish photographer Lennart Nilsson's *Ett barn blir till (A Child Is Born)* by placing the book back in the historical context in which it was produced, marketed, and reviewed. In particular it shows how medicine and the media in Sweden were intertwined in the process of incorporating Nilsson's photographs of aborted embryos and fetuses into a best-selling book on the origin and development of human life. Nilsson's work is related to other books in the same genre as well as the popular picture magazines of the time, in order to highlight how it aspired to offer something new. It is argued that a number of commercial and other interests were involved and that an immense effort went into not only making and promoting the book but also trying to control the meaning of the images.

**KEYWORDS:** Lennart Nilsson 1922–, *A Child Is Born*, reproductive medicine, medical photography, pregnancy advice books, media history, twentieth-century history, Sweden

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In autumn 1965 a long-awaited book appeared in Sweden. *Ett barn blir till (A Child Is Born)*, an embryological picture story with advice for mothers-to-be, contained a series of extraordinary images by the photographer Lennart Nilsson. Enlarged photographs, many in color, depicted the whole sequence from conception to birth. Other images and text described visiting the doctor, pregnancy problems and diets, antenatal exercises, delivery, and the first days at home. To emphasize the genre, a picture of a woman with her newborn child was placed on the front cover of the book, whereas a photograph of a fetus in its amniotic sac was on the back.<sup>1</sup> Published a few months after a photo essay on the “Drama of Life before Birth” in the American magazine *Life* had built interest,<sup>2</sup> the book was a huge success for the Bonnier publishing house, with five Swedish editions, translations into English and several other languages, and publication in some twenty countries. The dust jacket of the latest (2009) edition hails “the most important illustrated work on human reproduction since the invention of photography.”<sup>3</sup>

### **Figure 1.**

Born in 1922, Nilsson never formally studied science or medicine. In the 1940s he became a freelance press photographer working mainly for Bonnier, the largest media enterprise in Sweden. His early pictures for the magazine *Se* (See), modeled on *Life* and *Look*, included everything from a masquerade at the Royal Opera in Stockholm and a midwife’s work in Lapland to fishermen on the Congo River. During the early 1950s he began working on the project to photograph fetal development that culminated in the publication in 1965 of *A Child Is Born*. Around 1970, through informal contacts, Nilsson established a laboratory housing his scanning electron microscope and photographic equipment at the Karolinska Institutet, the Nobel Prize–

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awarding medical university in Stockholm. Here he collaborated for many years with researchers to produce images that were circulated in books, journals, magazines, newspapers, films, exhibitions, publicity material, and advertisements. In 2009 the Swedish government awarded him the honorary title of professor for his “unique and still ongoing lifework in the service of knowledge.”<sup>4</sup>

We have many studies of Nilsson’s images of the micro worlds of the body and of nature. Above all feminist and cultural studies scholars have taken a critical look at the ways his pictures of embryos and fetuses represent gender, sexuality, family, and the body.<sup>5</sup> Historians have argued that Nilsson’s “Drama of Life before Birth” contributed to the creation of a “public fetus.” According to Barbara Duden, the publication of this photo essay in *Life* was a turning point in the proliferation of fetal images in public culture. These images that disembodied the pregnant woman and constructed the fetus as a free-floating astronaut “have since become part of the mental universe of our time.”<sup>6</sup> Following her, several feminist scholars in the United States and the United Kingdom have examined how antiabortion movements early on used Nilsson’s pictures in campaigns for fetal autonomy and rights.<sup>7</sup> But still little is known about the specific historical conditions in postwar Sweden that first made these icons of life and death.

This essay aims to examine the process of incorporating Nilsson’s photographs of embryos and fetuses into a best-selling book on the origin and development of human life: the first Swedish edition of *A Child Is Born*. This has rarely been the subject of scholarly discussion despite the fact that, with more than fifty million copies sold (counting only four editions and their translations), it has probably reached more readers than “Drama of Life before Birth.”<sup>8</sup> In particular, I investigate the medical and

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media links and interests that came together to make *A Child Is Born* and explore how reviewers produced meaning from it. In this way, I contribute to a growing literature that has begun to analyze the shifting relationships between medicine and the media in different historical settings.<sup>9</sup> Historical specificity is key, for it seems that knowledge of the success of the book has worked retrospectively to make us forget that the pictures show aborted embryos and fetuses photographed outside the uterus.<sup>10</sup> As I have discussed elsewhere, Nilsson's early photographs were first used in antiabortion campaigns involving prominent Swedish gynecologists.<sup>11</sup> A closer look at the sociocultural milieu of 1960s Sweden will highlight the motivations behind the publisher's effort to reframe and turn the images in *A Child Is Born* into sex education and pregnancy advice. Both Nilsson and his medical coauthors benefitted from this transaction.

In addition, this essay contributes to recent studies that have provided a longer historical perspective on the rise of "the public fetus." Historians such as Nick Hopwood, Tatjana Buklijas, and Sara Dubow have shown that embryos and fetuses were on display to larger audiences well before the 1960s. Their discussions have also highlighted the mix of media used by researchers and physicians to visualize, communicate, and gain support for the embryological view of development. Important work has been done on, for instance, medical textbooks, drawings, wax models, and exhibits, but more research is needed to get to grips with how connections across media stimulated the spread of fetal imagery not least during the postwar period.<sup>12</sup> It thus becomes vital to examine *A Child Is Born* in light of the lively exchange between the book industry and the press that contributed to making embryos more publicly visible.

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To account for the making of *A Child Is Born* in 1960s Sweden, this study combines history of medicine with approaches from book and media history.<sup>13</sup> My analysis is guided by Robert Darnton's influential notion of the "communications circuit," and I trace the production, dissemination, and reception of the book. Recognizing the many agents involved in the complicated process of bringing it to market, I focus not only on the work of the photographer but also on the active role of the publishers, editors, coauthors, reviewers, and others. Darnton's model has, however, been criticized from various viewpoints, especially for not capturing the open-ended character of making textual objects.<sup>14</sup> Taking these remarks into consideration, I emphasize the materiality of the book, the lively trade between textual and visual media, and the mutual exchange between medicine and the media.

I interpret a variety of sources. By surveying a number of pregnancy advice books, I gained rich information about the state of the Swedish book market and how this genre was transformed during the period. By examining extensive materials from popular magazines and daily newspapers, including advertisements, I mapped the exchange between media that characterized the launch of Nilsson's book. Since sources for the production process are, by contrast, scarce,<sup>15</sup> I conducted semistructured interviews with key people in the Bonnier publishing house as well as Nilsson's medical coauthors and associates. These interviews, critically assessed by comparison with one another and, where possible, with written sources, have revealed important details concerning the processes, interests, and strategies involved in making the book.<sup>16</sup>

The essay has five sections. First, it describes the expanding book market of postwar Sweden and compares Nilsson's book with similar advice literature, pointing

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out the occurrence and style of photographs. Second, it explores the conception and production of the book, emphasizing the contributions of many actors, and investigating the arrangement of the photographic material, the size of the book, and the printing of colors. Third, it highlights Bonnier's efforts to make the book into a best seller, including target-group surveys, marketing strategies, and advertising campaigns in the press. The last two sections deal with reviews and analyze how Nilsson and his coauthors responded to criticism from within the medical community.

### Expanding the Market for Pregnancy Books in Postwar Sweden

In postwar Sweden, a country of about seven million people, the book market flourished in a fast-growing economy with an expanding education system. It was highly regulated both through conditions within the industry and by government rules. This favored those big publishers and booksellers that could keep raising publication volumes and prices. So the publishing industry came to be dominated by the family-owned company Bonnier and a few other publishing houses that together controlled 60 percent of the market. They were, however, specialized in different areas, with Bonnier leading in fiction but with a growing number of nonfiction titles and textbooks, including some translations of best-selling books to which they had acquired the rights from foreign publishers.<sup>17</sup> Here as elsewhere, for instance in Germany, there was a boom in pregnancy advice books in the 1950s and 1960s.<sup>18</sup>

However, several publications on the subjects of pregnancy and childbirth had already appeared in large editions before the Second War World. It was no coincidence that the authors of these books were mostly doctors. During the 1930s and

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1940s gynecology had a relatively low status in the field of medical science. Through advice books as well as articles and interviews in daily newspapers, weekly magazines, and radio programs, leading gynecologists tried to create interest in and support for gynecological research and expertise among the general public.<sup>19</sup> Broadly speaking, every professor and lecturer trying to make a career in the field of obstetrics and gynecology authored popularly written books that dealt with sexuality, pregnancy, and childbirth.<sup>20</sup> Axel Ingelman-Sundberg published *De fruktsamma åren* (The childbearing years) in 1951, at about the same time that he became assistant professor at the Karolinska Institutet.<sup>21</sup> This had a competitor, however, in the Danish surgeon Johannes Fabricius-Møller's best-selling *Könslivet* (Sexual life), which was published in various formats and editions between 1946 and 1962.<sup>22</sup> Several books also appeared, translated from English, advocating "natural childbirth" and reaching large audiences.<sup>23</sup> Fabricius-Møller's book was one of few that were published by Bonnier.

Moreover a similar type of publication circulated, wholly or partially initiated by the state authorities, aimed at expectant and new mothers. The "population issue" during the 1930s and 1940s meant that questions about reproduction were at the center of political and public debate. Many feared that the declining birth rate would lead to the near extinction of the Swedish population, or that this would at least be seriously reduced. These thoughts on population policy, which were not uniquely Swedish, could be used as arguments for a major expansion of childcare and maternity welfare and for investing in fertility research as well as enforced sterilization to enhance the Swedish "folk material."<sup>24</sup> The abortion issue was controversial during the whole of this period and particularly after 1938 when the parliament passed a law permitting abortion on medical, humanitarian, and eugenic grounds. In the early 1940s the



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parliamentary population committee proposed various measures to improve information and counseling about sex and contraceptives, with the additional aim of reducing the number of abortions.<sup>25</sup> A series of manuals and booklets contained advice for the time both before and after childbirth.<sup>26</sup> The State Medical Board also published a brochure on the abortion issue, which warned against abortions and encouraged women to become mothers while simultaneously informing them of the possibilities to arrange an abortion.<sup>27</sup> As time passed, new teachers' guides were produced as well as textbooks and instructional material for schools and maternity welfare courses. But even after compulsory sex education had been introduced into the school system in 1956 it took several years before the pedagogical literature and teaching aids were revised.<sup>28</sup>

The format of many of these advice books was much the same. With slightly different emphases they treated the sexual organs, menstruation, the sex act, conception, delivery, and lying-in. Often one or two chapters dealt with abortion and also described the support to which women were entitled in the form of financial benefits and health care. The tone was scientifically authoritative and prescriptive, but as time went by the books left some room for the possibility of individual differences and choices. Most of the books also contained various kinds of pictures. Almost without exception there were one or more drawings, but sometimes also photographs or adaptations of photographs. The originals were taken from textbooks that had been designed to convey the embryological view of development. According to this view, each human life begins at conception and passes progressively through different stages before being born. Swedish anatomists, histologists, and pathologists had written a

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number of embryological textbooks and popular scientific publications, but it was not primarily these works from which the advice books took their illustrations.<sup>29</sup>

Instead the most frequent representations in both textbooks and advice literature came from the German gynecologist Ernst Bumm's *Grundriss zum Studium der Geburtshilfe* (Outline for the study of obstetrics), first published in 1902.<sup>30</sup> For instance, several of the pictures in Ingelman-Sundberg's book were copied without credit from here. One spread presented a series of images of the different phases of fetal development, from two weeks to four months. Apart from an image of a two-month embryo in a sectioned uterus, the embryos were shown as bodies separate from pregnant women. A few books included photographic sequences from deliveries, from the moment the child's head showed until it was wholly born.<sup>31</sup> Another type of illustration depicted the future parents in different situations, but above all the mother with the newborn baby. This kind of primarily photographic image increased in number and the frequency of color during the 1950s and 1960s.<sup>32</sup>

## **Figure 2.**

There were several similarities between Nilsson's *A Child Is Born* and this literature, which likewise mixed embryological descriptions with practical advice. One difference, however, was that it was designed so that it was possible to follow the future mother alongside the development of the fetus week by week. The framing narrative was about a young couple whom the readers met at the Skansen open-air museum in Stockholm one day and then left a year and a half later in exactly the same place, but now with a child in a baby carriage. The chapters described when the different organs were formed, the heart started to beat, and arms and legs began to move. Running parallel to this was an account of the woman's visits to the doctor, her

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antenatal exercises, the discomforts and illnesses that could arise during her pregnancy, and advice about what to eat and how to take care of oneself in order to make the fetus feel well too. But above all it was the pictures that made this book new. While the images of embryos and fetuses in earlier books had mostly been drawings in black and white, about a third of Nilsson's photographs were in color. The documentary style and the sequential photo narrative of the couple in different surroundings had similarities to the stories in the weekly press, and in this genre this was evidently something new.<sup>33</sup>

The book closest to *A Child Is Born* was the best seller *The First Nine Months of Life* by the American science writer Geraldine Lux Flanagan. Published in the United States in 1962 (and promoted in *Look* magazine), it was swiftly translated into several languages. In Sweden it was released in the following year by Forum, part of the Bonnier Group.<sup>34</sup> Nilsson's publication was given the same size and format as Flanagan's. In both cases the embryo was depicted, in images and words, in the amniotic fluid like an astronaut in his capsule traveling through space. The photographs in Flanagan's book, however, were in black and white and did not have the same high resolution and definition as those in *A Child Is Born*. Flanagan's photographs were on the whole not characterized by the same well-thought-out composition as Nilsson's, but had a medical look, which was reinforced by the presence in some of the pictures of the little rods used in research.

### **Figure 3.**

Apart from a few pictures after the delivery there was no picture narrative of the future mother and father. On the other hand, Flanagan had included, like Nilsson, photomicrographs of eggs, sperms, and the division of cells. Nothing in the captions or

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accompanying text revealed that these were pictures of dead or dying fetuses, and in Nilsson's case backlighting, the close-up technique, and the color combined to give the reader an impression that the pictures showed the development of a single individual in its mother's womb from the formation of the first organs to the hospital birth.<sup>35</sup>

Both authors—in a short note at the end—gave their thanks to medical institutions and individuals for helping them with the illustrations of the books. In Flanagan's case the author had not taken the pictures herself, but obtained permission to use already existing visual material that came mainly from the embryological collection at the Carnegie Institution of Washington and research films by the embryologist Davenport Hooker at the University of Pittsburgh. The pictures of sperms, eggs, and conception had been put at her disposal by the biologist Landrum B. Shettles, a pioneer of in vitro fertilization.<sup>36</sup> Nilsson, on the other hand, was presented as the sole creator of all the photographs, and his gratitude was expressed with words like "generous assistance" and "courtesy," recognizing those he had met in the course of his work.<sup>37</sup> But how did it come about in concrete terms that *A Child Is Born*, with its pictures of dead embryos and fetuses, was produced and marketed as a fascinating, informative, and educational book about the origin of human life? This process was not only fraught with practical difficulties but also precarious in relation to the controversial abortion issue.

## Conceptualizing and Producing the Book

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During the period when Nilsson was establishing himself as a freelance photographer the media landscape changed. The emergence of popular picture magazines had created a demand for photographs in reports, illustrations, publicity, and advertising. This offered photographers new markets and outlets. Improved and more efficient printing was an important technical condition, but although it had become easier to take color photographs, most magazines continued to print their stories in the cheaper and faster black and white. Not until some years into the 1960s did color photography really catch on in the publishing industry, at the same time as the competition between television and other media was becoming ever more evident.<sup>38</sup> Like other commercial photographers, Nilsson tried to maneuver in this shifting landscape by taking on all kinds of assignments from illustrated magazines, trade and industry journals, and others, and also by producing photo books, which was considered even more prestigious.<sup>39</sup>

In 1952 Nilsson was assigned by the Bonnier-owned *See* magazine to report on the opposition to abortion among gynecologists at the Department of Obstetrics and Gynecology at Sabbatsberg Hospital of Karolinska Institutet (a second clinic was located at Karolinska Hospital). The abortion law had recently been modified so that a legal abortion could also be provided for sociomedical reasons, that is, if a woman's life or health was endangered. Eventually an article featuring his enlarged photograph of a five-month-old fetus acquired through legal abortion appeared in the magazine under the heading "Why Must the Fetus Be Killed?"<sup>40</sup> This antiabortion article became the press photographer's gateway to the medical world and the gynecologists' workplace. For several years and with financial support from Bonnier, Nilsson devoted many days and nights to photographing sperm, cervical mucus, cell division,

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embryos, and fetuses at several women's clinics in the large hospitals in Stockholm. Most of his time was spent at Sabbatsberg, which was considered to house the most modern women's clinic of its day, with several laboratories for experimental research as well as diagnostic work. Professor and chief physician Axel Ingelman-Sundberg gave Nilsson permission to use a room at the clinic where he could keep his equipment.<sup>41</sup> In 1958 *See* magazine announced that it would soon publish "the finest, the biggest, the most wonderfully fascinating picture story that our world famous photographer Lennart Nilsson has ever created."<sup>42</sup> This promise was repeated on several occasions with some examples, but the story never appeared.<sup>43</sup> However, in 1964 another *Bonnier* magazine published an article critical of abortion that contained a photograph by Nilsson of a legally aborted fetus that was meant to "shock" the readers.<sup>44</sup> The article gave rise to very strong reactions and critical voices were raised against what was called antiabortion propaganda.<sup>45</sup>

The *Bonnier* book publishing house, which was organizationally separate from the company's magazine division, looked with some concern at these debates. In the early 1960s its nonfiction department had been instructed to make a book with a selection of Nilsson's pictures of fetal development. During the years that this book was being produced, several events increased the demand for free abortion. First, the case of the American television actress Sherri Finkbine attracted a great deal of attention in the media. Finkbine had taken the drug Thalidomide during her pregnancy and feared that her expected child might be born with deformities. When she was denied abortion in Arizona she traveled in 1962 to Sweden, where she had a legal abortion. Second, the so-called Poland affair became big news in 1965. It became known that many Swedish women who had not been granted legal abortion in Sweden

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instead traveled to Poland to perform the operation legally, although this meant that they risked prosecution in Sweden. Heavy criticism of these prosecutions was voiced in the press. In 1965 a state commission was appointed to investigate the application of the existing abortion law and to propose changes. The year before, another commission had also been tasked with preparing a proposal for a reform of sex education in school.<sup>46</sup> From Bonnier's commercial point of view these public controversies and events underlined the need to dissociate Nilsson's photographs from the abortion debate. The photographer himself, at least until the release of *A Child Is Born*, declared in interviews that he was hoping his images of embryos would "prevent many unnecessary abortions." The publisher ensured however that any explicit reference to this topic was excluded from the book.<sup>47</sup>

Bonnier had already brought out three of Nilsson's earlier books, compiled from pictures originally published in magazines, and planned the new title along the same line.<sup>48</sup> The company hoped that this type of book and its celebrated author would stem losses it had been suffering as the book and press market lost out to television from the late 1950s. Also, internal critics argued that Bonnier was too reliant on an annual blockbuster to subsidize the more exclusive, less profitable fiction titles. The CEO Albert Bonnier Jr. forced through a marked increase in nonfiction at the expense of children's books and adult fiction but still very much needed a best seller.<sup>49</sup> The translations of Fabricius-Møller and Flanagan having sold well, the time looked favorable for an in-house book in the same genre. The nonfiction department and its subsidiary Forum took on the assignment under the leadership of two dynamic publishers, Adam Helms and Jan Cornell.<sup>50</sup>

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Being drawn into the abortion debate was not the only potential problem. Even when Nilsson and Bonnier had reached an agreement to publish a book, it turned out to be difficult to persuade the photographer to finish the project. One problem was that Nilsson could not or would not complete the work. His ambition was to capture the whole process from conception to birth, but certain stages of development were difficult to document. He had managed to take photomicrographs of the egg surrounded by sperm and the first divisions after conception, but pictures of the dramatic moment when the sperm passes through the cell membrane were still missing. It was also difficult to gain access to fetuses in the later weeks of a pregnancy, since legal abortions were hardly ever undertaken at that stage. Apart from these practical problems Nilsson was known as a perfectionist who could spend an enormous amount of time trying to take exactly the picture he wanted.<sup>51</sup>

In the end the publishers became nervous and wondered whether they would have a publication at all. Nilsson had received advance after advance from both *See* magazine and the nonfiction department, but always wanted another picture before the final version could be settled. Since the work was not moving forward, his editor at Bonnier had been replaced several times, and before Bo Tolander was recruited in 1963 nobody wanted to take on the responsibility any longer. The publisher's graphic designer Herbert Lindgren, one of the best in the country, was also engaged.<sup>52</sup> To the publisher it was important to have a professor of obstetrics and gynecology as a coauthor, and Ingelman-Sundberg was thought to have the scientific authority to give weight to Nilsson's pictures. He was responsible for the sections with practical advice on pregnancy, and Claes Wirsén, a lecturer at the department of histology at Karolinska Institutet, wrote the sections explaining prenatal development.<sup>53</sup> Urban



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Frank, who had recently done the medical drawings for a large Swedish encyclopedia, was employed to draw conception and early embryonic development, of which there were no photographs. Some of these drawings Frank created by modifying and adding to originals that Bonnier had bought from the well-known American illustrator Frank H. Netter since it was regarded as too expensive to commission him directly.<sup>54</sup>

Contact between Nilsson and Wirsén had been established as early as some time in 1962 or 1963. Wirsén was occupied with writing a dissertation at Karolinska Institutet and also taught medical students basic histology and embryology. The professor of histology at the department asked Wirsén to help Nilsson with the interpretation of the pictures of embryos and fetuses that the photographer had taken, as he himself was too busy. The material was extensive and consisted of black-and-white photographs of human specimens in spirits as well as color photographs of larger fetuses taken in connection with abortions. Nilsson had not kept records of his activities and Wirsén's task was to go through the pictures and try to decide how old the embryo or fetus was, so that he could later classify the pictures according to the main stages of fetal development, the so-called Carnegie stages.<sup>55</sup> The majority of the pictures represented the stage of pregnancy when most abortions were performed, but individual differences made it possible for one fetus to have developed more than others. The most difficult thing was to establish the age of the embryo during the first eight weeks when all the organs are quickly formed.<sup>56</sup>

Nilsson, Tolander, Lindgren, and Wirsén met regularly at the publisher's office to discuss practical aspects of design, the interplay between text and pictures, as well as other questions. During one of these preliminary meetings the group discussed what kind of book it would be advisable to produce. Nilsson himself had thought of an

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embryological textbook that would add wonder to the strict presentation of stages. But during the discussion the idea arose that instead they should publish a book that combined an embryological perspective with practical advice to pregnant women. This called for a set of completely new pictures, however, that harmonized with this theme. A young couple was engaged for the background story and Ingelman-Sundberg agreed to act as the physician at his private clinic. Having discussed Tolander's various suggestions for a title, the group finally settled on *A Child Is Born*—this matched the somewhat vaguer and more lightweight headlines then common in the newspapers and magazines. The publishers liked this idea of an advice book aimed at a large target group of future mothers.<sup>57</sup>

The decision to publish an advice book called for a format that was neither too large nor too small to do the pictures justice. Lindgren, who did the final design, saw to it that for financial reasons it had a format that made the most of a printed page. When this was settled Tolander sketched a layout, spread by spread, and then it was time to choose among the pictures that Wirsén had selected for the embryological picture story. There were many black-and-white contact prints, some of which had been enlarged, and a number of slides in color. For each fetal stage represented in the material there were some fifteen pictures taken from different angles, from which Nilsson had found it difficult to choose. Now Wirsén considered what was important from an embryological point of view, while Lindgren judged whether the pictures needed to be cropped or modified.<sup>58</sup> The group then sat down together and tried to make each spread visually captivating, while at the same time making sure that the pictures worked together to tell a story. Not until then, when he knew how much space remained, did Wirsén write the text in a way that harmonized with the pictures.<sup>59</sup> For

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instance, four images of the face of embryos and fetuses of different ages were placed vertically on the left side of one spread. On the right side was featured a larger “portrait” of the same eight-week fetus as in one of the smaller pictures. Short texts accompanied the images. In this way, through the nitty-gritty of book production the drama of life before birth took shape.

#### **Figure 4.**

Color was reckoned decisive for the success of the book. According to Tolander it was in the revision of the photographs that much of the tones and intensity of the colors were adjusted. The fetuses were not really beautiful; there was “a little bit of gray, a little bit of blood.”<sup>60</sup> Before the book was sent to the printers individual negatives were retouched, at Nilsson’s request, by Inga Ohlsén, reputedly the most skillful retoucher in Sweden. She modified certain colors in accordance with his wishes and also removed reflections from flashes and other light sources.<sup>61</sup> Printing was by offset lithography, which had gained in popularity because of its low cost, and Nilsson himself supervised the printing. It was possible to adjust the colors further, but complicated and the printers found his instructions difficult to follow. He had a very definite idea of what the end result should look like and demanded approval of every single sheet. But since his descriptions did not match what the printers themselves saw in the pictures, it was not always easy for them to find the appropriate blend of colors. In the end twenty-five thousand copies of the book were printed, in anticipation of a big sale.<sup>62</sup>

## Marketing and Advertising Campaigns

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Before the book was put on the market a survey tested the material on the intended audience. In a press interview Wirsén explained that this had been especially important since it “was after all a completely new type of product; nobody really knew how it should be designed.” The publisher, he told the reporter, had arranged for a number of people, described as “test mothers” and also a couple of “test fathers,” to see the pictures. They were then asked to say how they experienced them. According to Wirsén, “[m]any reacted very positively and spontaneously, did not think the pictures of the embryos seemed repulsive, instead ‘cute.’ After all, we did not intend to show pictures that people would react with fear or disgust to.”<sup>63</sup> Although Wirsén’s comments must be understood as part of a marketing strategy to emphasize the radical novelty of the format, they also indicate that the authors and publishers were not quite sure how the images would be received. Both Wirsén and the former Bonnier editors stressed this during interviews with me. To be on the safe side, and also to avoid associations with the abortion debate, they decided not to place one of the embryological pictures on the front cover. Instead, to appeal to the target group, a specially shot picture of the mother and her newborn baby was placed there. For the back cover they chose the picture of the fetus, to all appearances floating in amniotic fluid, which had been published on the cover of *Life* with such success.<sup>64</sup>

*A Child Is Born* was released at the beginning of October 1965. The publishers thus had until Christmas to promote the book, but had to compete with many books published at the same time. Bonnier clearly gave this one high priority, and a lot of effort went into marketing and advertising. Since the company not only dominated book and magazine publishing but also was the largest shareholder in several daily newspapers, there were various channels for reaching the target group. The head of the

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nonfiction department was a member of the board of directors of the marketing and advertising department, and it was from here that the launch was planned and coordinated. The promotion campaign focused above all on the spectacular qualities of the images and Nilsson's contribution to the book, and included everything from advertisements in the press to book-store displays.<sup>65</sup>

The campaign in fact started several months before the release date of the book, with the publication of Nilsson's photo essay in *Life* on the last day of April. The daily newspapers in Sweden were quick to report on Nilsson's international success, and the Bonnier-owned *Expressen* (Express) did so two days before the actual publication. Under the heading "Swedish Photographer Is a World Sensation," and featuring the same image as on the *Life* cover, Nilsson was hailed as "the first photographer in history" to have succeeded in photographing the development of a human fetus, from egg to birth. To carry out the project he had "been forced to invent a whole range of new instruments: he has received help from dozens of professors and physicians and in his turn has helped them to make new discoveries that may become scientifically important."<sup>66</sup> Connecting to these exaggerated claims, another journalist suggested, by quoting an unnamed professor, that "Lennart Nilsson should get a Nobel Prize"—if only there were one for photographers.<sup>67</sup>

The next step in the campaign was to present the whole series of photographs from *Life* to the Swedish audience and to establish its relation to the forthcoming book. These images were only a selection of the material that had been planned for *A Child Is Born*, and by mixing the content in various ways it could be used in several publications. First out was *See*—which had announced the publication of Nilsson's book back in 1958—with a report in four issues in May. The text for this "world-

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famous” series of pictures, which was said to be “exclusive” to See, was not the same as the one in the book, but an adaptation by a journalist on the magazine. Nor were the pictures from the delivery ward identical.<sup>68</sup> In September *Idun Veckojournalen* (Idun Weekly Record) had a special supplement that was similar to the story in See, but to some extent with other pictures and with a text rewritten by one of the members of the staff. This was presented as a “collaboration with *Life*,” and even used the same color photograph of the eighteen-week-old fetus on its cover. It was followed up by a picture story about the young couple that appeared in the book, but the text was not the one by Ingelman-Sundberg but a translation of an article produced for (and later published in) *Life*.<sup>69</sup> In October it was time for a story in three issues of the family magazine *Året Runt* (All the Year Around), and then the focus was on the future mother with reused texts from *A Child Is Born*.<sup>70</sup> All three magazines belonged to the Bonnier Group, which facilitated the sharing and circulation of content. This also meant that they willingly kept reminding their readers about the photographer’s new book that included not only the images from *Life* but much more and similarly fascinating material.

### **Figure 5.**

This almost symbiotic relationship between book publishing and the press is apparent through the many advertisements for these picture stories. Although they differed slightly, the tone was very much the same. In the advertisement for See the universality was stressed: “the unique, touching and exciting story about what has happened to all of us—before we were born!”<sup>71</sup> The advertisement for Idun Weekly Record was instead directed at people with children and described the report as the “most tender and beautiful” ever seen.<sup>72</sup> The All the Year Around advertisement

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promised an “intimate and objectively written” report and furthermore tried to catch the interest of future mothers by addressing them directly: “Look, do you think it will be a boy or a girl?”<sup>73</sup> When Bonnier put *A Child Is Born* on the market, it did not take very much to remind those interested what kind of book it was: “The mommy book is finally here” announced a big advertisement in the daily newspaper *Dagens Nyheter* (Today’s News). The accompanying text made clear, however, that the publisher sought a wider circle of readers: “[to] all future mothers and fathers, to grandfather and grandmother, yes, to every human being interested in our life and its origin.”<sup>74</sup> The advertisements, then, built on the style of address of the book so that not just future parents but all “humanity” could feel included.

#### **Figure 6.**

Another important advertising channel for Bonnier was the journal of the Swedish Publishers’ Association and the Swedish Booksellers’ Association that was published weekly and distributed widely to employees of the publishers and bookstores as well as librarians and journalists. Already included in one of the May issues was a full-page advertisement showing the cover photograph of the mother and child, and asking readers if they had seen the earlier reports in *Express* and *See* with Nilsson’s sensational images. At the bottom there was an announcement that the book was forthcoming from Bonnier in the autumn.<sup>75</sup> The same message was delivered in three June issues, each featuring an image of one of the authors and some data concerning his past and current activities. Nilsson was described as a “star photographer,” but in the picture he was rather portrayed as a scientist, dressed in a white coat and with his gaze fixed on a microscope connected to a camera.<sup>76</sup> A similar image was reproduced on the dust jacket of the book and was no doubt a deliberate

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strategy to distance Nilsson from his former, less prestigious role as celebrity and reportage photographer.

**Figure 7.**

A couple of weeks before the October release the daily press published a number of Nilsson's pictures.<sup>77</sup> They had also interviewed the photographer about the work behind the photographs. He admitted that most of the pictures were of "fetuses, just removed surgically" in connection with miscarriages or extrauterine pregnancies. They looked as if they were alive because they were still alive. He had only a few minutes in which to take the pictures before they developed ugly blotches and were changed. A few of the pictures, Nilsson told the reporter, were "taken inside the mother by means of a cystoscope and a flash in connection with a necessary abortion."<sup>78</sup> But he insisted that his photographs should not be seen as a contribution to the abortion debate: all he wanted to do was to give a clear conception of the origin and development of human life.<sup>79</sup>

Bonnier's promotion campaign was not restricted to advertisements in the press. The marketing department had prepared material such as printed matter in the format of the book, a card with arguments for buying the product, and a display stand that was offered to the booksellers.<sup>80</sup> The publishing house also had its own salespeople who visited the local bookstores at the start of the autumn season, and in view of the great efforts of the nonfiction department they must have been told to sing the praises of this product. Competitions were organized among booksellers for the best-selling window display, and *A Child Is Born* was one of the titles that was part of the competitions, which gave it several weeks of bookshop exposure on its own.<sup>81</sup>



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In late October the newspaper Today's News printed a best-selling list of books published by Bonnier. The numbers were based on accounts from booksellers, and this was a common form of advertising used by the larger publishing houses. With fourteen thousand copies sold, *A Child Is Born* was behind only the Swedish translation of Ian Fleming's *The Man with the Golden Gun*, his latest novel about British agent James Bond.<sup>82</sup> Already established as a rising best seller, Nilsson's book was given a favorable placing and exposure in the directory that was distributed in December with the Christmas shopping in prospect.<sup>83</sup> A new wave of articles appeared right at the end of the year, when Swedish television showed the documentary *Så börjar livet (The Beginning of Life)* that was based on the now well-known pictures.<sup>84</sup> Altogether these marketing and advertising strategies made *A Child Is Born* unusually visible in the media stream.

### Reviews and Debates in the Press

Intensive promotion, combined with the media coverage of the photographer and interconnected with publication of the essay in *Life*, created favorable conditions for a commercial hit. Equally important, the book received positive reviews. It was customary to send daily newspapers review copies with a note from the publisher giving an overview of the content and some information about the author. Papers could use this instead of or as part of a review.<sup>85</sup> But there was still no guarantee of success. How would the reviewers respond to the book format and the enlarged color pictures of aborted embryos and fetuses?

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During October and November the big daily newspapers carried reviews, several by physicians and very favorable. Gustaf Myhrman wrote in *Svenska Dagbladet* (Swedish Daily Paper) of a “remarkable picture book” that “gives the reader an insight into a fantastic world which has hitherto scarcely been accessible” to the public.<sup>86</sup> Jan Sievers in *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfartstidning* (Gothenburg Trade and Shipping Gazette) was likewise enthusiastic about design and content.<sup>87</sup> The color pictures above all were almost unreservedly praised: “The pictures have made the book a work of art,” Rutger Lagercrantz wrote in Today’s News.<sup>88</sup> And in *Stockholms-Tidningen* (Stockholm Paper) the author Per-Olof Sundman exclaimed that this was “a completely unique and fantastic story in pictures.” It would surely sell many copies as a suitable gift book to future mothers, he added.<sup>89</sup>

Lars Engström, however, a colleague of Ingelman-Sundberg at Karolinska Institutet and chairman of the abortion committee of the State Medical Board, did not share this positive view. In a review in the Swedish Medical Association’s journal Engström described *A Child Is Born* as “anti-abortion propaganda lightly disguised” and questioned whether it was at all suitable reading for future mothers. Even to women who wanted babies Nilsson’s pictures could be seen as frightening or giving rise to a feeling of alienation, since their relation to the expected children had an emotional and physical basis—not a visual one. To women who had decided to have an abortion the pictures added to the burdens on their backs. Through “the enlarged emphasis (in pictures and text) on the *human* elements of the very small fetus,” future mothers were led to believe that an embryo not quite one millimeter in size was a “child.” Actually it was not more than a “lump of cells” that had “the prerequisites *to become* a living creature, that is as far as one can go.” He also thought that the

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advisory part painted a limited and idealized picture of what it was to be pregnant.

Nothing was said about the feelings of anxiety and fear that many women experienced during their pregnancies. The book was in its entirety to be regarded as a contribution to the abortion debate.<sup>90</sup>

No fewer than four articles in a subsequent issue of the journal rebutted Engström's criticism. The first was by Ingelman-Sundberg, who rejected the idea that the book was a piece of antiabortion propaganda and also made it clear that Engström had flouted the collegial norm in his "insinuations." Wirsén, who was behind the second article, defended the plan of the book and claimed that the tendency to emphasize the humanity of the tiny embryo was the pregnant women's own choice of words. In connection with this he referred to the survey of "test mothers" mentioned above, in which also individuals positively disposed toward abortions had taken part. "Mrs." G. Beskow-Olsson from Stockholm, who defended the descriptions in the book from, as she said, a universally feminine perspective, confirmed his description. In the last of the four articles Ludvig Simon, a doctor and well-known abortion critic with commissions from the State Medical Board, rejected the notion that the fetus was a lump of cells, since from the moment of conception it carries the genes to become "a new, unique human being inheriting both mother and father." Engström's review was to be regarded as "abortion propaganda."<sup>91</sup>

Given the opportunity to air his views once more, Engström repeated that the book was "an impossible hybrid" between embryology described in pictures and practical advice to pregnant women. It estheticized, even distorted, reality. The authors said very little about the practical conditions of pregnancy and childbirth; for example, the young woman portrayed in the book went to a private clinic, while the

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overwhelming majority of future mothers attended public antenatal clinics. Readers were also lured into believing that the story of the young couple and their love was universal when it was really a romanticized, invented story. In the same way, Engström claimed, the fetuses, too, were represented as if universal. But not all fetuses looked as they did in the pictures in the book, since the pictures were not what they purported to be:

I just want to refer to the women who *in reality* were to have been mothers of the fetuses that are depicted. It is presupposed that the readers have realized that the pictures show fetuses that are dead, removed by operations or legal abortions. The caption to a picture has the following to say about the eyes of the fetus in the fourth pregnancy month: “Infinite calm rests in these faces. They look as if they are waiting for eternity. But it is the short life on earth they are preparing for and it is not sleep that keeps their eyes shut.”

Is this embryological poetry or deception? The truth is down to earth and simple: the eyes in the picture will never see.<sup>92</sup>

Engström was one of the few physicians who openly said what all gynecologists knew: Nilsson’s pictures showed aborted fetuses. None of the pictures in *A Child Is Born* had been taken inside the body, but in connection with either miscarriages, ectopic pregnancies, or legal abortions. The question was discussed within the section for gynecology and obstetrics of the Swedish Society of Medicine, and many members of the board were astonished that there had not been any public debate about the origin of the pictures. But none of Engström’s colleagues wanted to discuss the matter in the

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open, and a major reason for that was the dominant position of Ingelman-Sundberg in the medical profession at this time.<sup>93</sup>

Instead, knowledge about the abortions on which the pictures were based faded away and was more and more seldom brought to the foreground. At Bonnier in the 1970s the staff who sold single photographs were told to answer evasively or vaguely when Swedish or foreign customers asked about the origin of the pictures. Anything else was impossible; “it would have destroyed the market,” as a former editor at Bonnier put it in an interview in 2008.<sup>94</sup> At the same time the publisher worked actively for *A Child Is Born* and its different by-products in the form of brochures, slideshows, and films to be used in the reorganization of sex education in schools that was taking place from the mid-1960s. For instance, a short time after the release of the book the magazine *Idun Weekly Record* printed a special supplement with Nilsson’s color photographs that was distributed to school children. The photographer then documented how the folder was used in sex education lessons, and these pictures were included in both the magazine and a book aimed at the American audience. More and more *A Child Is Born* came to be associated with the progressive Swedish society that aimed at making citizens more knowledgeable about sexual issues. However, a couple of years after the book had been published in the United States in 1966 the images were, once again, appropriated for campaigns against abortion.<sup>95</sup>

**Figure 8.**

Mutual Agreement

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Apart from a few interviews in the press there remains hardly any empirical material from this period to indicate how Nilsson reflected upon the making and reception of *A Child Is Born*. It is therefore interesting to study an exchange of letters between Nilsson and Ingelman-Sundberg a short time after the book had been reviewed in the newspapers and the journal of the Swedish Medical Association. These letters confirm the partnership between the photographer and the physician, which had developed during the work with *A Child Is Born* and throw light upon the agreement that informed the continued collaboration.

Nilsson opened his letter by thanking Ingelman-Sundberg for all the help with the book and “Your great kindness over many years in letting me use operation material from your clinic for photographs and in giving me space at the hospital to photograph it. I am very very grateful to you for your trust in me.” He also commented on Engström’s article saying that it “was both illogical and stupid.” After that Nilsson wrote that he very much wanted to make a purely medical book on the development of fetuses to be used in the instruction of midwives, nurses, medical students, and others. This indicates a still unrealized scientific ambition. Bonnier was interested in publishing it, and the only problem was that some color pictures were still missing, for instance of fertilization. Also to capture were details of the legs, arms, sex organs, and umbilical cord of embryos. He therefore asked Ingelman-Sundberg if there was any chance that he could resume the photographing and still have access to aborted embryos and fetuses from the women’s clinic at Sabbatsberg. In return Nilsson promised that all existing and future visual material could be used free of charge by Ingelman-Sundberg for exhibitions, congresses, and similar scientific events. In conclusion he pointed out that the planned book with “fresh material of embryos and

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fetuses,” even if it would be more strictly oriented to medicine, could contribute to enlightening the public, who had scant knowledge in this area, as was evident from the abortion debate.<sup>96</sup>

In his answer Ingelman-Sundberg thanked Nilsson for his letter and welcomed him to continue his work at the clinic. Concerning Engström’s review he was of the opinion that it was nothing to worry about and that the reviewer completely lacked sympathizers: “He has only damaged himself through it. It is probably seldom that someone has been so harshly criticized by so many at one time.” He finished the letter by accepting the photographer’s offer of access to picture material and asked if he could borrow a couple of slides “showing cervical mucus with beautiful palm leaf crystallization” and also a sequence from the television film *The Beginning of Life* which he wanted to show in connection with a lecture he was to give in the United States that spring.<sup>97</sup>

The book that Nilsson and Ingelman-Sundberg discussed in their exchange of letters was never finished,<sup>98</sup> but Nilsson did produce another edition of *A Child Is Born* in 1976 in collaboration with Ingelman-Sundberg, his wife and colleague Mirjam Furuhjelm, and Wirsén. In the third edition, which was published in 1990, Lars Hamberger, professor of obstetrics and gynecology at the University of Gothenburg, had replaced these coauthors. He also wrote the text for the fourth and fifth editions that were published in 2003 and 2009 respectively.<sup>99</sup> Like Ingelman-Sundberg before him, Hamberger was permitted to use Nilsson’s pictures, among other things in the marketing of the company Scandinavian IVF (nowadays Vitrolife), in exchange for scientific legitimacy, dead and living material, expert knowledge, and new techniques.<sup>100</sup> Thus the photographer and all other actors involved in the various

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editions have shared an interest in continually renewing and updating the best seller of 1965 to enable it to keep on attracting new generations of readers.<sup>101</sup> However, today recent and more and more spectacular books on the development of embryos and fetuses, such as Alexander Tsiaras's and Barry Werth's *From Conception to Birth* (2002), are threatening to take over the dominant position that Nilsson's work has had on the international book market for an exceptionally long time.<sup>102</sup>

## Conclusions

Building on new empirical material, this essay has accounted for the making of the first Swedish edition of Lennart Nilsson's best-selling book *A Child Is Born*. The Bonnier publishing house was not the first to offer this kind of literature, but compared to other books in this genre Nilsson's work aspired to offer something new. While earlier volumes mostly contained drawings in black and white, *A Child Is Born* displayed a large number of very sharp, high-resolution color images. In structure and style the book resembled the photo stories in the picture magazines, and the format made it easy to read and leaf through—alone, with a partner, or with a child. With its journalistic title it was designed to attract a larger audience, and above all expectant mothers.

But it was far from given that this hybrid of embryological picture story and practical advice to pregnant women would be at all possible to produce, publish, and sell. The making of *A Child Is Born* must be seen in light of the particular medical and media conditions in postwar Swedish society. Among these were the controversial abortion issue and doctors who went public, as well as Bonnier's financial troubles



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and Nilsson's own ambition to find fame and fortune in a constantly changing media landscape. Enormous effort went into the nitty-gritty of book production, marketing, and advertising, and into repackaging the images of aborted fetuses as sex education and practical pregnancy advice. Although public criticism was rare, it had to be fended off. This attempt to control the meaning of the book continued even after it had been published internationally. In a concrete way this throws light on important processes involving both medical and media actors that were active in transforming embryological specimens into cultural icons of life.

One purpose has been to give another perspective on Nilsson's pictures than those most frequent in earlier research. Instead of chiefly focusing on the representation of embryos and fetuses in the famous report "Drama of Life before Birth" in *Life*, I have concentrated on material and media aspects of his best-known book. Nilsson's publications not only have been used for reading and viewing but also are objects that have most often come about on the initiative of publishers and been produced with the active participation of coauthors, editors, designers, illustrators, retouchers, and printers. *A Child Is Born* could become a best seller in Sweden (and elsewhere) due not only to its fascinating contents, but also to the specific medium that realized, distributed, marketed, and communicated the pictures.

Another aim has been to make a contribution to the historical discussions that have revolved around the question of the 1960s as a turning point in the increasing circulation of pictures of fetuses in public life. On the one hand, my investigation seems to support the interpretation that *A Child Is Born*, at least in a Swedish context, made embryos and fetuses more visible on the public scene. On the other, it shows that pictures of reproduction, pregnancy, and childbirth were not unusual in books and

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magazines during and after World War II. What has, however, been less highlighted in earlier research is the almost symbiotic relation that existed between book publishers and the press. Nilsson's early photographs of fetuses—inspired by textbooks of embryology—were first published and advertised in magazines, after that in books and then again, although in another form, in magazines and newspapers. If it is the case that Nilsson's books and reports helped to create "the public fetus," then greater attention to such relations between different media provides a better understanding of the commercial, professional, and other interests engaged in this process of dissemination. Medical and media links in Sweden were intertwined and developed in, as well as a result of, the making of *A Child Is Born*, and this relationship stimulated the spread of fetal imagery during the postwar era.

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1. Lennart Nilsson, Axel Ingelman-Sundberg, and Claes Wirsén, *Ett barn blir till: En bildskildring av de nio månaderna före födelsen: En praktisk rådgivare för den blivande mamman*, 1st ed. (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1965).

2. Lennart Nilsson and Albert Rosenfeld, “Drama of Life before Birth,” *Life*, April 30, 1965, 54–72A.

3. Nilsson, Ingelman-Sundberg, and Wirsén, *Ett barn blir till* (n. 1); Lennart Nilsson, Mirjam Furuhjelm, Axel Ingelman-Sundberg, and Claes Wirsén, *Ett barn blir till: En bildskildring av barnets tillblivelse före födelsen och praktiska råd när man väntar barn*, 2nd ed. (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1976); Lennart Nilsson and Lars Hamberger, *Ett barn blir till*, 3rd ed. (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1990); Lennart Nilsson and Lars Hamberger, *Ett barn blir till*, 4th ed. (Stockholm: Bonnier, 2003); Lennart Nilsson and Lars Hamberger, *Ett barn blir till*, 5th ed. (Stockholm: Bonnier, 2009). The first American and U.K. editions were published in 1966 and 1967, respectively, with subsequent editions in 1977, 1990, 2003, and 2009. Original quote in Swedish: “*Ett barn blir till* är det viktigaste illustrerade verket om människans fortplantning sedan fotografiet uppfanns.”

4. Nilsson’s long career and transformation from press photographer to scientific and medical photographer are examined in Solveig Jülich, “Images of Life

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and Death: The Lennart Nilsson Industry, 1940–2010” (manuscript in progress). His connections to Karolinska Institutet are described in Solveig Jülich, “Colouring the Human Landscapes: Lennart Nilsson and the Spectacular World of Scanning Electron Micrographs,” *Nuncius* 29 (2014): 464–97. Quotation from Government Offices of Sweden, Ministry of Education and Research, “Government awards photographer Lennart Nilsson title of professor” (press release, June 4, 2009).

5. For early and more recent discussions, see, for instance, Emily Martin, “The Egg and the Sperm: How Science Has Constructed a Romance Based on Stereotypical Male-Female Roles,” *Signs* 16 (1991): 485–501; Mette Bryld and Nina Lykke, “From Rambo Sperm to Egg Queens: Two Versions of Lennart Nilsson’s Film on Human Reproduction,” in *Bits of Life: Feminism at the Intersections of Media, Bioscience, and Technology*, ed. Nina Lykke and Anneke Smelik (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008), 79–93.

6. Barbara Duden, *Disembodying Women: Perspectives on Pregnancy and the Unborn* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993), 14. For the term “public fetus,” see also Rosalind Pollack Petchesky, “Fetal Images: The Power of Visual Culture in the Politics of Reproduction,” *Feminist Studies* 13 (1987): 263–92.

<sup>1</sup> Sarah Franklin, “Fetal Fascinations: New Dimensions to the Medical-Scientific Construction of Fetal Personhood,” in *Off-Centre: Feminism and Cultural Studies*, ed. Sarah Franklin, Celia Lury, and Jackie Stacey (London: HarperCollins, 1991), 190–205; Carol A. Stabile, “Shooting the Mother: Fetal Photography and the Politics of Disappearance,” *Camera Obscura*, vol. 10, no. 28 (1992): 179–205; Meredith W. Michaels, “Fetal Galaxies: Some Questions about What We See,” in *Fetal Subjects*,

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*Feminist Positions*, ed. Lynn M. Morgan and Meredith W. Michaels (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 113–32.

8. Petter Karlsson, “Lennart Nilsson,” in *Lennart Nilsson: Images of His Life*, ed. Jacob Forsell (Stockholm: Bonnier, 2002), 6–20, on 13. For a brief discussion on the first, second, and third English editions, see Sandra Matthews and Laura Wexler, *Pregnant Pictures* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 162–70.

9. See, in particular, Virginia Berridge and Kelly Loughlin, eds., *Medicine, the Market and the Mass Media: Producing Health in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Routledge, 2005); Kelly Loughlin, “Spectacle and Secrecy: Press Coverage of Conjoined Twins in 1950s Britain,” *Med. Hist.* 49 (2005): 197–212; Bert Hansen, *Picturing Medical Progress from Pasteur to Polio: A History of Mass Media Images and Popular Attitudes in America* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2009); Ayesha Nathoo, *Hearts Exposed: Transplants and the Media in 1960s Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

10. On collective forgetting and “the silencing of fetal death,” see Lynn M. Morgan, *Icons of Life: A Cultural History of Human Embryos* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 29–33. Also see the discussion of Nilsson’s photographs in Suzanne Anker and Sarah Franklin, “Specimens as Spectacles: Reframing Fetal Remains,” *Soc. Text* 29 (2011): 103–25, on 107–8.

11. Solveig Jülich, “Picturing Abortion Opposition in Sweden: Lennart Nilsson’s Early Photographs of Embryos and Foetuses,” *Soc. Hist. Med.* (forthcoming).

12. By Nick Hopwood, see, for instance, “Plastic Publishing in Embryology,” in *Models: The Third Dimension of Science*, ed. Soraya de Chadarevian and Nick

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Hopwood (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004), 170–206; “A Marble Embryo: Meanings of a Portrait from 1900,” *Hist. Workshop J.* 73 (Spring 2012): 5–36; *Haeckel’s Embryos: Images, Evolution, and Fraud* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015); and together with Tatjana Buklijas, “Making Visible Embryos” (2008), <http://www.hps.cam.ac.uk/visibleembryos/>. See also Sara Dubow, *Ourselves Unborn: A History of the Fetus in Modern America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

13. For recent discussions of book history and cultural history of media, see James A. Secord, “Foreword,” in *Science in Print: Essays on the History of Science and the Culture of Print*, ed. Rima D. Apple, Gregory J. Downey, and Stephen L. Vaughn (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2012), vii–xiii; Anders Ekström, Solveig Jülich, Frans Lundgren, and Per Wisselgren, “Introduction,” in *History of Participatory Media: Politics and Publics, 1750–2000*, ed. idem (New York: Routledge, 2011), 1–9.

14. Robert Darnton, “What Is the History of Books?,” *Daedalus* 111, no. 3 (1982): 65–83. For a recent discussion, see Helen Smith, “Grossly Material Things”: *Women and Book Production in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 6–8.

15. I was not granted access to Nilsson’s private and company archive collections and was informed that documents in the Bonnier archive had been thrown away. Although the photographer has been closely associated with the Karolinska Institutet since the 1950s, he has left little evidence in the institutional archives.

16. Recordings and transcripts of the interviews, conducted from 2008 to 2010, are in the possession of the author. An interview with Nilsson (January 17, 2009) has

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not been included since, due to old age, he did not recall the details of these events. A general problem was that the interviewees gave recollections of their own, positive roles in the success story of the book but had less to say about the making of the book as a whole. They also hesitated to discuss the issue of abortion in relation to Nilsson's images. To counteract these tendencies I sometimes confronted interviewees with other sources and contradictory evidence. For a discussion of related methodological issues, see Soraya de Chadarevian, "Using Interviews to Write the History of Science," in *The Historiography of Contemporary Science and Technology*, ed. Thomas Söderqvist (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic, 1997), 51–70.

17. Per I. Gedin, *Litteraturen i verkligheten: Om bokmarknadens historia och framtid* (Stockholm: Rabén Prisma, 1997), 105, 109; Ann Steiner, *I litteraturens mittfåra: Månadens bok och svensk bokmarknad under 1970-talet* (Göteborg: Makadam, 2006), 43–45; Staffan Sundin, *Konsolidering och expansion 1930–1954: Bonniers—en mediefamilj* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 2002), 38–42, 46–47, 79.

18. For a comparative perspective, see Lutz Sauerteig, "Representations of Pregnancy and Childbirth in (West) German Sex Education Books, 1900s–1970s," in *Shaping Sexual Knowledge: A Cultural History of Sex Education in Twentieth Century Europe*, ed. Lutz D. H. Sauerteig and Roger Davidson (London: Routledge, 2009), 129–60.

19. Christer Nordlund, *Hormones of Life: Endocrinology, the Pharmaceutical Industry, and the Dream of a Remedy for Sterility, 1930–1970* (Sagamore Beach, Mass.: Science History Publications, 2011), 43, 58–60.

20. Elis Essen-Möller, *Om de kvinnliga underlivsorganen och några sexuella frågor* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1932); Per Wetterdal, *En kvinnoläkares råd* (Stockholm:

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Hökerberg, 1937); Axel Westman, *Nio månader: En handledning för blivande och nyblivna mödrar* (Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1945).

21. Axel Ingelman-Sundberg, *De fruktsamma åren: Vad varje kvinna bör veta om den egna kroppen, om sexuallivets och moderskapets problem och om det stöd samhället ger henne* (Stockholm: Tiden, 1951).

22. Johannes Fabricius-Møller, *Könlivet* (Stockholm: Forum, 1946).

23. Grantly Dick Read, *Att föda utan fruktan* (Stockholm: Natur och Kultur, 1954); Helen Heardman, *Naturlig förlossning: En handbok för sjukgymnaster och blivande föräldrar* (Stockholm: Kooperativa förbundet, 1950).

24. Nordlund, *Hormones of Life* (n. 19), 50–57.

25. Lena Lennerhed, *Historier om ett brott: Illegala aborter i Sverige på 1900-talet* (Stockholm: Atlas, 2008). Also see her “Taking the Middle Way: Sex Education Debates in Sweden in the Early Twentieth Century,” in Sauerteig and Davidson, *Shaping Sexual Knowledge* (n. 18), 55–70.

26. *Barn i goda händer* (Stockholm: Aktiv hushållning, 1944).

27. Lis Asklund and Willy Maria Lundberg, *Havandeskap, samhällets hjälp, abort: Folkskrift i abortfrågan* (Stockholm: Medicinalstyrelsen, 1947).

28. Lena Lennerhed, *Sex i folkhemmet: RFSUs tidiga historia* (Hedemora: Gidlund, 2002), 126, 129.

29. On the embryological view of life, see Nick Hopwood, “Producing Development: The Anatomy of Human Embryos and the Norms of Wilhelm His,” *Bull. Hist. Med.* 74 (2000): 29–79; Morgan, *Icons of Life* (n. 10), 10–12. Swedish books on embryology from this period include Johan August Hammar, *Några hufvuddrag af fosterutvecklingen med hänsyn till förhållandena hos människan*



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(Stockholm: Bonnier, 1900); Ivar Broman, *Människans utveckling före födelsen: En kortfattad handledning i människans embryologi* (Lund: Gleerup, 1927); Gösta Häggqvist, *En människas tillblivelse och tidigaste utveckling* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1947); Hilding Bergstrand, *Lärobok i patologi* (Stockholm: Svenska bokförlaget, 1943).

30. Ernst Bumm, *Grundriss zum Studium der Geburtshilfe* (Wiesbaden: J. F. Bergmann, 1902). Bumm's images were copied and reprinted in, for instance, Westman, *Nio månader* (n. 20); Ingelman-Sundberg, *De fruktsamma åren* (n. 21); Fabricius-Møller, *Könlivet* (n. 22).

31. Ingelman-Sundberg, *De fruktsamma åren* (n. 21); Maj-Briht Bergström-Walan, *Vi väntar barn: En bok om havandeskap och förlossning* (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1964).

32. The difference between Arvid Wallgren, ed., *Förebyggande hälsovård för moder och barn* (Stockholm: Hugo Gebers förlag, 1940) and his later edited book *Moderskap och barnavård* (Stockholm: Röda Korset, 1956) is striking in that the latter included a substantial amount of photographic material.

33. Nilsson, Ingelman-Sundberg, and Wirsén, *Ett barn blir till* (n. 1).

34. By Geraldine Lux Flanagan, see *The First Nine Months of Life* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1962); "Dramatic Photographs of Babies before Birth," *Look* 26 (June 5, 1962): 19–23; *Livets första 9 månader* (Stockholm: Forum, 1963).

35. Some of these aspects have been highlighted by Matthews and Wexler, *Pregnant Pictures* (n. 8), 195–99. Interestingly, the fetus was described as an astronaut already in a short version of Flangan's book published under the title "Så börjar vi leva" in *Vecko-Revyn*, no. 27 (1962): 42–45, on 45.

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36. Flanagan, *First Nine Months of Life* (n. 34). This has been pointed out by Morgan, *Icons of Life* (n. 10), 197–202. On Landrum B. Shettles’s photographs, see Robin Marantz Henig, *Pandora’s Baby: How the First Test Tube Babies Sparked the Reproductive Revolution* (New York: Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory Press, 2006), esp. 51–53.

37. Nilsson, Ingelman-Sundberg, and Wirsén, *Ett barn blir till* (n. 1), 168.

38. Mary Panzer, “Introduction,” in *Things as They Are: Photojournalism in Context since 1955* (New York: Aperture Foundation/World Press Photo, 2005), 19–25. On the emergence of Swedish photography magazines, see Tobias Lindberg, *Ett nytt sätt att se: Om bildtidningen Se 1938–1945* (Göteborg: NORDICOM, 2004).

39. On photo books as a genre, see Martin Parr and Gerry Badger, *The Photobook: A History*, vols. 1–2 (London: Phaidon, 2004, 2006).

40. Karl E. Hillgren and Lennart Nilsson, “Varför måste fostret dödas?,” *Se*, no. 28 (1952): 13–17.

41. This is accounted for in Solveig Jülich, “Photographing Life before Birth: Lennart Nilsson and Reproductive Research in Post-war Sweden” (manuscript).

42. Original quote in Swedish: ”den finaste, den största, den mest underbart fascinerande bildberättelse, som någonsin lämnats av vår världsberömda fotograf Lennart Nilsson”. Lennart Nilsson, “Det är du själv!,” *Se*, no. 51 (1958): 26–28, quotation on 28.

43. “Så börjar livet,” *Se*, no. 47 (1960): 36.

44. Per Uddén and Lennart Nilsson, “Rädda våra ofödda,” *Idun Veckojournalen*, no. 46 (1964): 19–23.

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45. On this debate, see Jülich, “Picturing Abortion Opposition in Sweden” (n. 11).

46. Lennerhed, *Historier om ett brott* (n. 25), 169–78. On Finkbine, also see Leslie J. Reagan, *Dangerous Pregnancies: Mothers, Disabilities, and Abortion in Modern America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), esp. 58–59, 85–88.

47. Original quote in Swedish: “hindra många onödiga aborter.” “Kungafonden delar ut 208.480 kr till kultur,” *Stockholms-Tidningen*, October 27, 1964. Both Lennart Grenholm, former editor at Bonnier, and Nilsson’s coauthor Claes Wirsén mentioned that the abortion debate was a concern when producing the book. See Lennart Grenholm, interview by author, December 22, 2008, and Claes Wirsén, interview by author, October 29, 2008.

48. Lennart Nilsson, *Reportage* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1955); Lennart Nilsson and Carl H. Lindroth, *Myror* (Stockholm: Forum, 1959); Lennart Nilsson and Thorsten Kjäll, *Halleluja: En bok om Frälsningsarmén* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1963).

49. Mats Larsson, *Bonniers—en mediefamilj. Förlag, konglomerat och mediekoncern 1953–1990* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 2001), 152–55.

50. On Helms and Cornell, see *ibid.*, 158.

51. Bo Tolander, interview by author, November 27, 2008, and Wirsén, interview (n. 47).

52. Tolander, interview (n. 51).

53. Grenholm, interview (n. 47). Ingelman-Sundberg told me in an interview in November 7, 2008, that his wife and colleague Mirjam Furuhjelm was the one who really wrote the text to the first edition of *A Child Is Born* since he was otherwise occupied. It was only in the second edition that she was acknowledged as the author.

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54. Grenholm, interview (n. 47); Urban Frank, interview by author, March 19, 2009.

55. On the Carnegie stages, see Hopwood, “Producing Development” (n. 29); Nick Hopwood, “Visual Standards and Disciplinary Change: Normal Plates, Tables and Stages in Embryology,” *Hist. Sci.* 43 (2005): 239–303.

56. Wirsén, interview (n. 47).

57. *Ibid.*; Tolander, interview (n. 51).

58. Tolander, interview (n. 51).

59. Wirsén, interview (n. 47).

60. Tolander, interview (n. 51).

61. Inga Ohlsén, interview by author, December 12, 2008.

62. Tolander, interview (n. 51).

63. Original quote in Swedish: ”var ju en alldeles ny ’vara’; ingen visste ju egentligen hur den skulle utformas. [...] Många reagerade mycket positivt och spontant, tyckte inte bilderna på embryot verkade kusliga, snarare ’söta.’ Det var ju inte meningen att visa bilder som man reagerade med rädsla eller äckel på.” Gittan Mannberg, “Det största undret,” *Röster i radio TV*, no. 52 (1965): 13–15, 53, 55, quotation on 53.

64. Interviews with Tolander (n. 51); Wirsén (n. 47); Grenholm (n. 47).

65. Tolander, interview (n. 51). For contemporary descriptions of marketing and advertising strategies, see Adam Helms, “Kollektiv annonsering: Några funderingar,” in *Till en bokvän: En samling uppsatser tillägnade Gunnar Josephson*, ed. Gunnar Josephson (Stockholm: Seelig, 1959), 50–58; Erik Gamby, *Kulturkrav och profitbehov i svensk bokdistribution* (Uppsala: Bokgillet, 1962), 14–19.

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66. Original quote in Swedish: “Svensk fotograf gör världssensation [...] Som den förste fotografen i historien [...] tvingats uppfinna en hel rad nya instrument: han har fått hjälp av dussintals professorer och läkare och i sin tur hjälpt dem att vinna rön som kan bli vetenskapligt betydelsefulla.” Ulf Nilson, “Svensk fotograf gör världssensation,” *Expressen*, April 28, 1965. See also Olle Norell, “‘Livets uppkomst’—en seger för Lennart Nilsson,” *Expressen*, April 28, 1965.

67. Gunnar Västberg, “Lennart Nilsson borde ha Nobelpris!,” *Expressen*, May 2, 1965.

68. Lennart Nilsson and Mats Lundegard, “Det är du!,” *Se*, no. 18 (1965). The series continued in no. 19, 68–73; no. 20, 16–21; no. 21, 2–7; and no. 22, 20–23; all in 1965.

69. Lennart Nilsson, Claes Wirsén, and Stig Nordfeldt, “Ett barn blir till,” *Idun Veckojournalen*, no. 37 (1965): 33–49; Lennart Nilsson and Eleanor Graves, “Att få ett barn,” *Idun Veckojournalen*, no. 38 (1965): 26–33, 46–48, and no. 39 (1965): 34–42, 44; Lennart Nilsson and Eleanor Graves, “A Woman on Her Way to a Miracle,” *Life*, July 22, 1966, 48–62.

70. Lennart Nilsson, Axel Ingelman-Sundberg, and Claes Wirsén, “Ett barn blir till,” *Året Runt*, no. 42 (1965): 18–21, 90, 97. The series continued in no. 43 (1965): 18–19, 89, 94, and no. 44 (1965): 14–15, 80–81.

71. Original quote in Swedish: “den unika, gripande och spännande berättelsen om vad som hänt oss alla—innan vi föddes!” Advertisement, *Aftonbladet*, May 6, 1965.

72. Original quote in Swedish: “det ömmaste och vackraste.” Advertisement, *Svenska Dagbladet*, September 17, 1965.

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73. Original quote in Swedish: “intimt och sakligt skildrat”; “Du, tror du att det är en pojke eller en flicka?” Advertisement, *Dagens Nyheter*, October 18, 1965.

74. Original quote in Swedish: “Mammaboken äntligen här [...] för alla blivande mammor och pappor, för morfar och farmor, ja för varje människa som är intresserad av vårt liv och dess ursprung.” Advertisement, *Dagens Nyheter*, October 5, 1965.

75. Advertisement, “Världssensation,” *Svensk Bokhandel* 14, no. 20, 1965, 532.

76. Advertisement, “Lennart Nilsson,” “Axel Ingelman-Sundberg,” “Claes Wirsén,” in *Svensk Bokhandel* 14, no. 23, 641; no. 24, 674; no. 25, 696; all in 1965.

77. Lennart Nilsson, “Livet före födelsen,” *Aftonbladet*, September 19, 1965.

78. Original quote in Swedish: “tagna inne i modern med hjälp av systoskop och blytljus, i samband med nödvändig abort.” Elisabeth Frankl, “Jag kände bara en stor vördnad!” *Aftonbladet*, September 19, 1965. Nilsson is probably referring to the “portrait” of an embryo taken with a cystoscope that was published in the story in *Life*. None of the interviewees could recall why this picture was not included in *A Child Is Born*.

79. Gustaf von Platen, “År av arbete bakom unikt reportage: Barnets liv i moderlivet skildras av toppfotograf,” *Svenska Dagbladet*, September 18, 1965.

80. Advertisement, “Världssensationen Ett barn blir till,” *Svensk Bokhandel* 14, no. 32, 1965, 848.

81. Interviews with Tolander (n. 51) and Grenholm (n. 47).

82. “Se vad folk läser!,” *Dagens Nyheter*, October, 30, 1965.

83. *Julens böcker från Bonniers* (Stockholm: Bonniers, 1965), 6.

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84. For a discussion on this film, see Solveig Jülich, “Televising Inner Space: Lennart Nilsson’s Early Medical Documentaries on the Interior of the Human Body,” in *Representational Machines: Photography and the Production of Space*, ed. Anna Dahlgren, Dag Petersson, and Nina Lager Vestberg (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2013), 149–70, on 152–55.

85. Gamby, *Kulturkrav och profitbehov i svensk bokdistribution* (n. 65), 15.

86. Original quote in Swedish: “märklig bilderbok [...] ger läsaren en inblick i en fantastisk värld, som tidigare knappast varit tillgänglig”. Gustaf Myhrman, “Om tillblivelsens under,” *Svenska Dagbladet*, October 24, 1965.

87. Jan Sievers, “Ett barn blir till,” *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfartstidning*, October 28, 1965.

88. Original quote in Swedish: “Bilderna har gjort boken till ett konstverk.” Rutger Lagercrantz, “Livets första nio månader,” *Dagens Nyheter*, October 16, 1965.

89. Original quote in Swedish: “en fullständigt unik och fantastisk bildberättelse.” Per Olof Sundman, “Före födelsen,” *Stockholms-Tidningen*, October 1, 1965.

90. Original quote in Swedish: “antiabortpropaganda i lätt förklädnad [...] det uppförstorade framhävandet (i bild och text) av det *mänskliga* hos det mycket lilla fostret”; “den cellklump [...] har förutsättningar att bli en levande varelse, längre än så kan man inte sträcka sig.” Lars Engström, “En lysande bilderbok: Men varför anti-abortpropaganda?,” *Läkartidningen* 62 (1965): 3818–19.

91. Original quote in Swedish (by Simon): “en ny, unik människa med arv från moder och fader.” Axel Ingelman-Sundberg, Claes Wirsén, G. Beskow-Olsson, and

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Ludvig Simon, "Varför blandar Engström in aborterna?," *Läkartidningen* 62 (1965): 4105–8.

92. Original quote in Swedish: "Jag vill bara hänvisa till de kvinnor, som i verkligheten skulle ha blivit mödrar till alla de foster, som avbildas. Det förutsättes att läsarna insett att bilderna visar foster, som är döda, utplockade vid operationer eller vid legala aborter. Det står om fostrets ögon under fjärde graviditetsmånaden i texten till en bild: 'Det vilar ett oändligt lugn över de här ansiktena. De ser ut som om de väntar in evigheten. Men det är det korta jordelivet de förbereder, och det är inte sömn som håller deras ögon slutna.' // Är detta embryologisk poesi eller förljugenhet? Sanningen är handfast och enkel: bildens ögon kommer aldrig någonsin att se." Lars Engström, "'Bilderboken': En omöjlig hybrid," *Läkartidningen* 62 (1965): 4294–95, quotation on 4295.

93. Kerstin Hagenfeldt, interview by author, June 28, 2010. Hagenfeldt was a member of the board of the section for gynecology and obstetrics of the Swedish Society of Medicine from the late 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s.

94. Interviews by author with Grenholm (n. 47) and Barbro Dal, January 12, 2009. Dal was secretary from the early 1940s to around 1970, and then editor at Bonnier.

95. Solveig Jülich, "Fetal Photography in the Age of Cool Media," in Ekström, Jülich, Lundgren, and Wisselgren, *History of Participatory Media* (n. 13), 125–41.

96. Original quote in Swedish: "Ditt stora tillmötesgående under många år att låta mig ta del av operationsmaterial från Din klinik för fotografering och dessutom berett mej plats inom sjukhuset att fotografera detta. Jag är dig mycket mycket tacksam för Ditt förtroende." Further on: "var både ologisk och dum [...] färskt



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material av embryoner och foster.” Letter from Lennart Nilsson to Axel Ingelman-Sundberg, March 15, 1966, Landstingsarkivet i Stockholm, Överläkarnas vid Sabbatsbergs kvinnokliniks handlingar: Ej diarieförda skrivelser, E2: 4.

97. Original quote in Swedish: “Med den har han endast skadat sig själv. Sällan torde någon ha blivit så kapitalt nedgjord av så många på en gång.” Further on: ”av cervixsekret med vacker palmblandskristallisation.” Letter from Axel Ingelman-Sundberg to Lennart Nilsson, March 18, 1966, Landstingsarkivet i Stockholm, Överläkarnas vid Sabbatsbergs kvinnokliniks handlingar: Ej diarieförda skrivelser, E2: 4.

98. It is also mentioned, for instance, in “Lennart Nilsson gör världsuccé: Utländska förlag i kö för ‘Ett barn blir till,’” *Foto 28*, no. 2 (1966): 15.

99. Nilsson and Hamberger, *Ett barn blir till* (1990, 2003, 2009, n. 3).

100. Lars Hamberger, interview by author, March 3, 2009. See, for instance, the special edition of Lennart Nilsson, *Lennart Nilsson: Images of Life* (Göteborg: Hasselblad Center, 1998) that was produced for IVF Science.

101. Solveig Jülich, “Lennart Nilsson’s *A Child Is Born*: The Many Lives of a Best-Selling Pregnancy Advice Book,” *Culture Unbound* (forthcoming, Fall 2015).

102. Alexander Tsiaras and Barry Werth, *From Conception to Birth: A Life Unfolds* (New York: Doubleday, 2002).

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Figures

1. Cover of the first Swedish edition of *A Child Is Born* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1965). Nilsson's best-selling book on reproduction was immediately translated into English and several other languages. The original photograph by Lennart Nilsson is in color. Copyright: TT News Agency.

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2. Spread from Axel Ingelman-Sundberg's "The Childbearing Years" (Stockholm: Tiden, 1951). Common to many similar Swedish books from this period of time, the images had been copied from Ernst Bumm's "An Outline for the Study of Obstetrics," first published in 1902. Reprinted by permission of Norstedts Publishing Group.

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3. Cover of the Swedish translation of Geraldine Lux Flanagan's *The First Nine Months of Life* (Stockholm: Forum, 1963). The success of this book was due to the use and quality of the photographs. But they did not achieve the same spectacular effects as the images in Nilsson's work. The original is partly in color. Reprinted by permission of Bonnier.

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4. The spreads in *A Child Is Born* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1965) were carefully designed to combine pictures and text to draw the readers into the story of life before birth. The photographs by Lennart Nilsson are originally in color. Copyright: TT News Agency.

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5. Before the launching of *A Child Is Born* several Swedish magazines reprinted or adapted the material that had gained international attention in “Drama of Life before Birth” in *Life*, April 30, 1965. This cover of *Idun Veckojournalen*, no. 37, 1965, featured the same picture as the front of *Life*. The original photograph by Lennart Nilsson is in color. Copyright: TT News Agency.

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6. "The mommy book is finally here." Advertisement, *Dagens Nyheter*, October 5, 1965. Photographs on the cover of the book by Lennart Nilsson. Copyright: TT News Agency.

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7. Lennart Nilsson was presented as a scientist at work. From *Svensk Bokhandel* 14, no. 23, 1965. Photographer unknown. Copyright: TT News Agency.



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8. Lennart Nilsson's picture of a lesson in sex education in a school in Stockholm in the mid-1960s. From Birgitta Linnér, *Sex i samhället* (Stockholm: Rabén & Sjögren, 1968). This book was also published in an American edition, co-authored between Linnér and Richard J. Litell and with photographs by Nilsson, entitled *Sex and Society in Sweden* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1967). Copyright: TT News Agency.