

MUSEOLOGY AND ITS TRADITIONS: THE BRITISH EXPERIENCE, 1845-1945

by

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INTRODUCTION

The practice of museology convincingly affirms that the power of persuasion and the authenticity of theoretical conclusions must lie on fundamental research into the history of museology.

- Jirij P. Pisculin¹

There is a history of museology. Our approach to museology or even the absence of an approach is conditioned by the manner in which museums have been perceived by the public and museum staffs alike during at least the last four centuries. For the most part, the communication of the heritage of thought and practice occurs indirectly; most museum workers are not consciously aware of their own 'roots'. Seldom have the tenets of museology been accessible for critical study or necessary as a prerequisite for employment or a measurement for work-related performance in the museum; seldom has there been a successful, planned dissemination of the body of knowledge among museum workers corresponding to a formative path of scientific development: observation, synthesis, codification and transmission. The result is a field of inquiry which is vague and diffuse to the point of furthering errors and myths about itself. The fact that the heritage of museum thought is not generally known should be of concern²; the fact that this lack of knowledge does not often concern most of those involved in its practice is puzzling. It is an irony that people whose work is based on the history, origins and analysis of specimens and artifacts have had so little time for and dismiss the history, definition and scientific study of their own work.

¹Jirij P. Pisculin, "Museology-Science or Just Practical Work?," MuWop, Museological Working Papers, I (1980), 36. Mr. Pisculin is Vice-Director and chief of the museological laboratories at the State Museum of the Revolution, U.S.S.R., Moscow.

²Items on the history of aspects of museums are not a frequent feature in museum literature although there have been some noteworthy exceptions: the Proceedings of the Museums Association (Britain) from 1890 to 1901; Museums Journal from 1901 to 1960 frequently contained material on the history of early collectors or museums as well as obituary and retirement information; Museum News and Curator, more recently, have highlighted the work of museums and individuals.

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the history of museology through the evidence of one country involved in its development - Britain, particularly during the years 1845 to 1945, characterized by the growth of public museums or 'the museum movement' as well as the rise of the museum 'profession'. This historical investigation will attempt to recover past theories of museum workers in the museum field in Britain, to analyze their work as well as to identify factors which have helped or hindered museological development. An underlying aim of this work is to rediscover the 'lost' world of museological thought, to help define the theoretical and practical base of museum work, and to suggest reasons for the failure to develop adequate paths of support for the professionalization of museum work. Prior to embarking on the history and problems of museology in Britain, however, it will be necessary, given uncertainties about museology, to identify the existence of, and definitions for, a theory of museology in the context of international work into which this historical study will be placed. The problems of a museological theory will be examined in Part I; the history of museology in Britain will make up Part II; and conclusions drawn from the study of the museological tradition applied to the epistemological definition of museology in Part III.

PART I

THE MUSEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

CHAPTER ONE

THE QUESTION OF MUSEOLOGY

Any excursion into museum studies research seems at first to produce a hazy vision of the study of museums. The word, as well as the concepts of 'museography', 'museology' and 'museum studies' are underdeveloped in the collective memories of museum workers. Indications are that a poll of museum workers would lead to contradictory definitions or outright dismissal of the application of the terms which are viewed as jargonistic or academic to the practice of museum work.¹ Many other terms which seem to encode the meaning of museum activities - 'collections management', 'museum education', 'exhibition' - are used imprecisely, sometimes in overlapping and contradictory ways, characteristics which usually signal confused thought.

A recent publication identifies 1200 English words used in museum work for what would seem to be approximately 100 basic concepts; a review of museum literature over the past 100 years would compound this problem as older words exist together with newer terms.² The list of terms 'records', 'record-keeping', 'registration', 'cataloguing', 'documentation' and finally 'collections management' - approximately represents the progression of references applied to the action of keeping a record about the objects or specimens in collections; all of these terms can be encountered in

¹Jiri Neustupny has recently written, "It is the common experience of those connected with the organization of museum work that museum personnel deny in practice the usefulness of museology. Personal experience sometimes supplemented by the experience of one's predecessors is elevated to the role of a theoretical model," in "Museology as an Academic Discipline," MuWop, I (1980), 28. An example would be the statement of a museum worker, (a member of an ICOM Committee and employed in a large Canadian museum) who at the Canadian Museums Association Annual Conference in Ottawa on May 1981 stated "museology or museography, whatever, I'm not into the jargon."

²Dictionarium Museologicum. Museological Word Index, 3rd ed. (Budapest, 1978). This is a publication of the ICOM-CIDOC Working Group on Terminology.

present day usage by museum workers.

To base the explanation of this disorder on the recent date of museum thought will not suffice; the word museology is at least 100 years old while the concept of a theory of museums (to be discussed in Part II) can be traced in the sixteenth century as part of the evolution of the 'modern' museum.

One of the earliest times the suffix 'ology' was added to museum was by J. Graesser in the periodical Zeitschrift für Museologie und Antiquitätenkunde in 1885, in which he wrote:

If thirty or even twenty years ago anyone had talked or written about museology as a science, many people would have reacted with a compassionate or contemptuous smile. Today, this is, of course, different.³

Although the last sentence would be overconfident even in 1983, the fact that the rest of this quote could be repeated accurately underlines one of the major problems in museology - the failure to develop and disseminate, for critical reaction by theorists and practitioners alike, the premises of museum work.

The cultural tradition of museum work has only been partially established as can be illustrated by a brief study of three weaknesses: the contradictory beliefs about museums in the occupational mythology; the chaotic state of museum literature; and the underdeveloped state of the museum profession.

The texture of museum tradition is ambiguity and paradox. Without a museological framework, inaccuracies grow into myths about museums and museum work while myths become dogmas. For example, references are constantly made in popular writings on museums to a museum past; the picture is often generalized, distorted or self-serving in its tendency to cast the early museum into the unworthy role of the 'cabinet or curiosities', the 'musty, dusty unappealing place of a small group identified as an elite,

³J. Graesser, Zeitschrift für Museologie und Antiquitätenkunde (1885) as cited in Evzen Schneider, "The Way of Museums: An Exhibition at the Moravian Museum, Brno," Museum 29 (1977), 183.

the upper classes or the niggardly collector, academician or keeper/curator. Without the benefit of accurate information on which to build a historical perspective of the strengths and weaknesses of museum theory and practice, it becomes easy to use the museum past to confirm a view of relative progress in museums which culminates in a particular thesis being postulated such as the importance of new educational techniques, exhibit effectiveness or even a new national museums policy. An extreme example of the use of a myth for a contemporary problem can be found in a section of the 1980 questionnaire issued by the National Museums Corporation of Canada sent to Corporation personnel and to all members of the Canadian Museums Association across Canada. One question read:

Museums should concern themselves only with the traditional functions; collection, conservation, research and dissemination. They should not be concerned with the relevance of their activities to specific societal trends and/or problems.⁴

In this example the authors mistakenly assume that the so-called traditional functions of museums were developed without relevancy in the past. It is significant to note that there was no overwhelming criticism of this belief by museum people. Yet, the idea that museum activities have been isolated from social events in the past is difficult to justify given the perceived significance of museums in the past with regard to such well-documented events as the founding of national museums, the French Revolution, the use of museums to upgrade industrial products and the use of museums by totalitarian regimes to name only a few cases. Caution should be exercised when trying to judge what is 'relevant' in another age. It can be misleading to reduce the complex evolution of museums and museology to simple pictures to underpin contemporary problems; the museum past like the museum present is far more complex than we have been led to believe by popular myth. This problem will be explored in Part II.

The museological base of museum thought is also dramatically evident

⁴Issues and Options. National Museums of Canada (Ottawa, 1980), p. 4.

in the state of museum literature. Although a common reaction of museology students, and for that matter museum workers, is to assume that there is a shortage of museum literature, the opposite is true. The information about different facets of museums is growing rapidly. There are now several publications which act as surveys and bibliographies for the field.⁵ The bulk of museological material is in the form of articles in periodicals while books represent a small portion of the available information. David Smurthwaite in his work Museum Information Survey (1971) suggested there were 115 serials devoted to museums (34 in the English speaking world); the number would now be much higher as publications in regional museums associations and special museum interest groups have increased in many countries.⁶ However, only a small percentage represent periodicals where new ideas about museums and activities are articulated and discussion engaged: The Museums Journal (1901) published by the Museums Association, Museum News (1924) published by the American Association of Museums, Curator (1956) published by the American Museum of Natural History and Museum (1946) published by UNESCO.

Written material is often anecdotal and aphoristic, particularistic and repetitive. Articles are general, even superficial; perhaps, a description of visits to museums, a depiction of a 'new' educational pro-

⁵There are several examples such as the Canadian Museums Association; An extensive listing of published material on the subjects of museology, museography and museum and art gallery administration (Ottawa, 1976-); Selected Bibliography of Museological Literature (Bratsilava, 1969-); ICOM International Museological Bibliography (Prague, 1969-); Jane Clapp, Museum Publications (1962); Stephan A. Borhegyi et. al., Bibliography of museums and museum work, 1900-1960 (Milwaukee, 1960); Supplementary volume (1961); F.L. Rath and M.R. O'Connell, Guide to Historic Preservation, Historical Agencies, and Museum Practices: A Selective Bibliography (Cooperstown, 1970); F.L. Rath and M.R. O'Connell, A Bibliography on Historical Organization Practices. Vol. 1, Historic Preservation (Nashville, 1975), Vol. 2, Conservation of Collections (Nashville, 1977), Vol. 3, Interpretation (Nashville, 1978), Vol. 4, Documentation of Collections (Nashville, 1979), Vol. 5, Administration (Nashville, 1980). There are, in addition, several older bibliographies and indexes which are referred to later in the text and bibliography.

⁶D.K. Smurthwaite, Museum Information Survey (Leicester, 1971), p. 5. Also note the Museum Studies Journal John F. Kennedy University, San Francisco and International Journal of Museum Management and Curators

gramme, or a new technique in display or preservation, and so on. As Dr. A.B. Meyer, the German museologist, warned in 1892, it is the habit of museums to "do too much in the way of experiment and too little in utilizing the experience of others" and he pointed out that the average museum person seldom "publishes his own experiences for the good of other workers in the same field."⁷ Little has altered in the museum field in this case.

Cycles are evident as topics dealt with in earlier periods are returned to approximately every ten, twenty, or thirty years depending on the issue. A warning can be found in the introduction of the Bibliography of the Canadian Museums Association:

Periodical articles pre-dating 1970 have been omitted...museum periodicals tend to deal with topics on a somewhat regular cycle, (therefore) it was felt that the 'historical' trends were sufficiently represented through this practice.⁸

The general treatment of topics plus the cyclical return to subjects contributes to the repetitious or superficial aspects of museum periodical literature, a trait which often misleads researchers who tire of the same arguments and stop their searches, missing the more significant museological treatises, texts or pronouncements.

The literature is also diffuse; there are so many types of museums, and subjects that museums cover, that many museological topics are found in the publications of the many subject disciplines of museums. Research thus becomes a difficult task requiring strong library reference and searching skills to sort out the various materials. This dependance on library work led G. Stansfield to produce Sources of Museological Literature⁹ and P. Woodhead to prepare Museum Studies. A Guide to Library Resources

⁷A.B. Meyer, "Zweiter Bericht über einige neue Einrichtungen des königlichen zoologischen und anthropologischen-ethnographischen Museums in Dresden, 1892-1893," Abhandl. und Berichte D. Zool. Anth.-Ethnogr. Museums, Dresden, 1892-1893, No. 1 (Dresden, 1894), pp. 1-28.

⁸"Preface," Bibliography of the Canadian Museums Association (Ottawa, 1976).

⁹G. Stansfield, Sources of Museological Literature (London, 1976). (Lecturer in the Department of Museum Studies, University of Leicester.)

in Leicester University,¹⁰ although similar guides are not available on other campuses. As Stansfield states, "locating articles on particular aspects of museology can be a tedious and time-consuming process...."¹¹ It should not be surprising, then, that this rigour is not often followed.

The seriousness of the problem of museum literature is illustrated by the fact that in North America from 1861 to 1981 there have been approximately eighty-one Ph.D. theses relating to museological subjects in twelve different discipline areas: forty-one in Education alone, nine in Fine Arts and Art History, eight in History and so on. In Britain, there have been ten theses (two D.Phil., eight M.A. or M.Ed.) on museum-related topics of which eight are education topics, one on architecture, and one on medical museums (See Appendix 1). Few of these works have referred to earlier research theses, or museum literature; they often lack an awareness of unique museum forces and are written from the sometimes unbalanced viewpoint of their discipline. Advisors and examiners from discipline areas in which the theses were written seem unaware of the museum literature or phenomena which compromise the conclusions and accuracy of some of these works. Even so, few university museum courses have acquired some or all of these theses to use as a critical base for further research to prevent the continuance of the problems of re-inventing the wheel.

Despite these failings, the existence of the various sources of museum material suggests a cultural tradition, if not a well-defined 'body of knowledge', although the literature is strung out over years, across countries and through disciplines, unknown by most practitioners and theorists.

¹⁰ P. Woodhead, Museum Studies. A Guide to Library Resources in Leicester University (Leicester, 1978). (Reference Librarian at the Library of the University of Leicester.) Similar guides modeled on these have been produced at the University of Toronto for the Masters of Museum Studies programme.

¹¹ G. Stansfield, Sources, p. 1.

An examination of the state of the professionalization of museum work further highlights the problems of the cultural tradition of museology. As Dorothy Mariner has pointed out in her definitive work on professionalizing the museum worker, there are six critical factors that sociologists have agreed upon for the evaluation of the professional credibility of an occupation.¹² The first of these is "a cultural tradition which is the basis of knowledge and/or expertise of the occupation." Despite the establishment of museums associations, ethics documents and training programmes, discussions about the museum profession continually return to the viability of a subject of museology or museum studies and its 'body of knowledge'.

The cultural tradition of museum work has as yet to be studied, at least by this generation of museum workers; hence, discussions about "the basis of knowledge" of the occupation have a hollow ring failing to get beyond a syllabus or curriculum outline, or discussions of the mechanism for testing or accrediting. As A.J. Duggan suggested in 1969:

Curatorship still lacks a professional ritual, a defined cannon of knowledge and skills, and it derives no sense of assurance from a purely professional licensing authority with disciplinary powers....¹³

Nor does the picture become clearer if we accept that the cultural tradition, this 'body of knowledge', is equivalent to the concept of museology for it, too, is unclear. To date, the discussion of museology has been diffuse, predominately European, and less than cohesive.

¹²D. Mariner, "Professionalizing the Museum Worker," Museum News 52 (April, 1974), 14 and The Museum: A Social Context for Art (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Stanford, 1969). See also Chapter Seven.

¹³A.J. Duggan, "Training professional museum curators," Museums Journal 69 (June 1969), 134.

CHAPTER TWO

THE PROBLEM OF MUSEOLOGY

By necessity, this study is both historical and museological; it examines the history of museology and museums as well as the ideological and organizational aspects of museums themselves. It resides, therefore, potentially in two identifiable methodologies which could result in a problem if either were to predominate. The simple solution would be to point to the interdisciplinary aspects of museology and thus proceed to prepare an historical study.

The field of museology, unfortunately, is much more problematical. First, the interdisciplinarity of museology is not necessarily proven. Second, an idea of museology is a prerequisite in our search for a British museological tradition if only to identify the museological elements of the study. Third, any history of museology will be modified by a concept of its place in the whole theoretical framework of museology; thus, the fundamental topics of museology must be identified. Contemporary British museum theorists, despite criticism by their peers, have long been requesting such a theoretical outline; the call is still repeated despite fifty years of the Diploma Programme and nearly one hundred years since the establishment of the Museums Association.

Geoffrey Lewis, Director of the Museum Studies Department of the University of Leicester, reminded us of the delayed evolution of museology:

If museology as a term has a respectable history, this cannot be said of the subject itself. Sufficient has been said to show that not only does the scientific base of museum work appear to be on shaky foundations but also at least some museum workers have been saying so for a very long time; few have done anything about it...We should have no further cause to debate whether museology is a subject in its own right; rather we should urgently lay the theoretical framework on which it, and the museum movement as a whole can develop.¹

The contemporary British museology scene is interrelated with a recent

¹Geoffrey Lewis, MuWop, Museological Working Papers, No. 1, "Museology-Science or Just Practical Museum Work?" (Sweden, 1980), p. 27.

international movement to upgrade museology spearheaded by a few theorists; much of the effort to articulate museology has been generated by the problems of educating individuals for museum work.

Where would one find the basis for museology? The first thought might be that it would exist among the beliefs of its practitioners but a study of museum people would hardly prove the existence of museology. Reference is seldom made to the subject of the study of museums. Outside of Eastern Europe, there are only a few articles where the terms are discussed or the methods of study analyzed by the museum peer group; most of these analyses have yet to be found by those teaching the subject. This is very suspicious in an age when the methodologies of the humanities and science are a major preoccupation of academics. Still, the terms 'museology' or 'museum studies' have been used freely in recent years but apparently in a number of different and often contradictory ways. Some people equate the word with any activity "in" the museum; therefore, anyone working in a museum is a museologist. Indeed, it has become a hackneyed bureaucratic adjective in certain circles and for some "that's not museologically sound" or "that's museological" in a tone of disgust appears to be an automatic response. In all of these approaches, the definition of museology is assumed, thereby escaping explicit discussion.

There are several opinions about the study of museums.² One which is seldom seen in print, but which is articulated by museum workers usually in conferences or seminars, is that museum theory is nonsense and irrelevant; practice is the answer. Another opinion is that museum work is purely a technique one uses to apply what is learned in a discipline to a museum context - this is taught widely in the United States (at the University of Michigan it is called Museum Practice).

Another viewpoint which identifies the study of museums as a

²These four opinions were recorded by Z.Z. Stransky in Brno: Education in Museology (Brno, 1974), p. 21 and repeated by L. Teather, Professional Directions for Museum Work in Canada (Ottawa, 1978), pp. 207-210.

separate subject area, perhaps even a science or theory, has developed with more force over the last twenty years. It has been articulated by individual theorists in several countries and by the International Council of Museums through the work of Georges Henri Rivière, and the ICOM Committees on the Training of Museum Personnel and Museology. Sometimes the term 'museology' is used to mean the study of the theory of museum operation while the term 'museography' is used to refer to the techniques and practices of museum activities. However, 'museology' is often used to designate both the theory and practice of museum work, like the words sociology or anthropology. During the last twenty years in Britain and the United States, museum studies has been used as a term that seems slightly more comprehensive and self-explanatory although its use has probably been influenced more by the suspicion of an 'ology' rather than by universal acceptance of an all encompassing term.

It may be that discussions about museology must remain essentially based on opinion, faith or perhaps even indoctrination; however, there can be an alternative. The evaluation of museology should not be based on the subjective belief-systems of museum people or their temporarily perceived needs but rather on the development of a rational, objective and scientific reality - that of the museum in society.

Whether admitted by most practitioners or not, there is a subject of study based on the museum and its purposes. What is not apparent is the subject, theory, structure, and inner logic of museology; indeed, there have been many different definitions and theoretical interpretations. As Barry Reynolds has written:

While it would be excellent to have firm definitions for 'museums' and 'museology', one must be chary of studies concerned solely with definitions. These resemble too easily the conscientious efforts of past philosophers to determine how many angels can stand on the head of a pin. In anthropology, concerned with the study of cultures, Kroeber and Kluckhorn (1952) some decades ago were able to identify more than one hundred anthropological definitions of the term 'culture'. I suspect that in museology we should encounter a

similar plethora of definitions of museums.³

Indeed, there have been a number of words which have been used to represent the theory and practice of museum work: 'museology', 'museography', 'museum studies', 'museum practice', 'critical museology', 'neo-museology' (in English); 'Museumkunde', 'Museumwissenschaft' (in German); 'muséologie', 'museographie' (in French); 'museographie' (in Italian); to 'muzeyevedenye' (in Russian), 'museoznawstwo' (in Czech), plus adjectives such as 'muzeistic', 'museal', 'museality' and so on..

Disregarding Barry Reynolds' warning for the moment, museology as a "science in embryo"⁴ or an "interdisciplinary field of study still emerging after forty years"⁵ suffers from a lack of definition and analysis through an absence of study of its history and theoretical base. As Z.Z. Stransky has argued:

We lack so far the work documenting the originality of this development and singling out the factors conditioning this theoretical creation.⁶

Some work must be done on the existing evidence of the theoretical place of museology.

Attempts to conceptualize a museological discipline have been concentrated in the period since World War II and centered in Paris at ICOM and UNESCO, in Eastern Europe and at university centres such as the Department of Museum Studies at Leicester. In 1958, one of the first attempts was made to codify definitions at the UNESCO Regional Seminar on Education held at Rio de Janeiro.⁷ Museology was defined as a "branch of knowledge

³Barry Reynolds, MuWop, No. 1, p. 35.

⁴Ibid., p. 34.

⁵L. Teather, Professional Directions for Museum Work in Canada, p. 207.

⁶Z.Z. Stransky, MuWop, No. 1, p. 43.

⁷Report by Georges Henri Rivière, "UNESCO" Regional Seminar on the Educational Role of Museums, Rio de Janeiro (Brazil, 7-30 September 1958), p. 12.

concerned with the study of the purposes and organization of museums."⁸

These interpretations were restated at the Fifth Regional Museum Seminar in 1962 in Mexico City. From 1956 to 1965, the ICOM International Committee for Administration and Personnel examined the training for the museum profession culminating in a General Conference resolution that curators (meaning anyone involved with collections) should be trained in museology by a post-graduate degree, internship or a type of basic training through seminars, workshops, etc.⁹ Naturally discussions about training or a profession returned to the subject and theory of museum work and museology. George Henri Rivière led these developments; in a paper for a UNESCO Seminar on the role of the museum in society, he promoted the need for research on "museology as a discipline designed to establish definite relations between museums, on the one hand, and between science, culture and society, on the other."¹⁰ Museology (much like ethnology and archaeology), as presently treated, was not a separate discipline, and was essentially "ultra-conservative" and composed of "ready-made theories."¹¹ The experimental route was his solution. His analysis was:

Museology was essentially synthetic in character, covering as it did a number of activities, which varied from one museum to another and from one country to another. Hitherto no large-scale endeavour had been made at the international level to systematize the theories and standards outlined in different countries, with a view to their adaptation to the various cultures and to the requirements of all museums. Such an endeavour must be made, because the need for a specialized museological training was universally felt and that training should be practical as well as theoretical.¹²

⁸Ibid., p. 34.

⁹See "Training of Museum Personnel," Papers from the Seventh General Conference of the International Council of Museums (New York, 1965), pp. 74-79.

¹⁰Georges Henri Rivière, "The Museum - The Intensification of Scientific Research and the Growth of Art Production," UNESCO International Symposium on Museums in the Contemporary World (Paris, 1969), p. 18.

¹¹Ibid., p. 18.

¹²Ibid., p. 18.

Since 1962, UNESCO had begun to establish centres around the world to train museum technicians, beginning with a centre in Jos, Nigeria and followed by one in Mexico.

The Committee for Administration and Personnel was renamed the Training of Museum Personnel and an ICOM Training Unit for Professional Training, headed by Georges Henri Rivière and Yvette Odonne, was formally established. In 1970, the book the Training of Museum Personnel¹³ was published and the ICOM Training Unit, in conjunction with the University of Leicester, drafted a syllabus which was adopted by the Committee in June 1971 entitled Professional Training of Museum Personnel in the World: Actual State of the Problem¹⁴; the terms were further defined:

Museology is museum science. It has to do with the study of history and background of museums, their role in society, specific systems for research, conservation, education and organization, relationship with the physical environment, and the classification of different kinds of museums.

Museography covers methods and practices in the operation of museums, in all their various aspects.¹⁵

The additional concept here was 'science'. Some members of the ICOM Executive Council and Advisory Committee attempted to have these definitions written in the new ICOM Statutes before the Tenth General Conference of ICOM in Copenhagen in 1974 without success. Nevertheless, a new International Committee for Museology was accepted in 1977 at the Twelfth General Assembly in Moscow whose work has resulted in two issues of a new journal, MuWop, "Museology - Science or Just Practical Work?" (1980) and

¹³Training of Museum Personnel (Paris, 1970).

¹⁴Professional Training of Museum Personnel in the World. Actual State of the Problem (Paris, 1972).

¹⁵Ibid.

"Interdisciplinarity in Museology" (1982).¹⁶

The activities of ICOM have been a reflection of work in different centres where studies of museology have concentrated on a number of problems; is museology a science, is it a separate discipline and is it a professional field of knowledge? The answers to these questions fit into one or another of three categories suggested by Vili Toft Jensen, each offering a different articulation of museum theory¹⁷: Museology as Applied Science; Museology as an Independent Science a) Social Science, b) Meta-theoretical (See Figure 1).

In Britain, the United States and Canada, there has been a tendency to avoid the discussion of the theoretical substance of museology and focus on the secondary aspects which were of more immediate concern: definitions of curatorial positions, the validity of a 'separate' discipline and the existence of a museum profession. Since these questions are never resolved satisfactorily for all of the museum occupational group, the energy of museum people is directed away from discussions about the nature and theory of museum activities. There have been only a few accessible works which have dealt with the theory of museum work in English, one being an article by Jiri Neustupny, the Czech museologist, published in 1971,¹⁸ the second are the works of Raymond Singleton of the Museum Studies Department, University of Leicester (1966-1977) who has been a major contributor to museum thought in the English-speaking world. Although most of these writings

¹⁶ MuWop, Museological Working Papers, Nos. 1 and 2 (Sweden, 1980). The first periodical issue was published from the papers submitted to the International Committee on Museology of ICOM. Over a hundred circular letters (176) were sent out; fifteen committees (ten national and five international) replied resulting in fifteen papers in the first issue. This was not an overwhelming reaction and may explain why regions such as North America, Africa, India, Asia are not well-represented.

¹⁷ Vili Toft Jensen, "Museological Points of View - Europe 1975," MuWop, I, 1-10.

¹⁸ Jiri Neustupny, "What is Museology?," Museums Journal, 71 (September 1971), 67-68.

categories	Museology as applied science	Museology as an independent science	
	Category I	Category II	Category III
Theoretical characteristics			
Basis of the theory	Interests, theory, and methods of the disciplinary professions	The institutional roles and functions of the different kinds of museum	Theoretical considerations what is "museumlike" and what is not?
Nature of the theory	Interdisciplinary interpretation of museum activities	Sociological interpretation of the museum and museum work	Meta-theoretical interpretation of museum activities
Final goal of the theory	Criteria for the application of the concerned disciplines in the museum	Common criteria for the performing of museum functions- irrespective of the kind of museum.	

Figure 1

A SCHEMATIC SURVEY OF THE MUSEOLOGICAL CATEGORIES*

*

From Vili Toft Jensen, "Museological Points of View-Europe 1975," MuWop, I, 1-10.

have been directed to the question of a museum profession and the appropriate training for museum work, his particular contribution has been to articulate the concept of 'museum studies' (first popularized in the U.S.).

For Singleton, museum studies can be defined simply as "to study museums"; it includes both museology and museography but has an even wider concept.¹⁹ The chief asset of 'museum studies', in his opinion, is that it is self-explanatory. Given the resistance of the museum working group, especially in the English-speaking world, to adopt the terms museology or museography, there is some validity to Singleton's logic. Although in concept museum studies may seem to have a broader, unified subject, in practice it has been interpreted as technique or at best applied science in training programmes in North America. However, Singleton's own definition is precisely museological, centered on the 'purpose of museums' and their relation to their community as he has written:

Yet it is here, in the role of the museum in society, that the essence of a true museum profession lies...This is the common ground, the one factor which unites and integrates all museums, whatever their size and function, into a single body, with a special, unique contribution to make to the life of the community.²⁰

Like Rivière, he contends that museum thought should be a rational study based on the "why" for "it is only by questioning and analyzing and considering everything we do in museums" that practice will be improved.²¹

On the subject of the existence of a museum profession, Singleton has no doubts about it but sees how the "incoherent" and "curious" mixture of museum activities contributes to some resistance and the tendency of curators to seek sanctuary in their scholarly interests; he has given one of the clearest analyses of the museum process which is the basis for

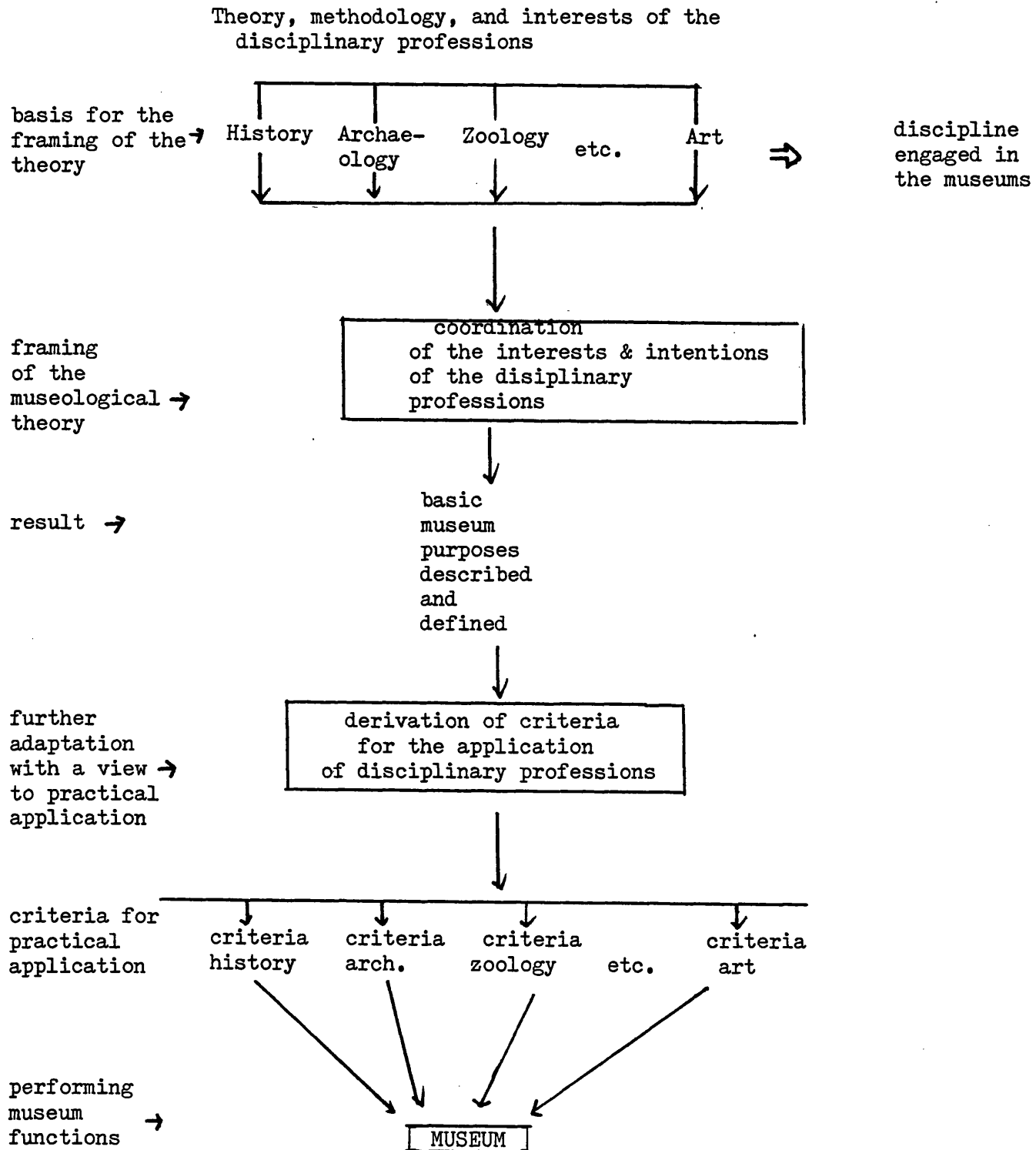
¹⁹R. Singleton, "Museum Studies: The Theory and Practice of Curatorial Training," an unpublished talk given in Norway, 1977.

²⁰R. Singleton, "The Purpose of Museums and Museum Training," Museums Journal, 69 (December 1969), 133.

²¹R. Singleton, "Museum Studies," p. 2.

Figure 2

FRAMING OF A MUSEOLOGICAL THEORY ACCORDING TO CATEGORY I



* From Vili Toft Jensen, "Museological Pointe of View- Europe 1975".

museum theory; museums are about:

the physical care of objects (combined)
 with the academic knowledge which surrounds them
 with the information which can be extracted from them,
 with the presentation and exhibition of these various
 objects (each demanding differences of treatment,
 both in display and general preservation),
 concern with the educational value of the objects, and
 with their aesthetic value,
 concern with a multitude of types of visitors and users,
 each with different needs.²²

Singleton does not directly address questions which have occupied the Eastern European theorists such as whether museum study is a science, an interdisciplinary study or a unified subject. But his interpretation can be placed between Toft's Categories I and II (See Figure 1). In his 1969 outline of the ingredients of a teaching programme, Singleton emphasized the parts of museum training:

A curator needs to be trained partly as an historian (or art historian, or natural historian, or whatever his particular subject may be) in order to be able to study and appreciate his material; partly (whatever his speciality) as a scientist, to understand the physical care of his collections; partly as a technician to know how to present and to display them effectively; partly as a philosopher, to know why he is displaying them or storing them or conserving them; partly as an educationalist to be able to interpret and explain; partly as a showman, to attract and hold his visitors' attention; partly as an administrator and manager, to be able to organize his institution or department efficiently.²³

But even this breakdown of particular skills he counterbalanced with skills in information retrieval, communications, management and most of all the purpose of museums, which represent the integrating elements of museum work.

By 1977, Mr. Singleton was concentrating more on the problems of the common base of museums and research on them:

...Before we venture any further into the future we really should look closely at this strange and diffuse group of widely-differing institutions which we call 'museums'; and we should determine, if we can, just what they have to offer, and to whom, and how they should best be organized to fulfill their function. Although I am

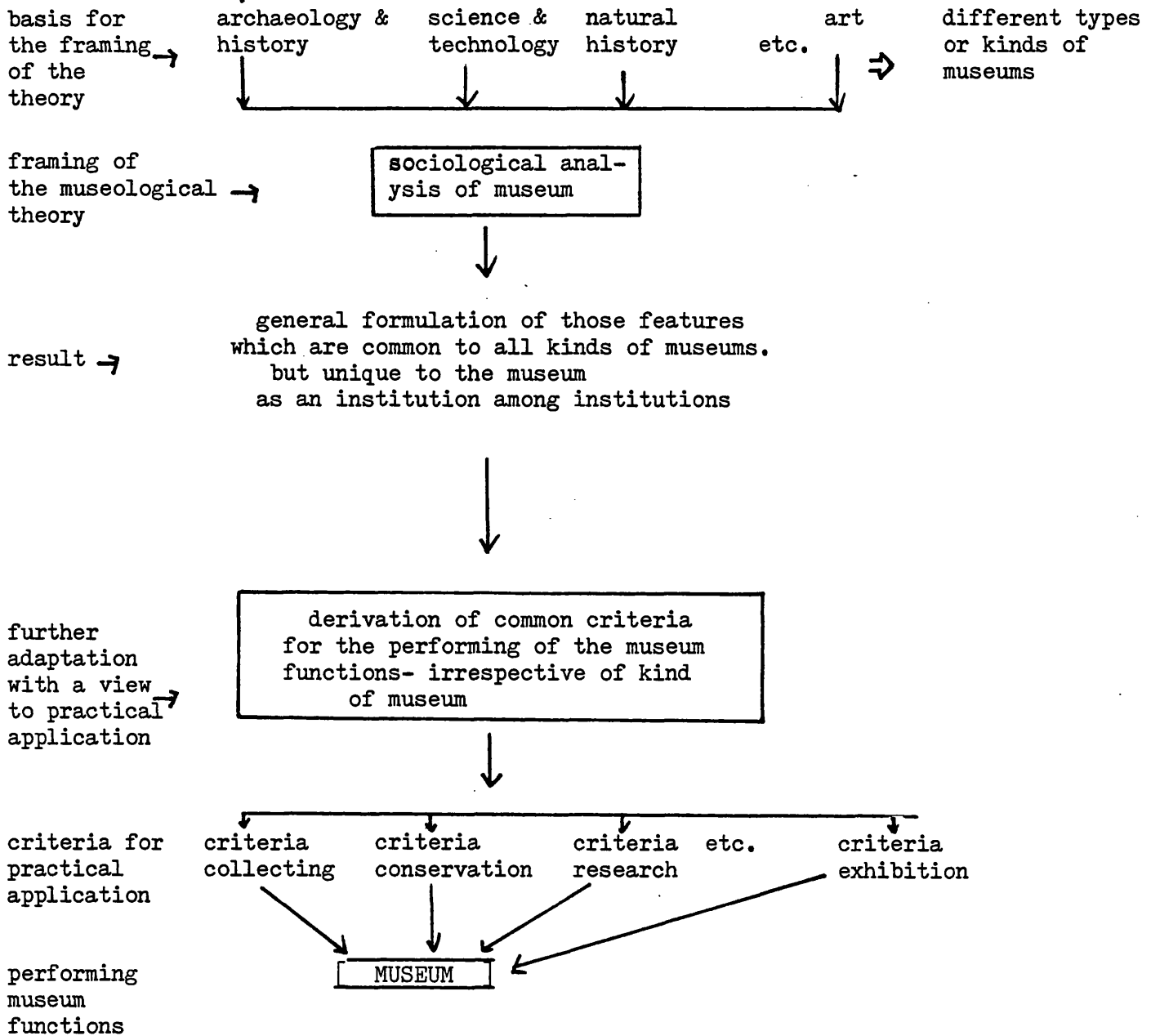
²²R. Singleton, "Professional Education and Training," Museums Journal, 70 (December 1971) 99.

²³R. Singleton, "The Purpose of Museums and Museum Training," p. 99.

Figure 3

*
FRAMING OF A MUSEOLOGICAL THEORY ACCORDING TO CATEGORY II

Institutional roles; development-
structural and organizational aspects
Instructional functions; with regard to
culture, science and education



*From Vili Toft Jensen, "Museological Pointe of View-Europe 1975".

carefully avoiding the word, I am of course talking of 'museology' and the need for research in museology. This is probably our greatest need today (apart from money) because it is only on the results of such research that we can plan our future effectively; all else is guesswork, and the fruits of our more traditional research nurtured within our respective disciplinary fields, are liable to be largely wasted, unless they can be distributed and as it were, 'marketed' effectively.²⁴

In North America, there has been a failure to approach museology as a theoretical study; the contributions in the article "Museology - Science or Just Practical Work?" start from a different point than those other countries, particularly in Eastern Europe and Japan, and show little familiarity with the thirty year international debate on museology let alone earlier roots. A contributing factor may be that museology has been replaced by the term 'museum studies' which has become a catch-all phrase for any type of study of museums and need not necessarily be museological. As in Britain, the denial of museum theory has most often been expressed in the debate about a museum profession and its training. This discussion began in the 1930's with the claim against a museum profession by the naturalist Alexander Ruthven and the contradiction by Laurence Vail Coleman in 1939 in his book The Museum in America.²⁵ But discussion resurfaced in the 1950's and 1960's in the writings of Carl Guthe and A.E. Parr and many others. At their extreme the negative opinions are that museum work is either capable of being followed by a layman without training (the view of small, volunteer-staffed museums) or that it is the work of subject specialists (the view of large museums).

When a theoretical base for museum work is discussed there is outright scepticism. Wilcomb Washburn, of the Smithsonian Institute, stated his aversion to the trend to define a profession based on museology at least in its present state in his article "Grandmotherology and Museology":

²⁴R. Singleton, "The Future of the Profession," Museums Journal, 77 (December 1977), 121.

²⁵For the discussion of these developments see L. Teather, Professional Directions for Museum Work in Canada, pp. 165-168.

The almost total lack of theoretical discussion of the museum's right to claim professional status for its housekeeping skills is a clue to the bareness of the philosophy underlying the claim to professional status. Only Curator had addressed itself to the question with any persistence or depth.²⁶

Washburn took particular exception to the assumption that museology equals museum administration. Yet, earlier A.E. Parr had rejected the statement made by W. Glover that museology was based on interpretation of collections for the purpose of instruction. Obviously, there was some confusion about what the museology being critized represented.

Museum theory has not been generated from university programmes in museology or museum studies despite the large number of programmes in North America. One reason may be that most courses must include post-graduate training in a subject area at the same time as studying museum work; thus, museum theory becomes a parallel and often secondary study. Many courses teach applied museography rather than theory. This approach to educating the potential museum employee reflects an interdisciplinary view of the study of museums or even a multi-disciplinary view, and thus falls under Category I (See Figure 1). This view is summarized by James L. Swauger, Senior Scientist-Anthropology at the Carnegie Museum of Natural History, Pittsburgh:

I believe it most fruitful to consider museology a body of museum techniques for advancing the purpose and organization of museums that has been developed and found practical and productive by museum employees as they performed their daily tasks.²⁷

There are a few exceptions to this pragmatic definition of museology. Ellis Burcaw, at the University of Idaho, has through his writings and teachings, promoted the idea of museum theory and the use of the ICOM definitions of museology and museography as for example in his book Introduction to Museum Work.²⁸ He has also been one of the outstanding

²⁶Wilcomb Washburn, "Grandmotherology and Museology," Curator, X (March 1967) 43-48.

²⁷James L. Swauger, MuWop, No. 1, p. 46.

²⁸G. Ellis Burcaw, Introduction to Museum Work (Nashville, 1975) as well as Museum Training Courses in the United States and Canada (Washington, 1968), p. 8 which records the earlier ICOM definitions.

critics of the state of museology teaching; he summed up the interconnection of training, professionalism and museology that predominates in North America when he pointed out that the most common view is "the tacit conclusion that there is no museum profession, no such thing as museology and consequently, no need for general museum training."²⁹

Only in 1982, fourteen years after being initiated and after long discussions and battles, has the Masters Programme in Museum Studies at the University of Toronto been acknowledged as a study of a discipline; the recent review committee arrived at the following confirmation of the theory of museum work yet points to its problematic state:

Museology is a new academic discipline and practising profession. It endeavours to find the theoretical basis of museum work and aims at a further development and improvement of museum activities, not only on the basis of experience but first and foremost on theory. Theory and methodology are the foundations of all aspects of museology.

The cognate departments have, however, appeared reluctant to recognize the emergence of this embryonic field. The result has been a schizophrenic attitude shared by both the students and the Program itself.³⁰

Most of the theoretical examination of museums has been prepared in Eastern Europe and falls into three categories: those who see museology as interdisciplinary, as a social science and finally as a meta-theory. One of the first practitioners to formulate a theory of museum work was Jiri Neustupny, who in 1950, in the document Quéstions de muséologie moderne, proposed a Centre for Museological Studies in Czechoslovakia to offer aid to numerous museums in the province based on the most modern museological principles.³¹ He offered a definition of general museology as the "theoretical aspects of museum work" consisting of "scientific research and collecting, educational activities, conservation, exhibitions, theory

²⁹G.E. Burcaw, Introduction to Museum Work, p. v.

³⁰Review of the University of Toronto Masters Programmes in Museum Studies (Toronto, 1982).

³¹J. Neustupny, Otazky Dnesniho musejnictvi - Questions de museologie moderne (Prague, 1950), p. 197.

and technique." Museography was defined as the descriptive and technical part of the doctrine, while museology was the theory. This definition influenced developments in Czechoslovakia and, internationally, the work of Rivière at ICOM. Neustupny added a concept to general museology, 'special museology' which consists of the application of subject disciplines to museum work as an applied science serving museum needs.

Thus, Neustupny defined museology as a theory but qualified his view by defining it as dependent on the subject disciplines found in museums. For Neustupny, museology can be compartmentalized into different methods. Thus, he denies the scientific character of museology; only parts of museology are scientific, those which retain the scientific character of their subjects.

In writings in the late 1960's, Neustupny went further with his interpretation of the interdisciplinarity of museology³²; if museology was "the theory, the methodology of the application of various disciplines in museums and museum work" and it has "neither its own subject of study nor its own methods...(it) must use and apply methods of other disciplines, according to the branch of museology concerned."³³ The methods of museology come from other disciplines which are the basis of general and special museology. The special museologies are obviously based on the methods of history, archaeology, natural history, and so on. But general museology is also composed of methods from other disciplines, such as the:

1. Theory and methods of collecting sources materials of the individual branches of sciences. Theory of methods of safe-keeping and protection. Theory and methods of scientific information. Theory and methods of research.
2. Theory and methods of mass communication - Educational discipline.

³²A review of J. Neustupny's work to 1968 can be found in J. Neustupny, Museum and Research (Prague, 1968), pp. 157-159. This volume has been used here as the basis of information on Eastern Europe for this chapter, particularly Chapter Eleven, as well as source material available in English or German translation or summary.

³³J. Neustupny, "What is Museology?," Museums Journal, p. 67.

3. Theory and role and function of museums in society, science and culture; the organization of museums, museum work, museology, training - Sociological discipline.
4. The history of museums, museum work and museology - Historical discipline.
5. A group of museum problems: mass communications, scientific information, buildings, financial.³⁴

In agreement with Neustupny were the museologists of the German Democratic Republic who in 1966 presented museology as a "composite body of a number of disciplines that are related to a common social institution, the museum."³⁵ For them museology is an interdisciplinary or marginal science (Grenz oder Querwissenschaft) which co-ordinates and integrates. It has its own subject and structure: the theory of museum work, history of museums and museum work and the methodology of collecting, research and exhibition. Thus, the entire work of the museum depends on individual disciplines, and museology as a whole depends on special museologies.

Another view is that museology is an independent scientific discipline. Apparently this principle was presented in Russian literature as early as 1954 in the Soviet Encyclopedia in which museology was defined as a 'sphere of knowledge':

Museology is a sphere of knowledge about the organization and activity of museums. It is engaged in the study of the theory, history and practice of museum work, and in problems of the architecture and equipment of museums.³⁶

In Russian, to simplify matters, the term 'muzejvedenie' is used for both museology and museography. In Eastern Germany, this opinion has been followed by a number of thinkers. In 1964, some museologists used the term 'Museumwissenschaft' for an independent scientific discipline with a place in the system of science to replace the more general term 'Museumkunde'.³⁷

³⁴Ibid., p. 67.

³⁵E. Czichon, B. Hellmuth, and J. Winkler, "Über den Charakter der Museologie, Diskussionmaterial" (Berlin, 1966), p. 2. This work is also summarized by J. Neustupny in Museums and Research, pp. 154-158.

³⁶Cited in J. Neustupny, Museums and Research.

³⁷"Beiträge zur Museumwissenschaft," Neue Museumkunde, 7 (1964), 11.

Museumwissenschaft is a separate and a scientific discipline; its unique subject is museums while it studies the tasks and functions of museums which are arranged into systems from which can be drawn valid precepts. In the recent publication by the International Committee on Museology, Klaus Schreiner, Director of the Agraphistorisches Museum and a number of the Museum Council of the Ministry of Culture of the German Democratic Republic, itemized this idea:

Museology is a historically grown social scientific discipline, dealing with laws, principles, structures, and methods of the complex process of acquiring, preserving, decoding, researching and exhibiting selected movable original objects of nature and society as primary sources of knowledge, which creates the theoretical base for museum work and museum system with the aid of generalized and systematic experience.³⁸

A third view is represented in the work of Z.Z. Stransky and others (Category II A, See Figure 1 Stransky has been important in the development of the Museological Department of the Philosophical Faculty of the Jan E. Purkyne University of Brno, Czechoslovakia, affiliated with the Moravian Museum. This university had a lectureship in museology as early as 1921 and a course in 1932. But as of 1963, a department was reconstituted, a course set up by 1963 and a post-graduate degree in 1965. Stransky's work is sometimes referred to as meta-theoretical in the sense that Stransky does not concentrate on the question of the existence of museology as a science which he feels is beyond solution for the moment³⁹; what is critical is the existence of museum theory, a methodology and system for the study of museums, for the realm of practice will not solve museum problems as he underlined:

Were we to hide our heads in the sand and stick to the traditional methods and procedures, and remain satisfied with the current practice, museum work would get into the increasing contradiction with the general progress of society; museums would be pushed onto the periphery of social interest and in the end they would lose not only their

³⁸Klaus Schreiner, "Criteria on the Place of Museology in the System of Sciences," MuWop, I, 41.

³⁹Z.Z. Stransky, "Muzejnictvo V Relacii Teorie A Praxe," Muzeum, English Summary, XV (1970), 182-183.

social function but also their *raison d'être*.⁴⁰

The aim of the theory must be "to discover the objective sides of reality, to define its laws and to find the optimum ways of both solving daily tasks and working ahead." For Stransky the '*raison d'être*' of museums is not the museum itself but the "social reason from the existence of museums." At this point, Stransky is similar to Singleton and Rivière.

However, Stransky adds another concept; for him, the heart of museology is the human activity of "conserving against natural decay certain objects and creations which represent for man certain values closely linked with his humanisation."⁴¹ Museology is thus, about "the specific relation of man to reality."⁴² In particular, museology is based on objects which make up collections and function as material documents, evidence which should be related to what he calls "integrated scientific knowledge" and which served its purpose only if communicated for example by exhibition. For Stransky museology does not replace the role of subject disciplines found in museums but neither do these special museological disciplines function as a substitute for museology; in this he has departed from Neustupný.

Discussions about the scientific character of museology have been muddled by different definitions of a 'science' and of 'scientific' in discussions, a problem common to definitions of the social sciences and science itself. Karl Popper's approach is useful to gain perspective:

A scientific theory is a net which we throw out to catch the world we want to rationalize, explain and rule.⁴³

Museology certainly qualifies as an attempt to rationalize the phenomena

⁴⁰ Z.Z. Stransky, Brno: Education in Museology (Brno, 1974), p. 26.

⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 27-28.

⁴² Ibid., p. 28.

⁴³ As quoted by Z.Z. Stransky in Brno: Education in Museology, p. 32.

of museums.

The irrelevance of the 'scientific' question is pointed out by Neustupny in his recent writings who reminds us that even the traditional academic disciplines have been evolving and altering in recent years; the distinction between a 'discipline' and a 'theory' have virtually become non-existent.⁴⁴ Therefore, the significant issue is that museology is a heterogeneous discipline, whether it is separate within the divisions of academe or a sub-set of a traditional subject. From this viewpoint, museology is similar to subjects like sociology or the theory of culture.

In fact, discussions about the scientific character of other studies can guide the museologist. A thesis of James Ackerman holds that attempts to teach art history as if it were a science is a product of misplaced nineteenth century positivism resulting in schizophrenia⁴⁵; theorists use scientific methods thereby masking the use of cultural and personal value judgements in their work. Those who insist on the scientific character of museology are in danger of hiding symptoms of its pseudo-scientific history and definition as well as the personal and ideological values of the theorists, themselves.

To complicate the museological scenario, two new terms have entered the field since 1975: 'critical museology' and 'neo-museology'. Critical museology has been introduced at the Reinwardt Academy in Leiden, Holland. The subject is still the theory and practice of museum work but emphatically approached from the viewpoint of the museum as a process not as a static institution. 'Neo-museology', which has been introduced by Rivière and French-Canadian museologists, starts from the premise that museology represents what occurs within the four walls of the museum; if so, then neo-museology deals with the museum-like activities of society which occur

⁴⁴Jiri Neustupny, "Museology as an Academic Discipline," MuWop, I, 28.

⁴⁵James Ackerman, "Towards a New Social Theory of Art," New Literary History, IV (Winter 1973), 315-330.

beyond the traditional institution of the museum represented by eco-museums, open-air museums and so on. Both definitions have been created to fill shortcomings in the perception of museology; as such if museology is properly defined, these new terms become unnecessary as both the critical aspects of museum theory, as well as the activities beyond the four walls of museums should be covered by the one word, museology.

Other theories of museology have been defined in Japan, by Soichiro Tsuruta, Professor of Museology, Department of Education, Hosei University, Tokyo who believes museology is "a highly developed applied science" which is suspended between values of objects and human beings."⁴⁶ Another centre for discussion on museology is in Poland, at the Museological Institute attached to the National Museum in Warsaw.

A developed scientific discipline requires internal coherence and complexity. Museology is a study full of substance but as yet, undeveloped, lacking internal coherence and clarity of the theoretical premises despite recent efforts. One is reminded of the early development of any subject area; for example, an undergraduate's summation of the early day of geology while attending Dr. Buckland's lectures at Oxford seems familiar:

To tell the truth, the science is so in its infancy that no regular system is formed. Hence the lectures are rather an enumeration of facts from which probabilities are deduced, than a consistent and luminous theory of certainties, illustrated by occasional examples. It is however, most entertaining, and opens an amazing field to imagination and to poetry.⁴⁷

Museology has progressed beyond this stage of youth. We can conclude with Stransky that:

Museum theory thus appears as a certain specific area of human intellectual activity, having certain characteristics of pure theory, with trends towards separating this theory and constituting

⁴⁶These views are represented in MuWop, 1980. There are many other individuals who have referred to museology such as Jan Jelinek, J. Benes, and others who have been excluded for reasons of space.

⁴⁷S. Piggot, "The Origins of the English Country Archaeological Societies," Ruins in a Landscape (Edinburgh, 1976), p. 174.

it as a scientific discipline.⁴⁸

Museology is clearly a field of study, an interdisciplinary field with elements of a separate discipline or possibly a "heterogeneous discipline" as Neustupny wrote in MuWop II showing the evolution of his thought:

...we must state that museology is a very heterogeneous discipline and that it is obliged to accept the theories and methods of other disciplines...Museology applies these theories and methods to museum work. But, in spite of all this, museology remains a clearly limited discipline, fully and exclusively confined to the theory and methodology of museum work.⁴⁹

It uses some of the subjects and methods of separate disciplines but creates some of its own. Some may even feel it is more of a multi-disciplinary field. This will depend on whether the methods adopted from other areas when blended to focus on museums remain separate or become integrated in their application to museum purposes.

In the end, how we classify the study of museums - as a separate scientific field, as an interdisciplinary field or as a sub-set of art or anthropology - may be less important than that the study is pursued. Museology contains elements of the methods of history applied to museums, museum work and museological thought, of anthropology and sociology in the study of the role of museums in society and their organization, of both education and communication theory as applied to exhibition and other methods of information dissemination, of business administration in museums management, of information science in collections management, of chemistry and physics in conservation to name but a few. But one could dissect most disciplines into other methods in a similar manner. What is significant is that museology isolates a unique study, the essential features of the museum that are unfulfilled by any other cultural or scientific discipline or institution in society. Individual subject areas and their methods may be an important part of museum thought and activity

⁴⁸ Z.Z. Stransky, MuWop, I, 42-44.

⁴⁹ J. Neustupny, MuWop, II, 47.

but we should recognize their limitations. The tensions between museology and the subject disciplines should be seen not as a battleground but as an incentive for expanding knowledge. It should be remembered that the museum provides one of the few places for the intersection and merging of traditional subject areas to reflect what is after all the unity of knowledge. The interdisciplinarity of the museum forum is one of its major strengths if also the sources of its theoretical problems.

The essence of museology is not the 'museum', although many theorists and museum courses concentrate on an empirical and static description of museum practices; it is the idea of the museum, the examination of the purposes of museums and their social, economic and cultural roles. Museology strives to refine further museum functions based on the theoretical analysis of what the museum should be, not merely what they have been or are. The basis of thought should be a rational and critical questioning of why, what and how the museum exists and functions. Museology should be an instrument to reshape museum practice in a rational way, not in the usual ad hoc, particularist and defensive way; an instrument which may at long last take us beyond discussions of museology as a science, discipline or profession.

It may seem as though we are arriving at this conclusion for the first time but again the history of museology points out our naivety. F.J. North had arrived at this experimental method in Museums Journal in 1951:

...a study of what has been done in the past should help us to see what had led to success and what had resulted in failure, and with that knowledge we need neither continue to make the mistakes of our predecessors nor waste time in rediscovering what is already known.⁵⁰

Thus, the subject of museology is not a building, its administration, or the communication of its contents; nor is it the application of individual subject areas to the museums. Museology is about a process; the human

⁵⁰ F.W. North, "On Learning How to Run a Museum, I," Museums Journal, 50 (March 1951), 281.

activity of identifying and collecting certain objects from their material world, whether natural or man-made, to represent a particular value-aesthetic, sanctity, curiosity, entertainment, or scientific. It is the action of housing this objectified reality in a social institution and presenting the object (or its symbol) for viewing by an audience to communicate that value. The view that museology is based on man's relationship with reality has been expressed by Stransky and others in Eastern Europe perhaps as an outgrowth of the German schools of philosophy and Marxian thought. Anna Gregorova stated the case in MuWop II:

In my opinion the special task of museology is to study precisely the specific relation of man to reality which has led to the creation of collections of material documents on the development of nature and society. Besides that, one of the tasks of museology is to study and generalize the overall gnoseological potential fixed to material documents of the reality, as well as the task of studying the specific features of and generalizing the possibility of the versatile scientific and cultural educational use of the collections.⁵¹

For the sake of clarity, in this work museology will be used in the broader inclusive sense. The structure of museology has four elements: a) the museum context, being the structure and development of the museum in the cultural organization of society(ies); b) the museum process and ideology, being the philosophy, ideas on the purpose of the museum; c) the museum - internal operations, 'the experience of the object', collections and their resources; d) the museum - external operations, 'the experience of the visitor', communication, educational and public service activities which this study will broadly follow. (See Appendix II for comparative historical divisions.)

It is perhaps helpful to note the similarities in the attempt to establish the body of knowledge of museology with those in the field of library science. This has been defined "as the body of organized knowledge - in whatever form - which is concerned with the purposes, objectives, and functions of libraries and the principles, theories, methods,

⁵¹Anna Gregorova, MuWop, II, 35.

organization and techniques employed in performing library services."⁵²

There are two main sub-divisions of the field: the bases of librarianship and library techniques, and the principles underlying them. The bases of librarianship are:

- a) the factual and interpretative history and development of libraries and librarianship - their economic, social, educational and cultural foundations and functions and their underlying principles, theories and philosophies;
- b) the history of the book and its forms;...
- c) the story of the lives of men and women who were a part of each trend, movement, or period.⁵³

History, or the bases of librarianship, is a significant part of the subject. Thus, despite criticisms of 'historicism', for museology, the history of museums and museology will be an essential ingredient of defining our field of knowledge. The history of museums and museology in Britain could be a test case for the epistemological definition of museology.

Our search for a museology provides two starting-points for this study. First, the history of museology is clearly part of the first division of museology and is an element in the analysis of the museum process in society. Secondly, in our search for museological elements in the history of British museum theory the subjects we should look for are: information about the museum process such as views about the purpose and role of museums; information on the internal operations of museums such as collections philosophies, their management and physical contexts; the external role of museums through presentation and communication, education and public programmes and other public services.

The gathering, holding, presenting and active showing of objects in a collection or museum is essentially a process and thus, defies neat compartmentalization into parts or functions. Thus, ideas about the educational role of museums contain implications for the approach to objects,

⁵² K.A. Mallaber, "Research Librarianship," Library Association Record, 67 (London, 1965), 223 et. seq.

⁵³ Jean Key Gates, Introduction to Librarianship (New York, 1968), p. 134-135.

collecting, display, education and vice-versa for each term. Nevertheless, there has been an attempt in this work to compartmentalize museum thought to assist in coming to terms with the unwieldiness; hence, there is an overlap in ideas.

In conclusion, we can agree with George Henri Rivière. Current museology is in a paradoxical state caught between practitioners and theorists:

What a curious fate is that of museology. Those responsible for museums are still disputing its vocation. At the same time, eminent experts recognize its fundamental importance with respects to the development and radiation of the museum institution....⁵⁴

Yet, museology exists in whatever form. The next question, then, is where was the genesis of museology?

⁵⁴George Henri Rivière, "The Museum - The Intensification of Scientific Research and the Growth of Art Production," UNESCO Symposium Museums in the Contemporary World, (24-28 November 1969).

PART II

THE MUSEOLOGICAL TRADITION IN BRITAIN, 1845-1945

CHAPTER THREE

THE RESEARCH METHOD

We are also to blame for the fact that we have not paid sufficient attention to this history, namely that we have not been able to evaluate theoretically the contribution of all those who entered the road of museum theory long before us....

- Z.Z. Stransky¹

The history of museums, museum work and museology is part of a major sub-division of museology. But museum theory and museology have their own history of development, utilizing intellectual and cultural history techniques differing from, although closely related to, the history of museums and the history of the museum profession. To some extent a solution to the mysteries of the growth and problems of museums must occupy this study as an explanation for the developments of museum theory practice and will be included in Chapters Four, Five and Six. The main focus, however, will be to identify elements of the museological tradition in Britain and to consider the origin and impact of these ideas on British museums and museum personnel.

The recognition of the importance of the traditions of museum work has long been acknowledged. F.J. North wrote in 1950 about the role of our predecessors:

There is much to be learnt from their achievements and their mistakes, and there is encouragement to be derived from the realization that our generation of curators is not the only one that has been faced with difficulties or subjected to criticism.²

Still, few authors have provided a complete historical view of museums and museum thought by combining the methodologies of history and of museology. As stated by Jiri Neustupny:

¹Z.Z. Stransky, article in MuWop Museological Working Papers, I (Stockholm, 1980), 43.

²F.J. North, "On Learning How to Run a Museum - On Profiting from the Experience of Others," Museums Journal, 50 (March 1951), 282.

Almost all works so far published are either by historians who do not (and in the past could not) take museological viewpoints into account, or by museologists who do not devote sufficient attention to historical factors.³

Thus, while there are volumes of articles, reports and a growing record of histories of specific types of museums or individual institutions, there is a dearth of comprehensive analyses of museums in Britain and especially of the characteristics of change in the museum thought and work. Most general studies of museum development are difficult to refute as they are often assertions or statements based on personal beliefs or viewpoints rather than theories constructed on evidence. As Edwina Taborsky has pointed out, authors have had a tendency to:

...select a number of observable elements about museums, give them as their empirical data base, and then structure a 'theory' around these elements.⁴

The logical fallacy of reductionism expressed in this habit fits the evidence to the conceptual model of the writer which is then, in turn, used to explain the topic under discussion. The result is that interpretations either express general arguments which become axioms of museum thought, echoing views of earlier or contemporary writers often without knowledge of their existence, or present contradictory views on several fundamental historical questions. The degree of agreement or contradiction amongst histories then, is the result of choosing different data on which to construct a causal theory, not deciphering the reality itself.

Many works have addressed the issue of the function of the museum by portraying the alternatives of a passive or active societal role usually represented by the gathering and study of collections in the first case and the educational use or relevance to the audience in the second. Thus, Duncan Cameron's dichotomy "The Museum, A Temple or Forum?" has been put

³Jiri Neustupny, "What is Museology?," Museums Journal, 71 (September 1971), 67-68.

⁴Edwina Taborsky, The Socio-structural Role of Museums. Ph.D. Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto (Toronto, 1982).

by other contemporary writers while it is, in fact, a re-statement of earlier arguments on the role of the museum.⁵

Once having perceived that there are two types of museums or functions - the inward-looking and outward-acting - the usual tendency is to depict museum history as developmental or linear, passing through different stages usually from 'primitive' to 'modern' in progressive steps.⁶ The sense of this progress is often based on the major axiom that museums were once introspectively elitist and privately owned but became more outwardly oriented as the present-day social system evolved. S. Dillon Ripley and others have given this view a particularly North American direction when contrasting the early European museums to the later American establishments which developed more of a public, community, indeed, democratic spirit.⁷ Analyses of museum history of the 'Third World' echo the idea of the private-based collections of early European museums limited in their function by their social origins and conservative nature versus the museums in the New and Developing Worlds which have been able to develop truly public forms.⁸ The ideas have also been adopted without comprehensive critical appraisal by British writers

⁵Duncan Cameron, "The Museum, A Temple or Forum?," Curator. Also note A.E. Parr, "The Functions of Museums: Research Centres or Show Places," Curator 6 (January 1963), 20-31 and Walter Muir Whitehill, "Museums: Caretaker or 3-Ring Circus?," Art News, 71 (November 1972), 38.

⁶For works with this orientation see Edward Alexander, Museums in Motion (Nashville, 1979), Kenneth Hudson, A Social History of Museums, What the Visitors Thought (London, 1975), Alma Wittlin, Museums: In Search of a Useable Future (Cambridge, Mass., 1970), Caesar Grana, "The Private Lives of Public Museums," The Museologist (March 1968), No. 106, p. 11 and "The Art Museum and Its Public," The Museums World, Arts Yearbook, No. 9.

⁷Ripley wrote that the museums are "...an American phenomenon developed by the people, for the people, and of the people" in "Museums and the Museums in Today's Changing World," The Museologist, No. 104 (September 1967), pp. 5-13. See also D. Cameron, "Museums and the World of Today," ICOM News, 23 (June 1970), 41-45; F.H. Taylor, Babel's Tower (New York, 1945); Walter Pach, The Art Museum in America (New York, 1948); T.R. Adam, The Civic Value of Museums (New York, 1937).

⁸E.C. Ayangagor, "Contemporary Nigerian Art and Museums" in Museology in Nigeria (Zaria, 1976), pp. 62-81. Both Hugh de Varine in La Culture des Autres (Paris, 1976) and E. Eyo, "Different Methods of Museum Education" in Meeting on the Role of Museums in Education and Cultural Action. I.C.O.M. Meeting, Moscow-Leningrad, May 1968 (Corsham, 1968) have identified the problems with museums in the developing world in relation to world economic and cultural systems.

such as Kenneth Hudson:

Probably the most important fact about seventeenth and eighteenth century museums and art galleries is that they were run by autocrats, who asked for nobody's advice or suggestions as to how the collections should be presented or organised. Visitors were admitted as a privilege, not as a right, and consequently gratitude and admiration, not criticism, was required of them. This attitude persisted long after the widespread establishment of public museums in the modern sense. The new museums may have been provided for the benefit of the public at large, and financed from public funds, but they were very much the creations of their directors, who took the decisions as to how the buildings were to be designed, what system of display was to be adopted, what material was to be shown and what excluded....⁹

A sub-set of the evolutionary view of museums, most frequently presented in 'ahistorical' treatments, is the idea that museums have shirked their educational role throughout their history. As Ame J. Legge in a 1956 D.Phil. thesis wrote:

Until the second decade of the present century museums were regarded as existing centres of research to serve the needs of the scholar, and the exhibits were arranged to satisfy these needs.¹⁰

This picture has been repeated in a recent thesis by Alan Chadwick in which he stated that the history of museums has been marked by a shift from the curatorial to the broadly educative function of museums, a view also presented by Edwina Taborsky in her work:

In the early stages of the historical development of museums, storage of a collection was its primary function. At a later time, collection and analysis became important; then, education and dissemination of knowledge about these collections.¹¹

Yet, these statements are often made without specific historical proof.

Evolutionary, progressive interpretations have particular relevance to the evaluation of British museology. Alma Wittlin for example in her influential book Museums: In Search of a Useable Future, presents an inter-

⁹Kenneth Hudson, The Social History of Museums, p. 8.

¹⁰Ame J. Legge, A Psychological Study of the Role of Museums in Education with Special Reference to the Science Museum (D. Phil., University of London, 1955-56), p. 67.

¹¹A.F. Chadwick, The Role of the Museum and Art Gallery in Community Education (Nottingham, 1980) and E. Taborsky, "The Socio-structural Role of Museums," International Journal of Museum Management and Curatorship, I (Winter 1982), 339-345.

pretation of museum development in favour of the United States as the place of innovation in museum thought as compared to 'Liberal Europe' (which includes Britain).¹² Chadwick, taking the lead from Wittlin, sums up the period of the inter-war years in Britain as one in which there was an overall lack of vision on the part of museologists. He cites the critiques of Miers and Markham as proof and concludes "certainly, by its end museums had not appeared as institutions central to the well-being of society."¹³ On the contrary, the writings of Miers and Markham could be interpreted as showing the vision of British museologists that have striven to make the museum central to society. The degree of success in enhancing the role of museums is open to debate but not the attempt.

Representing another viewpoint are several individuals who witnessed several of the 'eras' in the museum movement. Charles Carter in 1970 contradicted the interpretation of Chadwick, Wittlin and others, reminding us of J. Bailey's 1926 Presidential Address to the Museums Association in which he said, "We are on the eve of possibly the greatest event in the history of the provincial museum movement," a prediction which had been fulfilled in Carter's opinion from the evidence of his then forty years of museum work:

The profession (since 1925) has come of age and has acquired these signs of maturity: an awareness of itself, a feeling of independence, and the 'key to the door' of opportunity which is provided by recognized professional standards.¹⁴

The picture of the development of museums in Britain in the nineteenth century presented by the Earl of Rosse in 1970 also is in conflict with

¹²Alma Wittlin, Museums: In Search of a Useable Future (London, 1980), pp. 146-150.

¹³A.F. Chadwick, The Role of the Museum and Art Gallery in Community Education, p. 9.

¹⁴Charles Carter, "Then and Now: Professional Ruminations After Forty-five Years," Museums Journal, 69 (April 1970), 161 and J. Bailey, "Presidential Address to the Museums Association, 1926," Museums Journal, 26, (August 1926), 31-36.

the viewpoints of the 'progressives':

Before very long a museum became no less than an essential status symbol for every self-respecting town throughout the country, til they could be numbered literally by hundreds. By the standards of the day they were excellent, and indeed up to the First World War no country could rival us....¹⁵

How are such contradictory interpretations to be rationalized?

Apparently the differences of opinion about museum history are not new; the American, Paul Marshal Rea in his 1932 milestone work The Museum and The Community stated:

The opinion is widely held, by museum people as well as by the general public, that museums were formerly concerned more with the static functions of acquisition and preservation than with the dynamic function of use. Museum people consider that this was a defect of the museums of the past, and believe that the museum of the present has made a great advance in reversing this....¹⁶

Rea offered a detailed rebuttal of this view beginning with his own conversion, "after long holding this concept, I am now convinced that it is based upon an historical misconception."¹⁷ His historical analysis of the evolution of museums, however, would seem to have been ignored by museum theorists but Rea's theories on museum history should be re-examined, particularly the origin of our myths; as he stressed:

When, late in the last century, societies that maintained and used museums disintegrated, and when college interest turned to new fields, their museums either went into decline and became dusty, musty storehouses, or else attacked the problem of finding new markets. It was only under these profoundly changed conditions that mere curatorship, however faithful, became a fault.¹⁸

To be fair the tendency to mythologize a museum past may be more of a North American tendency, especially as the majority of museums in the United States and Canada have been established in the twentieth century

¹⁵Earl of Rosse, "Museums and Local Government," Museums Journal, 68 (September 1968), 67.

¹⁶Paul Marshal Rea, The Museum and The Community (Lancaster, Pa., 1932), p. 26.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 26.

¹⁸Ibid., pp. 26-27.

thus conveniently escaping their own criticism. But British writers have followed suit. J. Geraint Jenkins represented the continuing negative view of nineteenth century museums when he criticized the tendency of museums to display material and nothing more; to underline his point he quoted an 1894 writer stating, "This is undoubtedly a remnant of the nineteenth century when a museum was nothing but a cabinet of curiosities."¹⁹ This is a far cry from the statement of Francis Cheetham in that "we have never had an era of enthusiasm and museum building equal to the late nineteenth century."²⁰ Cheetham quotes the view of a colleague, a director of an important provincial museum:

Our museum was opened with much ceremony on 3rd July 1878 by the Prince of Wales and His Princess, supported by dukes, bishops, town councillors, seventeen thousand schoolchildren and troops of soldiers in scarlet and gold. It was its finest hour and it has gone steadily downhill in public estimation and civic importance ever since.²¹

Other interpretations of museum history can be noted. Some works emphasize the collection or the act of collecting as an innate or learned trait.²² Wittlin's explanation of the development of the museum is based on the separation of the museum from manifestations of the collecting instinct which preceded the museum age: the social prestige collection, the magic collection, collections as a means of stimulating curiosity and inquiry, collections of expressions of group loyalty, collections as an

¹⁹National Eisteddford of Wales, Transactions (1894), p. 181 as cited in J. Geraint Jenkins, "Folk Museums: Some Aims and Purposes," Museums Journal, 69 (June 1969), 17.

²⁰Francis Cheetham, "A National Museum Service for Britain," Museums Journal, 68 (September 1968), 70.

²¹Ibid., p. 70.

²²See Elis Burcaw, Introduction to Museum Work (Nashville, 1975); Duncan Cameron, "A Viewpoint: The Museum as a Communication System and Implications for Museum Education," Curator 21 (March 1968), 33-40; S. Dillon Ripley, "The Creative Audience," Museum Round-up, No. 45 (January 1972), pp. 21-27 and The Sacred-Grove (New York, 1969); Dr. H.H. Frese, Anthropology and the Public: The Role of Museums (Leiden, 1960); Nicholas von Holst, Creators, Connoisseurs and Collectors (London, 1967); D. and E. Rigby, Lock, Stock and Barrel: The Story of Collecting (Philadelphia, 1944); F.H. Taylor, A Taste of Angels (Boston, 1948); Alma Wittlin, Museums: In Search of a Useable Future.

emotional experience.²³ No explanation is given for the fact that some collections fit into several categories or for the movement from collections to public museums. Another recurring debate is whether objects are unique and primary in collections, or secondary to the ideas they represent.

Other works emphasize the changing social role of the museum in terms of societal theories. Germain Bazin in The Museum Age interpreted the museum as an agent of the social group which used to "consciously establish a self-identity by gathering a set of images"; museums were developed in the Renaissance to break out of one social model based on the mediaeval church to another model requiring different social images.²⁴ Other examples are Edwina Taborsky's application of structuralist sociolinguistic models to the staged model of society development and Eileen Hooper-Greenhill's study of the National Portrait Gallery using theories of culture and ideology.²⁵

A number of recent historical analyses of museums in the United States may point to a solution of the various and contradictory interpretations of museum history. Neil Harris in describing the early decades of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts has shown that the period has received a bad contemporary and historical press. Harris makes two points. First,

²³ Alma Wittlin, Chapter 2, pp. 4-60.

²⁴ Germaine Bazin, The Museum Age, trans. Jane van Nuis Cahill (Brussels, 1967).

²⁵ E. Taborsky, "The Socio-structural Role of Museums," The International Journal of Museum Management and Curatorship I (Winter 1982), 339-345 and Eileen Hooper-Greenhill, The National Portrait Gallery: A Case Study in Cultural Reproduction, M.A. London University Institute of Education (London, 1980). See also Manfred Eisenbeis, "Elements for a Sociology of Museums," Museum, 24 (1972), 110-119 and works by Caesar Graña previously cited. See also works from the 'New Left' based on Louis Althusser's writings such as "Ideologie et appareils ideologiques d'Etat," La Pensee, No. 151 (June 1970), Pierre Bourdieu, Alan Darbel, L'Amour de L'Art (Paris, 1969) and "Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction," in Richard Brown (ed.) Knowledge, Education and Cultural Change (London, 1973); Les Musees, Histoire et critique des arts (December 1978). See also Paul DiMaggio and Michael Useem, "Social Class and Arts Consumption: The Origins and Consequences of Class Differences in Exposure to the Arts in America," Theory and Society, 5 (Spring 1978) and "Cultural Property and Public Policy: Emerging Tensions in Government Support for the Arts," Social Research, 45 (Summer 1978).

the critics of the so-called "Boston" approach (John Cotton Dana, F. Mathers and others) described the founding of the museum in terms of indictment, as an act of upper-class self interest.²⁶ This opinion is recycled in contemporary historical discussions; for example, Barbara Lipton repeated Dana's views in 1979:

What we expect and take for granted today to be a museum's proper function was very different at the beginning of the twentieth century. Museums of all kinds are now defined as educational institutions whose obligation is to acquire, preserve and interpret their collections...Initially, however, museums were almost entirely storehouses of rare or costly classical or European art, supported by and subject to the direction of wealthy patrons who considered the museum as a visible sign of their own power and prestige. Museums did not exist to attract the largest number of visitors but were rather an instrument of and for the socially elite and/or for the scholars. Their main goal ~~was~~ to acquire and preserve, not to explain or interpret or put to use that which the museum contained.²⁷

The actual historical events resist such black and white depiction. The Boston museum was founded in the same vein as the Louvre, South Kensington and many provincial museums in Britain as part of a pedagogical exercise to present collections to uplift the taste and moral fibre of the masses: the underlying motives may have been altruistic, economic or political but at best they are mixed.

The second point was where did the myth of the academic, obtuse, alien museum begin, to what extent is it accurate, and why did critics of the time distort the descriptions of the American museum? Harris has attempted to answer this. The generation of the first decade of the twentieth century worked in museums whose collections and buildings had grown while the aims of the directors changed.²⁸ This was the era of the financiers and large scale private collectors who contributed both to the establishment of new museums and the enlargement of older ones which

²⁶ Neil Harris, "The Gilded Age Revisited: Boston and the Museum Movement, American Quarterly, 4 (Winter 1962), 545-566.

²⁷ Barbara Lipton, "John Cotton Dana and the Newark Museum," Newark Museum Quarterly 30 (Spring, Summer 1979), 56.

²⁸ N. Harris, "The Gilded Age," pp. 562-563.

brought in turn a critical reaction to their undue influence. Any reforming age by necessity must condemn the immediate past as guilty by definition as do our own contemporary museum writers; it is:

easier to taint their pedigree and prove their illegitimacy right from the start, than to reveal by more careful analyses just where the development diverged from the acceptable pattern.²⁹

Harris underlines the need for a more refined temporal discrimination, open-minded research and analysis. To do so, simplistic sociologist bias, represented by Thorstein Veblen's influential work which represented the museum as the agent of conspicuous consumption, will have to be challenged.

Another historian, Daniel Fox, has pointed out that during the 1930's authors such as T.R. Adam and F.H. Taylor created a myth, or, if we follow Harris' analysis, it may be more accurate to say reinforced the myth promoted earlier, that museums had shirked their educational responsibilities throughout their history.³⁰ To justify the museum structure and patronage system more prevalent in the United States - the Board of Trustees on which the more wealthy of influential elements were represented - the view was presented, and accepted by museum professionals in the United States and repeated abroad, that these museums had led in educational reform.

One question, then, is to what extent do similar processes go on in Britain. To what degree have museum professionals, in their attempts at museum reform, created myths and interpretations about the museum's past whether to support reforming persuasions or from lack of knowledge of earlier work? The period from 1845 to 1945 witnessed an upheaval in the museum world in Britain and elsewhere in the world. Museums grew in number and size; work in museum positions became an occupation with professional aspirations; periodicals and associations were formed. The move-

²⁹Ibid., p. 562.

³⁰Daniel Fox, Engines of Culture (Madison, Wisconsin, 1963). See especially Chapter 5, pp. 77-83. Works of this type are T.R. Adam, The Civic Value of Museums (New York, 1937); F.H. Taylor's Babel's Tower, The Dilemma of the Modern Museum (New York, 1945) and "Museums in a Changing World," Atlantic Monthly, CLXIV (December 1939), 785-792.

ment of museological thought, however, may have been much less dramatic and far more complex than believed in the occupational mythology.

There are a number of questions which underlie this investigation. First, does a museological tradition exist and if so of what does it consist and where can it be found? Many museum chroniclers have identified the lack of self-conscious or critical museum literature. But is Theodore Low correct when stating:

...if anything, museums have been slower to evolve a body of philosophical literature than have other institutions. The reasons for this delay is obvious. Museums depended, then as now, on collections, and until, those collections were obtained, it was senseless to devote time, which could be profitably employed in increasing them, to theoretical discussions of their use. It is not surprising, therefore, to find a paucity of written material dealing with the aims and purposes of art museums during the first thirty years of their existence.³¹

Or is K. de B. Codrington correct when he claimed, "...There is in existence a very voluminous literature on the subject of Museums" although he adds, "...but I admit that a survey of it has not led me to any very definite conclusions."³²

Secondly, are museological ideas in Britain different from those of Europe or North America? The tendency of historical works in English is to lump Britain with generalizations about European museums (usually based on France). European museums are projected as state-run, elitist institutions which were scholarly preserves of irrelevant cases of specimens which fell behind the American museums in imitating public service programmes. So Daniel Fox wrote of European museums:

Their educational function was conceived in limited terms; the past teaching by example. They were often forbidding, dark, disorganized and cluttered. Few efforts were made to publicize the collections or to develop coherent educational programs until the twentieth century. European museums were always maintained by the public treasury, private philanthropy aided, but neither created nor sustained the Louvre or the National Gallery of London.³³

³¹Theodore Low, The Educational Philosophy and Practice of Art Museums in the United States (New York, 1948), No. 942, p. 9.

³²K. de B. Codrington, "The Making of Museums," The Nineteenth Century 1 (April 1936), 464.

³³D. Fox, Engines of Culture, p. 3.

The problems with this interpretation of museum history have yet to be addressed in the light of British evidence let alone that of all European museums.

Thirdly, how has museological knowledge altered and to what degree? Can one go as far as to support the argument that museum thought in Britain followed the five chronological stages described by Soichuiro Tsuruta in MuWop: Mouseion, Museolore, Museography, Museology and Museum Science?³⁴

Fourthly, what is the relation of theory to reality? Theodore Low gives some lead in his call for some caution in studying the writings of museum people:

In most cases, however, it is the progressive museum man who writes while the conservative remains silent. It is important to bear this in mind in any historical treatment of the growth of thought within a profession. Over a period of years the practices follow the preaching so that in a sense the history of the development of museum philosophy is a preview of the development of museum practice. Furthermore, when dealing with the past one must use the material available remembering at the same time that had others spoken they might have spoken differently.³⁵

Indeed, the concepts of the majority of museum workers for whom there are few records cannot be directly assessed.

Fifthly, what factors create ideas, or act as agents of change or stumbling blocks? What is the role of the individual versus the cultural, institutional or professional forces and in particular the external political, economic structures and funding conditions? Ray Lankester in his "Presidential Address to the Museums Association" in 1897 gave much food for thought:

Most museums in this country...have such a peculiar ancient history, are subject to the government of such strangely ignorant boards or committees, are so ill-supplied with funds, and so completely misunderstood or else neglected by the community in the midst of which they are placed, that it is impossible for their curators or directors to do more than apply in a fragmentary way the admirable

³⁴Soichuiro Tsuruta, MuWop, I, 47.

³⁵T. Low, The Educational Philosophy, p. 4.

Figure 4THE STAGES OF MUSEOLOGY BY TSURUTA

<u>Processes</u>	<u>Stages</u>	<u>Features</u>	<u>Periods</u>
I	Mouseion and museum stage	Only museums appeared and existed	Mouseion in Alexandria to Medieval era
II	Museolore stage	Spread of information on museums	From Renaissance to Industrial Revolution
III	Museography stage	Description of museums developed	19th century to early 20th century
IV	Museology and Museography stage	Start of scientific but qualitative research on museums	Present
V	Museum sciences	Need for quantitative and systematic research on museums	End of 20th century

Source: Soichuiro Tsuruta, MuWop I (Sweden, 1980), 47.

principles of Brown Goode and Flower, however warmly they may believe in them.³⁶

With the last three questions, we have inevitably stumbled into the thorny issues which are core to the twentieth century historiographical map of the concepts of culture marking many subject areas such as history, sociology, art and anthropology. Whether defined by theories of idealists, Marxian historical materialists, cultural materialists, socio-biologists, structuralists, psychologists or phenomenologists, the unsolved riddle driving these investigations is the origin and nature of ideas.³⁷ Translated into the forum of museology, the question becomes: where does the museum with its ideology and its 'keepers' fit in the base-infrastructure versus the superstructure(s) divisions of society first explained by Marx and Engels? Is the museum, like educational, religious, legal and other institutions merely a mirror, a reflection of the mechanisms of ideological forms defined by economic determinants, particularly represented in the struggle of the classes in the periods covered by the Industrial Revolution and Post-Industrial era? Or does the museum have a more separate existence, perhaps based on some more fundamental phenomenological relationship of man to his physical and mental world which is capable of transcending specific economic or industrial conditions? The museum may exhibit a combination of factors which makes it doubly difficult to pin down. Thus, the museum is, in one way, part of the loose ideological control structures of society, particularly in the various phases of the Industrial and Post-

³⁶ Ray Lankester, "Presidential Address," Report of the Eighth Annual General Meeting of the Museums Association, (1897), p. 21.

³⁷ This discussion is based on a complex assortment of works from various fields of study; for a methodological critique of the various schools of approach to culture see Marvin Harris, Cultural Materialism, The Struggle for a Science of Culture (New York, 1979) and Gregor McLennan, Marxism and the Methodologies of History (London, 1981) and Richard Johnson, "Culture and the Historians," pp. 41-74 and "Three Problematics: Elements of a Theory of Working-Class Culture" in Working-Class Culture, Studies in History and Theory, edited by J. Clarke et. al. (London, 1979). A central work in this debate is Raymond Williams, "Base and Superstructure in Marxist Cultural Theory," New Left Review 82 (December 1973) 3-16.

Industrial eras, but this does not insure the success of the control process over all levels of society. First, the class basis of ideologies about museums is hard to establish since the varieties of ideas about museums can be found in all of them. Lower-classes have had autonomous forms of museums in popular and commercial collections and entertainments and ultimately in controlling their own experience in establishment museums. Furthermore, the success of the ideology of museums was countered in the very variety of imageries of museums and in the incomplete financial and legislative structure for museums in Britain.

Finally, what relationship does the museological tradition have with the contemporary museum world in Britain? Notwithstanding the assumption that knowledge about our cultural tradition is the foundation for museology, is it not true that most earlier museology is too dependent on older forms of museums long gone to be of any but esoteric use or academic preoccupation? Or is our museum world entangled with historical myths and reality which create our precepts about museums and museum work and working practices? Is this view merely historicism or does it offer a valid base for epistemological analyses of museology?

The stages of this investigation have been:

1. The collection of material on the theories and activities in early collections and museums in Europe, Britain and North America particularly in the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries.
2. A comparative study of the foundation and growth of museums in Britain as recorded in official and unofficial surveys as well as a detailed study of the history of representative museums and others.
3. A survey of museum work and personnel from 1845 to 1945 using bibliographies, books, articles, records from museums and museum people, interviews, photos and other evidence detailing changes in the concept and performance of museum tasks.
4. A detailed index of the Museums Proceedings of Annual Conferences and Museums Journal to ascertain museum thought and practice as well as other publications of the Museums Association and records of its

operation.

5. A study of the literature of professionalism, and the evolution of the museums association and work force.

The limitations of the research for this thesis reside in the inherent problems of the degree to which the history of ideas represents actual practice in the museum world; an attempt was made to have specific examples of the implementation of ideas but causal relationships must sometimes be presumed by the existence or lack of change in museum practice rather than by direct proof. Another problem is to resist the temptation to take opinion, even if in report or book form, as factual, especially when they represent value judgements of superiority or innovation. Many of those involved in museums were unfamiliar with earlier writings and papers in their fields and precedents in museum work. They were not necessarily aware of specific historical or current works in various museum fields in their own country or abroad. Works which come to us like E. E. Lowe's A Report on American Museum Work or H. Miers' A Report on the Public Museums of the British Isles cannot be used as pure textual sources of facts but must be evaluated in the light of the purposes for which they were written and the availability of facts to them.³⁸ The challenge is to examine the events and ideology of the actors being studied free from our own viewpoint, conditioned as it is by the continuing manifestations of these same earlier ideologies under study which filter our historical interpretation.

Although every attempt was made to study as many institutions as possible, eventually concentration was of necessity, focused on a broad number of sample museums with accessible records. The historical analysis is only as good as the records available while there is often no way of double-checking the validity of documents or of personal assertions

³⁸ E. E. Lowe, A Report on American Museum Work (Edinburgh, 1928) and Sir H. Miers, A Report on the Public Museums of the British Isles (Other Than National Museums) (Edinburgh, 1928).

although it was done where possible. In addition, the necessary concentration on the yet untold experience of the museum and museology may underemphasize the broader political and economic facts which are the substance of the numerous histories of Britain.

The argument presented is that the history of museums and museum thought conditions not only our museum buildings, structures and organizations, but the definition and role of museums and ideas about each area of the collective whole of museum work; the past is entangled in the precepts held by professionals and the public alike which must be unravelled to construct a theory of museums. Failure to examine the nebulous mists of the museum idea condemns museum work to stasis.

The complexity of the museum 'idea' is specifically the product of its place in the whole cultural superstructure of British society. The museum apparatus is a sub-set of the cultural superstructure; it is composed of a complex assortment of people, events, structures and images centering on social collecting modes. Like culture in general, the museum apparatus is interrelated with predominant socio-economic forces. But there is much more. The museum is also a place of action of the deep-rooted relationships of men to their physical world, so often symbolized by objects gathered together, that strict Marxian historical determinism can not fully absorb. Traditional collecting modes, older institutional forms, long-standing social definitions of truths and reality, our images of ourselves act as filtering agents to the intentions of the predominant establishments and ideologies. Here, the balance of Marxian-Structuralist methodologies of historical materialism and cultural materialism would seem critical to complete our understanding of the role of the museum in society.

In the midst of this museum phenomenon, the occupational players in the museum are an added ingredient. To some extent a reflection of the dominant cultural values but also absorbed in the museum process, the day to day workings of the museums, the 'keepers' of the museum are part of the museum apparatus, sometimes displaying unique values, at other times

imitating the prevailing dominant cultural views of the controlling social groups with which they are so often connected by systems of kinship, friendship, patronage, education and sensibilities.³⁹ Through their ideas and actions, they reflect the complexities of the paradigm of the cultural apparatus. Despite certain professional successes, the museum workers have not completely overcome their amateur and apprenticeship origins and accompanying ideological derivations, nor met the challenges of newer museum forms. This is most obvious in the dynamics of the cultural tradition of museum work.

The texture of museum history is one of ambiguity and paradox, marked by several recurring points of opposition: between the idea that museums hold objects, intrinsically valuable, and that the museum is a showplace for objects; between the idea that museums exist for rational instruction and that they are places of entertainment. These concepts become pigeon-holed into the compartments of progressive versus traditional thought, with definition dependant upon the perspective of the theorist. The museum becomes a chameleon-like metaphor changing according to the outlook of the speaker, the group or the times; exciting to some, imprisoning to others. The history of museum theory is one of falling constantly into the trap articulated by Thomas Dewey in Experience and Education.⁴⁰ "Mankind likes to think in terms of extreme opposites. It is given to formulating its belief in terms of Either-Ors, between which it recognizes no intermediate possibilities."⁴¹ At some stage, of course, the realization occurs that the extremes are inapplicable; then, the conclusion is "that they are all right in theory but when it comes to

³⁹Erving Goffman, "Symbols of Class Status," British Journal of Sociology, 2 (1951), 294-310 and C. Wright Mills, "The Cultural Apparatus," Power, Politics and People. The Collected Essays of C. Wright Mills (ed.) I.L. Horowitz (New York, 1963), pp. 405-422.

⁴⁰Thomas Dewey, Experience and Education (New York, 1963), pp. 17-22.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 17.

practical matters circumstances compel us to compromise."⁴² Thus, having polarized theory out of all relevance to reality, the theoretical route is dismissed.

There is always the danger in a new movement that in rejecting the aims and methods of that which it would supplant, it may develop its principles negatively rather than positively and constructively. Then it takes its clue in practice from that which is rejected instead of from the constructive development of its own philosophy.⁴³

At this point, the time is ripe for the return to the original movement rejected; thus the result is polarized as the pendulum swings from one view, with its corresponding actions, to the other. Much as in education, museum theory has been marked by the traditional versus progressive dichotomy which has not been resolved but merely brought up in each era:

For any theory and set of practices is dogmatic which is not based upon critical examination of its own underlying principles.⁴⁴

Contrary to the popular idea of a vacuum of museological work there are numerous analyses of the problems of museums and treatises on museum thought and practice in Britain throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The more significant problems have been first the inability to introduce this body of knowledge to the next generation of museum workers so as to build a basis of museum theory and practice; as a result, ideas remain on superficial level, alternating between extreme viewpoints; finally, the lack of a synthesis of opposite theories has led to an inability to implement theory and analyses in the museum context.

One result of the lack of a studied museum heritage are false claims of the start-up of museum techniques, of the number and type of

⁴²Ibid., p. 17.

⁴³Ibid., p. 20.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 22.

museums and activities, of the ideas about the roles of museums, any of which transcend belief to become myth. Cut off from the realities of their own work tradition, British museum workers have been vulnerable to definition by external sources. Politicians, parliamentary commissions, scientists, discipline specialists, educational bodies, social critics have had a strong influence in judging the museum in British society. Furthermore, as part of an international museum movement from the days of the seventeenth century museographers to the councils of the International Council of Museums, British museums have received the stimulation and support of foreign museum thought. One danger, however, has been that in looking abroad for models, first to Europe, then to the United States and elsewhere, comparing, contrasting, borrowing, they have accepted external versions of museum history and solutions without knowledge of their own roots or practices.⁴⁵

Whether it is the conditions of poor funding, an inadequate structure for museums, the management difficulties or a lack of collective unity of vision amongst the museum supporters that have been the major cause of limited improvements, the net result has been much as a conclusion of the Provincial Museums and Galleries Report of 1973 claimed

how similar the main recommendations over this half century have been to our own, and how little has in fact been achieved.⁴⁶

On the opposite side of the balance sheet, the successes in museums in Britain during the period of 1845 to 1945 must be attributed to the amazing fortitude and enthusiasm of scores of museum enthusiasts in succeeding generations and to the ingrained acceptance of the museum idea in British society which keeps the 'museum' at the forefront of cultural action despite endemic troubles. But it is in the realm of the solidification of the cultural tradition of museum work to become

⁴⁵Consequently an assessment of foreign influences will be a part of this study.

⁴⁶Provincial Museums and Galleries Report (London, 1973), p. 4.

a scientific body of knowledge with historical accurate versions of museum philosophies, structures, activities that improvements will lie.

The treatment of the British museological experience from 1845 to 1945 will begin with a study of the museological heritage existing in 1845 in Britain with additional reference to other countries, mainly in Europe (Chapters Four and Five), next, conditions of the development of museums in Britain, the number, types, legislation and funding will be discussed with reference to their influence on museological developments (Chapter Six). In Chapter Seven we will examine the role of the museum worker in formulating ideas about the workplace and in Chapters Eight, Nine and Ten we will trace some examples of how ideas and techniques in museum work have circulated first from the vantage point of the ideology about the museum's role and purpose, then the visitors, next the object. Finally, museological conclusions will be drawn in the light of the historical analysis.

CHAPTER FOUR

PROTOTYPE MUSEUMS AND MUSEOLOGY

In almost every attempt to understand museums today it is necessary to bear in mind the mixture of the old and the new philosophies that they represent, and the fact that old and new types of museums exist side by side throughout the country.

- Paul Marshal Rea¹

On July 21st, 1845, "An Act for Encouraging the Establishment of Museums in Large Towns" was given royal assent following a long campaign.² The Act was the expression of the degree to which the ideas of the museum's utility as a means of improvement for the 'people' had become accepted in Britain. That it could be shaped into legislation along with bills on electoral reform, Public Health, Mines, Factories and the Poor Law at a time when laissez-faire beliefs for the most part still restricted the enlargement of government power is significant. The events of mid-century Britain, in general, may be viewed as dramatic in history as reflected in the words of Geoffrey Crowther:

Those who like to amuse themselves with historical parallels may reflect that, in modern history, the great dividing lines have occurred round about the middle of the calendar centuries, not at their beginnings...new men and ideas get control in the 40's and 50's and in a few decades work out a new pattern.³

As in all historical applications, however, periodicity has severe limits when applied to museum history. The events of 1845, while extremely significant, were the culmination of earlier discussions and initiatives and were based on an active museum world already in existence in Britain as well as a strongly developed belief system about museums and their relationship to their world. Even after 1845, it was to take many years before the so-called 'museum movement' was launched at least in terms of numbers of institutions. Further, the Act of 1845 was followed by a

¹Paul Marshal Rea, The Museum and The Community (Lancaster, Pa., 1932), p. 28.

²"An Act for Encouraging the Establishment of Museums in Large Towns" (8 and 9 Victoria, c.43).

³Geoffrey Crowther, as cited in J. Edmunds, "Art Gallery and Museum Buildings in England, 1845-1945." M.A. Thesis, Manchester University, 1951, p.22.

dizzying parade of legislation over the next 150 years attempting to reform the initial structure of 1845. Although the Act of 1845 could be interpreted as a symbol of the entrance of Britain into the modern museum age in so much as it marked transition from private ownership to public support, there are several earlier events which could be chosen as symbols - the creation of the Ashmolean Museum in 1683 or the foundation of the British Museum in 1759 - both of which are claimed as firsts in British museum history. More importantly for our purposes in identifying museum thought, the legislator's actions of 1845 did not reveal the state of museology at the time so much as the perception of the role of museums held by the operative political powers.

Thomas Kelly's caution about the origins of the adult education movement have a parallel in museum history:

Adult education has commonly been regarded as essentially a phenomenon of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, therefore usually the rise is explained in terms of the Industrial Revolution and the rise of democracy. This is misleading. In religious forms, the origins of adult education go back to the very beginning of organised religion; in its secular forms, it dates back at least to the Renaissance.⁴

Museums have usually been viewed as characteristic of the last 200 years and hence part of the history of the Industrial Revolution, the rise of democracy, nationalism, capitalism, and the working-class; this is, however, a misleading picture ignoring the complicated origins which complete the picture of museum development.

The Etymology of 'Museum' and 'Museology'

According to some authors, the detailing of the history of museology prior to 1845 should be an easy task. In 1904, David Murray evaluated the past history of museology based on his detailed study of early collections:

⁴Thomas Kelly, A History of Adult Education in Great Britain (Liverpool, 1970), p. 81.

The idea of a museum was, thus, in 1816 practically what it had been two centuries earlier, a collection
 Of unicorns and alligators,
 Elks, mermaids, mummies, witches, strays
 And twenty other strange matters.⁵

This point of view may have been conditioned by the writer's own context as he sincerely believed he was involved in a major shift in museum thought.

One way to discover the heritage of museology would be an etymological search of 'museology' and like terms; such a study is revealing but limited. According to the Oxford English Dictionary,⁶ one of the first times the word museology was used in English was in Science in 1885 as "Devices...in which museology has been notably used by us," and in 1887, by Hyatt in the Proceedings of the Boston Society of Natural History, "The first of the Guides to the Society's Museum...in an experiment in Museology." Again in 1899 in Natural Science, "the museum as a whole is painfully suggestive of what museologists call 'the fat boy'."

Museography as a root has an older use when a 'Museographer(ist)' was defined as one who describes the contents of museums systematically. Da Costa in Elementary Chronology wrote in 1776 "most of the naturalists and museographists have included Shells in their works." By 1880 the word is used in Athenaeum as "Between museographers and the pure historians works of art are in danger of becoming transformed into scientific specimens." The word 'museuming' was introduced in 1838 as the action of inspecting museums but did not gain popularity.

In Britain, the word museology has not found popularity with several noteworthy exceptions. In 1904, David Murray in his three volume work Museums: Their History and Use was one of the first to use 'museology' and

⁵David Murray, Museums: Their History and Their Use (Glasgow, 1904), p. 228, quoting from Prior's Epistle to Fleetwood Shepherd, Esq.

⁶The following references are taken from the Oxford English Dictionary (Oxford, 1908).

'museography' together to represent museum work.⁷ Although he did not define the words, usage in the bibliography are clearly based on the Greek origin of the suffixes "ology" and "ography". He used 'museography' as a heading for works by authors (collectors) who listed the principal cabinets or described their personal inspections.⁸ He also introduced the phrase of 'museum studies':

Many of the best modern works on archaeology, such as those of Sir John Evans, Joseph Anderson, and Dr. Robert Munro, of Bertrand and Rimbach Monelius and Sophius Muller, Lindenschmidt and Von Sacken, are practically museum studies, systematic expositions of museum exhibits.⁹

In 1937 K. de B. Codrington defined museology as the "science and art of making museums."¹⁰ Other terms and definitions were introduced; the phrase 'museal science' was used by A.B. Meyer about the crowded state of the Victoria and Albert Museum:

Its 'too much' overwhelms the receptivity of the freshest of visitors; this too much is an aberration of museal science. Only the best should be immediately accessible.¹¹

British suspicion of museology was forming at the same time. In 1930 the French Association for the Advancement of Science met at Le Havre inviting members of the British Association to attend; a new 'Section de muséologie' was inaugurated and as an honour the Museums Association delegate F.A. Bather was nominated as President.¹² In his address, Bather, however, rejected the existence of a science that would be termed Museology as he

⁷David Murray, Museums: Their History and Their Use (Glasgow, 1904).

⁸Ibid., p. 21.

⁹Ibid., p. 279.

¹⁰K. de B. Codrington, "The Making of Museums," The Nineteenth Century 1 (April 1936), 464.

¹¹F.A. Bather, "Dr. Meyer on Some European Museums," Museums Journal 2 (May 1903), 326.

¹²F.A. Bather, Museums Journal 30 (July 1930), 3.

had discovered no 'fundamental principles' although he then proceeded to analyze the museum phenomenon.

Any study of the usage of the English word 'museumology', however, does not clarify its usage in other languages as the previously quoted statement of J. Graesser in 1888 proves. (See p.2) In Czech literature 'museumology' was used by Kliment Cernak in a 1901 article while a lecture-ship was established at the J.E. Purkyne University in Brno in 1921 for the education of museum staff until World War II.¹³ As shown in Chapter II, much of the leadership in defining museumology occurred at the international level. The International Museums Office (I.M.O.) in Paris published the journal Museumion after 1927 as a forum of discussion. In 1934, the I.M.O. held a conference at Madrid; the resulting papers were drawn together in a treatise Museumographie, although it contained no definition for the title.¹⁴

But this philological study of the term 'museumology' is a red herring; the history of museumology exists independently of the word 'museumology'. Nowhere is this more obvious than in the English-speaking world where the avoidance of the term cannot be equated with the non-existence of museumological concepts. For example, Laurence Vail Coleman, President of the American Association of Museums and author of numerous museum works, avoided the term 'museumology'; yet, he was one of the first to point to the substance of museum work, that it required learning in addition to skill, that it was more than technique.¹⁵ His corpus of writings stand as a definition of the field of learning of museum studies. Edward Edwards in Britain in 1840 preferred the "administrative economy" to refer to museums while Henry Kent used "museum economy" as the title

¹³Z.Z. Stransky, Brno: Education in Museumology (Brno, 1974), p. 53.

¹⁴International Museums Office. Museumion (Geneva, 1927-1940) and Museumographie. Architecture et Amenagement Des Musees D'Art. Conference Internationale D'Etudes, Madrid, 1934. 2 vols. (Paris, 1934). Note that a conference was also held for scientific museums in 1933.

¹⁵Laurence Vail Coleman, The Museum in America (Washington, 1939), p.417.

for his study of museums.¹⁶ Thus, museological thought may occur under different terminology.

The history of the use of the word 'museology' is compromised by that of the term 'museum' for the obvious reason that the word museum had to be in existence before its 'ology' could be defined. The term 'museum', as will be documented, was not recovered from its classical origins until the sixteenth century nor accepted widely until the end of the eighteenth. Museological concepts, however, have been inherent in museum-like activities at one level of sophistication or another at all periods in the history of museums. Thus, the search for the origins of museology must be based on the concept rather than the word. Here, we are reminded of Z.Z. Stransky's assertion that museology is not about the museum. (See p. 24) Before an evaluation of the modern period of museological development can be evaluated the exact state of museums and museology in 1845 in Britain have to be determined. One element in that study is the question of the relation of British museums and ideas about them to the larger tradition, usually European.

Museum work, and thought about it, would seem to have commenced with the first museum or museum prototype, as even the earliest collections had a person or persons, often the collectors themselves, responsible for their functioning. Collecting, conservation, research, display and interpretation, the cardinal museum functions as most commonly defined, seem to have been present even to a rudimentary degree. This argument does, however, assume the museum as a static entity; museum work has in reality altered as the forms of the museum itself have changed although perhaps less than is usually presumed.

¹⁶ Edward Edwards, The Administrative Economy of the Fine Arts (London, 1840) and Henry Kent, What I am Pleased to Call My Education (New York, 1949). A rough chronology of terms for museum-related activity would be: 'Museographist', Da Costa, 1776; 'Museuming', 1838; 'Museographers', Athenaeum, 1880; 'Museology', The Science of Arranging Museums, 1885; 'Museologists', 1899; 'Museography', 1904; 'Museology', 1948, University of Chicago Seminar; 'Museum Studies', 1966, University of Leicester; 'Museum Practice', 1979, University of Michigan M.A.; 'Critical Museology', 1980, Leiden; 'Neo-Museology', 1980, Paris.

The first meeting of ICOM in 1947 established a modern definition for 'museum':

The word 'museum' shall include all collections, open to the public, of artistic, technical, scientific, historical or archaeological material, including zoos, botanical gardens, but excluding libraries except insofar as they maintain permanent exhibition rooms.¹⁷

Yet, there would still be disagreement on whether exhibition centres, planetaria, zoos, parks even art galleries are 'museums'. Francis Henry Taylor came to the heart of the problem when he said, "Each generation has been obliged to interpret this vague word 'museum' according to the social requirements of the day."¹⁸ Indeed, it is in the ambiguity of the word, the idea of 'museum', that the problems of the theory lie; to some degree, the museum has acted out a role of appearing to be all things to all men with the result that, as Geroge Swarzenski in 1928 in Museumsfragen wrote, "The Museum...as an institution is a changing, and ever provisional and a predicament."¹⁹

It may be useful to recall that the term museum only became settled on the phenomenon of collections at the end of the eighteenth century. 'Museum' became a metaphor for a range of collecting activities which had varied manifestations in earlier times, perhaps explaining some of the hybrid-like characteristics of modern museums.²⁰ During the early phase of museum history, museology was, of course, not codified according to recorded

¹⁷ICOM. Statutes, (1947).

¹⁸Francis Henry Taylor, Babel's Tower: The Dilemma of the Modern Museum (New York, 1945), p. 39.

¹⁹George Swarzenski, "Museumsfragen," in H. Huth, "Museum and Gallery" in Essays in Honor of George Swarzenski (Chicago, 1952), p. 245.

²⁰Alma Wittlin, Museums: In Search of a Useable Future (Cambridge, Mass., 1970), p. 23. General works of museum history consulted for the period before 1800 are: Germain Bazin, The Museum Age (New York, 1967); Gustav von Holst, Creators, Connoisseurs and Collectors (London, 1967); David Murray, Museums: Their History and Their Use (Glasgow, 1904); F.H. Taylor, The Taste of Angels (Boston, 1948); Richard Altick, The Shows of London (Cambridge, Mass., 1978) and Wittlin. For more detailed references see relevant sections and bibliography.

history. There were some opinions about particular aspects of museums such as who ought to own collections - collectors or the public - or how to best accomodate objects. Most evidence, however, can only be derived from limited descriptions of museums.

Early Museology and Prototype Museums

It is tempting to assume that the history of museums and their work is identical to that of the term museum as understood today. Thus, one begins the history of museums and museum thought with the most notable museum of antiquity, the Alexandrian Museum, an institution devoted to learning founded by Ptolemy Philadelphus in the third century B.C. But the word was derived from earlier Greek usage; a mouseion, literally a place where the Muses dwelt, was a place for an act of contemplation through reverence or thought. Mouseion took on physical definition as a small building or shrine to the nine Muses containing statues of the Goddesses but also applied to existing temples.²¹ There silver and gold in the form of bullion on objects ready for community need, symbolic objects such as the spears of Achilles or the sword of Pelops or large bones of a giant race of ancestors, exotic items such as the tusks of elephant, and the skins of hairy savage women of Africa might be found. The collections were often believed to have magical or curative powers. At a later date, the mouseion came to be associated with a Lyceum, a centre for learning, where the statues of founders of a school surrounded the halls as reminders to the student.²² Aristotle whom one historian called the "greatest collector the world ever saw" ran such a school. He had thousands of agents gathering and observing animal life to build information for his

²¹The Muses were the nine daughters of Zeus and Mnemosyne believed to live in mountain areas such as Mount Helicon; they began as deities of streams and flowing water, evolving to represent poetry and the arts such as music, dance, tragedy, comic drama, history and drama as discussed in J.H. Rose, Handbook of Greek Mythology (London, 1953), pp. 51, 173-174.

²²N. Holst claimed that Aristotle coined the term 'mouseion' for the literary academy, Creators, Collectors and Connoisseurs, p. 24.

work, History of Animals.

Nonetheless, there were other places where modern museum-like activities took place and represent additional claimants to the ancestry of the modern museum in antiquity. Whether Noah's Ark, prehistoric examples, the collections of King Solomon or King Nebuchadnezzar II of Babylon were the first is a moot point.²³ Sir Leonard Woolley found evidence of collections of the Kings of Sumeria, Babylon and Syria whose libraries often held birds and specimens along with clay tablets. At Ur he found a room full of local antiquities including some original bricks of an earlier building along with a clay drum composed a hundred years earlier recording their significance.²⁴

Even in the Greek period there were phenomena other than the mouseion which could claim ancestry to the modern museum. For example, there was a picture gallery to show native painters at the end of the fourth century while there were art museums for older works.²⁵ Pausanias recorded a pinakothek next to the Propylaea in Athens. In the third century B.C. guides provided lectures to visitors on the sculpture at Olympia and Samos while reproductions were available as souvenirs or veneration objects.

Two great collections on the fringes of the Greek territory provided a model for later museums. In Pergamum, works were excavated and painters set to Delphi to make copies of the famous pieces. Scholars researched the histories of individuals' works, and their creators. In a

²³David Murray, Museums: Their History and Their Use (Glasgow, 1904), Chapter 1.

²⁴F.H. Taylor, The Taste of Angels, p. 7. The museum of art in Shoso-in, Japan, contains the temple treasure house of a Japanese emperor with objects for the veneration of great men and has existed intact since its erection in A.D. 756.; G. Bazin, The Museum Age, p. 35. It is difficult to know whether, as George Kubler has claimed in The Shape of Time, Remarks on the History of Things (London, 1962), p. 44, that the long tradition of collecting and connoisseurship is only to be found in China, Japan and European cultures; in any case, there is a long tradition in the Western World.

²⁵N. von Holst, Creators, p. 24.

library near the Temple of Athens in 1708 B.C. Eumenes II set up a series of representative sculpture from the sixth to third centuries while in the reception hall sculptures of poets, historians and philosophers provided a history museum; it was surrounded by a stoa, a colonnaded sheltered walk that Leo Von Klenze would imitate much later in the Alte Pinakothek.²⁶

But it was the Alexandrian Mouseion which became the model most often claimed as museum originator. The idea of the museum originated with Demetrius of Phaleron (354-3 B.C.) a student of Aristotle who had been banished from Athens to become the founder, librarian, and director of the New Museum. It was to be a kind of university of Egypt where the intellectual leaders would gather to represent the best of Greek learning and culture. It was a research institute where Hellenic letters were sorted, and where thought and experiment would further science; a collection of statues of thinkers, votive objects, scientific instruments and elephant tusks or animal hides supported the study purposes. The art collections, however, were kept in the palace of the Ptolemies.

For the Romans, the term 'mouseion' referred only to certain villas where discussions of philosophy took place. In a sense, all of Rome was a museum rather than one institution.²⁷ Public ways, theatres, gardens, baths and temples contained collections. After the time of Claudius the public sites were directed by one administrator, while individual guardians, 'alduimii', ran individual sites where they saw to the upkeep of the site and collections and acted as guides. They set up security systems as thefts were frequent. Another public expression was the Temple of Concord, rebuilt by Augustus to be a museum of Imperial Rome, containing statues, paintings, stones and jewels, and masterpieces of known artists.

Gradually, however, collecting became a more private activity supported by a very active art and antiquities market located in the whole

²⁶G. Bazin, The Museum Age, p. 14 and F.H. Taylor, The Taste of Angels, p. 16.

²⁷G. Bazin, The Museum Age, p. 23.

quarter of Rome, the Villa Publica. Cicero described the numerous private collections while he owned eighteen villas full of objects. Some collections held natural items as Pliny's Natural History lists examples in temples, sites and private collections such as the bones of two men over nine feet tall kept in the gardens of the Sallust family. Murray reports that Pliny noted that the items were kept in 'conditorio', a term used for a cabinet of curiosity.²⁸

Another type of museum precursor was Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli where he constructed buildings as reproductions of famous places - the Lyceum of the Academy of Athens, four copies of the caryatids of the Erechtheum (with arms). It was a virtual open-air museum with "period rooms" and copies of famous statues.

A theory about museums, in so far as we know, was not recorded; however, opinions were expressed about particular aspects of museums. For example, there were critiques of the Alexandrian museums; Timon of Philus in *On the Alexandrian* (230 B.C.) called the institution "the bird-coop of the Muses."²⁹ In Rome, some authors commented on how best to show works. The architect Vitruvius designed houses in which there would often be a room reserved for art; according to his instructions these rooms should be on the north "because the light is the same at every hour and therefore the colours always remain constant."³⁰ This prescription of north light would be rediscovered and become the rule for museum architecture in the late eighteenth century.

There was also controversy about the rights of the public versus the owner regarding collections and public access in Rome. Collectors were charged with hoarding; Agrippa challenged collectors to "rendering public

²⁸David Murray, The Museums, p. 5 and George Bazin, The Museum Age, p. 8.

²⁹Edward A. Parsons, The Alexandrian Library (London, 1952), p. 168; See also E.N. Forster, Alexandria: A History and a Guide (1938), p. 26; F.H. Taylor, A Taste of Angels, p. 8; D. Murray, Museums, p. 7.

³⁰Vitruvius, De Architectura, p. 2.

all paintings and statues which would be of more value than selling them to country houses" and he threw open his own collection. Julius Caesar gave his collection, six collections of engraved stones, to the Temple of Venus Gentrix. The Emperor Tiberius was forced by popular protest to return the Apoxyomeno of Lysippus to public display. Thus, there were avid collectors and there were equally concerned defenders of the community right to see objects. These are arguments that return with the modern museum.

By the end of the fourth century both the terms 'mouseion' and 'museum' fell into disuse until the fifteenth century although collecting habits continued.

During the Middle Ages the evidence of museology is still indirect; the major centres for collections were ecclesiastical or royal. Most churches, cathedrals or monasteries had small vaulted rooms attached containing a mixture of objects given by pilgrims, travellers or crusaders as at St. Mark's in Venice. These chambers held relics such as the remains of parts of the body, clothing or objects associated with the life or crucifixion of Christ, the Virgin, apostles or saints and were stored in containers of gold or silver in the shape of coffins which came to be called reliquaries and were used as part of worship or believed to have miraculous or therapeutic powers. Illuminated manuscripts, and works of art such as tapestries, vestments, sacred metals, gems and cameos from the East and even classical antiquities could be found with the relics. One such famous treasure was that of Saint Denis in Paris where Abbot Suger gathered to honour God "with all inner purity and with all outward splendor"; thus, "every costlier or costliest thing should serve first and foremost for the administration of the Holy Eucharist."³¹

³¹ Edwin Panofsky, "Abbot Suger of St. Denis," in David Rosand, ed., Meaning in the Visual Arts (Garden City, New York, 1957), p. 108.

He even had specialists as curators and restorers. Despite its idealistic purpose, the collection would seem a strange and curious agglomeration as one traveller noted:

Charles the Great's Crown in which there is a Rubie of the Bigness of a Pidgin's Egg; a large Cup of oriental Aggat, which they count much of; one of the Nails that fixed our Saviour's Bodie to the Cross, sent to Charles the Great by Constantine V, Emperor of Constantinople; One of the Potts wherein our Saviour changed the water into wine at the marriage of Cana in Galilee; the Pucel of Orleans Sword, wherewith she overcame the English; the lantern that was carried before Judas, when he betrayed our Saviour; and a thousand other things of great value.³²

Often items from the natural world were on display as at Meresburg where on the porch of the Cathedral there hung the large upper shell of a tortoise; the churches in Heilbronn in Wurtemberg and Alpirsbach in the Black Forest held "antidiluvian" bones. The Cathedral of Halberstadt had on one wall the bones of Jonah's whale and on the opposite wall hung a stone axe, named a thunderbolt, to ward off natural disasters. Common objects were the claws of the griffin usually a goat's horn, ostrich eggs often identified as griffin eggs, and, the unicorn horn, giant's bones, mummies, or human skulls.³³ While these objects had spiritual and magical effect they were also simply attractions to draw people to church.

The royal collections acted both as an economic source and a symbol of power. Charlemagne, once he had adopted the imperial title, sent monks to Italy to obtain early Christian works of art and commissioned objects of art to be made by craftsmen appropriate to his position. These collections were distributed before his death to the twenty-one cities of his realm.

A growing interest in Roman antiquity was expressed in 1162 when an edict of the Senate of Rome protected the Column of Trajan as an honour to

³²D. Murray, Museums, p. 198.

³³A. Wittlin, p. 75; F.H. Taylor, A Taste of Angels, p. 31; G. Bazin, The Museum Age, p. 115-6.

the Roman people.³⁴ The Emperor Frederick II had copies of antique statues and sponsored excavations in Sicily. There were private collectors such as Cardinal Giordano Orsini who, in the twelfth century, set up a cabinet of antiquities which he converted to a public museum of souvenirs of ancient Rome.³⁵ In 1369, Olivero Forza of Treviso produced an inventory of his collection called an "Antiquarium" which may be the oldest collection with a record still extant listing medallions, intaglios, pottery, bronzes, statues in marble, lion, horse, oxen and male nudes.³⁶ Another collector was the Duc de Berry (1340-1416) who had numerous collections scattered in his many chateaux, including jewels, embroideries, fabrics, games, souvenirs, 300 manuscripts, relics, tongues of serpents, horns of unicorn, horns of stag beetle, as well as historical portraits of the famous hung in the main hall.³⁷

Thus, the collecting and exhibiting of objects to represent some value remained an essential social activity although the word 'museum' was not used.³⁸ Furthermore, it is likely that popular forms of exhibitions as entertainment existed although not recorded. For example, by the seventeenth century in Rome, there were still a series of casual art exhibitions related to church feast days at the Pantheon that were rooted in earlier practices.³⁹

³⁴James Bruce Ross, "A Study of Twelfth Century Interest in the Antiquities of Rome," Medieval and Historiographical Essays in Honour of James Westfall Thompson (ed.); James Lea Cate and Eugene N. Anderson (Chicago, 1938), pp. 302-321.

³⁵G. Bazin, The Museum Age, p. 41.

³⁶A. Wittlin, Museums, p. 27; F.H. Taylor, The Taste of Angels, p. 44, G. Bazin, The Museum Age, p. 45.

³⁷G. Bazin, The Museum Age, pp. 38-39.

³⁸Ibid., p. 44.

³⁹Francis Haskell, "Art Exhibitions in XVII Century Rome," Studi Secenteschi 1 (Firenze, 1960), 107-121.

From the fifteenth century on, collecting entered another phase. The increase in the number and type of collections is the key to this change; during this period, there seems to have been a phenomenal growth in the number of collections by individuals and agencies, the types of objects suitable for collecting as well as the creative invention of a variety of names for the museum phenomena.

Although foreshadowed in the Venetian collecting of preceding centuries, our first awareness of an increase in collecting occurs in Italy between 1450 and 1550 centered in a growing appreciation and desire for the acquisition and preservation of antiquities. Artists were among the first to express this interest; the sculptor Ghiberti created a small collection of antique works in 1439, while Mantegna set up an archaeological museum in his house at Mantua. Their collections acted as art schools providing models for developing their talents.⁴⁰ Artists contributed to the changing role of art as more than decoration; it was in Florence that the first paintings small enough to carry from room to room were produced while the artists' personality emerged as subjects became more realistic and secular. The collecting interests of the artists spread to scholars and to wealthy families; in Florence, the centre of the money market in Western Europe, wealthy families of collectors, not the least of which were the Medici, led the collecting activities.

Cosimo the Elder, in addition to establishing the Medici Library, considered to be the first great library to exist since the Roman period, began to collect reliefs, statues and various other valued items for his palace.⁴¹ In 1456, he had 300 medals in silver, seventeen in gold, seventeen cameos, and Byzantine icons; six years later, the collections had expanded to include tapestries, musical instruments, leather, jewels, rings,

⁴⁰G. Bazin, The Museum Age, p. 44.

⁴¹N. von Holst, Creators, p. 63-6. and G. Bazin, The Museum Age, p. 44-5.

pearls, cameos, books, silver plate, armour, clocks, astronomical instruments and the number of items had doubled. Paintings and sculpture were not yet valued enough to be listed until the 1490's. His son Lorenzo, expressing the interests of his time, added gems, cameos, and intaglios.

According to Germain Bazin, the word 'museum' was first used to describe the book and gem collections of Lorenzo, the museo dei codici.⁴² Others however, date the re-entry of the term 'Museum' to the noted collector Paolo Giovio (1483-1552), a humanist, who started to build a collection of portraits, both originals and copies, after 1520.⁴³ His book Elogia Literaria of 1546 contained a section entitled 'Musaei Descripto', a description of his collection; thus, the term 'Museum' from the Latin and Greek was re-introduced as other collectors followed Giovio such as Jacopo Strada in 1553 and von Quiechenberg in 1565.

In the late fifteenth century collecting shifted from Florence to Rome where building programmes unearthed ancient statues daily. Cardinal Alessandro Farnese was the first to excavate sites systematically. By 1500 there were about 1500 statues above ground and twenty gardens or rooms where statues and copies were arranged amidst the flora.⁴⁴ In 1550 Aldrovandi listed more than a hundred collections of monuments in Rome. The early interest in the large colossal statues diminished as there was a limited supply quickly absorbed by the wealthy collectors until, in 1534, the Pope banned the removal of works of art from Italy. Collectors turned to smaller objects - medals, bronzes, coins, and paintings.

From 1500 on there developed a number of different types of collections throughout Europe. One estimate of the collections of coins and medals was 380 in Italy, 200 in France, 200 in the Low Countries, and

⁴²G. Bazin, The Museum Age, p. 58.

⁴³N. von Holst, Creators, p. 90.

⁴⁴F.H. Taylor, The Taste of Angels, p. 299.

175 in Germany.⁴⁵ Art collections followed; in Germany numerous collections of art such as that of Willibald Imhoff of Nuremburg contained Durers and began a catalogue, Basilius Amerbach of Basle in 1570 according to a catalogue had twenty-nine paintings, 1068 drawings, all carefully arranged by schools and dates. Edmond Bonnaffé in the Dictionnaire des amateur francais au dix-septieme siecle listed over 1100 currieux in France who collected quality works of art.⁴⁶

Natural history items were not excluded; some were combined with collections of other objects such as the Medici collections which had exotic plants, animals, fossils and minerals, which eventually became the core of La Specola, the Zoological Museum of the University of Florence.⁴⁷ Natural History specimens were also gathered into separate collections and not just in the northern countries as has been stated by F.H. Taylor; they were called 'museo naturale' and one historian reported 250 in sixteenth century Italy alone.⁴⁸ Conrad Gesner (1516-1565), the Swiss zoologist, sometimes considered the Father of Zoology, set up one of the first museums for natural history.⁴⁹ By the end of the fifteenth century, medical museums were well established as the use of alcohol as a preservative and later injected preparations, the microscope and wax models for dissected

⁴⁵D. Murray, Museums, p. 15.

⁴⁶N. von Holst, Creators, p. 100.

⁴⁷Maria L.A. Puccetti, "La Specola, The Zoological Museum of the University of Florence," Curator 15 (1972), 93-112.

⁴⁸F.H. Taylor stressed the distinction between the religious and scientific interest in the north of Europe marked by the "Wunderkammer" collections contrasted to the southern "cultural" interests which produced the "Gallery" and "Academy," Babel's Tower, p. 12. This interpretation built on that of Julius von Schlosser, Die Kunst und Wunderkammer der Spätrenaissance (1908) which has been challenged by Rudolf Berliner, "Zur alteren Geschichte der allgemeinen Museumslehre in Deutschland," Munchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst, N.F. IV (1928), 327-350 and Hans Huth, "Museum and Gallery," in Essays in Honor of George Swarzenski (Chicago, 1952), p. 238.

⁴⁹P.J. Whitehead, "Museums in the History of Zoology," Part I, Museums Journal, 70 (2) (1970), 50-57.

portions or pathological specimens allowed for the study and display of medical material and instruments.

One of the major types of collection was the princely or royal collection often became the basis of national museums although not in England. There may have been about a dozen representatives of these usually mixed collections in Europe. One example was that of Francis I at Fontainebleau where originals and reproductions of statues were placed in gardens and promenades. Christian pictures were hung in the palace chapels or living-rooms. The more worldly pictures such as Leonardo's Leda and the Swan were set into stucco in the five vaulted chambers which were the baths and rest-rooms. A 'studiolo', after the Florentine fashion, contained statuettes, gems, medals and coins and precious objects acquired from Rome and was located in the upper floor of the Pavilion of St. Louis.⁵⁰ Other examples of princely collections were that of the Schloss Ambras of Archduke Ferdinand of Tirol (1500-1595) and the Kunst-und-Naturalienkammer of Elector Augustus I of Saxony (1530-1586).

With the increase in the number and types of collection, came one of the earliest museological acts that of recording the holdings of collections. Lists and guides to a selection of museums for collectors or

⁵⁰The French court became a centre of collections as ambassadors and travellers gave different objects, both natural and man-made, as gifts to the monarch. The most precious were kept in the cabinet of the king. The first garde was the cosmographer Andre Thevet was succeeded by Jean Mocquet. The cabinet came to be called the 'cabinet de singularites' but disappeared fourteen years after it was created. A collection of medals, ethnographic and archaeological materials, books, however, were re-established at Fontainebleau by Henry IV then in 1667 transferred to the Bibliotheque royale where they remained until the nineteenth century. This example reveals the changes and phases that a collection may undergo over time. As outlined in Dr. E.-T. Hamy, Les Origines des Musée Ethnographie Histoire et Documents (Paris, 1890).

tourists became the vogue on the continent.⁵¹ According to these guides, the sundry cabinets, libraries, galleries and collections were open for the most part at least to educated travellers although some were more accessible than others. As Hans Huth has pointed out, however, the literature on the collections in this period was written predominantly by antiquarians and scientists whose catalogues and guides describe the museums of artifacts and naturalia, part of the revival of scientific learning.⁵² Art galleries and popular entertainments were not written about in the same fashion, yet, and thus, have been under-represented in the history of early collections.

The 'Public' Museum

The adoption of the word museum was also encouraged by the evolution of a sense of public or social agency in the modern period. Some historians of museums have marked the eighteenth century as the origin of the public museum.⁵³ Bazin states that the French Revolution marks the point at which museums become official institutions in the public interest.⁵⁴ For others

⁵¹One of the earliest was La Croix du Maines followed in 1612 by Itinerarum Galliae, then Ulysses Belgico-Gallicus (1631). Voyage de France pour l'instruction et la commodité tant des français que des étrangers (1639). Curieuse des diverse villes (1645) and Traite des Bibliothèques by Dom Jaco (1644). Pierre Borel of Castres (1614-1671) wrote a list of the major cabinets of Europe in 1649 while Dr. Jacob Spon, a collector from Lyon, developed lists on the eighty principal cabinets in 1673. In the 1690's de Bleguy in Livre Commode identified 134 famous 'cureuse'. F.H. Taylor has recorded that in France cabinets could be found at one time or another in Rouen, Lyons, Tours, Dijon, Troyes, p. 199. Outside of France, Philipp Jakob Sachse von Lowenheim of Breslau and Johan Daniel Major of Kiel (1634-1693) wrote about various cabinets while in Italy in 1664 Nota delli Meusi, gallerie ornamenti di Statue e pitture ne palazzi e ne giardini di Roma listed the collections in Rome.

⁵²Note that D. Murray, Museums, excluded galleries of paintings and sculpture while Schlosser, Die Kunst und Wunderkammer der Spätrenaissance gave only a cursory treatment as discussed in Hans Huth, "Museum and Gallery," p. 239.

⁵³A. Wittlin, Museums, p. 81.

⁵⁴G. Bazin, The Museum Age, p. 194.

the beginning of the public museum might be the Ashmolean Museum, or the British Museum or even the 1845 Museums Act. Laurence Vail Coleman referred to the origin of the 'modern museum' as around 1916 and more likely 1933, for at that time there was a qualitative change in museums.⁵⁵

Obviously, different criteria are being used by these theorists.

For example, the claim that the Ashmolean was the first public museum in Britain should be clarified. Tradescant's Ark was more accessible to the public than the Ashmolean; the latter was public in a different sense in that it was established by a corporate body rather than a private person and is in that sense a first. But Oxford University had earlier collections in various colleges while the Bodleian Library had portraits of famous men associated with the university placed around the ceiling in the upper floor in the early 1600's and the Examination Schools had an official portrait gallery. There could actually be several contenders for the first public museum: Venice (1523); the city of Zurich (1629); Basle (1661); the Museum National d'Histoire Naturelle in Paris (1635); Rome with the Museo Capitolino (1740). The Ashmolean (1683) can claim to be the first museum organized as a public institution with a pedagogical aim for which a special building was erected while the British Museum was the first national museum created by government not derived from a royal collection (1759).

⁵⁵

L.V. Coleman, Museum Buildings, (Washington, 1950), Chapter 1.

⁵⁶ For example, Basilius (1533-1591) had a collection which the town council in 1662 bought when the family finances declined; the town gave the collection to the university who displayed the collection in a house. The following is an approximate list of the dates of major collections: Venice (1523); Zurich (1629); Museum National d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris (1635); Basle (1661); Ashmolean (1683); Besancon (1694); Museo Capitolino (1740's) Uffizi, State of Tuscany (1737); British Museum, London (1759); Charleston Museum, South Carolina, British Colonies (1773); Belvedere, Vienna (1781); Louvre, Paris (1793); National Gallery of Art, Haarlem, Holland (1800); National Museum, Budapest, Hungary (1802); Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia, United States (1805); National Museum, Copenhagen, Denmark (1807); National Museum, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil (1818); Prado, Madrid, Spain (1809); National Museum, Buenos Aires, Argentina (1823); Colonia Museum, Woolloomooloo, Australia (1828); Altes Museum, Berlin (1823-1830).

The formation of the national museums followed a pattern, beginning often as a gift to the nation from a collection whether of a reigning house or an individual collector while others started by confiscation. In 1734, a palace finished by the Popes in 1655 was transferred to the public by Pope Clement XII - the Museo Capitolino. At her death in 1743, Anna Maria Ludovica, daughter of Cosimo III transferred the Uffizi collections to the State of Tuscany; other galleries followed these examples opening their doors as public institutions.

The term 'public' could also be defined in terms of access rather than governing authority. Public access had been an important issue in Roman times; the public had some access to the religious collections in the Middle Ages as well usually during the ceremonies. Access to the early private collections was often restricted to artists or scholars. Lorenzo d'Medici's guests could observe some objects on the occasion of banquets while artists could study sculpture in the gardens. Eventually by 1471 Sixtus IV donated the bronze statues in the papal collection in the Lateran Palace to the citizens of Rome and had them placed on the Capitoline Hill for all to see. This shift from the museum as a privately owned palace with little public access to a museum with a greater public role became more manifest over the next two centuries.

During the eighteenth century in particular, pursuant to Enlightenment beliefs, a more liberal treatment of the public developed. For example, entrance to the Dresden Gallery located in a building near the palace was made easier after 1746. From 1770 at Salzdhulm, near Brunswick, two-hour scheduled tours were available for visitors. In Vienna, free admission three times a week was instituted for the public by 1781 when the paintings were moved to the Upper Belvedere; consequently, artists protested that "waiter's helpers and the lowest type of women" compromised the "silent contemplation of the works of art."⁵⁷ In Italy although the Palazzo Pitti was difficult to visit, the Uffizi was open to the public from 1765 after which time plate labels with the artist's name were

⁵⁷N. von Holst, Creators, p. 205.

attached to the paintings. Perhaps another indication of the public's entry into the museum was the addition of the fig leaf to classical sculpture from 1760.

'Public' could have other implications such as national, cultural or economic well-being. In Europe this idea of the broader purpose for collections was clearly recognized. David Major of Kiel in 1674 claimed that "the Collections should not exist solely as a divertisement for princes, or the rich, but for an exposition useful to all."⁵⁸ Colbert, as Minister of France, projected his ideal concept of the Louvre as a royal national museum and in 1681, the Grand Galleries was opened as a picture gallery for the Royal Academy and the instruction of young artists.⁵⁹ From 1699, it was used for the exposition of Academy painters; the impact of this policy was viewed as indispensable for France as Diderot acknowledged:

Ever blessed be the memory of him who, by instituting this public exhibition of art stirred up the artists to emulation, provided all ranks of society, and particularly people of taste, with a useful and pleasant recreation, reversed the decadence of art amongst us and made the nation more enlightened and more critical in this subject.

In his opinion it was clear why the ancients produced artists:

It was because awards and honours awakened talents and because the public, accustomed to look at nature and to compare it with works of art, was a judge that could not be gainsaid.⁶⁰

The ideas of the Encyclopedists extended beyond art and training artists; Diderot proposed turning the Louvre into a Museum Central des Arts et des Sciences appropriate for a modern nation to contain the Royal Cabinet of Medals, Natural History and the Royal Library. Sculpture would be on the ground floor, paintings in the gallery along the Seine and scholarly societies would be placed in the building.⁶¹

⁵⁸ Cited in M. Bacesu, "L'evolution des musees de sciences naturelles," Journal of World History, 14 (1972), 78.

⁵⁹ Expositions des Tableaux des Peintures de l'Academie dans la grande Galerie du Louvre depuis le 22 Septembre, 1699.

⁶⁰ Diderot as quoted by Larousse cited by Kenneth W. Luckhurst, The Story of Exhibitions (New York, 1951), p. 16.

⁶¹ Encyclopedie, Vol. IX (1765).

Still, the central point of reform was the need for access to the works of art from which the improvement of art, taste and simultaneously the production of goods would follow. La Font de Saint-Yenne after a visit to an exhibition of contemporary painting which he judged inferior published a pamphlet in 1747 entitled Reflections on some causes of the present state of painting in France and on the fine arts in which he expounded the ideas of art and taste and offered an explanation for what he believed to be the decline in French art - the failure to study the great masters of the past.⁶² The solution would be a "vast gallery, or several contiguous galleries, well-lighted in the chateau of the Louvre"; the galleries should be filled with the royal masterpieces of art so that the Louvre could be revived as a national symbol. His work may have influenced the French government to open a public gallery in the Luxembourg Palace in 1750.⁶³

With the French Revolution, the right of the public to ownership to museums was confirmed in legislation. On August 30, 1792, the Convention passed a decree that museums were the property of the community symbolizing the principles of equality based on the rights of the individual; it also created the Musee Central des Arts.⁶⁴ Napoleon and Baron Vivant-Denon, named Director General of the Museum Napoleon in 1802, built the collections with their magnificent acquisitions from the campaigns throughout Europe.

⁶²La Font de Saint-Yenne, Reflexions sur quelques causes de l'etat present de la peinture en France, et sur les beaux-arts. Nouvelle Edition (1752).

⁶³G. Bazin, The Museum Age, p. 194 and James Leo Connolly, The Movement to Create a National Gallery of Art in Eighteenth Century France (Ph.D., University of Kansas, 1962), p. 103.

⁶⁴The National Convention of 1792-94 created four institutions: Musee Central des Arts, Musee d'histoire Naturelle, Musee des Arts et Metiers, Musee des Monuments Francais.

There was, however, not universal acceptance of the Enlightenment ideal of the role of museums in society as Quatremere de Quincy represented when protesting the transfer of Roman statues to Paris:

The strange system which has prevailed for sometime in Europe. The public has become persuaded that the secret to making the Arts flourish lies in the virtue of these assemblages of works known as collections, cabinets, museums. All the nations, in emulation of one another, have made such a singular thing of them that one has not yet thought of noticing that masterpieces or models brought together at great expense, all existed before there were collections and that since one has made Museums to create Masterpieces, there are no longer any Masterpieces to fill the Museums.⁶⁵

The 'Museum' Ambiguity

Up until the mid-1500's most collections were named after the type of room in which they were situated - 'studiolo', 'camerino', 'anti-quario', 'anticamera'. When items were removed from their holding place and put on display it could be in a furniture container (a cabinet) or a small room (closet) or a larger room (gallery). During the period from 1500 to 1800, many terms were invented or re-discovered by creative collectors some of which did not last longer than their creators; only one of these terms was 'museum'.⁶⁶

Usage does not seem to have depended on any particular association between one term and one type of collection; to a large degree, use was based on individual choice or, perhaps, cultural variation. 'Museum' had several meanings during this period gradually becoming the technical term for collections of objects of art, monuments of antiquity, specimens of natural history, mineralogy. It was used, however, in two senses - to represent the collection and the idea of the knowledge represented or as

⁶⁵Quatremere de Quincy, *Considerations morales sur la destination des ouvrages d'art* (1815) as cited in G. Bazin, The Museum Age, p. 191.

⁶⁶A. Aldrovandi, Museum Metallicum in libros iii distributum, Ambrosinus composuit (Bologna, 1648). Thorough discussions of etymological evolution of the term 'museum' are offered in A. Wittlin, Museums, pp. 221-225 and D. Murray, Museums, especially Chapter V as well as other sources.

its physical place of keeping. Some of the encyclopaedic character of the Alexandrian Mouseion was retained when the word was used to entitle books that provided a survey of information on a topic. Thus, Aldrovandi, the collector and naturalist, wrote Museum Metallico as a summary volume on metals which also made reference to his collections.⁶⁷ Dr. Valentini wrote Museum Museorum in 1704 as a survey of chemists' minerals. The Museum Minerva was the title for the learned academy established by Frances Kynaston in Covent Garden. Other examples of the use of 'museum' to refer to the collections, specifically, were the coin collection of Goltz in 1563, the Rariora Musaei Herici Fuires, M.D., quae Academiae regiae Hafniae legavit (1663) and the collections of coins and gems of Jacob de Wilde, Amsterdam (1792) the Museum Florentinum.⁶⁸

'Museum' also was identified as a specific type of physical holding place for collections, particularly in England in the eighteenth century. Thus, Nathan Bailey in the English Dictionary of 1737 defined the museum as "a study or library; also a college or publick place for the resort of learned men." Daniel Defoe in A Tour Thro' the Whole of Great Britain by a Gentleman referred to "the museum or chamber of rarities." Dr. Johnson referred to the museum as a "repository of learned curiosities."⁶⁹ Collectors competed to originate new terms for museums which as in the case of 'museum' could apply either to the physical space, i.e. container, room, or to the collections and their purpose. (See Figures 3 and 4) The term 'museum' had one advantage other than classical usage which may explain its growing use by the eighteenth century. It did not contain a reference to any specific kind of architecture or container, nor to one type of material; referring to the purpose or phenomenon of a place containing

⁶⁷M.B. Valentini, Museum Museorum (Frankfort, 1704 and 1714).

⁶⁸D. Murray, Museums, Chapter V.

⁶⁹Ibid.

Figure 5TERMINOLOGY OF COLLECTIONS

I. As a Physical Place

<u>Term</u>	<u>Examples</u>
Cabinet (French adopted to English) Kabinet, German	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "Cabinet of Curiosities," Ward, <u>Lives of the Professors of Gresham College</u> (London, 1740), p. 100 - "Cabinet of shells," John Evelyn, <u>Diary</u> - "A paradise and cabinet of rarities," both by John Evelyn, <u>Diary</u>
Study equivalent to Museum (Latin adopted to English)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "Signor Angeloni's study; where with greater leisure we survey'd the rarities, as his cabinets and medaills especially," John Evelyn, <u>Diary</u>, ii, p. 128
Closet equivalent to cabinet	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "Closet of Curiosities," of E. Ashmole; John Evelyn, <u>Diary</u>, p. 326 - "After dinner, his highness was pleased to call us into his closet, and show us many curiosities," John Ray, <u>Travels Through the Low Countries</u> (London, 1738), p. 71
Galerie (French) Galeria (Italian) Gallery (English)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "His Galerie of Curiosities," Sir Andrew Balfour as synonymous with Museum in <u>Letters</u>, p. 245 - "We have two very long galleries," Francis Bacon, <u>New Atlantis</u>, in <u>Works</u>, p. 165
Repository	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Royal Society - The British Museum
Kammer (German for room)	
Ark	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Tradescant's Ark
The Egyptian Hall	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Bullock's Museum

Figure 6TERMINOLOGY OF COLLECTIONS

II. As Content

Cimelium, Cimeliotheca	- Robert Ainsworth's account of John Kemp's museum.
Pinakothekai	- Olaf Bromel of Gothenburg; in ancient Greece a collection of paintings, or sculpture. Vitruvius described pinacotheca as a room in the house.
Thesaurus	- Kentman termed his collection as 'arca rerum fossilium'.
Physiotheca	- Jorgen Hahn (1699)
Rarotheca Cemeliarchium	- Bruchmann, <u>Epitstola Itineraria</u> ; Lorenz Berger used for the cabinets of the Elector Palatine of Rhine and Elector of Brandenburg (1696); Gazophylacium
Gazophylacium	- A common name for cabinet of coins and gems, originally the treasury of a church.
Technicotheca Regia	- T. Bartholin on the Copenhagen Museum (1652)
Technophysiocotameium	- Daniel William Moeller (1704)
Exotikothaumatourgematotameion	- "place full of foreign wonders," Sachse von Lowenheim
Exotitktechnothaeumatourgematotameion	- David Major
Eine Schatz-Raritäten-Naturalien Kunst-Vernunft-Kammer, Zimmer Oder Gemach	- Neickelius, <u>Museographia</u>

Other Terms

Abacotheca, Thaumatotheca, Cimeliotheca, Schatzkammer, Raritäten-cabinet, Raritäten-Kammer, Curiositätenkabinett, Kunst-Kammer

Terms for Specific Collections

Naturalien Cabinet
Munz Cabinet
Mineralien Cabinet

collections, the word museum could have become the generic term. Soon 'museum' applied to both the collection and to the place in which it was held; by the end of the eighteenth century the acceptance of 'museum' was complete. In France by 1800 'le musée' replaced the archaic 'le museum', in Italy the word was 'museo' but in Germany and England two words remained Pinakothek and Art Gallery respectively, as well as Museum.

It is important to note that 'museum' could apply to either the collection or its physical place; the term retains this ambiguity today and is reflected in whether we view the museum as a place, an institution or building within four walls or a process based on its collections, and in whether we see the museum as a collection of objects or of ideas represented by objects.

The dilemma of the modern museum was foreshadowed in the complicated roots of the museum as a word and a phenomenon. Between the image of the temple and forum; between the museum as a pedagogic pursuit or a fun place; between the museum as a process of synthesis - gathering, repository and scientific role - dissipation - or the outreach of education and exhibition; between the virtuoso and the scholar; between objects as unique items and objects as specimens.

As the word 'Museum' was adopted as the generic term for the social gathering of material objects much as the library was used for collections of books, there still remained an ambiguity about what the museum was. There was also no clearly defined science of the philosophy and practice of museums. There were, however, a variety of museological prototypes and opinions about them which would be met again and again in the period after 1845 complicated by the forces of the Industrial Revolution first experienced in Britain.

CHAPTER FIVE

ESTABLISHING THE PATTERNS - THE MUSEUM CONTEXT IN BRITAIN TO 1845

In any event, the museum as a cultural idea had become so well embedded in the educated men's consciousness as to serve as a convenient and graphic metaphor for the variety of the world in which men lived.

- Richard Altick¹

To understand the complexities of contemporary museums it is essential to consider the blend of past and present philosophies that are embodied in them and the variety of the types of museum which co-exist throughout Britain. A typology of museums in 1845 and a theory of the evolution of their forms combined with the various ideas about museums can be developed to assist in comprehending the seemingly disparate picture of museums.

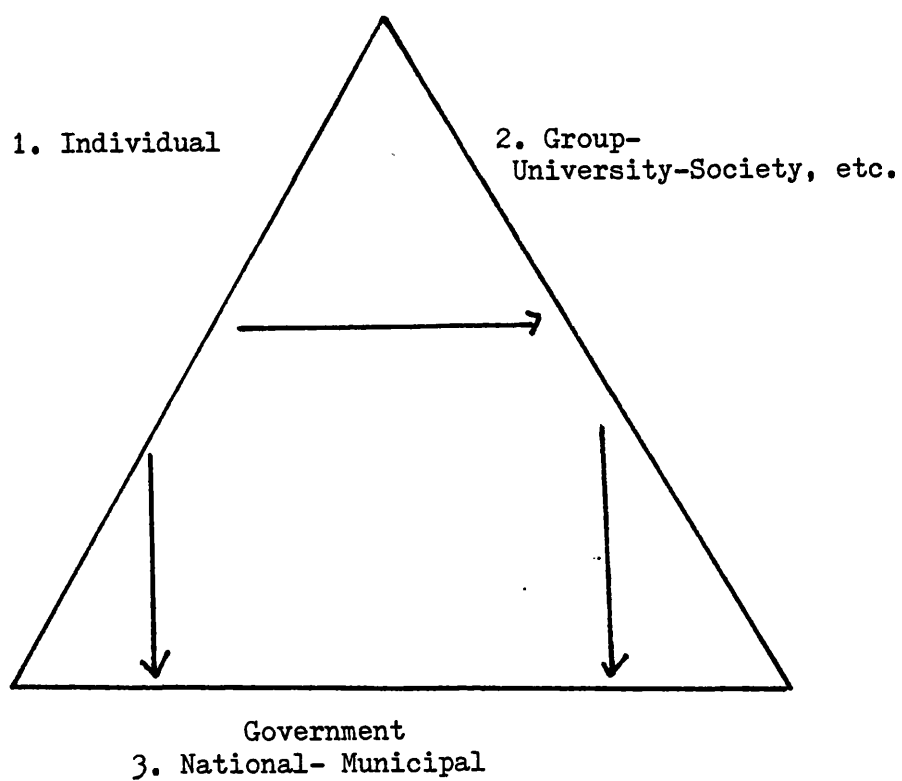
Museum writers who tend to interpret the specific dates, such as 1880, 1920 or 1950, as turning points in museum reform have tended to minimize the number, type and role of museums in earlier periods. Certain details about museum development in Britain have become accepted evidence in general museum history; Sir Henry Miers in his Report on the Public Museums of the British Isles (1928) argued that before 1800 there were five museums - the Ashmolean (1683), the Spalding Gentlemen's Society Museum (1710), the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries in Scotland (1781), Ipswich Museum (1791) and Stonyhurst College (1794).² Miers' findings represented only those museums still in existence in 1928; nevertheless, there has been a tendency to interpret the figures to represent the sum total of museums existing in the earlier time exclusive of the evidence of some famous museums such as the Leverian Museum, Bullock's Museum, the Royal Society Museum, and university collections, many of which have disappeared or entered another phase of their history.

Of the existing interpretations of museum development it is that of

¹Richard Altick, The Shows of London (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), p. 32.

²Sir Henry Miers, A Report on the Public Museums of the British Isles (Other than the National Museums) (Edinburgh, 1928), p. 10.

Figure 7

MUSEUM PATHS

Paul Marshal Rea that comes closest to explaining the historical evidence adequately.³ To some extent, the museum, like other social institutions, could be viewed as a living organism with a life-cycle or, using a natural history analogy, a genus marked by successive species, each a modification or improvement on its predecessors; those that don't adapt to changing circumstances remain static or disappear. This analogy would seem to be more helpful than models based on linear, progressive or generational patterns in explaining the evidence of museum growth.

Often, museums began with individuals and ended at the death of the collector, so disappearing from history. Some collectors' museums passed through a transition to be passed on in or outside the family; many museum collections entered a new stage perhaps to be attached to a larger social group by donation, bequest or purchase. The social unit, university, society, or government, theoretically, could guarantee the collection's existence in perpetuity. No longer would the collection be dependant upon the transience of the lifetime of the individual collector; thousands of early collections and museums were lost to sale, destruction or the auction block, or changing political or religious events such as the English Civil War or the French Revolution. When the social group had the sanction of society and government, the museum emerged as a social institution within the context of the ideology of that society. Collections could also be formed by social groups where they too were subject to the vicissitudes of the groups; many collections of social groups such as the society museums and mechanic's institutes, were transferred to municipal government in Britain, there only to be plagued by continuing financial problems.

It is important to appreciate the timelessness of these events. The transition from one stage to another might occur sooner or later in the history of the museum depending on its circumstances. Museums are still being created by individuals, social groups and governments just as in the

³Paul Marshal Rea, The Museum and The Community (Lancaster, Pa., 1932), p. 5.

past. Museums also can remain at a given stage if circumstances dictate. Hence, private collections can still be found in their original state such as the Duke of Devonshire's collection at Chatsworth, while some society museums such as the Spalding Gentlemen's Society (1711) continue to operate as when founded, still depending on the volunteer work of the members.

The scenario of museum development in Britain is one of a complex of museum types and subject specializations as well as seemingly contradictory viewpoints about the role of the museum which exists as a leitmotif from 1845 to the present. The three types: 1) individual collections, 2) group collections in universities, societies and companies, 3) governmental museums at the national and local level - were all manifested in Britain. Both the types of museums and their ideologies were well-developed by 1845; thus, we will investigate the development of British museology in two stages; up to 1845 and from 1845 to 1945.

Individual Collectors

In Britain, the early fascination with the antique world of Rome found expression in the collection of Bishop Henry of Winchester, brother of King Stephen, who had one of the first collections of antiquities from Rome - small works of art, a portable altar set with cameos, gems, candlesticks, vessels and pieces collected by the Normans on the Roman hills. John Leland was the only man to be appointed a King's Antiquary when in 1533 Henry VIII appointed him; he travelled through England and Wales listing and describing antiquities. In 1572 the original, and shortlived, Society of Antiquaries was formed in London. They viewed the collection of antiquities as the key to research and preservation to meet their goal, "to separate falsehood from truth and tradition from evidence," an early scientific expression.

In an age wherein every part of science is advancing to perfection, and in a nation not afraid of penetrating into the remotest periods of their origin, or of deducting from it anything that may reflect dishonour on them.⁴

The Renaissance revival of collecting was expressed in an increase in collectors such as Sir Walter Cope, a businessman who visited India where he collected an extensive sampling of rarities judged by Thomas Platter to be "superior to all others in London."⁵ Platter was led into a room "stuffed with queer foreign objects in every corner" such as a bevy of ethnographic objects like "shoes from many lands," natural specimens like "a sea mouse (*Mus mainus*)," and natural oddities such as "a round horn which had grown on an English woman's forehead" and "an embalmed child (*Mummiea*)."

The dispersal of the English religious houses during the Reformation released vast holdings of prized relics as did the Protestant purges of Elizabeth I and the Puritans which cleansed the relics and art works from the churches. The 'girdle of St. Peter', 'Our Lady's smock', 'the combs of Mary Magdalene', 'St. Dorothy', 'St. Margaret', 'God's Coat' are just a few examples of the items that were recycled into the world of exhibits such as the Tower of London or just disposed.⁶ Richard Altick has outlined in detail the way the rare shows were adopted by the commercially enterprising such as a smith named Mark Scaliot of London who in 1578 had an exhibition with:

a lock of iron, steel and brass, of eleven pieces, and a pipe key, all of which weighed but one grain of gold. He also made a chain

⁴See J.B. Ross, "A Study of Twelfth-Century Interest in the Antiquities of Rome," Mediaeval and Historiographical Essays in Honor of James Westfall Thompson (ed.) James Leo Cate and Eugene Anderson (Chicago, 1938), pp. 302-321. Another Englishman, William of Malmesbury wrote Mirabilia Urbis Romae, a guidebook for pilgrims to the churches and monuments of Rome in three parts using the historical landmarks as evidence.

⁵Thomas Platter, Travels in England trans. Clare Williams (London, 1937), pp. 171-173.

⁶Richard Altick, The Shows of London, p. 6.

of gold, of forty-three links, which chain being fashioned to the lock and key, and put about a Flea's neck, the Flea drew them with ease....⁷

In the Jewel House of the Tower of London in the 1600's, there was a zoo, and items such as a unicorn's horn weighing 40 lb. 8 oz. valued at £6000.⁸ Altick claims that during this period gentlemen mixed with the other classes; "artisans, tradesmen, apprentices, labourers and families" visiting the various entertainments; in contrast to Europe, England had yet to see the great number of private collections of the Renaissance nobility, so the classes shared the exhibitions, at least in the seventeenth century.⁹

There were, in addition, many judgements made about the extent and quality of the collections of London by natives and visitors. Thomas Nashe's railed against gentlemen-collectors like Cope stricken with "the disease of our newfangled humorists":

I know many wise Gentlemen of this mustie vocation, who, out of loue with the times wherein they lieue...will blow their nose in a box and say it is the spettle that Diogenes spent in ones face....¹⁰

Henry Peacham was also impatient with the general level of gullibility of the watchers:

Why doe the rude vulgar so hastily post in a madnesse
To gaze at trifles, and toyes not worthy the viewing?
And thinke them happy, when may be shew's for a penny
The Fleet-street Mandrakes, that heavenly Motion of Eltham,
Westminster monyments, and Guildhall huge Corinaeus,
That horne of Windsor (of a Unicorne very likely).¹¹

There were several British equivalents to the continental princely collection formed in the seventeenth century. Thomas Howard, Earl of

⁷Ibid., p. 7.

⁸D. Murray, Museums: Their History and Their Use (Glasgow, 1904), p. 41.

⁹R. Altick, Shows, p. 8.

¹⁰Thomas Nashe, Pierce Penilesses his Supplication to the Devil (1592) as cited in R. Altick, Shows, p. 9.

¹¹Poem prefixed to Coryat's Crudities (1611) as cited in R. Altick, Shows, pp. 7-8.

Arundel and Surrey (1586-1646) travelled through Europe after school at Cambridge, returning in 1612. During further trips to Italy with Inigo Jones to study buildings and art collections of Italian notables, he acquired a taste for collecting and used a series of agents as well as his own efforts to accumulate a collection of thirty-seven statues, 128 busts, 250 inscriptions, sarcophagi, altars and fragments, drawings and rare manuscripts as well as the 'cabinet' of Daniel Nys. Arundel housed the collection in an Italian style 'galeria' and later some of the collection passed to the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.¹²

Charles I was a notable collector on the continental scale who acquired his passion for collecting in his early years in the Spanish court. He increased the English royal collections from 150 paintings to 1387 (460 in Whitehall) and 399 sculptures by 1650 although neither he nor his collection was to survive.¹³ Rubens admired the selection of paintings for he had never seen such a "quantity of pictures by great masters." Charles was not just a grand acquirer but saw the utility of collections as an Order-in-Council proves: "The study of antiquities is by good experience said to be very serviceable and useful to the general good of the State and Commonwealth."¹⁴ He appointed a Dutch craftsman, a coin and medal specialist who modelled in wax, Abraham van der Dort, to be the overseer or surveyor for life of his pictures.¹⁵

The influence of these figures may have contributed to the develop-

¹²Mary F.S. Hervey, The Life Correspondence and Collections of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel (Cambridge, 1921) and D.E.L. Haynes, The Arundel Marbles (Oxford, 1975).

¹³Oliver Millar, The Queen's Pictures (New York, 1977), p. 45.

¹⁴Glyn Daniel, A Hundred Years of Archaeology (London, 1950), p. 19. See also Stuart Piggott, Ruins in a Landscape. Essays in Antiquarianism (Edinburgh, 1976), Chapters I and III.

¹⁵Oliver Millar, The Queen's Pictures, p. 45.

ment of the virtuoso character in Britain during the period from 1590 to 1640 for whom, the notion of a collection was a symbol for learning and visible proof of 'courtly' life style. One of the earliest treatises on the proper aspects of a cabinet was written in 1527 by Sabba de Castiglione (1485-1554) of Milan. He wrote a series of works representing his memoirs and instructions on behaviour for a well-bred gentleman, a courtier.¹⁶ One volume, Circa gli ornamenti della casea, discussed the suitable areas for collecting: musical instruments, antique sculpture; modern sculptures, Michelangelo, etc. antique or modern medallions in gold, silver, bronze; portraits or paintings by Fra Filippo Lippi, Mantegna, Bellini, Perugino, Raphael, Leonardo, Guilio Romano; intarsias (mosaics, woodwork); hangings from Arras, tapestries from Flanders, carpets from Turkey; Italian or German copper engravings or woodcuts. Similarly, Henry Peacham wrote the Compleat Gentleman (1622) for the English gentleman; in 1634 the volume was re-issued and dedicated to the Earl of Arundel with a chapter on "antiquities" added "the studies of statues is profitable for all ingenious gentlemen, who are the only men that employ poets, painters and architects."¹⁷

There were a number of English writings in this genre recording visits to the continental sites and collections for polite reading or to accompany the traveller on his own Grand Tour. E. Browne in 1627 mentioned visits to the cabinet of the Duke of Tuscany, and Duke of Saxony at Dresden, the Treasury of Loretto, St. Mark, St. Denis in France and described the imperial "Repository" of Vienna. John Evelyn in his Diaries and Correspondence described numerous collections in churches, of churchmen, nobles, merchants, learned men on his tour in the 1640's as well as John Ray in Travels Through the Low Countries, Germany, Italy, France, With Curious Observations,

¹⁶Sabba de Castiglione (1485-1554), Ricordi cited in G. Bazin, The Museum Age, p. 57.

¹⁷Henry Peacham, The Compleat Gentleman (1622) and The Compleat Gentleman 2nd edition (1634), ed. G.S. Gordon (1906), pp. 104-105.

Natural.¹⁸ These works carried the idea from Europe to Britain that the cabinet could be the integral part of the cultural life of a nation as informal centres of learning.

During the sixteenth century there was a growing difference of philosophy of collecting between the amateur or virtuoso and the gentleman-scholar in Britain.¹⁹ The virtuoso collected objects not because of their use to extend knowledge or economy but because they gave pleasure and delight on assured social reputation or status. John Evelyn expressed the passion in the art of collecting:

What please me most was a large pendant candlestick, branching into several sockets, furnished all with ordinary candles to appearance, out of the wicks spouting out streams of water, instead of flames. This seems then and was a rarity, before the philosophy of compressed air made it intelligible.²⁰

Francis Bacon recorded the virtuoso's philosophy although it was the opposite to his own idea of collecting for "benefit or use":

Men have entered into a desire of learning and knowledge, sometimes upon a natural curiosity and inquisitive appetite; sometimes to entertain their minds with variety and delight; sometimes for ornament and reputation; ...as if there were sought in knowledge a couch, whereupon to rest a searching and restless spirit; or a terrace, for a wandering and variable mind to walk up and down

¹⁸Diaries and Correspondence of John Evelyn, (ed.) W. Bray, (1859). There was numerous examples of travelogue discussions of museums such as Thomas Platter, Travels in England (1599) trans. Clare Williams (London, 1937), pp. 171-173; John Ray, Travels Through the Low Countries, Germany, Italy, France With Curious Observations, Natural, Topographical, Moral, Physiological, etc. Made in 1663 (London, 1738); John Hooke, A Journey Through England in Familiar Letters from a Gentleman Here to his Friend Abroad (London, 1724), London in 1710: From the Travels of Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach (ed.), W.H. Quarrell and M. Mare (London, 1934); Bernard de Montfaucon, The Antiquities of Italy being the Travels of the Learned and Reverend Bernard De Montfaucon. From Paris Through Italy, in the Years 1698 and 1699 trans. from Latin (London, 1725). Barthelemy Faujas de Saint Fond, A Journey Through England and Scotland to the Hebrides in 1784. 2 vols. (Glasgow, 1907); Louis Simond, An American in Regency England. The Journal of a Tour in 1810-1811 ed. Christopher Hibbert (London, 1968).

¹⁹'Amateur' comes from the Latin 'amator' meaning a devotee and is related to the French curieux, first recorded in a lexicon in 1538. W. Houghton, "The English Virtuoso in the Seventeenth Century," Parts I and II, Vol. 2, Journal of the History of Ideas (1942), p. 55 discusses the concept of virtuoso, gentleman-scholar in depth.

²⁰John Evelyn, Diary I (August, 1641).

with a fair prospect; or a tower of state, for a proud mind to raise itself upon.²¹

Bacon warned against "fabulous experiments, idle secrets, and frivolous impostures, for pleasure and novelty" and that the purpose should not be "to gratify the appetite of curious and vain wits, as the manner of mirabilaries is to do."²² Bacon championed the principle of study by observation which became a strong motivation for forming collections to act as laboratories to unlock the secrets of nature. In Parasceve in 1620 Bacon reasoned that the secrets of nature would be unravelled by a vast assembly of fact; in New Atlantis 1627 he went further to advocate a scientific institute where scientific labour would be divided amongst collectors who would use reference collections.²³ In the institute:

we have two very long and fair galleries: in one of them we place patterns and samples of all manner of the most rare and excellent inventions; in the other we place the statues of all the principal inventors.²⁴

In this spirit, in 1649 Charles I "designed Vauxhall as a place for resort for artists, mechanicks, etc., and a depot for models and philosophical apparatus...where...experiments and trails of profitable inventions should be carried on."²⁵ John Evelyn, in turn, planned "a Philosophic-Mathematic College" for retired scholars to continue their work with "an elaboratory with a repository of rarities."²⁶ Bacon had also suggested that exact natural histories be prepared for each district of Britain to include metals, minerals, plants and animals; several authors began to

²¹Sir Francis Bacon, "The Advancement of Learning" (1605) in Works, III (ed.) Spedding and Ellis (New York, 1857-74), p.294.

²² Sir Francis Bacon, Works, iv, p. 295.

²³ Sir Francis Bacon, "New Atlantis and "Parasceve" in Works.

²⁴ Ibid.,

²⁵R. Altick, Shows.

²⁶As cited in S. Bedini, "The Evolution of Science Museums," Technology and Culture 6, p. 18. Bacon's message was ambiguous though; he did not exclud Marvels from observation, "We have to make a collection... of all prodigies and monstrous births of nature; of everything in short that is in nature new, rare and unusual." Novum Organum, bk.II, sec. XXIX in Works, IV, 169. Thus, Bacon ironically encouraged the appetite for curositities.

follow these prescriptions.²⁷

The Restoration was marked by a burgeoning of the number of private collections; there seemed to be two different styles of collecting. James Petiver, for example, was an apothecary whom Sir Hans Sloane reported "had taken great pains to gather together the productions of nature in England, and by his correspondents and acquaintances all over the world procured, I believe, a greater quantity than any man before him"; however, Petiver "did not take equal care to keep his collections, but put the objects into heaps, with sometimes small labels of paper where they were many of them injured by dust, insects, rain, etc."²⁸

The impression caused by these disorderly accumulations, crammed objects and the decrepit condition of the Royal Society Museum and the Ashmolean Museum led Von Uffenbach in 1710 to the damning conclusion that the English museum-keeping habit was "prodigious confusion";²⁹ this was criticism, indeed, in an age when the order, classification and arrangement of collections was the badge of erudition of the owner.

On the other hand, many collectors took care to use their collections to investigate the natural or antique world, and by classification and arrangement to present their scientific ideas. Dr. John Woodward (1665-1728), a Professor at Gresham College, wrote essays on natural history and gave lectures to the Royal Society; over forty years he formed an ex-

²⁷ A number of scientific studies followed Bacon's call: Francis Willoughby, Ornithologia (1678); John Ray, Catalogues Plantarum Angliae Synopsis Methodica Stripium Britannicarum; Martin Lister, Historiae Animalium Angliae, as well as regional studies: Robert Plot, Natural History of Oxfordshire and Natural History of Staffordshire; John Aubrey, Natural History of Wiltshire (1685) ed. J. Britton, 1847.

²⁸ E. St. John Brooks, Sir Hans Sloane (London, 1954), pp. 179-180. Other collections were referred to in travelogues and have been recorded in detail by D. Murray, Museums and R. Altick, Shows, such as John Kemp (1665-1717) and Dr. Richard Mead (1660-1743), Dr. Charleton (1619-1707) and Herr Campe, DuPuy and Courten to name a few.

²⁹ London in 1710: From the Travels of Zacharias Conrad Von Uffenbach, trans. and ed. W.H. Quarrell and Margaret Mare (London, 1934), p. 127.

tensive museum of minerals, fossils, shells directed to the question of the nature of petrified bodies. Woodward did not develop his collections only for exhibition as natural curiosities but as material for research and study; as V.A. Eyles has claimed:

His attempt to classify his fossils on scientific lines was among the earliest in Britain; and his classification of minerals the first by any British author with any pretense to a scientific basis.³⁰

By 1700 there was a growing body of criticism of the confused collecting habit as well as what was perceived as self-indulgence of the virtuoso collector; the opinion was expressed by both satirists and collectors themselves for whom the order of collections was a scientific act. Shaftesbury claimed the cabinets of collectors were full of "Trash and Trumpery" and that they value "Rarity for Rãreness-sake"; the proper subject of study should be "Mankind and Their Affairs," not "Insects."³¹ Essentially, this was an expression of a conflicting view of suitable education; the classical pursuit of learning versus the useful 'mechanical' education. Mary Astell followed the same line criticizing the virtuoso for being totally knowledgable about silk worms except how to make them "serviceable to Mankind."³² These comments followed directly from Bacon's expression of the need for utility of collections indicating that this premise had become a major measure of museums: she wrote:

³⁰ John Woodward (1665-1728), Professor of Physics, Gresham College, London wrote An Essay Toward a Natural History of the Earth (1695) and A Catalogue of the English Fossils in the Collection of John Woodward, 1728 & 1729. In 1728 he bequeathed his collection to the University of Cambridge with £100 for a lecturer and curator and money for the Woodwardian Professor of Geology. Introduction by V.A. Eyles, John Woodward's Brief Instructions for Making Observations in all Parts of the World, 1696 (London, 1973), p. 8.

³¹ Shaftesbury, Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times (1973) III, 156-157 as cited in W. Houghton, "The English Virtuoso," p. 212. For a further discussion of satires of collecting see R. Altick, Shows, Chapters I and II.

³² Mary Astell, An Essay in Defence of the Female Sex, p. 103 as cited in W. Houghton, p. 212.

To what purpose is it, that these Gentlemen ransack all parts both of Earth and Sea to procure these Triffles?...I know that the desire of knowledge, and the discover of things yet unknown is the Pretence; but what Knowledge is it? What Discoveries do we owe to their labours? It is only the Discovery of some few unheeded Varieties of Plants; Shells, or Insects, unheeded only because useless; and the Knowledge, they boast so much of, is no more than a Register of their Names, and Marks of Distinction only....³³

Even at this early time, collectors had a difficult time making their activities understood by the critics.

Nonetheless, individual collectors became more active in the eighteenth century. There were mixed collections of art and natural history such as the Museum of the Duchess of Portland, sold at auction at her death in 1785. At the same time, there was an increasing distinction between art and antiquities and scientific collections as some collectors became more specialized.

The height of English collecting of art and antiquities was probably from 1770 to 1830 when the wealth of the English gentlemen based on land-owning, his taste cultivated by the Grand Tour and appropriate reading, could take advantage of the art works freed up by the decline of the European royal and noble families and the political upsets of the French Revolution and Napoleon's conquests. Thomas Martyn in 1766 noted the number of places where art works were held. He noted fifty-five locations of which

³³Mary Astell, Reflections Upon Ancient and Modern Learning (1967 edition) as cited in W. Houghton, p. 212.

thirty were private.³⁴

Throughout the eighteenth century, there were many treatises written on beauty and sensibility which fuelled the taste for collecting art and antiquities. But, here too serious purposes were necessary to justify collecting.³⁵ The belief was that culture was the underpinning of civilization. Art became identified with more than the virtuoso love of collecting and with an ability to promote better art and to create refined taste among the public. Thomas Martyn in 1766 wrote to encourage collectors to allow people into the collections for the sake of British culture:

³⁴ Thomas Martyn in The English Connoisseur (1776) listed fifty-five locations with collections of which thirty were private, others in universities or hospitals. For example, note:

John Barnard, Belvedere (Sir Samson Gideon, Lord Eardsley); Blenheim (Duke of Marlborough); Chatsworth (Duke of Devonshire); Devonshire House, Piccadilly (Duke of Devonshire); Ditchley (Earl of Litchfield); Foot's Cray Place, Kent (Mr. Bouchier Cleeve); Hagley Park (Lord Lyttelton); Hampton Court; Houghton Hall (Sir Robert Walpole); The house of Mr. Charles Jennens, Holborn; Kensington Palace; the Leasowes, Shropshire (Mr. William Shenstone).

London: Antiquarian Society; Banqueting House, Whitehall; Barber's Hall; Bartholomew's and Bethelam Hospitals; Bridewell; Charing Cross; Foundling Hospital, Lamb's Conduit Fields; the Royal Palace of St. James; the House of Lord's; St. Marly le Bow; the Monument; Northumberland House; the Painter Stainer's Hall, College of Physicians; Queen's Palace (Raphael cartoons); St. Paul's Cathedral; Shaftesbury House; Somerset House; the House of Colonel Sothby in Bloomsbury Square; St. Stephen's Walbrook; House of James West.

Paul Methuen; Okeover, Derbyshire; All Souls College and the Ashmolean Museum and Bodleian Library, Christ Church College, St. John's College, Magdalene College, the Music School, New College, the Picture Gallery, the Pomfret Statues; the Sheldonean, University College and Wadham College, all at Oxford; Sir Gregory Page in Blackheath; Kedleston, near Derby (Lord Scarsdale); Stowe (Ear Temple); Wilton (Earl of Pembroke) and Windsor Castle. As cited in Frank Hermann, The English as Collectors: A Documentary Chrestomathy (London, 1972), pp. 99-100.

³⁵ Examples are Johnathan Richardson, Essay on the Whole Art of Criticism as it Relates to Paintings (1719); Hogarth, Analysis of Beauty (1753); Edmund Burke, Essay on the Sublime and Beautiful (1756); Sir Joshua Reynolds, Fifteen Discourses (1769-90); Richard Payne Knight, Analytical Enquiry into the Principles of Taste (1808). As discussed in F. Hermann, The English as Collectors, p. 10.

The editor cannot help concluding with a wish that the nobility and gentry would condescend to make their cabinets and collections accessible to the curious as is consistent with their safety. The polite arts are rising in Britain, and call for the fostering hand of the rich and powerful; one certain way of advancing them, is to give all possible opportunities to those who make them their study, to contemplate the works of the best masters, that they may not form a bad taste and a poor manner upon such productions as chance throws in their way.³⁶

Martyn in a manner that will become very familiar in the next century compared the British collector to the French:

...many of the collections of the great, are ever open to the inspection of the curious; ...but at the same time it is to be lamented that some cabinets are not accessible without difficulty and interest. It should be mentioned to the honour of the French nation, that their collections are come at even by foreigners, with great facility; in particular the royal pictures are not locked up in private apartments from the eye of the people, but are the pictures of the people.³⁷

Other writers also recorded the growing number of collections. George Vertu between 1713 and 1757 visited many collections preparing forty volumes of notes which Horace Walpole, also a great collector, in 1762 turned into Anecdotes of Paintings in England.³⁸ Collections of painting were paralleled by those of classical sculpture such as those of Hamilton and Lord Elgin.

Collectors of natural history were also becoming more sophisticated. Sir Hans Sloane (1666-1753), a physician, began collecting on a trip to Jamaica. His collection was located in Great Russell St. and then in the Manor House, Cheyne Walk after 1742. John Evelyn visited in 1692 declaring the "plants, fruits, corails, minerals, stones, Earth, shells, animals, insects, etc. collected by him with great Judgement."³⁹ The natural history

³⁶ Thomas Martyn, The English Connoisseur (1766), Vols. I and II as cited in F. Hermann, p. 102.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 101.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 102.

³⁹ John Evelyn, Diary, (16 April 1691), vol 5, 48. Sloane's collection has been well-documented in a number of works. See the bibliography for complete references.

material was expanded over the next decades while he added "artificial curiosities" such as Roman lamps, urns, gems and inscriptions, Etruscan, Egyptian and Assyrian antiquities, oriental and ethnographic material and drawings. Sloane also acquired the collections of Petiver, Courteen, Mead and others. Both Evelyn and Thoresby were of the opinion that Sloane's collection was unrivalled.

Collectors were setting the precedent for the curators of succeeding generations. David Murray, for example, drew attention to Sir William Flower's view that the anatomist and collector, John Hunter, was the prototype curator:

...(Hunter) is to be regarded as the founder of the modern museum, the distinguishing features of which are specialization and classification.⁴⁰

In fact, John Hunter is a mixture of the scientific man and the acquirer of curios; both John (1728-93) and his brother William Hunter (1718-83), were leading scientific collectors. William created a collection after 1756 of minerals, fossils, shells and medical items shown in his anatomical theatre on Great Windmill Street in London in "a magnificent room fitted up with great elegance and propriety."⁴¹ He hoped that the government would support him to build a medical school and museum to which he would bequeath his collection. When Lord Grenville, Chancellor of the Exchequer ignored his proposal, he willed his collection to the University of Glasgow in 1783.

John Hunter, began a museum in the 1770's in his house at 24 Jermyn Street, London, but moved in 1783 to 28 Leicester Fields (Square) where he built his museum between two houses; on the lower level, there was a

⁴⁰D. Murray, Museums, p. 231. Flower started as Conservator of the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons then became Director of the British Museum (Natural History); his leading role in museum development would seem to have been affected by John Hunter's precedent. W.F. Flower, "The Royal College of Surgeons," in Essays on Museums and Other Subjects Connected with Natural History (London, 1896), pp. 74-94.

⁴¹Dictionary of National Biography and, J. Laskey, A General Account of the Hunterian Museum (1813).

reception room and a lecture theatre, on the upper level a long lofty gallery hall. His collection had two identities. On the one hand, for research and teaching purposes he had an orderly variety of animal and vegetable preparations with an emphasis in what was later called comparative anatomy of motor apparatus, digestive and sensory organs, reproductive parts. The specimens were arranged by function, not in taxonomic sequences then followed by many scientific collectors.

There were also thousands of pathological specimens and congenital freaks. He paid £200 for the skeleton of a tall man which he placed in a glass case in the museum beneath two paintings of two friends Count Borulwaski and the Sicilian Fairy while a forty foot bottlenose whale was displayed under a glass canopy outside. He also acquired waxworks, portraits of freaks, oriental scrimshaws, exotic weapons and of tapestry for he was an indefatigable acquirer whose correspondence to people all around the world as collecting contacts numbered in the thousands.

The museum in purpose was a teaching collection for comparative anatomy and had limited access; it was open to "noblemen and gentlemen" in May and to "scientists" in October. When he died in debt, his executors sold the museum to the government for one-fifth of the cost (£15,000) although William Pitt's government begrudged the money when he hadn't enough to buy gunpowder; while a surgeon labelled the strange assorted collection "just as valuable as a pig's petticoes."⁴² Thus, the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons was formed.

Private collecting was not confined to London. A doctor from Norwich, Sir Thomas Browne, was an antiquary and a naturalist, a scientific amateur whose home contained a laboratory, a library and a museum.⁴³ Although the

⁴²John Kobler, The Reluctant Surgeon: A Biography of John Hunter (Garden City, N.Y., 1960), pp. 145-60. See also Jessie Dobson, William Clift (London, 1954), the first Conservator of the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons who started his influential work with Hunter.

⁴³Thomas Browne, "Musaeum Clausum" in the Collected Works of Sir Thomas Browne, Knight, Doctor of Physick, Late of Norwich and Gordon Keith Chalmers, "Sir Thomas Browne, True Scientist," Osiris, 3 (1936), 28-29.

collection, much like that of the Royal Society, was not yet strictly systematic, Browne did use his collection for processes of observation and experiment following the Baconian ideal. Similarly in Leeds, Ralph Thoresby (1658-1725) an antiquarian wool merchant built a cabinet of natural history, ethnography, and British prehistoric antiquities; he avidly pursued his collecting and travelled extensively to visit and study the methods of other collectors.⁴⁴ Richard Green (1716-1793), an apothecary surgeon, started in 1742 to form a collection in two rooms in his house which later was shown in the town hall of Lichfield. It seems to have been formed mainly from the gifts from other collectors: Cherokee artifacts and Roman missals on vellum, "an uncommon Musical Altar Clock" and a model of Lichfield cathedral. He was a relative of Dr. Johnson who visited the museum in 1774 and commented in an unenthusiastic manner, "Sir, I should as soon have thought of building a man of war, as of collecting such a museum."⁴⁵ In 1776 Boswell recorded that it was a wonderful collection with neat labels printed on Green's own press.

Thomas Kelly refers to Green's museum as the first public provincial museum in England which raises the question of comparison to the early municipal libraries which began in 1608 at Norwich, 1616 at Bristol and 1631 at Colchester.⁴⁶ Town libraries were endowed by pious and altruistic founders for the use of their fellow towns people. Many town libraries began in areas where Puritan beliefs predominated. Parochial libraries began in 1684 in St. Martin's-in-the-Field.⁴⁷ It is probable that many

⁴⁴ See John Evelyn, Diary (October 1671), p. 17 and Ralph Thoresby, Ducatus Leodiensis (London, 1715) included a section entitled "A Catalogue and Description of the Rarities in this Museum," p. 36.

⁴⁵ J. Boswell, Life of Samuel Johnson, ed. A. Napier (1884). As cited in Thomas Kelly, History of Adult Education in Great Britain (Liverpool, 1970), p. 110. See also R. Altick, Shows, p. 235 and D. Murray, Museum, p. 174 for more on Green.

⁴⁶ Thomas Kelly, History of Adult Education in Great Britain, p. 110.

⁴⁷ Thomas Kelly, Early Public Libraries, A History of Public Libraries in Great Britain Before 1850 (London, 1966), Chapter IV.

library collections had items other than books in their collections, perhaps paintings and relics of local noteworthies. Separate municipal museum collections, however, are not recorded until the 1700's at Lichfield as mentioned and at Leeds where John Calvert in 1793 opened his museum of 15,000 objects to the public; this museum has since disappeared.⁴⁸ In the 1700's in Colchester, Charles Gray formed a large collection of local antiquities which were moved into the Crypt of the Castle Chapel in 1756 which he had purchased. There are several examples of other proprietary museums which functioned like town museums; there may have been more which have been lost to our records.⁴⁹

There was a parallel world of popular exhibits for the 'common man' both in London and the provinces which functioned as public collections and whose excesses fuel the museum reform movement. Don Saltero's Coffee House at Cheyne Walk (1695-1799) was run by John Salter who may have been a servant of Sir Hans Sloane. The house had a collection of true 'curiosities' whose purpose was "for the delight of the Publick" many of which he claimed Sloane had given to him. He also was good at marketing; an advertisement in the Mist's Weekly Journal in June 1723 read:

Monsters of all sorts here are seen
 Strange things in Nature as they grow so;
 Some relics of the Sheba Queen,
 And fragments of the famed Bob Cruse.
 Knick-knacks, too, range round the wall,
 Some in glass-cases, some on shelf;
 But, what's the rarest sight of all,
 Your Humblest servant show himself.⁵⁰

⁴⁸This Leeds museum once had 15,000 objects but had disappeared long before it was noted in Museums Journal 36 (August 1936), 196.

⁴⁹Montague Benton, "The Early History of the Society and of the Colchester and Essex Museum," Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society 18 (Colchester, 1928), 277-289. In 1850 Adam White claimed that he saw a municipal collection at Norfolk in 1835 and that Canterbury had long had a museum, Adam White, Four Short Letters on the Subject of an Open Museum in the Scottish Capital (Edinburgh, 1850). Another example is Derby Town and County Museum and Natural History Society, 1836.

⁵⁰Thomas Southwell, "Notes on an Eighteenth Century Museum at Great Yarmouth," Museums Journal 8 (October 1908), 119.

A Catalogue of Rarities to be seen at Don Saltero's Coffee House was first issued in 1729 selling for three pence; it reveals a collection mixing real and contrived curios such as "Queen of Sheba's Fan and Cordial Bottle," "Robinson Crusoe's and his Man Friday's shirt," "four evangelists' head carved on a cherry stone," "a curious ball of Fishbones found near Plymouth" and "Pontius Pilate's Wife's Chambermaid's sister's Sister's Hat" actually that of Madge Peskad, near Bedford.⁵¹ Although Sir Richard Steele referred to the way the "eye was diverted by ten thousand Gimcracks round the Room and on the Ceiling,"⁵² Don Saltero's was often preferred by visitors as in the case of William Hutton who in 1784 after his visit to London explained:

In my visit to Don Saltero's curiosities, at Chelsea, they furnished me with a block, explaining every article in the collection. Here I could take my own time, and entertain myself.⁵³

The collection passed on to Saltero's son-in-law but finally came to auction in 1799 to sell for only £ 50.

There were other collections that were perhaps more clearly part of the world of commercial entertainments which did whet the appetite for museums. In 1756 Adam's Museum at the Royal Swan in Kingsland Road had 567 items including things supposedly associated with personages "Charles of Swedeland's boots; Harry the Eighth's spurs; a tobacco stopper made from the royal oak King Charles was hid in at Boscobelle Grove in Staffordshire," "the Vicar of Bray's clogs," "Adam's eldest daughter's hat," as well as the more standard curios "Chinese chopsticks," "Thunderboldt stones," "gloves and shoes from Hudson's Bay."⁵⁴ Nevertheless, George

⁵¹ Richard Altick, Shows, p. 18.

⁵² Sir Richard Steele, The Tatler, No. 34 (28 June 1709), as cited in R. Altick, Shows, p. 18.

⁵³ Richard Altick, Shows, p. 27.

⁵⁴ A Catalogue of Rarities to be seen at Adam's at the Royal Swan in Kingsland Road, Leading from Shoreditch Church, 3rd edition (London, 1756) as cited in D. Murray, Museums, p. 172.

Brown Goode recorded that Artedi's ichthyological works contained examples of collections in London where American fishes could be seen by the serious student: the list included several pubs such as Spring Garden (later known as Vauxhall Garden), Nag's Head, the White Bear, and a hostelry, the Green Dragon in Stepney.⁵⁵

An example of a travelling collection was "The Iron House" a caravan which between 1750 and 1755 moved about London. On the roof was a pigeon house, while an owl, hawk, and pigeon were in one cage attached to the outside walls along with various firearms; inside, there was one room with clock, cooking jack, fireplace and engraving a type of period room perhaps. There were many other sites such as Linwood Gallery in Leicester Square where seventy needlework facsimilies by Mary Linwood of well-known paintings were on display. Waxworks such as the famous Madame Tussaud's were very popular and zoos like Wombwell's Royal Menagerie travelled the country.⁵⁶

In the provinces there were many travelling popular exhibits such as Beilby's Grand Museum in Manchester whose advertisement read:

'Beilby's Grand Museum.' Just arrived. Fountain Street, Manchester. Contains 1,000 Natural Curiosities, including a snake from Botany Bay, six yards long, some other reptiles and many birds. 'A double calf, allowed to be one of the most wonderful curiosities in nature.' A Cherrystones, made a present of by to Queen Ann to her physician after his illness; in this stone is contained twelve dozen Silver Spoons: A representation of the Royal Palace of the Emperor of Russia - this curious piece of Workmanship is composed entirely of Insects - the proprietor has been ten years in collecting the materials for its accomplishment.⁵⁷

⁵⁵G. Brown Goode, "Museums - History and Museums of History," Memorial of George Brown Goode, Report of the U.S. National Museum, Part II (1897) pp. 65-68.

⁵⁶R. Altick, Shows, p. 21. See also Leonard Cottrell, Madame Tussaud (London, 1951).

⁵⁷G.H. Morton, "Museums of the Past, Present and Future Particularly Those of Liverpool," Proceedings of the Liverpool Naturalist's Field Club (1893), p. 19. For more information on older museums see Alfred Newton, "Notes on Some Old Museums," Report of the Proceedings of the Museum Association Annual General Meeting (London, 1892), pp. 28-48.

Daniel Boulter (1740-1802) opened the Museum Boulterianum in 1778 in Yarmouth; he had a shop where he sold silversmith's goods, jewelry, cutlery, toys, haberdashery, perfumery, patent medicines and apparently developed the same diversity in his collection. An advertisement read:

Daniel Boutler, born at Worstead, Norfolk, 23 or 25 November, 1740. Opened a museum of specimens of natural history, antiquities, c, c., for public inspection August 8th, 1778, in the Market Place, Gt. Yarmouth.⁵⁸

Palmer, a writer one hundred years later, after the collection had passed on to Boulter's family, and lost, recorded:

It is much to be regretted that the opportunity thus offered was not embraced of forming the commencement of a town museum...at that time war, money-making, and social enjoyments were the only things thought of....⁵⁹

Popular collections illustrate the ambiguity between popular exhibits and museums. Ashton Lever (1729-88), from Alkrington, near Manchester, used his inherited wealth to pursue his interest in live birds.⁶⁰ Influenced by other collections, Lever eventually amassed a collection which occupied 1,300 glass cases in three rooms representing 160 species of stuffed birds, quadrupeds, fish shells, fossils, medals, coins, antique dresses, weapons and curios such as a "head of his present Majesty, cut in Cannil coal." Crowds of visitors came to visit causing him some difficulty as in August 1774 when 3,320 visitors were counted. Eventually Lever had to curtail the opening hours. In October 1774, he moved the collection now called the Holophusicon to Leicester House, London, with promises of support from various gentlemen. The public continued to visit although the fee was 5 s. 3 d. each. Still the cost of upkeep was high and Lever was forced to appeal to the public for support; when that failed he offered the

⁵⁸Thomas Southwell, "Notes on an Eighteenth Century Museum at Great Yarmouth," Museums Journal, 8 (October 1908), 110.

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 111.

⁶⁰B. Mullins, "Some Museums of Old London," Museums Journal, 15 (October 1915), 123-29, 162-72. See also W.J. Smith, "A Museum for A Guinea," Country-Life (March 10, 1960), pp. 484-95 and Catalogue of the Leverian Museum (London, 1806).

collection to the government for purchase but was refused. In 1786 he was permitted to sell the collection by lottery; the winner, a barrister, James Parkinson, built a new home for the collection called the Museum Leverianum in the Rotunda in Black Friars Road, designed by James Burton in 1786; he made an attempt to regenerate the height of the museum's popularity reducing the cost to 1s. but failed and in 1806 he auctioned the collection.

This collection, although public and commercial, had serious purposes as represented by Antony Ella's catalogue, Visits to the Leverian Museum, containing an account of several of the principal curiosities, both of nature and arts intended for the instruction of young persons.⁶¹

Similarly, William Bullock who began as a jeweller and goldsmith in Sheffield then moved to Liverpool, developed an interest in collecting natural history and art items; he formed a private museum in 1808 which he moved to London in 1810 where one year later he had P.F. Robinson build the Egyptian Hall in Piccadilly for £16,000 in vague resemblance to an Egyptian temple.⁶² He called it the London Museum. According to the guidebook Bullock had formed his collection "during seventeen years of arduous research at a cost of £30,000. Admission was 1s. or 1 guinea for an annual ticket."

Although a major entertainment, Bullock's collection had serious aims as an innovator in display methods and in preservation (as will be discussed

⁶¹ Cited in W. Smith, "A Museum for a Guinea," p. 98.

⁶² Bullock began in Sheffield in 1795, moved to Liverpool in 1801, and London in 1809; in 1819 the museum was auctioned after attendance fell. In Liverpool, a museum continued with John Kind until 1830. See Hugh Honour, "Curiosities of the Egyptian Hall," Country-Life (7 January 1954) and Ben Mullins, "Some Museums of Old London - The Leverian Museum and William Bullock's London Museum," Museums Journal 17 (October 1917), 51-64, 131-137, 180-187. See also William Bullock, A Companion to the Liverpool Museum, Containing a Brief Description of Upwards of Seven Thousand Natural and Foreign Curiosities, Antiquities, and Productions of the Fine Arts, Collected During Several Years of Arduous Research, and at an Expense of Upwards of Twenty Thousand Pounds, No. 22 (Piccadilly, London), 7th edition (London, 1809).

in later sections) while his efforts to build a research collection were considerable. John Buonarotti Papworth, the architect, also discussed the educational value of the collection:

...juvenile minds will there be taught a lesson beyond calculation valuable as they will behold in the great volume of Creation the works of an all-wise Providence and the lesson will be indelibly impressed on their memories.⁶³

Group Collecting

A second type of collecting was performed by groups of people involved in societies or institutions. One type of collecting seen in the Middle Ages continued and can still be found today - the church collection. The Council of Trent in 1545-1563 confirmed the worship of relics. As late as 1821 Colin de Plance recorded nineteen churches in Europe which claimed the jawbone of John the Baptist; the hair of Jesus was supposedly held by Chartres, the Escorial, St. Cecily in Rome.⁶⁴ Durham Cathedral held two griffin claws, whale ribs, giant's bones or teeth, elephant, walrus or hippopotamus tusks along with valuables and relics.

Universities usually acquired small collections of natural history items, antiquities or art donations from patrons and associates. Thomas Martyn in 1788 recorded collections in eleven sites at Oxford other than the Ashmolean Museum where artistic objects were located.⁶⁵ St. Andrews as early as the fifteenth century there were objects such as an armadillo, a 'bark basin' and a human skeleton in the Library; after 1838 a more

⁶³H. Honour, "Curiosities," p. 38.

⁶⁴Colin de Plance, Dictionnaire Critique des Reliques et Images Miraculeuses 2 (Paris, 1821), 52 as cited in Alma Wittlin, Museums, p. 20.

⁶⁵In addition to the Ashmolean Museum (1683) collections of art or antiquities were recorded by T. Martyn in the Bodelian Library, Christ Church College, St. John's College, Magdalene College, the Music School, New College, the Picture Gallery, the Pomfret statues, the Sheldonian Theatre, University College and Whadarn College. F. Hermann, The English as Collectors, p. 100. See also David Piper, The Treasures of Oxford (London, 1977), Chapter 1.

serious effort was made to create a museum.⁶⁶ The collections of Sir Andrew Balfour (1630-1694) who had spent many years travelling and collecting fossils, plants and animals and of Sir Robert Sibbald (1641-1722) were donated to the University of Edinburgh for a museum to be opened to the public. The collection, like that of Ashmolean, was not well-maintained and by the end of the eighteenth century most of the specimens were lost or stolen. Sibbald had studied medicine at Leiden and Paris and created with Balfour the first Physic Garden in 1667 in Edinburgh; he approached collecting from the viewpoint of his scientific training asking questions of the specimens such as whether the flint arrowheads were "elf bolts" as popular opinion claimed, natural stones or human rarities.⁶⁷

In 1727 the geological collections of John Woodward were given to the University of Cambridge and added to in 1818 when Sedgwick was named to the Chair of Geology. Viscount Fitzwilliams (1745-1816) donated his collections of illuminated manuscripts, paintings, drawings and engravings plus a bequest of £100,000 to Cambridge in 1816 which led to creation of the Fitzwilliam Museum. The collection of Dr. William Hunter went to Glasgow University in 1804 after his bequest in 1781. Other educational establishments like Stonyhurst College (1794) and Ampleforth College (1802) as well as teaching hospitals also developed collections.

Companies, particularly those associated with trade, often accumulated material. The East India Trading Company Museum was founded in 1801 to receive specimens from the various commercial exploits. The public could visit with a ticket. In 1857 it was transferred to government as the India Museum and in 1878 was dispersed to the South Kensington Museum.

The 'Museum Tradescantianum,' a balance between the popular and

⁶⁶Prof. W.C. McIntosh, "The Natural History Museum of the University of St. Andrews," Museums Journal 12 (January 1913), 201.

⁶⁷R. Sibbald, Auctarium Musaei Balfouriani (Edinburgh, 1697). See D. Murray, Museums, p. 218 and S. Piggot, Ruins in a Landscape, p. 135.

scientific and virtuoso collection, was the origin of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.⁶⁸ John Tradescant, the elder (c. 1570 - d. 1638), a gardener or horticulturalist for a number of nobles, often travelled to purchase trees, plants and exotic specimens for the gardens and herbal collections that he was responsible for. He made trips to distant locations like Muscovy, Africa and the Mediterranean and developed numerous contacts who contributed to his growing collections. In 1625 he rented a room at Lambeth where he set up a garden and in the house a room for a museum. At his death, his son, John the Younger (1608-62) took over his position, collections and contacts and also, made collecting field trips including several to Virginia. By this time the museum, popularly entitled the 'Ark', was famous and regarded as one of the largest and best known collections in all of Europe, one of the popular sights of London.

A German traveller described the garden in 1638:

In the art museum of Mr. John Tradescant the following things: first in the courtyard there lie two ribs of a whale, also a very ingenious little boat of bark; then in the garden all kinds of foreign plants which are to be found (enumerated in a special little book which Mr. Tradescant has had printed about them).

As for the museums:

...we saw a salamander, a chaemelion, a pelican, a remora, a lanhado from Africa, a white partridge, a goose which had grown in Scotland on a tree, a flying squirrel, another squirrel like a fish.⁶⁹

Notwithstanding, its variety, the Ark was considered to be educational as Charles Hooke noted in A New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching School (1660) that London was: "Of all places in England best for the improvement of children in their education, because of the variety of objects which daily present themselves to them or may easily be seen once a year, by walking to Mr. John Tradescant's where rarities are kept."⁷⁰ It was a

⁶⁸ Martin Welch, The Tradescants and the Foundation of the Ashmolean Museum (Oxford, 1978), p. 6. See also Mea Allan, The Tradescants: Their Plants, Gardens and Museum (London, 1964).

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 6.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 6.

popular museum and visitors ran the gamut from royalty, nobles, captains, merchants, scholars, foreign visitors who considered it a major London sight; a printed catalogue entitled Musaeum Tradescantianum (1656) was available for use. Even this museum, however, had its critics. Thomas Flaxman recorded his opinions of the museum in Poems, 1662:

Thus John Tradescant starves our greedy eyes
By boxing up his new found Rarities.⁷¹

In the next phase of the Ark's history, Elias Ashmole, the antiquarian, acquired the museum at Tradescant's death although under questionable circumstances. Ashmole offered the collection to Oxford University on condition that a special room be built for it. It was to be an institution, following Bacon's model, dedicated to scientific research. The university accepted it in 1677, and the building was finished and opened in 1683. First known as the Repository, it had a Keeper (later called a cimelarichus) who was also Professor of Chemistry and gave three lectures a week, edited the catalogue, acted as guardian and prepared the inventories. 'Visitors' were chosen from the Oxford colleges to act as governors. There was a charge to enter the museum, the amount depending on the length of the visit and number in the party. The first two Keepers were Robert Plot and Edward Lhwyd who were themselves scholars. Plot wrote the Natural History of Oxfordshire (1677). Lhwyd was a Celtic philologist, with interests ranging from Welsh hill forts and monuments to fossils and minerals.⁷² From the beginning the museum suffered from funding problems as the ecclesiastical powers in the university blocked Ashmole's promise to provide for the Keeper. After Lhwyd's death, Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach noted that everything was filthy, uncared for and many instru-

⁷¹Thomas Flaxman, Poems (1662) as cited in D. Murray, Museums, p. 108.

⁷²Dr. Robert Plot, The Natural History of Oxfordshire (1676); The Natural History of Staffordshire (1786). Edwin Lhwyd, Lithophlaccii Britannici Ichnographia (1699) who was Under-Keeper from 1684 and Keeper 1690.

ments were in pieces.⁷³ Over the next 150 years the collection suffered from continuing neglect until re-organized in about 1823.

Collecting was also performed by groups organized into academies or societies. In 1572 a Society of Antiquaries was formed in England and another re-formed in 1707.⁷⁴ (Although there had been an earlier organization the Academy of the Antiquarian, a group of distinguished antiquarians formed in Rome in 1479.) Charles I in 1636 attempted to establish an Academy of Arts, the Musaeum Minervae which would admit gentlemen to learn arts, sciences, languages and sports. These organizations were devoted to the ideals of learning articulated by Bacon.

The Royal Society was formed to pursue the Baconian ideal to create science from inductive knowledge. The collection was officially inaugurated in 1660 (1658) by Mr. Colwall when £100 was paid to buy a collection of rarities from a Mr. Hubbard who had had previous public exhibitions of his rarities at the Miter near St. Paul's Cathedral. Members added items although the President would vet acquisitions "for fear of lodging unknowingly ballads and buffooneries in these scoffing times."⁷⁵ The collection was arranged in a hall at Gresham College and Robert Hooke (1635-1703) became the Curator of Experiments and Keeper of the Repository; he echoed the Baconian purpose for the use of collections as instruments for study and the advancement of scientific learning:

⁷³W.H. Quarrell and Margaret Mare, London in 1710: From the Travels of Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach (London, 1934),

⁷⁴Some dates in the development of academies were: 1479, Academy of the Antiquarian, and Academy of Saint Luke (Rome); 1560, Academia Secretorum Naturae (Naples); 1572, Society of Antiquaries (London); 1603-30, Academia del Linnei (Rome); 1635, Academie Francaise; 1636, Museum Minervae (London); 1648, Academie des Beaux Arts (Paris); 1662, Academie des Science of Paris; 1660-62, Royal Society of London; 1666, Academy in Rome; 1671, Academy of Architecture; 1707-18, Society of Antiquaries (England); 1711, Spalding Gentlemen's Society (Spalding).

⁷⁵Sir H. Lyons, The Royal Society, 1660-1740, A History of its Administration Under its Charter (Cambridge, 1944), p. 49. See also C.R.A. Weld, A History of the Royal Society with Memoirs (London, 1847) and Margaret Purver, The Royal Society: Concept and Creation (London, 1967).

The use of such a collection is not for divertisement, and wonder, and gazing, as 'tis for the most part thought and esteemed, and like pictures for children to admire and be pleased with, but for the most serious and diligent study of the most able and proficient in natural philosophy....⁷⁶

By 1685 the collection was large enough to produce a 435 page catalogue written by Nehemiah Grew, M.D., who was to become curator in 1682. The collection consisted of several thousand minerals, zoological and ethnological specimens donated by eighty-three individuals; there was also a rarity cabinet which represented the state of the art of collecting at the time:

...an ostrich whose young were always born alive; an herb which grew in the stomach of a thrush; and the skin of a moor, tanned, with the bear and hari white; but more worth of observation than all the rest, is a clock, whose movements are derived from the vicinity of a load-stone, and it is so adjusted as to discover the distance of countries at sea by the longitude.⁷⁷

The Royal Society was both a major collection and attraction in London; Sir Andrew Balfour recommended it as a "verie fine collection of natural rarities."⁷⁸ Acquisitions came from scholars but also "from the shops of mechanics, from the voyages of merchants, from the ploughs of husbandmen, from the sports, the fish-ponds, the parks the gardens of gentlemen."⁷⁹ The collection would seem to have fallen into neglect for von Uffenbach was disappointed by his visit which Grew's catalogue had led him to expect better:

How wretchedly all is now ordered...it consists of what appears to be two long narrow chambers, where lie the finest instruments and other arts (which Grew describes), not only in no sort of order or tidiness but covered with dust, filth, and coal-smoke, and many of them broken and utterly ruined. If one inquired for anything, the operator who

⁷⁶G.R. De Beer, Sir Hans Sloane and the British Museum (London, 1953), p. 109.

⁷⁷Nehemiah Grew, Musaeum Regalis Societatis, or a Catalogue and Description of the Natural and Artificial Rarities Belonging to the Royal Society and Preserved at Gresham College (London, 1681, 1686).

⁷⁸Archie Key, Beyond Four Walls (Toronto, 1973), p. 49.

⁷⁹Sir H. Lyons, The Royal Society, p. 49.

shows strangers round...will usually say: 'A rogue had it stolen awa', or he will show you pieces of it, saying "It is corrupted or broken".⁸⁰

In 1799 the Society moved to Somerset House, a gift of the government, and the collections were donated to the British Museum.

Other societies were founded, herbs and botany being one of the first areas of interest stimulated by medical experiments; the Society of Apothecaries began in the seventeenth century and Botanic Gardens were set up in 1673. In 1689 the Temple Coffee House Botanic Club became one of the first groups, the first natural history societies in Britain.

The museum movement was marked in the provinces by a variety of society museums which symbolized the intellectual and cultural sophistication and maturity of the towns as well as the socio-economic interests of the groups. Between 1750 and 1845, there were at least fifty-three societies formed which had museums open to members and often to the public although many other societies probably had collections which were not recorded. Of approximately fifty-three society museums, many became the foundation for a public museum while a few still exist as they were originally formed. (See Appendix III). The general features of the societies were a meeting room, debating chamber, a library, publications such as a Transactions, and, of course, a Museum; for example, the stated objectives of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society are typical of the majority:

the promotion of Science and Literature, by the reading of Papers, the delivery of Lectures, the formation of a Museum, the collection of a Library, and the establishment of a laboratory fitted up with Apparatus.⁸¹

There were several waves of society types beginning in the 1710's with the gentlemen's society which pursued literary and antiquarian interests or natural sciences matters such as botany or

⁸⁰W.H. Quarrell and Margaret Mare, London in 1710: From the Travels of Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach, p. 98.

⁸¹Thomas Kelly, History of Adult Education, p. 113.

archaeology.⁸² The Spalding Gentlemen's Society was founded by Maurice Johnson, F.S.A. (1688-1755) a barrister of Spalding, who called a meeting of a number of local gentlemen to a coffee-house in Abbey Yard, in 1709 to discuss local antiquities. They would read "The Tatler" the new London periodical but avoided politics and religion. In 1712 they moved to formally constitute the "Society of Gentlemen, for the supporting of mutual benevolence, and their improvement in the liberal sciences and in polite learning."⁸³ Johnson also played a major role in the re-establishment of the Society of Antiquaries where the membership list reads like a Who's Who of the eighteenth century. The collections were donated from the members. Over the years the collection has been moved several times and few of the originals remain; in 1911 a new permanent building was constructed in Broad Street. In a similar vein, the Society of Dilettanti was established in 1732 to promote a love for objects d'art seen on travels of the Grand Tour to Italy. Among its activities the Society sponsored archaeological expeditions and published works on classical antiquities. Another important society was the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce formed by a group of noblemen and gentlemen in 1754 to encourage the fine and inventive arts and awarded prizes for scientific improvements in agriculture and industry and for excellence in the arts. Following the French example, British artists desired to form an art

⁸² Examples of literary and philosophical societies and their dates are: Manchester (1781), Newcastle (1793), Warrington (1811), Liverpool (1812), Plymouth (1812), Leeds (1820), Sheffield and Hull (1822), Whitby (1823), Nottingham and Bristol (1824), Bath (1825), Halifax (1825), Elgin (1836), Gloucester (1838), Ipswich (1842), Leicester (1790-1835). Institutes for learning were London Institution (1805), Philomathic Institution (1807), Russel Institution (1808), Cambridge (1819), Aberdeen (1840). Fleure has argued that the 1662 Act of Uniformity which attempted to establish a standard orientation for the Episcopal Established Church excluded many clergy who were eventually to form dissenting groups with the Unitarian and Society of Friends, and formed their own educational establishments and societies which emphasized math, science, philosophy, e.g. the Lunar Society of Birmingham and the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society. H.J. Fleure, "The Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society," Endeavour 4 (October 1947), 147.

⁸³ T. Kelly, History of Adult Education, p. 88-9.

association and in 1760 the Incorporated Society of Artists was formed which organized the first public exhibition of the paintings of British artists. A group of artists left the original society in 1768 to form a Royal Academy of Arts which sponsored an annual exhibition of their member's work. Yet another art society was formed in 1805. A group of prominent wealthy art collectors established the British Institution for Promoting the Fine Arts with plans to promote British art by the exhibition and sale of works by artists in Britain. They had substantial support from lords, gentlemen, bankers, clergymen, and Members of Parliament and were able to begin with an exhibition in 1813 of paintings by Reynolds loaned by private collectors; it was both the first public one-man exhibition and loan exhibition. The organization later shifted to exhibitions of Old Masters.⁸⁴

Other art societies were formed in various provincial centres by the local nobility, gentry, professional or business classes such as at Bath (1807). In 1810 the Liverpool Academy of Art was founded followed by the Royal Institution in 1817, the Royal Manchester Institution for the Promotion of Literature, Science and the Arts, the Norwich Society, Birmingham Society of Arts (1829) to name a few. Trevor Fawcett has researched the active world of art exhibitions in the English provincial towns in the first thirty years of the nineteenth century.⁸⁵ They followed the pattern of the Royal Academy organizing exhibitions for the sale of art works. For the most part, landscapes in watercolour or oils and local portraiture was the favoured form.

Around 1845 a number of architectural or archaeological societies

⁸⁴Early industrial exhibitions had been held at Geneva in 1789, Hamburg in 1790 and Prague in 1791. Then in 1797 Marquis d'Aveze set up a Chateau to show and sell goods of Gobelins (tapestry), Sevres (china) and Savonneries (carpets) that he had control of as Commissioner. This was expanded in 1798 to the Temple of Industry at de Neufchateau and the 1799 Conservatoire des Arts et Metiers. K. Luckhurst, The Story of Exhibitions (London, 1951).

⁸⁵Trevor Fawcett, The Rise of English Provincial Art. Artists, Patrons and Institutions Outside London, 1800-1830 (Oxford, 1974), p. 124.

started up in areas where agriculture, the Anglican religion and Tory politics were dominant; the study of the past through architecture of old churches and buildings, and antiquities reinforced the traditional values and way of life.⁸⁶ Most of these had collections which later became public museums. Another type of society which developed in the nineteenth century in response to the enormous popularity of natural history were the naturalist groups and field clubs which also would collect archaeology or ethnological curiosities. The Berwickshire Naturalist's Club was one of the first; often they would meet in natural surroundings and so were not expensive; they often allowed ladies to join as well.

The Mechanic's Institute Movement was another example of group collecting, although there is some debate on which group or class was actually involved.⁸⁷ In 1799 Dr. George Birkbeck, trained in medicine in Edinburgh, became Professor of Natural Philosophy in the Anderson's Institution in Glasgow where he began to offer special free lectures for workers in the 'mechanical arts'. By the fourth occasion about 500 mechanics attended. In 1804 Birkbeck moved to London but his work continued at Glasgow and similar types of organizations began in other locations: the Mechanic Institution in Chester (1810), Mechanical Institution, London (1817), Edinburgh School of Arts (1821) and the London Mechanics' Institution (1823). The London Mechanics' Institution was formed with Birkbeck as president with the encouragement of the Whigs and Radicals such as Francis Place supporting the improving aims, as did Henry Brougham and the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. The stated purpose of the

⁸⁶ Examples of architectural or archaeological country societies are: Northamptonshire and Lincolnshire (1844), Norfolk Society (1846), Cambrian Archaeological Association, Sussex Archaeological Societies, Bedfordshire Archaeological Societies, Buckinghamshire Archaeological Society (1847), Lancashire and Cheshire (1848), Somerset (1849), Wiltshire (1853), Surrey (1854) and Leicestershire (1855). Examples of Naturalists groups are Berwickshire Naturalists' Club. After 1850 many field clubs were formed.

⁸⁷ See Edward Royle, "Mechanics' Institutes and the Working Classes, 1840-1860," The Historical Journal, 14 (1971), 305-321.

London establishment was "the instruction of the Members in the principles of the arts they practise, and in the various branches of science and useful knowledge. The programme was familiar: lectures, classes, reference and lending library, reading room, workshop and laboratory, and of course a museum of 'machines, models, minerals and natural history'."⁸⁸ Other cities and villages followed until by 1841 there were 300 institutes; by 1851 around 700 of which approximately twenty-five percent were in Lancashire or the West Riding of Yorkshire. It is impossible to say how many had 'museums' although almost all must have had collections as a base for lectures and classes. Kelly judges that "the museums which many institutes attempted to form were in the main a failure, and the collections of apparatus for experimental purposes rusted unused."⁸⁹ Some were transferred to local authorities to become town museums. Perhaps, more importantly, as Toshio Kusamitsu has related, the institutes had exhibition programmes, the forerunners of the town museums formed after the legislation of 1845 and even the Great Exhibition of 1851, and the local schools of art and circulating collections of South Kensington.⁹⁰

A National Repository closely connected to the London Mechanic's Institution held an annual exhibition of new inventions; the Repository became the Museum of National Manufactures and of the Mechanical Arts in Leicester Square. There was also the Adelaide Gallery opened by the Society for the Illustration and Encouragement of Practical Science to show models of machines and instruments. In 1838 the Royal Polytechnic Institution was formed from "a gallery of Arts and Science."

From 1837 to 1842 Manchester Institute held four exhibitions with 3,000,000 visitors and by the following year Salford, Leeds, Sheffield,

⁸⁸T. Kelly, A History of Adult Education, p. 122.

⁸⁹Ibid., pp. 128-129.

⁹⁰Toshio Kusamitsu, "Great Exhibitions Before 1851," History Workshop 9 (Spring 1980), 70-89.

Derby, Birmingham, Preston, Macclesfield and Sowerby had exhibitions.⁹¹ Fees were sixpence for one day or three shillings for a season ticket; the opening hours were 9 a.m. to 10 p.m. to suit working days. The exhibits would be on working miniature models of steam engines, Jaquard looms and flax-spinning frames, embroidering machines and even canals and lakes. Examples of manufacturing such as textiles and printings were sold to the visitors. Many objects were sent from London while some exhibits would do a tour from exhibit to exhibit. Some of the objects on display were of the dreaded 'curio' variety found in so many other collections; at the Leicester Exhibition they had "the key of the Tower of London, taken away during the riots of Lord George Gordon. The bedstead on which King Richard the Third Slept, in Leicester, the night before the battle of Bosworth Field, ..." or a fan attributed to belong to Queen Elizabeth, and a bodice worn by Mary Queen of Scots.⁹²

The interest in applied science combined with a desire for mutual improvement filtered down to labouring groups. During the eighteenth century, working men formed libraries, book clubs and societies such as the Spitalfields Mathematical Society while in Lancashire, Cheshire and Yorkshire, manual workers (many in the textile industry) formed groups to study botany (e.g. Manchester, 1770).⁹³

As Trevor Fawcett has claimed:

It was an age of societies: societies to inform, reform, propagate, restrict, convert, establish, oppose, encourage, and improve; and as they proliferated, they branched through the provinces.⁹⁴

We may add that they also filtered down to various societal groups.

⁹¹Ibid., p. 71.

⁹²Ibid., p. 81.

⁹³D.E. Allen, The Naturalist in Britain (London, 1976), p. 160.

⁹⁴T. Fawcett, The Rise of English Provincial Art, p. 9.

The 'Public' Museum

It was in Britain that the example of a national museum was set although more by accident than design, a characteristic that marked museum history in Britain for the next 200 years. Sir Hans Sloane left his collection to the nation, referring in his will to the role that a collection could play in the "manifestation of the glory of God, the confusion of atheism and its consequences, the use and improvement of physic, and other arts and sciences, and benefit of mankind"; his explanation was:

...Having had from my youth a strong inclination to the study of plants, and all other productions of nature; and having through the course of many years with great labour and expense, gathered together whatever could be procured either in our own or foreign countries that was rare and curious; and being fully convinced that nothing tends more to raise our ideas of the power, wisdom, goodness, providence, and other perfections of the Deity, or more to the comfort and well being of his creatures than the enlargement of our knowledge in the works of nature, I do Will and desire that for the promoting of these noble ends, the glory of God, and the good of man, my collection in all its branches may be, if possible, kept and preserved together whole and entire in my manor house....⁹⁵

Sloane specifically desired the museum to be open to all so that, "...the same be rendered as useful as possible, as well towards satisfying the desire of the curious, as for the improvement, knowledge and information of all persons," Accordingly the Act of Incorporation declared the purpose of the museum to be "not only for the inspection and entertainment of the learned and the curious, but for the general use of the public." To finance the museum, Parliament allowed a lottery to be held which raised £95,000. So Montagu House in Bloomsbury was purchased although, as the palatial home of the Earl of Halifax, it was a poor precedent for museums purposes.

The museum was opened in January, 1759 but the regulations for entry were problematical for some years. The Trustees, concerned for security, were not as liberally minded as Sloane and for years the regulations for admission were set up more as a barrier to the undesirable elements, the much-feared eighteenth century London mob; this it was believed could be

⁹⁵The Will of Sir Hans Sloane. Deceased (London, 1753), p. 17.

mischievous, even violent, or at least might drive off other persons of higher rank from the national institution. The hours were from nine to three Monday to Friday and in the summer on certain days from four to eight. Entry was an intricate process; one applied to the Porter for tickets on one day giving name, address and condition which the Principal Librarian would approve, the tickets were picked up on a second occasion and finally on a third visit the visitor was allowed in. Only ten tickets per hour were allowed and groups of five each were taken to each department to be guided by the Under-Librarians or assistants. Still the museum was popular; in the summer of 1762, 2,000 applied for tickets and waited up to three months for their visit; it has been stated that no other museum had as many as 10,000 visitors per year.⁹⁶ Joseph Planta, became Principal Librarian in 1799 and instituted reforms in admission regulations also admitting students to draw sculpture or study prints, coins and medals. The result was that the number of visitors per year went from 11,989 in 1805-06 to 29,152 by 1810-11, 53,614 by 1820 and 237,366 by 1834.⁹⁷

The spectre of museum development on the continent stimulated the museum scene in Britain. During the period after 1814 in particular, impressed by what Napoleon had brought together at the Musée, Napoleon as well as what Wilhelm von Humboldt and the Emperor were accomplishing in Berlin, the English wanted to join in. Further, the idea of the relation of arts to industries and manufactures had become a credo; the commercial success of England would depend on its cultural institutions. The condition of museums, like questions about the state of British art and learning, was a mirror of what was to become known as the 'condition of England question' (as coined by Carlyle) and was the subject of many debates.

⁹⁶ Edward Miller, That Noble Cabinet, p. 71.

⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 92.

There was a general belief in Britain that the period from 1725 to 1760 had been one of a decline in learning in the country. One explanation was the general corruption and patronage system of the Duke of Newcastle's tenure as Secretary of State to Walpole (1724-60) which had increased general cynicism.⁹⁸ As noted, collecting by individuals and societies had increased but so had the world of quakeries and popular exhibits. Thus, the stage was set for the Victorian schooled in the belief in science and moralism of Methodism and Utilitarianism to attempt to restrict the entertaining exhibit and transform it into a tool for improving the 'condition of England'.

In particular the question of access to art and antiquity collections as in France, became a measure of British cultural, and implicitly economic strength. French art exhibitions were open to all and were noted for the vast throngs at the openings. The English art exhibitions were much less accessible to the common man. One Frenchman recorded his reaction to the British effort to protect the wealthy's preserve of the art world:

There is another thing peculiar to England. The pleasures of the fine arts are enjoyed by the well-to-do. Why are the common people excluded from them? In Paris, the poorest Frenchman may visit our magnificent Louvre.⁹⁹

Louis Simond presented one view of the visitors to the gallery of Lord Grosvenor in 1810:

Nine-tenths of them know and care absolutely nothing about pictures they look at, particularly the men. Why then do they come? Because it is fashionable, and because it is dear; you give gold at the door. The English appear to me to have more esteem than liking for the fine arts.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸The decline is accepted by S. Piggot, Ruins in a Landscape, pp. 117-118, who refers to the decline of Antiquarianism and Archaeological interest which is not re-introduced until the end of the nineteenth century and by Silvio A. Bedini, "The Evolution of the Science Museums," Technology and Culture 6, 1-29 sees the period of 1700-1780 as a period of scientific decline that did not revive until the 1850's.

⁹⁹K. Luckhurst, The Story of Exhibitions (London, 1951), p. 36.

¹⁰⁰Louis Simond, Journal of a Tour and Residence in Great Britain, 1810-1811 1 (1815), 177.

So the 'doing' of the museum was already a part of the habit of viewing art.

A few galleries were more available to the commoner. Thomas Hope (1769-1831) allowed the public to view his collection. The Marquess of Stafford who had the New Gallery at Cleveland House was one of the first to admit the public regularly to his gallery from May 1806. Bridgewater House, owned by the Duke of Bridgewater, was opened after 1803. Sir John Fleming of Leicester opened his collection of the British school of paintings to the public. For the most part this generosity was the exception but their actions evoked comparisons with other collectors and especially with the lack of government action. In addition, problems of access to collections increased as, gradually, many of the private art collections were moved out of London after 1820 for safety.¹⁰¹ For example, the Duke of Devonshire moved his collections from Devonshire House to Chatsworth in Derbyshire.

Most of the society museums were accessible with a small payment while the exhibitions of the Mechanic's Institutes in the 1820's and 1830's were very popular to the 'working class'.¹⁰² There, exhibitions were a mixture of "rational amusement" and moral improvement, often functioning like "Temperance Societies." Mr. Cumber related a story to the Manchester Mechanic's Institution in 1839 about an intoxicated man who visited their exhibition and was asked after his visit what it had meant to him:

He replied, he liked it so well, that he would bring his wife and children. He did so, and after being three hours and a half in,

¹⁰¹ Examples of removals are the Dukes of Devonshire who moved the collection from Devonshire House in London to Chatsworth, Sir Paul Methuen, moved from Grosvenor St., London to Corsham in John Comforth, "London's Lost Galleries. Private Collections in the Early 19th Century," Country-Life (June 13, 1968), pp. 1566-68. See also F. Hermann, The English as Collectors.

¹⁰² T. Kelly, History of Adult Education, p. 178 and Thomas Greenwood, Museums and Art Galleries (London, 1888), Chapter 28.

was asked how he approved of the collection, and said, with tears in his eyes, he never expected to live to see an Exhibition; that his wife was also much gratified.¹⁰³

Visitors were mainly of the "working classes"; they were well-behaved and followed the rule set for the occasion to demonstrate their propriety to themselves and reformers alike. The term 'working class' meant mechanics and artisans, clerks and shop assistants rather than the whole working population. Factory workers or labourers who began with the early institutes, perhaps put off by the condescending tone of the organisations, left to set up their own groups, many of which had collections for demonstrations, such as the Sheffield People's College, the Manchester New Mechanic's Institute, the London Working Men's College, and the Halls of Science (1839-41).¹⁰⁴ The proletariat (the factory and labouring people, the poor) were, as in other instances, difficult to involve in self-help schemes.

Critical examination of the collections of art and antiquities as well as natural sciences became common from the viewpoint of accessibility and quality as their condition became a cultural symbol. In 1824 William Hazlitt recorded in Sketches of the Principal Picture Galleries his visits to British galleries; he was given access to Dulwich Picture Gallery, the Marquess of Stafford's collection, that of Mr. Angerstein, Hampton Court, Windsor, Stourhead, Petworth, Blenheim and other country houses although he often had to reward the servants to get in.¹⁰⁵ There were a quantity of guides, and catalogues written on notable collections and painters. Gustav Waagen, Director of the Royal Picture Gallery in Berlin journeyed to Britain several times partly to acquire works of art but wrote three major

¹⁰³"Manchester Mechanics' Institution," Annual Report, 1839, pp. 56-7, as cited in T. Kusamitsu, "The Great Exhibitions Before 1851," p. 26.

¹⁰⁴T. Kusamitsu, "The Great Exhibitions Before 1851," History Workshops 9 (Spring 1980), 70-89.

¹⁰⁵William Hazlitt, Sketches of the Principal Picture Galleries (1824). For a complete reference to such writings see F. Hermann, The English as Collectors, p. 7.

works on art collections. One was Art and Artists in England (1838) in which he noted the vitality of English collectors, the number of pictures, antiquities and objects d'art probably exceeded only in Italy.¹⁰⁶ Waagen also testified in several Parliamentary Select Committees on art.

In addition, there were a large number of publications on the state of the arts and learning.

Martin Archer Shee expressed the belief that museums, especially the arts, were a reflection of a nation's glory as well as civilising power and certainly deserving of "a drop from the ocean of our expenditure":

It is the policy of a great nation to be liberal and magnificent; to be free of her rewards, splendid in her establishments, and gorgeous in her public works. These are not the expenses that sap and mine the foundations of public prosperity...they produce large returns of respect and consideration from our neighbours and competitors - of patriotic exultation amongst ourselves...they play upon all the chords of generous feeling - elevate us above the animal and the machine and make us triumph in the power and attributes of man.¹⁰⁷

It would take this type of rhetoric to overcome the philosophy of laissez-faire and the hesitancy of Whig politicians. The Select Committee on the Elgin Marbles examined witnesses as to whether the marbles, which had been on show since 1807, had brought any improvement "in the state of the arts in this country"; finally, they recommended the purchase for £35,000 although only half of the costs. Even in parliamentary discussion, the mixed purpose of the public exhibition of the sculptures was noted:

¹⁰⁶ Gustav Waagen, Works of Art and Artists in England (1838). He also wrote Treasures of Art in Great Britain: Being an Account of the Chief Collections of Paintings, Drawings and Sculptures, Illuminated MSS., etc. 3 vols. trans. by Lady Eastlake (London, 1854); Galleries and Cabinets of Art in Great Britain: Being an Account of More Than Forty Collections of Paintings, Drawings, Sculptures, MSS., etc. Visited in 1854 and 1856, and Now for the First Time Described (London, 1857).

¹⁰⁷ Martin Archer Shee, Rhymes on Art; or, The Remonstrance of a Painter: In Two Parts. With Notes, and a Preface, Including Strictures on the State of the Arts, Criticism, Patronage, and Public Taste. 3rd ed. (London, 1809), pp. xxii-xxv. For a complete list of works on the state of the arts see Janet Minihan, The Nationalization of Culture (London, 1977), Bibliography.

...not merely to please the eye of the men of taste, but to create, to stimulate, to guide the exertions of the artist, the mechanic, and even the labourer... 108

Again, in the 1830's several critics articulated views which were widely accepted that there was a crisis for Britain for learning in the arts and the sciences as well as in manufacturing results. Charles Babbage wrote an article in the Quarterly Review expressing his concern in one passage as:

It cannot have escaped the attention of those, whose acquirements enable them to judge, and who have had opportunities of examining the state of science in other countries, that in England, particularly with respect to the more difficult and abstract sciences, we are much below other nations....109

James Millingen, a German archaeologist and antiquarian, in 1831 also tried to counter the laissez-faire philosophy of the preceeding fifty years of Tory rule to prove "that the Decline of Science and Literature in England is to be chiefly attributed to the liberal policy of the Government, and its contemptuous treatment of mean and letters."¹¹⁰ In his view the Tory party of "Aristocracy and Oligarchy" had undermined the development of "Learning and the Fine Arts." Even a despotic monarchy might have provided a more favourable environment. Again, a comparison with the system in France was made where the government powers:

...have had a very powerful effect on the national character, and by unifying different ranks in the same pursuits and pleasures, have given even to the lower orders, a courteousness of manners which distinguishes them. Hence, too crimes are much less frequent than in England, and under the most difficult circumstances, a great respect for property has been constantly found. ¹¹¹

Given these curative powers it would be foolish not to approve of museums and their potential effect upon the political, social and economic system. Clearly the view of the museums, like that of education, of churches and

¹⁰⁸ Parliamentary Debates (Commons), 1 st ser. 34 (7 June 1816)
1034

¹⁰⁹ Charles Babbage, "Introductory Remarks," Quarterly Review, p.8.

¹¹⁰ James Millingen, Some Remarks on the State of Learning and the Fine Arts in Great Britain, on the Deficiency of Public Institutions, and the Necessity of a Better System for the Improvement of Knowledge and Taste. (London, 1831).

¹¹¹ Ibid., p.70.

many other social activities, was that of their socialization and control role.

It was against this background of the belief in the museum as a force in the cultural life of the nation, that legislators, even if hesitatingly, became involved in the museum question.

Government Action and the Reform Movement

The first activity following the acquisition of the Elgin Marbles was to establish a national collection of art. As early as 1770 John Wilkes demanded that Parliament buy Sir Robert Walpole's art collection from Houghton Hall to form a National Gallery of Art; his proposal was rejected and the collection went to Russia. In 1792, Mr. Cumberland of Bristol wrote a pamphlet proposing a national gallery of sculpture; Josiah Wedgwood offered £1,000 assistance. The question was solved at last in 1824 when Mr. Angerstein's collection of pictures was purchased for £57,000 by Lord Liverpool's ministry as a basis for a National Gallery of Art. With the assistance of funds from Sir George Beaumont, the collection was placed in four rooms in a small building in Pall Mall and opened to the public until a new building was completed in 1838.

The start was ominous as vague administrative arrangements had to be sorted out following a misunderstanding about whether the National Gallery was to be governed by the British Museum or on its own. The latter option was followed ensuring the separation of national museum authorities that marks the British system. Sir Robert Peel, leader of the Whigs, himself a noted collector, was appointed to the Gallery Committee in 1827 and stated a view of the political purpose of the collection which showed that the aspirations went beyond improving artists:

...(He) trusted that the erection of the edifice would not only contribute to the cultivation of the arts, but also to the cementing of those bonds of union between the richer and poorer orders of the State.¹¹²

¹¹²Parliamentary Debates (Commons), 3rd series, 14 (23 July 1832), 645. See also Edward Edwards, The Administrative Economy of the Fine Arts in England (London, 1840), pp. 187, 193 for similar sentiments.

Thus, London became unique in establishing the national picture gallery as a new establishment, not as a conversion of a royal collection.

Shortly after in 1835, the Museum of Practical Geology in Jermyn Street, Piccadilly was set up for the receipt of specimens gathered by the Geological Survey. Collections grew rapidly and James Pennthorne was asked to design a building (opened 1851).

From 1832 until 1850 there was a series of studies, select committees, investigations by Parliament about museums that set the stage for the next one hundred and fifty years. Following the Reform Act of 1832, new members entered the House of Commons from industrial areas who held reforming beliefs and began a programme of legislation to protect the working-classes and combat the laissez-faire philosophy of the preceeding century. Culture, of which museums were a part, libraries and the arts, were part of their reform policy. Initial suggestions for rate-aided institutions began with a suggestion in 1831 by Charles Henry Bellenden Ker (1785-1871) who wrote to Henry Lord Brougham, then Lord Chancellor, proposing a bill "...to enable Towns of a given population to raise funds for the establishment of public reading and public lending libraries."¹¹³ The plan was submitted to their fellow members of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, an organization that Brougham established in 1826 to implement his views on the provision of cheap educational literature for the masses. Discussed in depth at that time, the idea then seems to have disappeared until 1834 when Benjamin Hawes, M.P. for Lambeth, called for a report on foreign museums and public libraries which was written and circulated October 1834.¹¹⁴

¹¹³Indenture in Brougham Papers, University College, London as cited in T. Kelly, History of Public Libraries, p. 5 and Appendix I.

¹¹⁴Parliamentary Papers (1836), vol. 10. Hawes was part of a group of reforming persuasion who saw the museum as an essential part of their programme: Charles Henry Bellenden Ker (1785-1871), Joseph Hume (1777-1885), Benjamin Hawes, M.P. Lambeth (1796-1862), Joseph Brotherton, Salford (1783-1857), Cotton Manufacturer, James Silk Buckingham, M.P. Salford (1786-1855) and William Ewart (1709-1869).

In 1834, James Silk Buckingham, M.P. for Sheffield (1832-37), initiated and chaired a Select Committee on the "extent, causes, and consequences of the prevailing vice of intoxication among the labouring classes of the United Kingdom" which recommended parks, walks and other means to control the abuse of liquor.¹¹⁵ One of his ideas was the establishment of public popular lectures, and museums as written in one of the resolutions:

The establishment, by the joint aid of the government and the local authorities and residents on the spot, of public walks and gardens, or open spaces for athletic and healthy exercises in the open air, in the immediate vicinity of every town, of an extent and character adapted to its population, and of district and parish libraries, museums and reading rooms, accessible at the lowest rate of charge.¹¹⁶

In 1835, Buckingham proposed three bills, two of which reached the committee stage; one was to establish "Public Walks, Gardens and Places of Recreation in the Open Air," the second read "to authorize the erection of Public Institutions, to embrace the means of diffusing Literary and Scientific information, and forming libraries and museums, in all towns, for the use of Inhabitants of the same."¹¹⁷ What the acts represented was a publicly supported nation-wide museum system for all members of the community. The bills were re-introduced in 1836, again unsuccessfully, this time to enable the new municipal government's set up by the Municipal Corporation Act of 1835 to take the lead. In 1837 Buckingham again introduced a combined bill entitled "A Bill for the Establishment of Public Walks and Play Ground, and of Public Institutions, Libraries, and Museums, for the purpose of promoting the Health, Morals, Instruction and Enjoyments of the People" but it too was defeated.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵Parliamentary Papers (Commons). "Report of the Select Committee on the extent, causes, and consequences of the prevailing vice of intoxication among the labouring classes of the United Kingdom" (1834), p. viii.

¹¹⁶Ibid.,

¹¹⁷House of Commons Journal, 90 (1835), 452.

¹¹⁸Parliamentary Papers (Commons). "A Bill for the Establishment of Public Walks and Public Grounds, and of Public Institutions, Libraries and Museums for the Purpose of the Health, Morals, Instruction, and Enjoyments of the People" (1837), p. 61.

There were also a series of Parliamentary committees after 1830 dealing with several different aspects of culture and museums. A 'Select Committee on Arts and Manufacture' was established in 1835 and continued meeting through 1836. William Ewart (1798-1869), M.P. for Liverpool (1830-37), and Dumfries (1841-68) both moved its formation and became chairman.¹¹⁹ The extensive evidence centred on the lack of opportunity for artisans to study industrial design, resulting in the poor quality of British manufactured products. Several solutions were suggested for remedying the problem. One was that there should be a museum or gallery in every town.

Foggo expressed the view that museums were the "permanent and all-important sources of taste"; George Rennie, a sculptor, claimed "the standard of public taste would very soon be raised, by opening a museum in every town."¹²⁰ Charles Toplis, Vice-president of the London Mechanic's Institution went further to say: "With regard to the museums, they, of course, must, if formed be founded entirely by the government, because to be useful they must be open...."¹²¹

Another recommendation was that the Board of Trade set up a School of Design and a series of regional schools of which John Buonarotti Papworth became director in July 1836. By the later 1840's there were fourteen branch schools; complaints were made about the confused curriculum and

¹¹⁹Parliamentary Papers (Commons). "Report from the Select Committee on Arts and Manufactures, 1835 and 1836," vol. 9, p. 5. William Ewart (1798-1869) was from a family of Liverpool merchants descended from a minister of the Church of Scotland. In 1821-23, he made his Grand Tour through Europe where he was struck by the Jardin des Plantes, the Gobelin tapestry and the Louvre. In 1828 he entered Parliament and joined the ranks of radicals such as Joseph Hume. In 1835 he made a motion to establish a Select Committee of the House of Commons to which he was elected chairman. In 1844 he sat on the Select Committee on Art Unions and in 1845 introduced the Museums Bill. In 1849 he sat on the Select Committee on Libraries. (Report), 1849.

¹²⁰"Report of the Select Committee on Arts and Manufactures," (1835), p. 49.

¹²¹"Report of the Select Committee on Arts and Manufactures," (1835), pp. 108-118.

the representation of the Royal Academy in the School and 1849 a Select Committee on the School of Design brought reforms.

The legislators extended their review of the state of culture with a series of Parliamentary investigations of both the British Museum and the National Gallery to see if their administration was appropriate to the needs of the nation. The British Museum had been the target of criticism since its establishment in 1759. The main source of difficulty was the confusion about its purpose and who it was designed to serve. The dual purpose of the museum was first outlined in 1759:

Tho' chiefly designed for the use of learned and studious men, both natives and foreigners, in their researches into the several parts of knowledge, yet being a national establishment...it may be judged reasonable, that the advantages accruing from it should be rendered as general as possible.¹²²

The museum, however, ended up satisfying neither. The critical opinion of the scientists was represented in 1799 by Saint Fond who wrote:

The British Museum contains many collections in natural history; but, with the exception of some fishes in a small apartment, which are begun to be classed, nothing is in order, everything is out of place; and this assemblage appears rather an immense magazine, in which things have been thrown at random, than a scientific collection, destined to instruct a great nation.¹²³

The first generation of staff had been elderly clergymen and physicians for whom work at the Museum was an avocation with the exception of a few scientific men such as Daniel Solander; the next generation of men such as Edward Gray were hard-working men attempting to shape the institution into a scientific house but the reputation of the institution was still unsatisfactory to many groups. Sir Humphrey Davy called it "this ancient, misapplied and, one might say, useless Museum."¹²⁴ Scholars criticized the dominance of the Board by notables rather than scientific men; radicals

¹²² Statutes and Rules Relating to the Inspection and Use of the British Museum, etc. (London, 1759), pp. 5-6.

¹²³ Saint Fond, Travels in England, Scotland, and the Hebrides 1 (London, 1799), p. 89.

¹²⁴ As cited in E. Millar, That Noble Cabinet, p. 135.

such as William Cobbett attacked the British Museum for inadequate public service, exclusiveness, poor management.¹²⁵ When a John Millard, formerly of the Department of Manuscripts was dismissed for inefficiency while working on an index for the department, he gained the support of the Edinburgh Review and Benjamin Hawes, radical M.P. for Lambeth. Parliament set up a Select Commission of Enquiry which examined the staff, board and scholars throughout 1835 and 1836 to uncover evidence of wrongdoing. The final report of 1836 consisted of eighteen resolutions among which were that there be no changes to the Board structure, that a new department be formed, that there be more consultations between Keepers and the Board of Trustees, that Parliament should make more generous grants and that staff not hold other jobs while employed at the Museum.¹²⁶ The minutes of this Committee, as many other parliamentary investigations throughout the century, act as a museological text of the period, full of discussions of purpose of the institutions, management, collections policy, theories of arrangement and display, catalogues and education principles some of which will be referred to in later sections.

Several witnesses revealed their philosophies of museums; when asked by a Commissioner about the purpose of the Museum:

Is it to be a place of safe deposit for collections bequeathed or bestowed, or to form one great collection which shall be beneficial to science and literature?

Sir Henry Ellis responded "I think the first object of the Museum is to preserve the collections for posterity".¹²⁷ It was J.E.Gray who formulated the concept of the Museum as a comprehensive and authoritative national institution for natural history with the purpose:

...to encourage a taste for science among the people generally and to be regarded as men of science and students;...by opening the collection to all who are desirous of studying it and capable of profiting by it.

¹²⁵E. Millar, That Noble Cabinet, p. 136.

¹²⁶Parliamentary Papers (Commons). "Report from the Select committee appointed to inquire into the Condition, Management and Affairs of the British Museum," (1835), VII and "Report from the Select Committee appointed in the following Season to consider the same subject," (1836), X.

¹²⁷"Report from the Select Committee...of the British Museum"(1835) Minutes. Sir Henry Ellis, Evidence. para. 484.

There is also in my estimation another object, viz. to supply a collection of standard authority as complete as possible, which may serve as a model and a guide for all other similar institutions in the country. For this purpose it ought to be kept in point of arrangement and nomenclature level with the progressive state of science. 128

The sculptor Westmacott added another view when he confirmed the role of the Museum in providing examples of art and antiquities as a model for taste; when asked about the impact of the purchase of the Elgin Marbles he said, "I think that the improvement of the taste of the country since the acquisition of the Elgin marbles is quite extraordinary" and concluded that the money had been spent wisely for the nation.

The state of culture and the arts continued to draw political attention, In 1837 the Art Union of London was formed following the model of the German Kunst-Verein; similar unions were set up in provincial towns. The organisations purchased paintings and sculpture and distributed them to subscribers. The general opinion, supported by the radicals in Parliament, was that the Art Unions brought art to the lower middle class of the towns thus upgrading taste and manufactures.¹²⁹ Next, in 1841 the Select Committee on National Monuments and Works of Art was appointed "to inquire into the present state of the National Monuments and Works of Art in...Public Edifices; to consider the best means for their protection and for affording facilities to the Public for their inspection, as a means of moral and intellectual improvement for the People".¹³⁰ Hume chaired the Committee while Ewart and Henry Thomas Hope were members. Various witnesses described the extent of the popularity of museums and galleries and that the interest extended to the 'mob'. In the same year a Select Committee on the Fine Arts was formed, chaired by Prince Albert with Charles Eastlake, painter and Director of the National Gallery, as Secretary, to consider the various decorative plans for the new Palace of Westminster.¹³¹ Witnesses, consisted of art patrons, connoisseurs,

¹²⁸"Report from the Select Committee... of the British Museum", (1835-36) Minutes. J.E.Gray, Evidence, para. 3322.

¹²⁹"Report from the Select Committee...British Museum," (1835-36, Minutes. Westmacott, Evidence. para. 3962.

¹³⁰Parliamentary Papers(Commons),"Report from the Select Committee on National Monuments and Works of Art", (1841), VI.

and critics who all vouched for the importance of giving artists an opportunity to produce historical painting and to set an example for public taste and the raising of national character.

Most of the claims of the ethical benefit of art to society in retrospect would be impossible to fulfill but the belief was a symptom of the extent of the Victorian faith in the ethos of Samuel Smiles' 'Self Help' (1849) which valued self-improvement through education and particularly the role of art and learning in that exercise.¹³²

The extent of the acceptance of the museum as a symbol by at least the upper faction of the working-class movement was expressed by Charles Kingsley who wrote a number of items for the Christian Socialist weekly Politics for the People aimed at a working-class audience ; he described the contents of museums and the "inspiring" and "refreshing" influence of paintings on the viewer. In the British Museum and the National Gallery, Englishmen, he believed, met as equals with an equal right to "glory in these noble halls", for "English commerce, the joint enterprise and industry of the poor sailor as well as the rich merchant, brought home these treasures from foreign lands...The British Museum is a truly equalizing place, in the deepest and most spiritual sense...".¹³³

Thus, by 1845, there was an active world of museum forms in Britain. There were a number of private collections in the house of the upper classes in London and the provinces accessible to a limited number of people with the right credentials; a few semi-public collections open to students, artists or specialists. The National Gallery, the British Museum, the Museum of Practical Geology were the public institutions more or less open to everyone. There were, however, other collections in London and the provinces on view to all classes- society museums, mechanic's institutes, churches, various exhibition:

¹³² Samuel Smiles, Self-Help (1849).

¹³³ Charles Kingsley, "The British Museum" in Politics for the People (1 July 1848), 183.

tions, popular museums and proprietary public museums.

Only a rough estimate of the actual numbers per type of museum can be construed for 1845. If one assumes for the sake of argument that one half of the 500 Mechanics' Institutes had collections (250 although the number could be much higher) and set conservative figures of 60 Societies, 10 Towns, 20 Educational establishments, 3 National Museums with museums, the figures could be estimated at 343; but this reckoning excludes the number of private and popular museums and entertainments which would raise the figures even higher.

There were also a variety of criteria for opinions about the purpose of museums- classical learning, scientific discovery, mechanical utility, moral uplift, national, cultural, economic or political well-being, entertaining recreation or social control- which were absorbed into the vague museum metaphor ready to be reformulated into the language of succeeding eras. There was already a long tradition of discussion about museums, their roles and functions as well as concern about specific museum activities relating to the collections and to visitors as will be dealt with in succeeding chapters.

CHAPTER SIX

THE MUSEUM CONTEXT 1845-1945

Before long a museum became no less than an essential status symbol for every self-respecting town throughout the country, 'till they could be numbered literally by the hundred. By the standards of the day they were excellent, and indeed up to the First World War no country could rival us.

- Earl of Rosse¹

Background

The story of British museum development is one of ambivalence. On the one hand the principle of the ennobling value of museums was accepted as an article of faith; on the other hand, the role of the government in fostering the museum's role was regarded with uncertainty and suspicion. The result is a history of fits and starts, half actions, piecemeal efforts, and of contradictions. As soon as legislation confirmed the role of government in supporting museums, the government withheld full-fledged support. The Royal Commission on National Museums and Galleries in 1929 summarized the history of the relations of government and museums:

In general it is true to say that the State has not initiated. The Collections, whether artistic, literary or scientific, once formed by the zeal of individuals; and thereafter bestowed on or acquired by the State, have been maintained out of the public at the lowest possible cost. The attitude of the State to the National Museums and Galleries has for the most part been a passive and mainly receptive attitude. Development has been spasmodic.²

This description is even more appropriate for the provincial museum movement.

This chapter will deal with the numbers of museums, pertinent legislation and related finances: the museum context. At the outset of such an investigation it is necessary first to make some general statements about the limitations imposed upon this study by the available statistics on museums. The usual picture of museum development, offered by Sir Henry Miers in 1928, purports that there were 530 museums in existence by then -

¹Earl of Rosse, "Museums and Local Government," Museums Journal 68 (September 1968), 67.

²Royal Commission on National Museums and Galleries, Final Report, Part II (London, 1929), p. 10.

five founded before 1800, fifty by 1850, two hundred by 1900- from which he could conclude "the richest period of museum development was perhaps the forty years from 1880 to 1920."³ These figures have been accepted by subsequent analysts. Yet, this picture of museum development is based on the evidence of studies from earlier periods which were not complete samplings of the number of museums in existence and should be used with caution.

To obtain a quick survey of the historical development of museums one could, as Miers did in part, take a survey of existing museums, sort out those with the earliest founding dates and project those museums as the total number existing at the earlier date. The actual number of museums, however, of the past is obscured as many museums were dissolved or passed to another stage of development, perhaps under another name or in another location or have been 'lost' to later surveys. Frequently the studies use 'museum' in a strict, particularistic sense as defined by contemporary phenomenon; thus, the surveys emphasize municipal museums losing track of the more popular or proprietary museums and even some of the society museums, all of which were 'public' in at least one sense. Yet, surveys done of museums in other countries often include private and society museums; thus, the comparison of the numbers of museums among countries is also limited.⁴

³The five museums are: the Ashmolean (1683), the Spalding Gentlemen's Society Museum (1710), the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (1781), Ipswich (1781), and Stonyhurst College (1794), Sir Henry Miers, A Report on the Public Museums of the British Isles (Other than the National Museums) (Edinburgh, 1928), p. 10. Parallel figures have been used by authors such as Sir Frederic Kenyon, "Municipal Museums and Art Galleries," in A Century of Municipal Progress, ed. Harold J. Laski, Chapter 12 (London, 1935), pp. 160-161, Thomas Kelly, A History of Adult Education (Liverpool, 1970), p. 178, A.F. Chadwick, The Role of the Museum and Art Gallery in Community Education (Nottingham, 1980), p. 8, and reports such as Survey of Provincial Museums and Galleries (London, 1963), p. 3 and Provincial Museums and Galleries (London, 1973), p. 2.

⁴ Sir Henry Miers did not deal with art galleries separate from museums such as the Dulwich Gallery, H. Miers, Report. Miers, himself, pointed out the limitation of the Directory of 1911 and implicitly all directories indicating that it was carried out by correspondence and dealt with only a "comparatively small number of those which actually exist," Sir Henry Miers, Museums Journal 32 (July 1932), 137.

Many collections and museums are now beyond recall as no records of them were left behind. A synopsis of the figures of the earlier studies reveals the potential problems. The 1887 and 1888 Reports of the British Association for the Advancement of Science recorded 246 museums, 196 in England, 8 in Wales, 27 in Scotland, 15 in Ireland. Yet, the Science and Art Department listed only 158 museums in 1894.⁵ By 1911 the Museums Directory recorded 328 museums while Sir Henry Miers listed 530 in his 1938 study.⁶ The Museums Directory of 1931 counted 593 museums while the Markham Report of 1938 showed 787 institutions, many of which were never to re-open after World War II while others were revived in new forms.⁷ By 1945, according to another study the number of museums approximated 750 and by 1962 there were 876 museums.⁸ By 1981, the conservative estimate was that of the total number of museums was 1,400 although some argued that 2,000 was a more accurate figure as not all of the existing museums have been recorded even now in the official lists of the Museums Yearbook or the publication Museums and Galleries in Great Britain and Ireland.⁹ The problem of 'lost' museums still exists as it did in the past. The 'private' or 'independent'

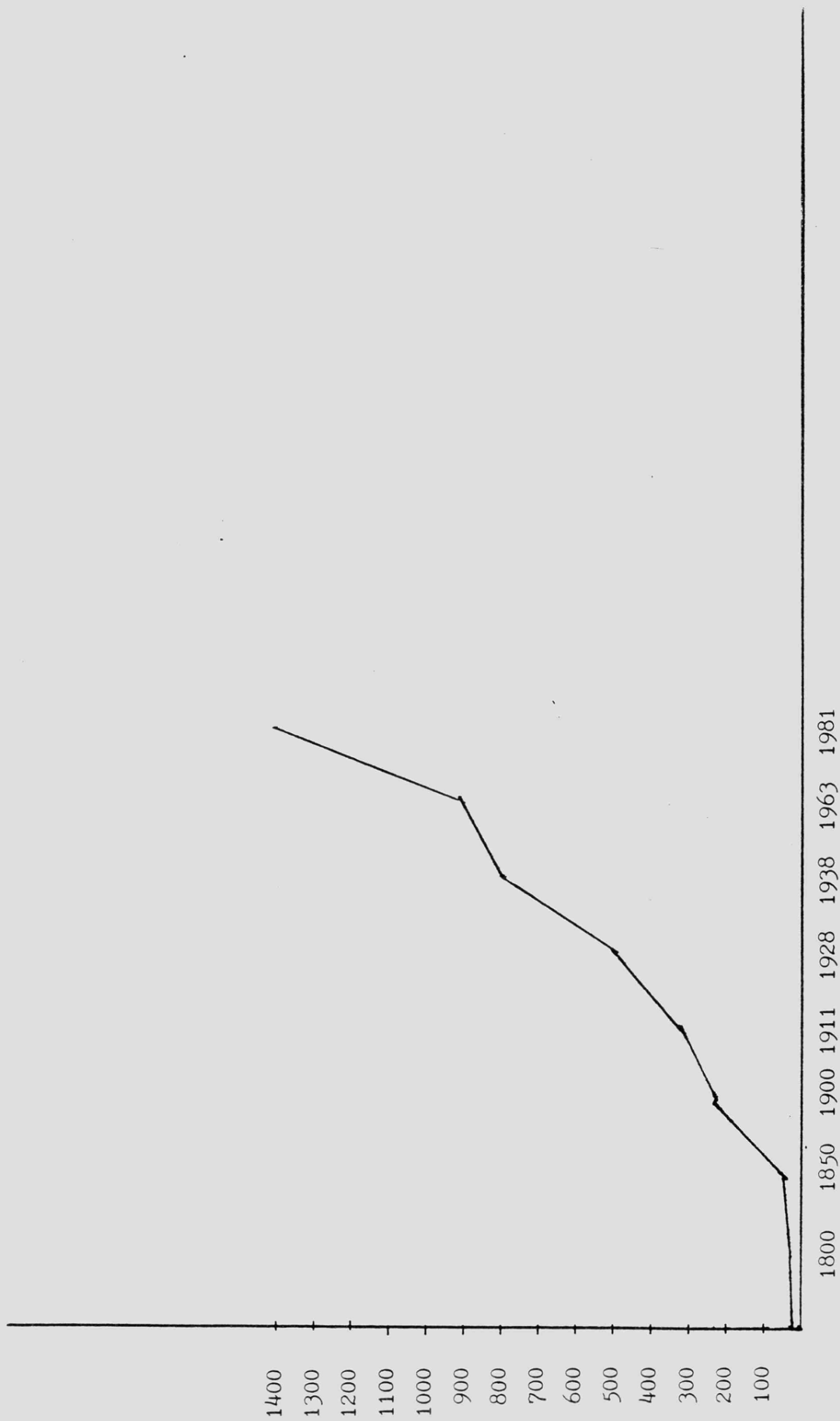
⁵"Report of the Committee appointed for the purpose of preparing a Report upon the Provincial Museums of the United Kingdom," Report of the 57th Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science (1887) Part I, 97-129 and Part II, Report of the 58th Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science (1888), 124-132. The number here is from the amended list; in addition, the report listed only the provincial museums not those in London or run by the national government. (the original figures were England 165, Scotland 31, Wales 13, Ireland 8 for a total of 217).

⁶ Herbert Bolton, "Provincial Museums and the Museums Association," Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Meeting of the Museums Association (1898), 89-93 and E.E.Howarth and H.M. Platinauer (comp.), The Directory of Museums in Great Britain and Ireland (London, 1911).

⁷The Directory of Museums (London, 1931) and S. Frank Markham, The Museums and Art Galleries of the British Isles (London, 1938), pp. 12-16 followed by Sir Frank Markham, Directory of Museums (London, 1948).

⁸Survey of Provincial Museums and Galleries (London, 1963), p. 3.

⁹Pauline J. Maliphant (ed.), Museums Yearbook (London, 1980); Jane Jenkins (ed.), Museums Yearbook (London, 1981), Museums Yearbook (London, 1982) Museums Yearbook (London, 1983); Museums and Galleries in Great Britain and Ireland



RATE OF GROWTH OF MUSEUMS USING DIRECTORIES
AND REPORTS

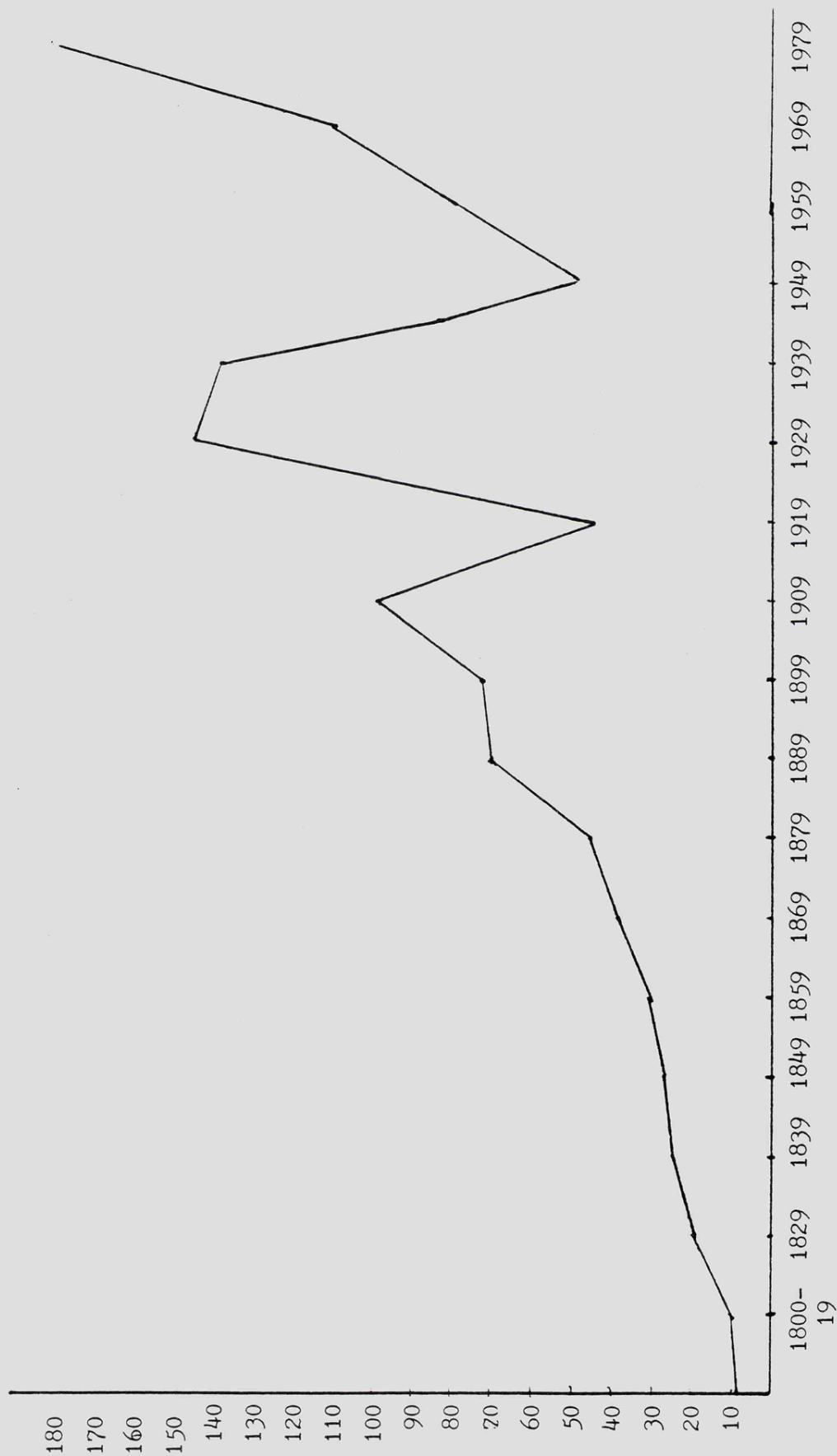
Figure 8

museums run by private non-profit making bodies operate outside the museum structure as it has come to be defined by the Local Authority system in Britain and it is, thus, difficult to know details about their number and operations. The Association of Independent Museums will soon publish the results of a survey that has identified around 1,400 private museums and related facilities and collections; this will provide a significant increase over the 600 presently recorded in directories.¹⁰ Thus, an analysis of museum growth based on previous reports would result in a picture of dramatic growth in museums - from five museums in 1800 to (potentially) 2,200 in 1981. (See Figure 6).

It is possible, however, by a comparative study of surveys and reports versus records and articles on individual museums to arrive at a more accurate estimate of the number of museums and their corresponding establishment dates. Two profiles of the data produced by this method are presented here.¹¹ The first represents data about the true founding dates of museums by decade showing the number founded and the number no longer extant (Figure 7&8). The second represents the date of establishment of museums by local government (Figure 9&10). Several conclusions are apparent from this material; first, there is a less dramatic increase in the rate of founding of museums than is usually assumed and that comparison of

¹⁰ Patrick Boylan, Unpublished Manuscript, 1982. "U.K. Museums: Governance and Finance."

¹¹ To compile the statistics for this study, a profile for each recorded institution was created to compare data from surveys, reports as listed above as well as articles on individual museums, notes recorded in Museums Journal and information recorded from Parliamentary Returns. The exercise of assessing the number of museums in any period is extremely problematical, imprecise and can only give general indications due to three problems with the data: the 'lost museums' for which there are no or only partial citations due to poor record-keeping by central government at least in comparison to the documentation of libraries; the haphazard definition of museum from directory to directory which excludes art galleries in some, or types of private or popular institutions; the imprecise standards and dates of museum start-up, as any one of three or four phenomena may be used to mark the museum's origin (the date of the original creator's collection, the foundation, the opening date, the date of building, the date at which the collection was transferred to government authority, nationally or locally).



RATE OF FOUNDING OF MUSEUMS-APPROXIMATE

Figure 9

Figure 10

APPROXIMATE NUMBER OF MUSEUMS(All) FOUNDED
OUTSIDE OF LONDON-BY DECADE *

Date	Number	Cumulative Total	Number No Longer Extant or Recorded
1800- 1819	12		1
1820-29	20	32	
1830-39	26	58	3
1840-49	27	85	11
1850-59	31	116	6
1860-69	21	137	12
1870-79	46	183	9
1880-89	71	254	25
1890-1899	72	326	19
1900-09	98	424	3
1910-1919	45	469	18
1920-29	144	613	13
1930-39	139	752	30
1940-49	48	800	7
1950-59	79	879	2
1960-69	106	985	1
1970-79	180	1165	?
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	Total	1165	'Lost'- 200 Estimate

* These figures are based on a comparative study of returns, records, histories, directories but are in no way complete particularly after 1963 when the founding dates listed in Museums Yearbook were used. The figures for 1979 listed here are close to those of the Yearbook (1980) which lists 1123 museums(outside of London and the National Museums) of which 104 are undated leaving 1109 institutions to compare to the 965 tracked here. When one compares these numbers to those listed in the Museums and Galleries in Great Britain and Ireland (Dunstable, 1983) 1770 museums, sites, etc.(using less strict criteria) then we can see the enormity of the problems of tracking the creation and current existence of museums. Nevertheless, the figures above although an approximation do give accurate indications of trends as they represent. It should be concluded that some agency should be preparing more accurate figures on museums in Britain.

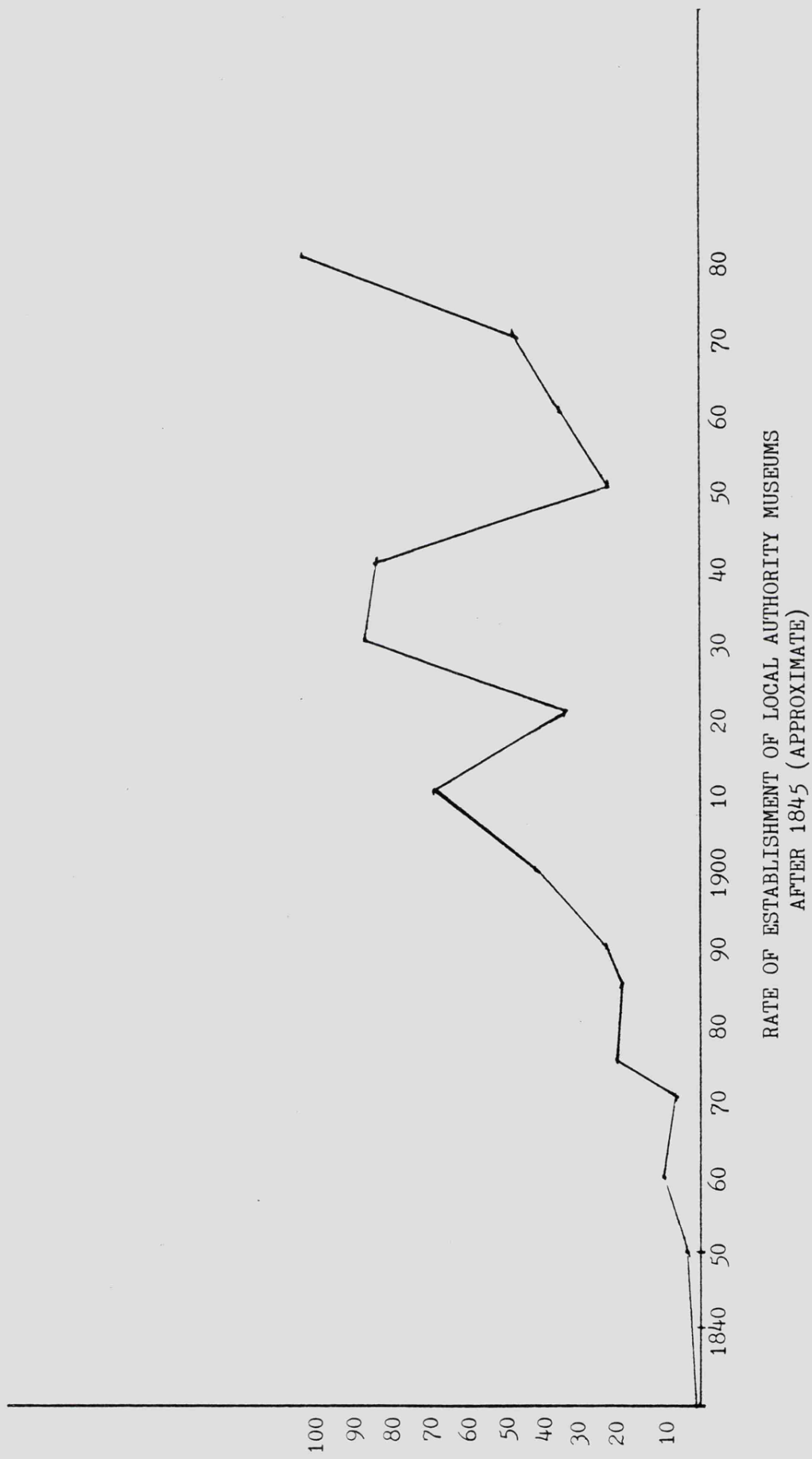


Figure 11

Figure 12

APPROXIMATE ESTABLISHMENT OF LOCAL AUTHORITY MUSEUMS
BY DECADE

Dates	Number -Provinces	Number -London	Total Cumulative	Estimated Number No Longer Extant
1840	6		6	0
1850	10	1	17	0
1860	8	0	25	2
1870	23	1	48	3
1880	28	0	76	5
1890	47	6	129	
1900	72	10	211	29
1910	35	5	255	11
1920	90	6	351	
1930	88	4	443	
1940	28		471	
1950	42	3	516	
1960	51	2	569	
1970	109	5	683	
	<u>641 +</u>	<u>43</u>		

figures in the existing reports, surveys and directories would reveal. Secondly, there were many more museums in existence prior to 1845 particularly society, institute and proprietary museums than previously noted; many have been lost to our records and, hence, any number recording their existence will probably be conservative and therefore, contradict Richard Altick's claim about the number of museums prior to the 1860's:

One hastens to add, however, that the extent to which the provinces were supplied with museums and art galleries by 1862 must not be exaggerated, as is sometimes done. Most of the local natural history-cum-curios collection, the property of 'literary and philosophical societies' were small, decrepit, ill-housed, and often not accessible at all...scarcely better than old fashioned private cabinets.¹²

In fact, the provision of museum-related collections is usually underestimated. This is, of course, not to say anything about the quality of these operations that Altick has characterized as "decrepit."

Thirdly, the museum movement is much less stable than is usually assumed; a significant percentage of museums were lost along the way while most passed through a transition of one sort or another: donation to a group, university, society, national or local government as well as various expansions, extensions, and renovations and combinations with other museums into city or country museums services. For example, the Selby Educational Museum, founded by Sir Jonathan Hutchinson as a sister institution to Haslemere, once one of the leading examples of didactic educational work for children, had by 1928 according to Sir Henry Miers "fallen into neglect and is one of the worst examples in the country of a decayed institution."¹³ The Selby Committee tried to renew the museum in 1930 but to no avail. It fell victim to changing styles in museums. An example of expansion of museums is the branch museum development at Norwich which by 1933 had four museums: Stranger's Hall was set up as a Folk Museum in 1900; Bridewell Museum of Local Industries in 1925; St. Peter Hungate

¹²Richard Altick, The Shows of London (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), p. 471.

¹³Sir Henry Miers, Report, p. 41.

Church for showing ecclesiastical art in the 1930's. Leicester formed its first branch museum, the Guildhall in 1926 followed by Belgrave and Jewry Wall (1937) and Newarke House (1940).

Fourthly, the factors affecting the growth of museums are part of the larger history of the Industrial Revolution in Britain; but this is not a simple or predictable inter-relation. The rise in population, the increasing urbanization of Britain combined with the transformations in the number, interests and relationships of the upper, middle-ranks, and the working-classes stimulated the establishment of museums, both nationally and locally. By 1851, the townsmen outnumbered the countrymen in Britain while two out of five persons lived in one of the 'conurbations' of London, South-east Lancashire, the West Midlands, West Yorkshire, Merseyside and Tyneside.¹⁴ Hence, town noteworthies regarded the museums as a tool for the uplifting and edification if not control of the growing masses of working peoples as a civic, community action and often as a response to the conditions and requirements of industrial production. On the other side of the coin of industrialization, the working-class groups could also assemble to form collections for their own reforming interests. According to Frank Markham in 1938, however, the linkage between these forces and the start-up of museums was not clear for the museum movement was "one of the most haphazard, one of the most neglected, and one of the least understood of civic services."¹⁵ He noted there were 70 museums in Central London and 6 in Stratford-on-Avon despite the extreme difference in population; there were 250 museums in towns with populations less than 10,000 but a score or more in towns with populations over 40,000 did not yet have a museum.¹⁶ Obviously museum formation was a random response to

¹⁴E.J. Hobsbawm, Industry and Empire, An Economic History of Britain Since 1750 (London, 1968), p. 131.

¹⁵Sir F. Markham, The Museums and Art Galleries of the British Isles (Dumfermline, 1938), p. 11.

¹⁶Ibid., pp. 13-14.

endowments as much as to population density or any other obvious criteria. Thus, museum growth might be stimulated by forces of industrialization but could still remain independent to the degree that the enthusiasm of a private person or group or the accidents of history could establish and maintain a museum regardless of socio-economic forces. Hence, there were many museums in areas of low population density and industrial growth,^{while an} active world of private, commercial entertainments has paralleled the official arena of national, civic, university museums.

Furthermore, despite the legislation of 1845, 1850, 1891, 1919 there was to be^{no} real museum structure in Britain, but an ad hoc system caught betwixt and between a private and public structure and between national and local government responsibility, the reform of which has remained a pre-occupation for the museum world.

Historical Analysis, 1845-1890

In 1845, the attempts to pass legislation to ensure the development of museums in towns came to fruition. A public meeting had been called in Manchester in 1844 to discuss ways of improving popular taste in matters of art; Joseph Brotherton, M.P., attended and communicated the proposal that towns be allowed to set up museums and to support them by the penny rate to William Ewart, M.P., who prepared the matter once more for Parliament. The proposed Act of March 18 was to empower councils of boroughs to levy a half penny rate to establish Museums of Art in Corporate Towns reflecting the continuing preoccupation with the state of artistic productions and taste.

In discussion, Ewart referred to the earlier recommendations of the 1836-37 Select Committee on Arts and Manufactures to establish exhibitions or galleries of art in the manufacturing areas of the country. His vision was "to diffuse these various specimens of art throughout the country, to send them to the museums of Manchester, of Glasgow, of Birmingham, of Coventry and all of the large manufacturing towns" using the new railways to send objects around; Sir Robert Peel, representing cautious reaction, expressed the view that the House "should exercise caution as to how they

confer too extensive powers of taxation upon town councils, for the purpose of encouraging the formation of collections of works of art the purposes of ventilation, and improving the salubrity of the dwellings of the population."¹⁷ Mr. Shiel further added that such institutions should be open on Sundays to fulfil their aim. By April the Bill was redrafted to refer to Museums in general and was to apply only to towns with a population over 10,000; it was to enable councils of municipal boroughs with populations over 10,000 to build and maintain buildings for museums of art and science; the rate was not to be over one half-penny and admission fees not over one penny per person.¹⁸ Notably, for the future of collecting, no money was allotted for the purchase of objects or specimens; museums were to depend on donation and subscriptions.

W.A. Mumford has argued that it was Edward Edwards who misguided Ewart in projecting a local rate-aid structure in his writings rather than some other sort of co-ordination with larger governmental units or even a national strategy:

If Ewart had concentrated, first, on obtaining Government grants for library buildings - possibly grants for new buildings to accommodate amalgamated existing libraries - similar to those made available, from 1833, for school buildings, then it is at least possible that the subsequent history of Public Libraries and Museums might have been less typified by poverty, indifference and neglect.¹⁹

Indeed, this suggestion had been made in 1839 by the Society of Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in A Manual for Mechanic's Institutes which recommended

¹⁷ Parliamentary Debates (Commons), 3rd series, 78 (6 March 1845), 381-384, 387, 390-391. See also J.J. Ogle, "Edwards and Ewart and the Select Committee on Public Libraries of 1849," The Library Association Record and T. Kelly, History of Public Libraries in Great Britain 1845-1965 (London, 1973), Book I.

¹⁸ Parliamentary Papers, vol. 4 (1845) (Bills: Public), "A Bill to enable Town Councils to establish Museums of Art in Corporate Towns, as Amended by Committee." At the same time the Peel ministry drafted a Museums Bill as a reaction to the damage to the Portland Vase in the British Museums. Parliamentary Debates (Commons), 3rd series, 78 (13 March 1845), 783. "A Bill for the Protection of Property contained in Public Museums, Galleries, Cabinets, Libraries, and other Public Repositories, from Malicious Injuries."

¹⁹ W.A. Mumford, William Ewart (London, 1960), p. 184-185.

government grants to build new accommodation for existing libraries.²⁰

In 1840 Edward Edwards, a librarian, wrote The Administrative Economy of the Fine Arts in England, an indictment of the record of the state in supporting galleries and museums in England and the limitations of the National Gallery and the British Museums calling for the involvement of private and public initiatives:

In addition then to the broad principle that public funds can never be better employed...than in the establishment of institutions tending at once to refine the feeling and to improve the industry of the whole population, there is the subordinate but yet important ground of inducing and enabling private persons greatly to benefit the public by contributing towards the same end.

But if we proceed to enquire what England - with so many advantages - has actually done in this respect, the answer is far from satisfactory....

It is needless to add, that of public collections of works of Art in our great manufacturing towns, fitted to elevate the taste and to develop the capabilities of our artisans, we are wholly and absolutely destitute.²¹

Edwards quoted extensively from the evidence of the Royal Commission on the Fine Arts of 1836-37 and 1835. He began with the topic of what collections are most suitable, suggesting that casts of the 'best' works of sculpture in plaster and metal, prints and books of design are necessary to improve manufacturing products. He compared the British museum development to the French concluding that a museum of British History was needed just as the French had a Musee Historique de Versailles and two commissions, the Committee Historique des Arts et Monumens and the Commission des Monumens Historique, (analyzing the Gallic, Roman, and Medieval antiquities and building of France). Edwards also discussed the wants of the National Gallery: the lack of a 'system' to improve the collection, the want of arrangement, management, a building site and access. The British Museum came in for criticism of the crowding of displays, a common opinion.

But it was his recommendations for a 'system' of museum establishment

²⁰ Ibid., p. 185.

²¹ Edward Edwards, The Administrative Economy of the Fine Arts in England (London, 1840), pp. 108-109.

by municipal bodies supported by government grants and co-operation that have significance in retrospect:

As in all of these there either are, or soon will be, corporate bodies for the direction of their municipal affairs, I conceive the readiest and least objectionable mode of establishing such collections would be for the government, with the sanction of the legislature, to offer grants of a determined proportion of the sums required at the outset; and to empower the corporation to levy the remainder within each municipal district to be so benefited; the government grant being contingent on that of the corporation. These galleries and museums once established, I think there is little doubt that adequate provision for their future support would be readily made from the local funds.²²

He added: "For the reasons pointed out by Mr. Rennie central superintendence of these Museums must be united with local management."²³

Edwards' recommendations for "a system of museums established by municipal bodies" was followed but not his suggestion that the government offer grants to start up the enterprise nor that central role be combined with local efforts. Nor were events to support Edwards' assumption "that adequate provision for their future support would be readily made from the local funds."

William Dicey once characterized the "inveterate prejudice for fragmentary and gradual legislation" that marked British law.²⁴ In no instance is this premise more true than in museum legislation. For the next 130 years intermittent and partial attempts were made to liberalize museum legislation to make it easier to establish and to increase funds for museums and to rationalize the museum system.

In 1849 Ewart sat on the Select Committee on Libraries and in 1850 moved the Bill to enable Town Councils to establish Public Libraries and Museums (which Joseph Brotherton seconded) to supercede the earlier Act; after intense debate, the act was altered calling for the more difficult

²²Ibid., pp. 112-113.

²³Ibid., p. 113.

²⁴William Dicey, Law and Opinion in England, (London, 1905), p.28.

two-thirds majority of voting ratepayers rather than a population of 10,000 to adopt the Act.²⁵ The new Act, which now applied to both libraries and museums, kept the half-penny rate restriction, but it did require all museums to be free of an entrance fee. There were still no funds for specimens. In 1853 the Public Libraries (Ireland and Scotland) Act followed. Over the next forty years there were a series of reforms to the Acts attempting to make it easier to found museums. In 1855 the Public Libraries Act was passed; the rate limit was raised to one penny in the pound, the population limit lowered to 5,000 and a public meeting of ratepayers rather than a poll would suffice. At last funds could be spent "to purchase and provide books, newspapers, maps and specimens of art and science" and the Act could apply to areas outside of the municipal boroughs such as parish vestries, improvement boards or groups of vestries.

The penny rate restriction limited the amount of funding for museums until it was lifted by the Public Library Act of 1919. After 1855, the reduction of and eventual removal of the population limit to museums establishment may have encouraged local piecemeal efforts as Lewis Mumford has suggested.²⁶ These underdeveloped museums were to be the targets of the criticisms by the museums reformers and the formulation of museological

²⁵Parliamentary Papers, vol. 7 (1850) (Bills: Public), "A Bill for Enabling Towns Councils to establish Public Libraries and Museums, as amended by the Committee, on re-commitment." The act was extended in Public Libraries (Ireland and Scotland) (1853) Act, 16 and 17 Vict. c. 101 followed by Public Libraries (Scotland) (1854) Act, 17 and 18 Vict. 64 and Public Libraries and Museums Act (1855), 18 and 19 Vict. c. 70. Amending statutes were made in 1866, 1868, and 1885.

²⁶W.A. Mumford, William Ewart, p.185. Although T. Kelly has argued that libraries were better off than museums, John Alldred has pointed out that 1845 and 1850 and in 1919 again, Britain lost the chance for a nationally integrated and financially supported national public library system due to confusion over its purpose. The CUKT financed the Adam's Report on Libraries in which it was revealed that rural areas didn't have adequate representation perhaps the result of the nineteenth century pre-occupation of libraries as a civic right. This argument can be made for museums, too. John Alldred, "The Purpose of the Public Library: the Historical View," Library History 2 (Spring 1972), 185-204. The Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science (1887-88) and Miers, Report, p. 10 confirm these findings.

concepts in the period to follow.

After the 1845 legislation, there was no rush to form municipal museums despite the preceeding push of the radical members of Parliament and the predominance of the discussion of museums and the cultural and moral health of the nation. The philosophy of laissez-faire and the suspicion of any expansion of the government role took many years to fade. Most of the municipal museums were to be formed under the later acts of 1891 and 1919. Nevertheless, several museums were ready and waiting to take up the first legislation. Sunderland took over the collections of the Sunderland Literary and Natural History Society (1846); Canterbury Corporation (1847) purchased the museum and library of the Philosophical and Literary Institution charging visitors one penny, and then, one penny to borrow books. Ipswich (1847), Warrington next (1848), Salford with Brotherton's assistance established a museum and library in a building in Peel Park in 1849 (opened 1850); Leicester (1849) and Dover (1849) followed. Canterbury, Salford and Warrington also set up libraries. But several towns rejected the proposition for the time being - Exeter in 1851, Birmingham in 1852, Cheltenham, London, Islington and Haslingden in 1855, Hull and St. Mary le-Bone London in 1857.²⁷

Some towns set up museums without reference to legislation as towns such as Lichfield had before 1845. Petershead, Aberdeenshire established the Arbuthnot Museum using borough funds and entrance fees. Similarly, Berwick-on-Tweed was established in 1857 by means of town subscriptions and fees but not, apparently, by legislation. Other towns sought their own legislation. The Liverpool Town Council had a special act, the Liverpool Public Library, Museum and Gallery of Art Act 1852 which set up a board of trustees and a one penny rate to be raised by the Corporation.²⁸

²⁷D. Chadwick, Free Public Libraries and Museums (Salford, 1857), p. 7.

²⁸Liverpool Public Library, Museum and Gallery of Art Act (1852).

By 1889 a conservative estimate would be by our reckoning approximately 254 museums. The majority of which had been started by societies or institutes or by private collectors. Some of these had been transferred to local government control but other corporations, such as Salford (1849), Birmingham (1867), and Exeter (1868), began their own museums. As a result there were about seventy-six museums (29%) connected to the local municipal government. Many societies or institutes gave their collections to municipal corporations such as Sunderland (1846), Warrington (1848) and Leicester (1849).²⁹ These transfers were sometimes uncertain. The Manchester Royal Institution in 1881 transferred the art collection to the civic authorities and the Institution building became the City Art Gallery. In Liverpool, however, negotiations to transfer the collections of the Royal Liverpool Institution broke down. The city assisted by private benefactors set up a series of public institutions in its stead; the William Brown Library and Museum (1860), the Walker Art Gallery (1877), the Picton Reading Room (1879). The collection of the Royal Liverpool Institution was given instead to Nottingham (1877), Bootle (1886) and the Walker Art Gallery (1893).³⁰ Other societies such as the Basingstoke (Hampshire) Mechanic's Institute remained in its original state from 1869 until it was switched to the Local Authority in 1931.

The Report of 1887 of the British Association for the Advancement of Science confirms the proportion of these figures although underestimating

²⁹Miers recorded that about one-half of the collections created from 1880 to 1920 were based on private collections of societies (e.g. Devizes Museum - 1854) or of individuals (Berwick-on-Tweed (1857), Salisbury (1860)) of which about half in 1887 had transferred to local authority control; about one-third were the spontaneous creation of corporations often supported by individual benefactions, voluntary subscriptions, p. 10.

³⁰H.A. Ormerod, The Liverpool Royal Institution (Liverpool, 1953), Chapters 4-5.

the numbers.³¹ It also pointed out that the society museums, once taken over by the public authorities, suffered as society members felt removed from the responsibilities and no longer were as deeply involved in the operation of the museums. Honorary Curators soon had to be replaced with some permanent staff assistance. In addition, there were still many private museums some set up with endowments and trustees when the originator died.

There are many types of museums which have not been recorded in the surveys. The lack of records on the 'lost museums' masks the popularity of individual and group collecting and exhibiting: in Yorkshire and parts of Lancashire, working men, usually with little education, formed Naturalists' Societies which would meet weekly in a public-house, perhaps joined by the proprietor and gradually formed collections in support of their interests. These collections, sometimes called 'Inn-Parlour Museums', often consisted of cases of birds and insects mounted in elaborate geometric design.³² These 'Museums' and the private collections of members were often moved around or dispersed while some found their way into museums such as the Tolson Memorial Museum, Huddersfield. One example is the Commercial Inn, Paddock which was re-located at the Sportsman's Inn, Greetland.³³ Perhaps these examples were only the tip of the iceberg; according to Reverend Dr. G. Hewlett's evidence before the 1860 Select Committee on the British Museum there were many natural history groups amongst the working classes such as the Working Man's Entomological, Botanical and Natural History Society held at Pearson's Arms Tavern, Pearson

³¹"Report of the Committee...appointed for the purpose of preparing a Report upon the Provincial Museums of the United Kingdom." Reports of the 57th Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science (1887).

³²Charles Mosley, "Inn-Parlour Museums," Museums Journal 27 (March 1928), 280-281.

³³"Village Museums and Clubs," Museums Journal 8 (April 1908), 360-361.

Street, Kingsland Road which had sixty members or the Haggerstone Entomological Society, Carpenter's Arms, Martha Street, Haggerstone.³⁴

There were many also private museums some of which were noteworthy. For example both the Natural History Museum of S.L. Mosley at Huddersfield and the Geological Museum of L.F. Bingham at Bakewell were mentioned by Greenwood.³⁵ Then there was the family in the village of Holderness who spent long winter evenings cleaning, labelling and arranging treasures. James Smith, "the Whitehall antiquary," was a working man in London whose collections have found a place in the Guildhall Museum.

The world of the popular museum and exhibit was still active. In 1851 one such exhibit was noted in Neath, South Wales entitled "The Wonders of Nature!"

It has been inspected by several Gentlemen of great Geological Acquirements, who have not succeeded in arriving at a satisfactory conclusion as to its identity with any of the Fossil Inhabitants of bygone worlds; but do not hesitate, from the perfect state of the Scales with which it is covered, and the natural coil or twist in the Trunk or Body, to pronounce it a

Fossil Serpent

Geologists, Natural Historians and the public generally will find this a most interesting Exhibition.³⁶

The object was in reality the part of a scaly trunk of the *Lepidodendron*, a tree of the Coal Measures. Ladies and Gentlemen paid one shilling, Tradesman, six pence and the Working Classes three pence to enter. For one shilling, one could visit The Oriental and Turkish Museum, St. George's Gallery, Knightsbridge opened in 1854 where models depicted eastern life: costumes, arms and scenes of baths, coffee-shops, bazaars, weddings, feasts; palace, harem, street scenes.

In Bramber, Sussex, Mr. Potter started a museum when he was fifteen (1850) for children which contained models and taxidermy to depict nursery

³⁴Rev. Dr. G. Hewlett, Evidence, Reports of the Select Committee on the British Museum, etc. (1860), vol. 16, p. 148. Other evidence was given to support the idea by J.E. Gray,

³⁵Thomas Greenwood, Museums and Art Galleries (London, 1888), 152 as well as historic houses such as Belvoir Castle and Chatsworth, p. 145-6.

³⁶D. Dilwyn John, "Natural History and Museums," Museums Journal 51 (October 1951), 164-165.

rhymes, such as: Babes in the Woods, This is the House that Jack Built, Death and Burial of Cock Robin, The Rabbit's Village School. As late as 1908 a 'tavern' collection at the Edinboro' Castle, Mornington Road, Regent's Park (Proprietor Mr. Middlebrook) was still operating; it had many valuable objects such as a great auk's egg.³⁷ The famous Trip to Jerusalem, a pub in Nottingham, still functions while other traces of this type of museum exist such as the Museum Street in Sheffield named for William Bullock's museum which may have been located there before it was moved to London.

As for the Mechanic's Institute movement, by 1841 there were over 300 institutes, by 1851 perhaps as many as 700 of which twenty-five percent were located in Lancashire or the West Riding of Yorkshire. By 1900 the day of the Institute was passed, most of their adult education functions taken over by the local authorities or by the Workers Educational Authorities while those activities related to collecting were performed by museums.

The natural science collections, particularly those of geology and zoology, represented the major type formed in the period, a visible expression of the prevailing concern with explanations of the natural order and after 1860 with 'evolution'. Many of these collections have since been lost or misplaced disturbed by subsequent alterations, closure, relocation, extension or changing interests directed to history and antiquities. The British Association Report of 1887 listed the proportion of museums by subject: Geology 98, Zoology 49, Botany 9, Archaeology 23, Art 16, Miscellaneous 16. These figures would alter dramatically sixty years later.³⁸ (Appendix V)

Gradually, more museums were set up in provincial towns for art objects either as separate galleries or attached to existing museums: Glasgow (1854), Birmingham (1876), Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool (1857), York (1879), Bradford (1879), Aberdeen (1885). Other corporations added

³⁷ Thomas Southwell, "Notes on an Eighteenth Century Museum," Museums Journal 8 (October 1908), 1. Altick argues that these activities could not compare to the heyday of the exhibition industry, Shows.

³⁸ "Report," British Association for the Advancement of Science (1887), p. 114.

an Art Gallery to the Museum - Bath (1900) and Hull (1900).³⁹

This growth was stimulated by museum events on the national scene; for example, the impact of the Great Exhibition of 1851 and its instigators, Henry Cole and Prince Albert, has frequently been described. A series of temporary exhibitions, the beginnings of at least three national museums (South Kensington, the Science Museum, the Royal Scottish Museum) and a number of municipal museums and a philosophy of the utility of museums to commercial enterprise and educational well-being of the nation were some of the off-shoots. The Society of Arts had sponsored several exhibitions from 1847 to 1849 that were increasingly popular when Prince Albert took over the presidency of the Society of Arts. As the epitome of the nobleman scholar, schooled in liberal ideas of the German enlightenment and in music and art, he had studied the works of Raphael, made a collection of early German and Italian paintings and was at the forefront of the interest in "primitives" then developing. His interest in art was bound up in his concern for the country's industrial and moral progress for the improvement of the public and the nation.

Henry Cole introduced penny postage, reformed the Public Record Office, wrote children's books, and several guides to the contents of national monuments and collections. Cole, himself, was proof of the principles of the improving role of art. After consulting the Greek earthenware at the British Museum, he designed a tea service and had Herbert Minton manufacture it with good popular response. Cole was, thus, convinced that "an alliance between fine art and manufactures would promote public taste, and conduce to the interest of all concerned in the production of art manufactures."

Prince Albert and Cole planned a large exposition of international

³⁹Others were Maidstone, Kent-Museum (1858), Art Gallery (1890), Hereford Museum (1872), Art Gallery (1912), Cheltenham Art Gallery (1899), Museum (1907), Brighouse, Museum (1898), Art Gallery (1907), Kettering-Museum (1901), Art Gallery (1913), Bury Museum (1907), Art Gallery (1901), Derby Art Gallery (1883) in same building as Museum 18 constructed 1879 founded in 1836 and transferred to the City in 1856.

industrial productions following French precedents. The Great Exhibition, the Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations, was set up as a private business venture of exhibits of raw material, machinery and manufactured products. It was a resounding financial and popular success but led to the conclusion that British products were not of as high a quality as the French and a reform of the School of Design established in 1836 was required. In 1852, the Board of Trade appointed Cole to manage the reforms as Superintendent of General Management. The School was renamed the Department of Practical Art (1852) and the Department of Science and Art (1853). With profits from the Exhibition, in 1852 the Museum of Manufactures was set up temporarily in Marlborough House with the collections from the School of Design and acquisitions from the Great Exhibition. Renamed the Art Museum and the Museum of Ornamental Art and finally South Kensington Museum when it was moved to the new iron galleries referred to as the "Brompton Boilers" in 1857, the Museum was a marked success.

The South Kensington Museum has been securely founded as a National Centre for consulting the best works of Science and Art throughout the Kingdom. Whilst the Museum itself has been visited by more than twelve millions of visitors, it has circulated objects to one hundred and ninety-five localities holding exhibitions, to which more than four millions of local visitors have contributed about ninety-three thousand pounds.⁴⁰

Cole instituted many innovative programmes such as the loans scheme (1864-1977), labels, lectures, evening openings and a refreshment room with alcoholic beverages (1863).

An Industrial Museum of Scotland was formed in 1854 under the Department of Science and Art; it was renamed the Edinburgh Museum of Science and Art and finally the Royal Scottish Museum in 1904. In 1855 the University of Edinburgh transferred the Natural History Museum (1697) to the new museum. A National Gallery of Scotland was established in 1858 and the Scottish National Portrait Gallery in 1889. In 1851, the Society of Anti-

⁴⁰ Sir Henry Cole, Fifty Years of Public Work of Sir Henry Cole, K.C.B. Accounted for in his Deeds, Speeches and Writings (London, 1884) 2, 347.

quarries of Scotland (1780) transferred its Museum to the Board of Trustees for Manufacturing in Scotland and a building was provided in 1859. In Ireland, the Royal Dublin Society (1731) and the Royal Irish Academy (1786) were combined to form the Dublin Science and Art Museum in 1878.

In London, a National Portrait Gallery was set up in 1856. In the spirit of 1851, the Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition of 1857 was organized with the involvement of Prince Albert and Gustav Waagen. It was the first time the general public was able to see the pictures, sculpture and ornamental art of the private collectors of 1,100 Old Master paintings, 700 contemporary works, 386 British portraits, 1,000 watercolours, material from the Museum of Ornamental Art, the Soulages Collection and the British Museum. The exhibition enjoyed enormous popularity, averaging nine thousand visitors per day for eight weeks after opening; while employees were sent on special visits by landowners. Other exhibitions followed in Leeds in 1868, Liverpool and York. The Schools of Art formed in most cities also encouraged the public desire for an art institution.⁴¹

1891-1918

The Museums and Gymnasium Act of 1891 enabled urban authorities (outside of London until 1901) to levy an additional $\frac{1}{2}$ d. rate for museum purposes alone.⁴² The act was part of the spirit to extend the power of local authorities over leisure time and to respond to the problems raised by the Industrial Revolution on the physical health of the people which it was thought could be improved with provision for sanitary facilities, open spaces, physical fitness and access to galleries and museums for mental health. A score or so of museums had already obtained Parliament's approval to levy rates beyond a penny; nevertheless, by 1900 only six towns had

⁴¹ Parliamentary Papers (Commons). "Report of the Select Committee on Schools of Art," (July 1864).

⁴² Museums and Gymnasium Act (1891) Act 54 Vict. c. . See also the Health Acts of 1875, 1899 and 1907 for legislation drafted in the same spirit.

adopted the new Act. Museums were to be open to the public free at least three days a week with admission fees allowed on other days. The Public Libraries Act of 1892 was another alternative;⁴³ it consolidated previous legislation and transferred museums provided under it to the new library authorities, urban districts or parishes not in an urban district or combination of parishes or urban districts; there was to be no charge for admission at any time.

During the period from 1890 to 1920, about 215 museums were founded giving a total of 424 in Britain of which 158 museums were formed by or transferred to Local Authority government.⁴⁴ The largest type of museum formed were rate-supported (representing 255 or 54% of all museums) with subjects of general and local history, art and decorative art.

It is significant that in each decade several museums have been 'lost' to the subsequent records. Of those that the history is known, one was burned (Jedburgh) and later rebuilt; many of the others were museums that were part of a library (Altringham, Newburgh) and must have been lost to the needs of the library.⁴⁵

Events progressed on the national level as the National Portrait Gallery (founded in 1857) was provided with a building in 1896 through a gift by William Henry Alexander. Sir Henry Tate donated his collection of contemporary art as well as funds for a National Gallery of British Art. In 1897 the house and art collection of the Hertford family were donated by Lady Wallace and opened in 1900. The British Museum received a much needed extension in 1913 with the opening of the King Edward VII wing after continual revamping and restructuring during the nineteenth century.

⁴³The Public Libraries Act (1892) Act 55 and 56 Vict. c. 53.

⁴⁴These figures are paralleled by those of the Museums Directory of 1911 which listed 328 museums which 50% (166) were municipal.

⁴⁵The approximate number of 'lost' museums from the findings of this study are 1890 to 1900 is 19, 1900 to 1910 is 3, and from 1910 to 1920 is 18.

The National Trust was set up in 1894 as a private organization with a board and individual membership using the Historic Trustees of Public Reservations of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts of 1891 as a model. Large, fine collections continued to be held in castles, palaces, and mansions of the private families or run by the National Trust.

Despite the legislation of 1891 and 1892 there was a general awareness that conditions for establishing museums as well as improvements in their upkeep were needed. E. Howarth discussed the possibility of the Museum Association drafting a bill to make it easier to establish museums.⁴⁶ Herbert Bolton suggested in 1897 and 1906 that certain museums were of such importance as to justify government aid.⁴⁷ He called for a survey of existing museums to create a national scheme for museums. Certain museums deserved government funding; each of these would have a defined area of work and would provide a "certain standard of excellence and completeness" while the remaining museums would be subsidized through the county councils and be visited yearly by an accredited visitor. The museums could be affiliated to an educational centre as it would be more efficient to link the museums to the existing county council educational authorities already established as of 1902. Howarth's idea reappeared in the Public Libraries Act of 1919. E.E. Howarth supported the idea that museums were essentially part of the educational programme of the local community and therefore "we might therefore very justly put forth a plea for greater public financial support in view of their admitted potency in national education."⁴⁸

Part of the problem was caused by the impact of the 1902 Education

⁴⁶ E.E. Howarth, "Library and Museum Legislation," Proceedings of the Third Annual Conference of the Museums Association, (1891), pp. 121-126.

⁴⁷ Herbert Bolton, "The Future of Museums," Museums Journal 5 (February 1906), 251-256.

⁴⁸ E.E. Howarth, "Presidential Address," Museums Journal 13 (August 1913), 33.

Act. Frank Woolnough pointed out that in 1903 the transfer of all educational matters to the educational committees had prevented museum committees from receiving grants for supplies, texts, teachers, and salaries as they had in some areas. In some locations the museums committee had virtually been the technical education committees.⁴⁹ The crisis of museum funding had worsened by another reform.

1919-1945

With the Education Act of 1902 and the events of World War I, and the changing balance of politics and public the problems of museums and their role in national education resulted in reforming ideas about museums which appeared in legislative efforts in due course. By the Education Act of 1918, the local education committees could seek the assistance of Museums for local education development, a clause allowing local education grants to museums and visits from school parties. In 1918 the Ministry of Reconstruction presented the "Third Interim Report by the Committee on Adult Education upon the Industrial and Social Conditions in Relation to Education" recommending that "the powers and duties of Local Government Board regarding public libraries and museums should be transferred forthwith to the Board of Education."⁵⁰ The Committee noted:

...the country is not sufficiently provided with museums; those that exist are generally hampered from lack of funds, and their activities are not adequately co-ordinated with the work of local education authorities and public libraries.⁵¹

The half-penny rate established by the 1891 Museums and Gymnasiums Act had only curtailed development. Their solution to the financial problem was to suggest co-operation between educational institutions and museums by making

⁴⁹Frank Woolnough, "Museums and Nature Study," Museums Journal 4 (February 1905), 265-270.

⁵⁰Third Interim Report by the Committee of the Adult Education upon the Industrial and Social Conditions in Relation to Education. Libraries and Museums. Ministry of Reconstruction (London, 1919), p. 18.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 16.

Figure 13

COMPARATIVE DATA ON NUMBER OF
LOCAL AUTHORITY MUSEUMS

	<u>Present Study</u>	<u>Reports & Surveys</u>
1887	----	55 25% British Association
		53 32% Greenwood
1889	76 29%	
1909	211 49%	----
1911	----	116 50% Museums Directory
1920	255 54%	----
1928	----	267 50% Miers
1929	351 57%	----
1931	----	311 52.4% Museums Directory
1938	----	400 54% Markham
1939	471 62%	----
1963	----	over 50% Survey, 1963.
1980	719 61%	----

the local education authority the museum agency with state assistance to be filtered through the Board of Education to the local education authority and to the museum.

The Committee, however, had not approached the Museums Association or the British Association Committee, then involved in its own study on museums and education. Both the Museums Association and the Library Association disapproved of the idea of transferring museums to the local Education Authority and wrote to the Ministry of Reconstruction expressing their concern.

The Public Libraries Act (1919) was, thus, a compromise.⁵² A County or Town Council could constitute itself as the Library Authority and bring all public museums under its control but set up a separate committee for the museums. There was also to be no limit on the rate for those museums that adopted the Act. Existing museums could adopt the Act but did not have to transfer their powers to the county councils and county education committees. New museums, though, would only be set up under the county scheme.

The inter-war years were active ones both for museum creation and refurbishing. From 1920 to 1940, according to our records, approximately 284 museums were formed (total 752); during the same period, 178 museums were formed by or transferred to local government (total 471 in 1940). By 1940, then, local government museums made up 62% of all museums. There had been a significant shift from private to rate-supported Local Authority museums since first reports of 1880 although society, trust and private museums were still being formed. (See Figure 11). The financial problems of the depression of the early 1930's did not noticeably slow the growth of museums. Even if funding levels had remained constant, resources for museums had to go further.

⁵²Public Libraries Act, 1919. Parliamentary Papers (Bills) 9 and 10 Geo. 5. A Bill to Amend the Public Libraries Acts, 1892, and to repeal so much of the Museums and Gymnasiums Act, 1891, as authorises the provision of Museums in England and Wales.

Activities had not ceased at the national level. The Imperial War Museum Act of 1920 set up a museum first at Crystal Palace then transferred to the Imperial Institute, South Kensington until opened in its present building in 1935. The National Museum of Wales was opened in 1926 as was the first part of the Science Museum which officially opened in 1928, and the National Maritime Museum at Greenwich in 1934. In addition, attention was brought to museums by a series of popular international exhibitions of art.

Funding of Museums 1845-1945

The expectations of the legislators of 1845 and after for generous local support for museums was only partially realized. The financial history of the majority of British museums was a depressing one of parsimonious boards or councils, perhaps unaware of the costs of proper museum operations, and a recalcitrant central government's insistence of preserving the structure of local government independence. In the 1880's despite the growing awareness of funding problems for museums and suggestions of reform, legislators such as Lord Randolph Churchill resisted major reform of the museum structure; Churchill believed that if the subjects of science and art were left to local effort their advancement would be secured without any aid from the Government.⁵³

In many museums funding was jointly shared with the library and sanctioned also an art gallery often created as a separate building and operation. Expenses for the library and/or art gallery all came from the penny rate with the result that none operated well. For example, in a town of 100,000 the penny rate would be about £1,500 yet the amount recommended by the British Association Report of 1887 to run a first-class public museum alone was £800.⁵⁴ The Report listed the number of museums and

⁵³T. Greenwood, Museums and Galleries, p. 248.

⁵⁴Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science (1887), p. 118.

their types of support in 1887:

<u>Type of Support</u>	<u>No.</u>		
Special Rate	50	Government	8
General Boro Fund	5	Private	11
Local Societies	50	Endowment	11
Local Institution	13	Unknown	12
Annual Subscription	21		
College	30		

Some towns had special legislation is local acts to raise the rates to 2 d. or 3 d.; Birmingham removed the rate restriction altogether.

Some museums were even formed by the voluntary subscriptions and donations of citizens as at Winchester (Hants) where the museum was formed in 1847 and transferred to the city in 1851. The role of the individual collector or benefactor in museum development was marked as Liverpool's record shows. Lord Derby gave his museum of 20,000 mammals and birds to Liverpool in 1852 while Sir William Brown's gift resulted in the building of the Free Museum and Library opened there in 1860 which was followed by a series of donations of important collections. In 1868 John Mayer gave his large collection of art and archaeology. Sir A.B. Walker (Mayor) erected a building in 1877 for an Art Gallery named after him, as well as an extension in 1882.⁵⁵

The Earl of Bathurst in 1856 had the Corinium Museum built at Cirencester to store two pavements of Roman origin found during street excavations, while in Derby T. Bass (an M.P. for many years) donated a building for the museum. In Preston, Edmund Harris left £100,000 for a Free Library and Museum and £5,000 for collecting; the son of a local rector gave £285,000 for various city programmes. Similarly, in Sheffield, John Newton Mappin bequested £15,000 and his art collection in 1883 for the Art Gallery (1887) named after him. Even at the national level the National Gallery, the National Portrait Gallery and the Tate Gallery were dependant on private benefactors for their collections or building. Even the British Museum was not purchased outright but through a National Lottery in the 1760's.

⁵⁵T. Greenwood, Museums and Galleries. See Chapter 9 on "Private Munificence."

In the twentieth century, the private benefactor was still a significant factor. Samuel Courtauld (1876-1947) left his picture of French Impressionists to form the Courtauld Institute at the University of London along with an institute for the study of arts and gave his house in which to locate it. Joseph Duveen gave money to build an extension to the Tate, a gallery for the Elgin marbles at the British Museum and a gallery for the National Gallery. Other significant collections were those of Sir Robert Witt, Sir Percival David, Eumorfopoulos collection.

Private funding, however, was not dependable; first, it was allocated mainly for capital projects, building or for collections but not for operations; secondly, finances were subject to availability not need and in the provinces, at least, declined as did the proportion of individual wealth and the record of Britain in world economy. Despite the noteworthy activities of some individuals even to this day, for example the Sainsbury Centre at Norwich University, fewer and fewer people have been able, for reasons of diminishing wealth, to sustain the growing financial needs of the cultural field. As Lord Rosse stated in 1970:

For well over half a century now, our museums have been, as it were, living on the capital bequeather by our grandfathers and great-grandfathers, eked out by grudging and casual loans, and the charity of a few kind friends.⁵⁶

Therefore, most museums underwent some degree of financial difficulty. For example, the annual reports of the Leicester Museum often reported financial problems; the half-penny rate was not adequate for museum upkeep. In 1876 the income was £580, the operating expenses £500, while 130 was spent on various necessities such as books and new cases leaving the museum £50 in debt. The Committee hoped for success through Mr. Mundella's Bill by which corporations would be able to levy a higher rate and have a surplus of income without which "the Museum cannot be an

⁵⁶ Lord Rosse, "Museums and Local Government," Museums Journal 68 (September 1968), 117.

an active and progressive Institution."⁵⁷ Unfortunately the Mundella Bill to double the rate to one penny was not passed. The Museum was also cramped, and if newer scientific and artistic arrangements were to be followed there would have to be more space for the Paleontological and Invertebrate collections according to the opinion of a number of men of eminence in science and literature.

Thus, when E.E. Howarth in the Presidential Address to the Museums Association in 1913 analyzed 225 museums of towns and villages, he found only half (150) were fully equipped museums under municipal control but even these were limited in funds.⁵⁸ Only thirty had an income over £1,000 per annum, twenty with an income of £500-1,000 or not more than fifty had the means to maintain their work in an efficient way. He added that the larger museums with their own endowment made no pretence to public service. Ben Mullen reported on the funding systems of museums in Britain concluding that there was little standardization and that in certain cases the museums, which had to put any balance back into the general fund at the end of the year, were operating at a disadvantage.⁵⁹

One example of funding anomalies was the Manchester Museum which, in 1896, in recognition of its role as a city public institution although part of the University, was given a £400 grant per year by the local

⁵⁷Fourth Annual Report of Leicester Museum (31 March 1876), p. 5.

⁵⁸E.E. Howarth, "Presidential Address to the Museums Association," Museums Journal 13 (August 1913), 43.

⁵⁹Ben Mullen, "Finances of Rate-Supported Museums," Proceedings of the 11th Annual Meeting of Museums Association (1900), p. 150. He wrote to nineteen rate-supported museums and art galleries asking five questions about finances. Seventeen replied: of the eleven which hadn't adopted the Museums and Gymnasiums Act, two had no separate rate, eight carried their balance to the next fiscal year, two had to put the balance into the general fund. Of those six which had adopted the Act four carried their balance forward, one put the balance into the general fund, one never had a balance. The conclusion was thus, that there was no standardization of the funding systems for museums and that in certain cases the museums were operating at a strict disadvantage.

authority;⁶⁰ however, as part of the University the Museum paid property rates of £430 each year to the city, thereby cancelling the benefits of the grant. David Murray confirmed that money was begrudged for museum upkeep; committees would buy pictures but not spend money on exhibits, upkeep or staff.⁶¹

Miers found no local authority museum spending more than a 3/4 d. rate in 1926 despite the removal of rate restriction in the 1919 legislation. The average cost of museums to the citizen was less than 1/2 d. in the pound per year. Yet, library grants ranged from a fraction of a penny to over 4 d. in the pound.⁶²

The depression did have an impact on the running costs of museums although it did not prevent the continuing growth of numbers. The National Museums were estimated to receive £750,000 in 1926 compared to £450,000 for provincial museums. By 1938 this sum had increased for national museums to £1,000,000 (25% up) while the amount for the provincial museums remained the same despite the increase in numbers. Markham noted the large number of trust museums being formed by the National Trust, County Trust, and local trusts (Salisbury) which were being run according to varying standards.⁶³ Many of the university museums were poorly financed. About one-third of the provincial museums had to pay rates despite their municipal links. In Markham's opinion, the financial lot of museums had definitely not been improved by the 1919 legislation which provided for connections with the educational authorities. He said "not a penny piece comes from the education authorities to museums, who are expected to find the funds for this additional work from budgets that are too low"; nor were the

⁶⁰Report of the 30th June 1896 Owens College, Manchester Museum.

⁶¹D. Murray, Museums, p. 281.

⁶²Sir Henry Miers, Report, p. 17.

⁶³F. Markham, Report, Chapter 3.

museums formed since 1919 linked to county educational authorities faring significantly better than the rest.⁶⁴

Markham recorded twenty institutions (2.5%) with an income over 5,000, 120 (15.5%) with an income over 1,000, 160 (20%) over 300 and 480 (62.3%) below 300. The average yearly income of a provincial museum or art gallery was a little over 5,000 a year. About 130 museums (16.8%) were attached to libraries and eighty to schools or colleges where they were often last on the list for resources.⁶⁵

The connection of museums with libraries was a thorny issue; in some instances, the attachment of museums to libraries restricted the museum's development within the local authority structure. Directors of joint organizations were most often librarians rather than curators and were more likely to favour the library which benefited from a clear articulation of library functions and a recognized professional organization. In 1888, Greenwood, as a librarian, had recommended attachment to libraries; most museum personnel, however, did not. In 1928 Miers claimed museums must be separated from the library or Art Gallery, otherwise the museum will be a "Cinderella".⁶⁶ In fairness, it should be noted than many notable Museums Association personalities were librarians who brought their professional abilities (for examples in inventorying) to the museum forum.

In 1911 the Directory of Museums recorded that about 150,000 was spent on 160 provincial museums. Markham claimed in 1938 that the amount had trebled due perhaps to the growth in the number of

⁶⁴F. Markham, Report, pp. 27-28. The nine museums controlled by the education committees were: Basingstoke Public Library and Museum, Chester, Grosvenor Museum, the Natural History Museum, Grimsby, Public Museum, Hastings, Municipal Art Gallery and Museum, Heywood, Museum of the College of Arts and Crafts, Sheffield, War Memorial, Stockport, Geffrye Museum, London, Horniman Museum, London.

⁶⁵Ibid., Chapter 3.

⁶⁶Sir Henry Miers, Report, p. 47 and Markham, Report, pp.19-20. Also see T.Greenwood, Museums and Galleries, p.406, the "Report" of the British Association (1886), p.119 and articles such as John Minto, "Public Libraries and Museums, Museums Journal 5 (January 1906) and Frank Woolnough, "On the Relationship between Museums and Libraries," Museums Journal 9 (December 1909), 231-243.

museums as well as the removal of rate limitations with the legislation of 1919.⁶⁷ But most of the increase occurred prior to 1930; the budgets during the depression remained essentially the same although the numbers of museums increased while Markham recorded that from 1931 to 1934 salaries were substantially cut. Overall, though, there may have been a slight improvement in finances although mainly in the large provincial towns.

Under the pressure of financial struggle, growing collections and the evolution of display and educational theories and often unsuitable buildings, museums were constantly under pressure to be recycled and, if fortunate, to be refurbished, renovated or extended. Joyce Edmunds had claimed that contrary to our perceptions many museums (approximately one hundred between 1800 to 1914) were purpose built. (See Appendix IV). This figure is confirmed in the Markham Report of 1938 which recorded that of the 787 museums in the survey 11.4% were in buildings specially erected as museums, 13.9% in buildings for library and museum purposes, 2% in old buildings, 27% in old rooms in a house, barracks or library and 25% in converted buildings such as houses or chapels built since 1835.⁶⁹ At Nottingham, Walthamstow, Saffron Walden, Luton, and a hundred other locations, museums were converted from mansions situated in a park on the outskirts of a town , usually once owned by a wealthy noteworthy citizen. Some were revamped as museums, others set up as period houses. Of the library and museum combinations, it was usually the former which was the main unit with the museum in a gallery or few rooms. Of the purpose built museums, however, Markham argued that many , such as the Bowes Castle Museum (1869) modelled from a French chateau or the Bristol Museum from the Doges Palace, Venice, with an outer arcade to shut out the light, were inappropriate to

⁶⁷F. Markham, Report, p. 20-21.

⁶⁸Joyce Edmunds, Art Galleries and Museum Buildings in England, 1845-1945 (M.A. Manchester University, 1951), Part One, pp. 28-38.

⁶⁹F. Markham, Report, p.33. Another 200 museums occupied buildings that pre-dated 1835.

museum uses. Once built these buildings became progressively unsuitable to museum use functions. Markham sadly concluded:

In truth something less than 60 out of 800 museums in this country are in buildings designed for museum purposes and admirably fulfilling that function. The remainder have the faults of either being badly lighted, difficult to watch, inaccessible or damp.⁷⁰

Several museums as at Cardiff, Perth, Bolton, Sheffield were able, despite the depression, to build new museums. After World War I there were also several building starts or extensions of the National Museums.

Joyce Edmunds has identified six different building structures actually used in museum building.

1) The first is the Single Room. One room whether one storey or above another building is used for the display of exhibits with or without extra room for offices or storage. Examples are Cirencester (1856), Newlyn (1894), Salisbury Blackmore Museum (1864), Cawthorne (1889). This would be similar to one room attached to another building such as a library (Stamford).⁷¹

2) The second type is the Hall with Gallery. In the simplest form there is one main room with a gallery or balcony at an upper level on columns or cantilevered. Examples are Wisbech (1847), the Hunterian (1870), Torquay (1875), Tring (1890), St. Alban's (1898). More complicated examples have two levels of galleries as at Owens College, Manchester Museum (1888).⁷²

3) Some museums are organized as several rooms on one floor with more than one but less than five separate rooms on one level or above another floor. Examples are Birmingham (1885), Leeds (1888).⁷³

4) Some museums have several rooms on two or more floors.

5) The fifth type are those with a large number of rooms, occupying two

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 38.

⁷¹Joyce Edmunds, Art Galleries, p. 91.

⁷²Ibid. , p. 92.

⁷³Ibid., pp. 92-93.

storeys or more. Most national museums and galleries and some municipal or university institutions come under this type. Some national museums and galleries, British Museum (1840), National Gallery (1838), National Portrait Gallery (1896), British Museum (Natural History) (1880) and the Victoria and Albert Museum (1908), some university museums Ashmolean (1845) and Fitzwilliam (1848) and several municipal museums Bristol (1872), Liverpool (1877), Bradford (1904) and private Bowes Museums (1892) fall into this category. This type of building was most influenced by the country house of the eighteenth century with a series of connected rooms one after another on the Corridor principle.⁷⁴ Some such as at Bowes and the Fitzwilliam were arranged in two floors but another type was that at Edinburgh (185) and Brighton (1873) where there was a main central area two storeys high with subsidiary rooms off to either side. The use of the stairs or central hall for dispersal of the crowd. Other plans had the visitor pass through rooms making a circuit returning to the start without covering the same area twice as at the Tate (1897) and Derby (1879).⁷⁵

Not all museums were collections in specially designed or converted rooms or buildings. In some cases there was an interest in acquiring historical buildings and in displaying them according to the way they were used in the past. In 1857, the corporation of Maidstone, Kent purchased Chillington Manor and opened it as a museum. As of 1911; the entrance and Great Hall were displayed with the weapons and armour, and furniture typical of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, although by 1870 natural history and other items had been added. In 1858, Birmingham acquired Aston Hall, a seventeenth century mansion built by Sir Thomas Holte, which was opened as a museum although the Public Library Act was not adopted until 1876 when the Art Gallery was created. The Roman Baths, at Bath, were opened in 1878.

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 95.

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 97.

As collections grew in size and schemes of arrangement multiplied, as taste in display altered and the unsuitability of the existing building became unbearable or as funding became available through grants such as those of the C.K.U.T., the majority of museums went through a form of modernization on at least one occasion in their life-cycle. Many museums had galleries redesigned ; for example, Salford was re-arranged in the 1890's and again in 1930 while Bristol was altered in 1901 and in 1925.⁷⁶ Alterations varied from redoing a case or the colour scheme (as a Leeds in 1933 when the walls were painted bsicuit and grey-blue) to major building expansions. Thus, the Walker Art Gallery in Liverpool was expanded in 1929 (with £17,000 from the rates and £43,000 from public patrons) while the Leicester Museum was extended in 1907 and The Feeney Galleries added at Birmingham in 1908 to name just a few.

Under these pressures, some museums did not make the transition into the twentieth century. The Kelso Museum(formerly the Tweedside Philosophical and Antiquarian Society-1834-1933) after flourishing in its earlier days diminished in the twentieth century when the original capital endowment was used up and a membership campaign was unsuccessful in increasing membership to cover the annual expenditure; at the same time the British Legion pressured for the building. Thus, after ninety-two years the museum was dissolved. Frank Mark m noted that from 1928 to 1938 about fifty museums closed, some after a century of struggle.⁷⁸

⁷⁶"Royal Museum, Peel Park," Museums Journal, 1 (October 1901) 82
 "Bristol," Museums Journal, 1 (February 1901), 241, "Leeds," Museums Journal 33 (October 1933), 266. Examples reoccur throughout the articles and notes of the Museums Journal. Local museum organizations were also reformed as at Portsmouth, where Dr. J.J.Simpson was asked to make recommendations resulting in the allocation of the main High Street Museum to Archaeology and Marine collections in redecorated galleries while ethnographic and natural history were assigned to the Cumberland House site.

⁷⁷ "Note-Kelso Museum," Museums Journal 33 (May 1933)

⁷⁸ F. Markham, Report, p.5 and see D. Murray, Museums, Chapter XIII.

Yet, there were still numerous society, private and, most notably, trust museums being formed often without adequate funding provision while many museums converted to local authority governance struggled on with low annual incomes and amateur staff.⁷⁹ Existing society museums suffered as the numbers of members declined and endowments were insufficient for inflation. In this climate, many museums were dissolved or merely struggled along. Thus, despite attempts to put museums on a systematic, efficient and 'professional' footing, the many underdeveloped private and society museums and underfinanced public museums hindered the museum world as summarized by the Wright Report of 1973:

...these many Societies with their largely amateur approach to museum management—generally inhibiting effect on the foundation of a professional and properly conducted museum service in this country...

In this way a situation developed in which the services of committed amateurs were often presumed upon in the running of museums opened by local authorities and when Societies went to local authorities when the finances were gone led to complacent acceptance of unpaid honorary staff.⁸⁰

But the story was not all bleak. One agency which added much to the improvement of both libraries and museums was the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust (CUKT) which commissioned the Report by Sir Henry Miers of 1928. In 1930 the Trustees began to follow the guidelines suggested by Miers and attempt to improve the poor financial base of British museums.⁸¹ The impact of the policy was dramatic although it only amounted to £24,000 over ten years but it did not apply to the poorest museums needing reform or to art galleries. Frank Markham's evaluation was that the CUKT policy not only gave much needed money but hope, which resulted in many improvements. For example, the Museums Association received £1,500 to set up a permanent

⁷⁹For examples of continuing efforts to form society museums note: (1881) Stewartry Museums Association, Kircudbright; (1893) Horsham Museum Society; (1893) Bronte Society; (1926) Robert Louis Stevenson Club, Edinburgh; (1944) Bridgnorth Society; (1950) Cricklade Historical Society; (1956) Tallyllyn Railway Preservation Society, Towyn, from F.J.Marsden, Society Museums, Museums Association Diploma Thesis. (London, 1973)

⁸⁰Provincial Museums and Galleries, Department of Education and Science (London, 1973), p. 4.

⁸¹F. Markham, Report, p. 155-164.

office and run a training programme. Thus, the Association was able to incorporate in 1930 and set up a permanent office with Frank Markham as the first paid Secretary while membership rose to 500 and the Diploma Programme was begun in 1932. Financial assistance went to provincial museums under several categories. Grants of £14,040 went to sixty provincial museums directly from 1931 to 1940. Assistance of £586 was also provided for travel grants for curators. In addition, following one of Miers' strong suggestions, money was provided for schemes designed to extend museum work to rural areas; grants were given to Derbyshire and Leicester to establish school loans schemes in their counties. Most grants in the first category went to towns with populations of less than 80,000 mostly for display cases, to install new systematic arrangement, instructive labelling, to transfer duplicates, to reserves or store areas and to develop features generally to increase the museum's usefulness. The Carnegie Trust also sponsored a series of reports on museum work and a series of Directories of Museums in various parts of the British Empire were produced by Miers or Markham or others for the CUKT.

A Museum System for Britain

Under these conditions, it was reasonable that discussions of reforms of the system for museums in Britain was often pursued although with little result. The Parliamentary investigations of 1850 measures the British governance of museums against other countries. In 1883 Jesse Collins, following on discussion in Art Journal, proposed a select committee on whether to combine the national institutions under one minister and he hoped to convert the national art museums into loan museums.⁸² Greenwood in 1888 recommended that to reform the museum system there should be a Ministry of Education responsible for all the national institutions to liaise with provincial institutions while J.C. Robinson in 1880 commented

⁸² Jesse Collins, Art Journal (1883),

on the lack of plan in the development of museums.⁸³ The topic of providing a national museum system arose again in 1905 when the editor of Burlington Magazine called for a Ministry of Fine Arts but the topic was dropped when it was realized that such a position would be virtually powerless if there were not also major changes in the entire organization.⁸⁴ Articles also called for a Royal Commission to consider and secure the proper registration of works of art. Again in 1913 in an article in the Journal of the Imperial Arts League the contemporary debate on the need for a Minister for the Arts was referred to and reprinted in the Museums Journal. Comparison was made with the French Art Ministry, the Prussian Minister of Education, the Austrian Ministry of Education and of Public Works and other arrangements.

In lieu of a national central organization of museums, alternate systems of museum co-operation developed. In 1905, a Museum Conference was held at Bolton in Lancashire on the invitation of the museum committee in order to discuss issues of mutual interest. Annual meetings occurred and eventually a training session was organized. Several writers addressed the topic of alternate museum systems. Herbert Bolton in 1906 suggested the linking of museums to county education authorities; he also discussed a regional museum service based on certain museums as "centres of excellence" a concept remarkably similar to ideas put forth in the Wright Report of 1973.⁸⁵ Sir Henry Miers was contacted by the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust to study the local museums in Britain and discuss the possibility of grants for museums along the lines that had been developed for libraries. Miers wrote a report based on visits to a number of museums and briefs submitted by

⁸³T. Greenwood, Museums and Art Galleries, p. vi and J.C. Robinson, "On Our National Art Museums and Galleries," The Nineteenth Century 32 (December 1892), 1021-1034.

⁸⁴"The Future Administration of the Fine Arts," Burlington Magazine 8 (1905-1906), 175-178. There were a series of similar articles during 1905 and 1906.

⁸⁵Herbert Bolton, "The Future of Museums," Museums Journal 5 (February 1906), 251-256. and the 'Wright Report', Provincial Museums and Galleries Department of Education and Science (London, 1973).

museum personnel. Half of the report is a description of the museum service; he observed that museums were distributed in an "haphazard and unsystematic" manner with a variety of administrative structure, poor funding, lacking full-time competent curators with adequate salaries and that there was scarcely a general museum that was well-arranged or housed appropriately or fulfilling the proper roles of collecting, research or education. Henry Crowther of Leeds expressed his frustration with the report at the Museums Association Conference of 1928 ; he rejected the generalization in Mier's report which ignored specific achievements in particular museums. Reports of educational efforts, not the least of which was that of the work with elementary schools at the Leeds Museum had been lost in the anonymity of the report. Miers also admitted the overstatement involved in writing such a report.

Miers in the second half of the report made recommendations; there should be new museums established in underrepresented areas, that museums be separated from libraries, have adequate, trained, well-paid full-time staff, that museums restrict acquisition, develop research programmes, and educational activities including circulating collections for outside groups such as schools and to reach rural areas. To meet these objectives, he recommended that museums develop resources for mutual assistance, such as travelling museum schemes, an active Museums Association and headquarters and to develop the county museum system further.

Mutual co-operation was the major feature of the period. In 1927 the Lancashire and Cheshire Federation of Museums had formed to promote co-operation among museums and exchange surplus specimens. Other regions followed suit encouraged by Miers and Markham until by 1938 there was a network of regional groups in Yorkshire, South-Western and Northern counties, Wales and the largest the North-Western with eighty members. (Only East Anglia, Lincolnshire, and Ulster were not organized). Markham called this system of federations "...peculiarly British-illogical, inconsistent, and inexplicable-

but somehow it works,..."⁸⁷ They are still operating and became a basis of the Area Museum Services set up in ^{the period 1959-1963} through which monies and services are provided.

The idea of a national central system of museums for Britain was not lost despite this emphasis on mutual effort as well as the Royal Commission on National Museums and Galleries dismissal of a centralized system as unsuitable, indeed a continental action "alien to the traditions under which the English Institutions have developed." Frank Markham in 1938 returned to the idea suggesting that a government department be formed directly or indirectly through a Standing Commission, a Grants Body or other special institution to oversee local cultural services. An alternative organization would be to place all museums under the direct supervision of the Board of Education.⁸⁸ In his view, despite the various studies, the Royal Commission and the Standing Commission, British museums were still without "direction or authoritative oversight". He allowed that Carnegie monies, the activities of the Museums Association and the attention of the local authorities had brought about a "measure of improvement over the last ten years" but "It has not been such as to bring the museum movement in this country up to a standard overseas."⁸⁹ The smaller museums were quickly deteriorating; 250 (or one in three) required drastic re-organization or transfer to another governing structure. Yet new museums were still springing up on the average of one every three weeks although the majority had no permanent fiscal provision: "they will probably sink into the state in which so many other museums started by enthusiasts now find themselves."⁹⁰ Despite the 1919 Public Libraries Act funding for the nine museums controlled by education committees had been

⁸⁷F. Markham, Report, p. 154.

⁸⁸Royal Commission on National Museums and Galleries, Final Report, p. 4 and Markham, Report, p. 171.

⁸⁹Ibid., p. 165.

⁹⁰Ibid., p. 166.

piecemeal for their funding levels were no better than other museums. Markham firmly believed that a change in committee would not produce the 'desired renaissance of the provincial museum movement.'⁹¹ One suggestion, following the Local Government Act of 1933, was to allow specialists to go on committees of local government.

When the Second World War came in 1939, Markham's recommendations were being reviewed by the Ministry of Education. The war had a major impact on the museums either through direct damage by bombs (about 160 museums were closed as of 1948), or by the loss of staff or resources to the forces; many museums underwent a major upheaval when collections were packed and moved to safe storage locations. Museums did however, continue to provide community service through lunch-time concerts or exhibition for the Ministry of Information.

The Museums Association, not to be caught unprepared as in 1919, published a Memorandum on Museums and Reconstruction(1942) which the Ministry of Reconstruction reviewed in 1943.⁹² A report was issued by the Association in 1945 which was virtually a summary of the recommendations of the earlier reports. The Association recognized that finances should be directed to capital building and reconstruction schemes, for properly trained staff, circulating exhibitions and that selected museums in a region should act as advisory centres to smaller museums and that educational services should be developed. It recommended a national body be made responsible for all museums, such as a Museum and Art Gallery Grants Board, like the University Grants Committee, to give grants, evaluate new projects, set standards and enact them in a system of inspection. The Grants Board would have two sections, one for museums and one for art galleries. In 1944

⁹¹ F. Markham, Report, p. 165.

⁹² Memorandum on Museums and Reconstruction. Museums Association. (London, 1942).

reached, which certain areas achieved (e.g. Leicester, Norwich, Liverpool). Thus, sixty percent of the country achieved some form of County Museum Service while fourteen (out of fifty-four) counties have a County Museum Service responsible for most museum activities. Eighteen have County and District museums in co-existence. After 1974, museums were to be found in a variety of units of the local government system - Metropolitan County (Merseyside), Non-Metropolitan County (Lincolnshire), Metropolitan Districts (Birmingham), Non-Metropolitan Districts (Bath, Nottingham), Joint Schemes (Beamish, Museum of London), as well as the independent structures of University, Trusts, Company, and Private Museums which have been with the museum movement from its beginnings.

Further, the 1963 Survey of Provincial Museums and Galleries revealed the continuation of the funding patterns described for the earlier period.⁹⁵ Of the total sum spent on museums and galleries in the provinces a little over half was given by local authorities although over half of the museums were local government museums. Of these, half spent less than a 1 d. rate, sixty-six between 1 d. and 2 d., nineteen between 2 d. and 3 d. and fourteen over 3 d. (e.g. Halifax, Norwich, Bath, Brighton, York). The reporting group noted that the rate was highest in tourist areas. Still they noted "the general level of expenditure seems to us very low, and confirms our impression that the importance of museums in the life of their towns is not fully appreciated, or their needs given adequate priority." Patrick Boylan in a recent study has pointed out that the long term funding trends for British museums show some progress but not a dramatic increase when compared to other areas of public expenditure or to inflation.⁹⁶ Further, there has been a change in priorities for funding with the higher proportion going to new developments, especially to branch museums and not to the operation of "core" facilities or to acquisition programmes.

⁹⁵Survey of Provincial Museums and Galleries (London, 1963), p. 57-8.

⁹⁶P. Boylan, "U.K. Museums: Governance and Finance," Unpublished Manuscript.

Historians of British museums have tended to underplay the role of the individual in supporting the museum movement in Britain and to overplay the role of government. In contrast historians of the United States museum movement have emphasized private support and ignored the place of municipal, state, and federal governments. Walter Pach recorded the role of the 'heroic' private citizens who saved the taste of the American people from the control of the 'ignorant' officeholder. But it is also interesting to note that the citizens he referred to were not always representatives of all groups in the 'broad democratic' society of America.⁹⁷

The American structure of museums and their support fascinated some British museum personnel. R. Grundy visited the museums of the United States in 1926 to report to the Museums Association; then, E.E. Lowe of Leicester, also visited the United States in 1926 with the aid of CKUT funding also and wrote the Report on American Museum Work claiming that the growth of museums in the United States was due entirely to "the backing they received from generous citizens."⁹⁸ Although this was the rhetoric of the American museum movement the facts are slightly different. It has been estimated that thirty-seven million dollars were spent on museum building between 1870 and 1910 for which municipal and state governments were responsible for sixteen million (40%).⁹⁹ L.V. Coleman reported in 1930 that museum funding from government was more than fifty percent of the income from private citizens and foundations combined. By 1953 cities gave fifty

⁹⁷Walter Pach, The Museum in America, pp. 216-217.

⁹⁸R. Grundy, "Lessons from America in Museum Organization and Upkeep," Museums Journal 27 (December 1927), 174-185, editor of Connoisseur.

⁹⁹For an excellent discussion of funding patterns for museums in the United States and their implications see Daniel Fox, The Engines of Culture, Chapter III.

FIGURE 14

COMPARISON OF FUNDING FOR MUSEUMS IN GREAT BRITAIN AND
UNITED STATES, 1931

	Great Britain		United States	
	Total	Public Mus. Museums	College Museums	Total
Income over £20,000	12	29	2	31
" £5,000	20	40	11	51
" £250	100	331	99	430
" under £250	348	379*	450	829
	480	779	562	1,341

* Two-thirds of the period houses and historical museums are in this grade.

from S.F. Markham, "Impressions of American Museums," Museums Journal 31
(October 1931), 298-442.

percent of the total operating costs of museums.¹⁰⁰ In addition, governments subsidized building and land purchase. The federal government, in exempting tariffs on imported art for museums and giving tax credits for donors of museum collections gave another type of assistance. In the 1930's the federal government also contributed to buildings for museums and to the Work Progress Administration Centres and Projects scheme(W.P.A.). By 1939, L.V.Coleman in Museums in America could record municipal funds as the second source of income for museums after private donations.¹⁰⁰

Thus, both museum systems, despite differences in governance structures, were based on mixed financial sources. Both had rich and poor institutions although the extremes may have become more dramatic in the United States after 1930 when a dramatic increase in museum growth (much like that in Britain after 1880) resulted in the over-extension of resources for museums. Notwithstanding the similarities of funding structures for museums in both countries, it is difficult to imagine the levels of private funding in Britain that marked the larger institutions in the United States such as the Field Museum in Chicago. As E.E.Lowe claimed in 1928 the largest museums in the United States operated on approximately double the income of a comparable institution in Britain, while about three times more money was spent in the United States than in Britain on all museums.¹⁰² (See Figure 12) The conclusion may be that the condition of museums is more a factor of the level of wealth of a nation, the Gross National Product, rather than the museum structure since both museum systems had mixed funding sources while the quality of the museum idea would seem to have been equivalent. The impact of World Wars I and II on museums in Britain, on the resources available to them, on the loss of generations of museum personnel in action and on disruptions caused

¹⁰⁰ L.V.Coleman, "Recent Progress and Condition of Museums," Biennial Survey of Education in the United States (Washington, 1932), Chpt. 22 and "City Support of Public Museums," Museum News 32 (15 May 1954), 3-7.

¹⁰¹ L.V.Coleman, The Museum in America (Washington, 1939), p. 185.

¹⁰² E.E.Lowe, Report, p.13-18 and F. Markham, "Impressions of American Museums," Museums Journal 31 (October 1931), 298-385, 436-443.

by building takeovers and bombings should added to the equation of comparison.

Thus, the haphazard system of museums in Britain combined with evidences of decline in the conditions of the collections of some society, institute, town and university museums exacerbated by poor funding, neglect, and passing interests, combined with the spectre of failed and dissipated museums , of assorted assemblages of 'curios' of the private or popular museums provided fuel for museum critics in Britain. The expectations of Ewart's legislation for a local system of museums, of Edward's hopes or Greenwood's exhortations that a transfer to local government would increase support for museums turned out to be exaggerated.

What is almost impossible to answer is whether the condition of museums in Britain was more the result of poor museum organization and funding which caused the unsuccessful exchange of museum ideas or whether the confusion of museum ideas generated the underfunded museum system. More to the point is what would occur to museum personnel and their ideas in this context? At this stage, one should repeat Paul Marshall Rea's observation:

When, late in the last century, societies that maintained and used museums disintegrated, and when college interest turned to new fields, their museums either went into decline and became dusty musty storehouses, or else attacked the problem of finding new markets. It was only under these profoundly changed conditions that mere curatorship, however, faithful became a fault. 103.

¹⁰³Paul Marshal Rea, The Museum and the Community, p.27.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE MUSEUM-KEEPERS: OCCUPATIONAL AND PROFESSIONAL AMBIGUITIES

Curatorship still lacks a professional ritual, a defined canon of knowledge and skills, and it derives no sense of assurance from a purely professional licensing authority with disciplinary powers... Why is it that curatorship still lacks that sense of corporate unity which is the enviable source of the confidence and independence enjoyed in other walks of life?

- Anthony Duggan,¹ 1969

Thus far, specific evidence in the history of museums and museology has been presented. The museum idea has had a long complicated history rooted in multiple prototypes - from royal collections to popular exhibitions - which finally was recognized, if only in part, in the British legislation of 1845. This legislation did not create a national museum structure or system of support as resources for museums were limited, no doubt affecting progress in the field. In addition, there had been a long history of discussion about museums in which many issues and contradictory stances retained a degree of sameness over time. There was, then, a substantial cultural tradition of museum work; nevertheless, the field functioned, to some degree, as if there was none. The overwhelming belief of those working in museums was of isolation and the lack of antecedents as James Paton testified in 1895:

We are without a history, without traditions, almost without experience; we have no pride of ancestry, and as yet, we have a rather undefined social position and public recognition.²

The question to be answered is why, despite a long history of discussion of the museum and its functions, the dominant perception held by people working in museums (as it is today) was a lack of traditions? The key may lie in a study of the characteristics of the museum workplace.

¹Anthony J. Duggan, "Training Professional Museum Curators," Museums Journal 69 (June 1969), 134.

²James Paton, "The Education of the Museum Curator," Proceedings of the Sixth Annual General Meeting of the Museums Association (1895), p. 95.

Professions

Dorothy Mariner has outlined some useful points that sociologists have agreed upon to assess professionalism in her definitive work on professionalizing museum workers.

1. A cultural tradition which is the basis of knowledge and expertise of the occupation.
2. Formal, academically-based technical training and/or apprenticeship which insures mastery of the cultural tradition and any skills derived from that.
3. Institutionalized modes for insuring competency and governing the practice of the profession, including a code of ethics.
4. The development of a professional social structure and culture - the growth of associations pertaining to the occupation with a system of communication and publications.
5. Exclusive jurisdiction over the applications of the occupational knowledge and expertise.
6. Public validation of the right of the occupation to sole jurisdiction and of values relating to the cultural tradition of the occupation.³

Compared against these criteria, museum work is still in a state of incomplete professionalization, what sociologists term a "semi" or "pseudo" profession, as is the case for social work and librarianship.

The museum field suffers from contradictory pressures, some pushing towards professionalization, others preventing it. On the one hand, there have been remarkable efforts towards progress through the formation of associations, the sharing of work experiences, training assistance, conferences, publications and other actions. On the other, a series of complicated forces rooted in the status of the worker in the workplace as well as the problems of professional ideology and the identification of a 'body of knowledge' have mitigated against these efforts. On balance the results have not been an overwhelming success. Yet, in Britain, compared to other countries, the prevalence of the local authority system, the long history of the Museums Association and its Diploma training scheme have given the museum field one of the best records; nevertheless, problems abound.

The potential of a museum profession was mapped out very well by W.S. Jevons in 1881:

³Dorothy Mariner, "Professionalizing the Museum Worker," Museum News 52 (April 1974) and The Museum: A Social Context for Art (Ph.D. Sociology, University of California, Berkeley, 1969).

...the best possible step which could now be taken to improve the Museums of the United Kingdom would be the constitution of a Museums Association on the lines of the well-known Librarian's Association. If the curators of all the public Museums would follow the examples of other professional bodies, and put their heads together in a conference, they might evolve out of the existing chaos some unity of ideas and action. At any rate they would take the first important step of asserting their own existence. There have been enough of blue-books and royal commissions and we have heard too much of what 'my Lords' of the Council have got to say. Let the curators themselves now speak and act, and let them especially adopt as their motto - 'Union, not centralisation'.⁴

So the Museums Association was formed in 1889 and annual conferences were initiated. The first publication of the Association was the proceedings of its first annual conference in 1890 and in 1901 the Museums Journal began as a permanent professional periodical. A Museums Directory was published intermittently after 1911, while publications in support of aspects of museum work and its Diploma Programme were also issued. The Association gradually increased its membership from 27 institutions and 50 individuals in 1890 to 472 institutions and 347 individuals and 7 life-time members in 1945; growth was due in part to efforts such as the establishment of an office in January 1930 in London opposite the South Kensington Station with Frank Markham as first secretary with the assistance of £1,500 from Carnegie United Kingdom Trust.⁵ Many members joined from foreign countries while in other countries similar professional organizations followed the British initiatives. The confidence of the initial period of the Association was best described by H.M. Platinauer of York in 1910, himself a founding member:

...the time had come when it was absolutely necessary for museums to get out of their present condition and depart from their traditional lines of action. Curators would have to depend on expert help from large departments which would have to be gradually

⁴W.S. Jevons, "The Use and Abuse of Museums," Methods of Social Reform (1881), pp. 80-1.

⁵These numbers were compiled from numbers recorded in Proceedings and Museums Journal. By comparison, the American Association of Museums in 1945 had 675 individual members, 302 institutional and 20 life (total 997) ⁴⁴Museums Journal (Feb. 1945), 181. By 1968 the membership in the Museums Association was up to 683 personal, 232 student, estimated to represent 50% of the potential number of professionals working in British museums. This is a very high figure. A.E. Werner, "Presidential Address", Museums Journal 68 (Sept. 1968), 63. Membership was significantly underrepresented in small

organized on lines not merely individual or municipal, but national... amateurism would have to give way to what he could best describe as professionalism.⁶

Despite these successes, there were several inherent problems in the museum field. First, the parallel membership of institutional and individual members in the initial organization was a necessary step in 1889 given the few people involved; however, the combined membership probably compromised the Association's ability to act as a professional body focused completely on the conditions of museum work simply because it represented both the employers and the employees. Accordingly, ambiguity about the professional aims of the organization has remained as revealed in a 1934 issue of the Museums Journal:

The Museums Association is, however, no purely professional or political body. True, it possesses some such attributes, but it must be, and must remain, an organization of, and for, persons of somewhat specialized education, who share a common aim...the purpose of our Conference is not, in general, the discussion of political aims or of the immediate improvement of professional status, but rather the invaluable interchange of ideas on general ideas on general artistic and scientific topics and the description of more precise details of museum experiment.⁷

A second limitation was that membership was concentrated in certain major provincial museums and galleries; national museums and small local museums were under-represented.⁸

The Workplace

In addition, there were significant factors in the museum workplace limiting the professional urge. One was the very definition of a museum worker although the centrality of the Curator in museum work has been restated frequently in the museum literature. The Reverend Higgins in his 'Presidential Address' of 1889 articulated the role of the Museums Associ-

⁶ H.M. Platinauer, "Discussions," Museums Journal 10 (November 1910), 133.

⁷ "Conferences," Museums Journal 34 (June 1934), 74.

⁸ A.E. Werner, "Presidential Address", Museums Journal 68 (Sept. 1968) 63.

ation in promoting the curator:

It may be one of the most encouraging features of our fellowship, should this Association tend to confirm our conviction that the soul of the Museum is the Curator, and the kindred spirits that work with him.⁹

W.F. Flower, R. Cameron and Sir Henry Miers were all to echo similar sentiments.

But who or what was a Curator? James Bailey gave one of the best descriptions in 1922:

At the outset one is tempted to ask what is a museum Curator? The local conception of the post covers a wide field of duties. In some cases the curator is the whole staff and in addition to dealing with the collections has to clean the building. At the other end of the scale are the Directors of our State museums and between the two are curators of every variety. The position and salary of these local authorities and the amount of money available for officials depend mainly upon...the importance attached to the duties by the local authorities and the amount of money available for museum purposes.¹⁰

The original staff of museums were often the collectors themselves who knew the collection and orientation of the museum intimately. Sir Hans Sloane, for example, devoted much time to acquiring his collections and the rest of the time was given to arranging and cataloguing his collection with time out for visitors. As the museum evolved towards a public service, whether by legal incorporation, transfer to government or in providing longer hours of access, the responsibilities for the collections were delegated from the original collector or group to an individual, either in an honorary capacity or paid. This transition was and remains ambiguous as the degree of authority transferred is often unclear to both parties and those who follow; hence, management problems often mark episodes of museum history.

⁹Reverend H. Higgins, "Presidential Address," Report of the Proceedings of the First Annual General Meeting (Liverpool, 1890), p. 19. See also William Flower, "Modern Museums," Essays on Museums (London, 1896), p. 35, R. Cameron, "The Best Means of Making Museums Attractive to the Public," Proceedings of the First Annual General Meeting of the Museums Association (1890), p. 83 and Sir Henry Miers, Report on the Museums of the British Isles (Edinburgh, 1928), pp. 19-22.

¹⁰James Bailey, "The Case for a Royal Commission on Museums," Museums Journal 22 (October 1922), 89-95.

The move to delegate to a hired employee could occur at any time in the history of the organisation. Some museums, such as those of the early literary and philosophical societies, mechanics' institutes had their work performed by the members themselves in the great amateur tradition and did not acquire paid-staff for years, if ever. Many societies, today, still perform these tasks, perhaps employing custodial staff for maintenance duties.

The transition to permanent professional staff was a long and awkward one. Most early museums lacked proper staff to order the collections. The keepership of the Ashmolean Museum brought no salary so the keeper, depended on the fees visitors donated to see the collections plus outside earnings from writings, or lectureships. Hence, the duties of keepership were often short-changed. When Simond visited the British Museum in 1810 he recorded:

We had no time allowed to examine everything; our conductor pushed on without minding questions, or unable to answer them, but treating the company with double entendres and witticisms on various subjects of natural history, in a style of vulgarity and imprudence which I should not have expected to have met in this place, and in this country.¹¹

In England, even the title for the job soon became complicated. Sometimes the job was entitled Curator, as that of the Royal Society, while other

¹¹Louis Simond, Journal of a Tour and Residence in Great Britain During the Years 1810 and 1811 1 (Edinburgh, 1815), 84.

staff were called keepers; nor were duties or background requirements clear.¹²

During the nineteenth century, there were several different ways of entering museum work. There were the amateurs, men, often of means, who were either collectors themselves or were devoted to the ideal of museums;¹³ they often helped to found museums, became Honorary Curators or took a place

¹²The terms 'Keeper' and 'Curator' were adopted for museum positions from accepted use in law, government and the administration of institutions such as universities and hospitals. Curator originated from several senses; ancient French 'curateur' meaning one appointed as guardian of the affairs, one legally unfit to conduct themselves, as minor as used in Roman and Scottish law, as well as a more active sense of one who has the care or cure of souls. A second sense, derived from the Latin 'curator'. In Roman usage (Latin, Curator, overseer, guardian, agent) a curator was an officer of the emperors who administered city roads or prices of commodities or was one appointed guardian of the affairs of a person who was legally unfit. In nineteenth century usage, a curator was a person who had charge or managed as a steward, overseer or as at a university (Oxford, Durham, Scottish Universities) were members of the board with power to nominate professors. The term 'Curator' came to be identified with the officer in charge of a museum, gallery of library or headkeeper (sometimes also called a keeper or custodian). Thus, in 1661, John Evelyn in Diary, July 19, wrote "in which (diving bell) our curator continued half an hour under water" while in 1667 there was mention of the Curator of the Royal Society and in 1767 of the Curators of the British Museum. Keeper, referred to one who had charge, care or oversight of any person or thing (guardian, warden, custodian) such as the formal titles of the Keeper of the Exchange and Mint and Great Seal; it could also refer to one who keeps a command, as well as to a nurse who cares for the health of the sick. Thus, these terms had both passive and active elements ranging from keeping to nurturance.

¹³Some examples of such 'enthusiasts' are: Tempest Anderson, M.D. D. Sc. (1846-1913) of York, a specialist in volcanoes, a Member of several scientific societies, Secretary and President of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, President of the Museums Association, 1910; Humphrey Purnell Blackmore M.D., geologist and archaeologist, in 1860 was one of the founders of the Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum who acted as Hon. Director for over a half-century; John William Bodger, Pharmacist, Secretary, and Treasurer for Peterborough Natural History, Scientific and Archaeological Society, Curator since the museum was founded in 1880 (d. 1939); Robert Cameron (1825-1913), Headmaster of the Friend's School, Chairman of School Board, Chairman of the Library and Museums Committee, Hon. Curator, one of the founders of the Museums Association in 1888; The Reverend Henry Hugh Higgins (1818-1893) of wealthy Bedfordshire family, ordained as a priest in 1839 went to Liverpool in 1842 as inspector of church schools as a keen naturalist was co-opted to the Museum Sub-Committee where to 1893 worked in tandem with the Curator T. Moore on the organization and exhibition of the invertebrate collection, collected specimens, worked on popular programmes such as lectures, and circulating collections; John Kirk, M.D. (1869-1940) Honorary Director of the York Castle Museum (1934-1940) formed from collections of local bygonies he had made as medical officer for Pickering.

on governing authorities as Trustees of Boards or members of Local Authority museum committees.¹⁴ These enthusiasts might also become a curator.

Thus, Donald Harden wrote in 1948:

In the nineteenth century - and to a large extent even in the early decades of the present century - museums, other than a few of the largest, were normally staffed by enthusiastic amateurs, many of whom possessed considerable private means, and all of whom worked for love rather than for a livelihood. If these enthusiasts, as curators, were blessed with any assistance whatever, it was usually in the form of part-time volunteer workers, or else people of the custodian/caretaker type, who served on a wage-earning basis, and expected no advancement.¹⁵

For art collections, an early approach was to employ artists as curators. In 1474 Gentile Bellini was assigned to the collections of the Venetian state while supervising alterations to the Ducal Palaces while Cosimo de Medici used Donatello to find and restore reliefs and statues. Charles I used Abraham van der Doort, a coin and medal specialist who modeled in wax. The tradition continued into the modern period when Sir Charles Eastlake, Sir Charles Holyroyd, and Sir Charles Holmes, all painters, were appointed at one time to be Directors of the National Gallery in

¹⁴As Board or Council Members, examples are Sir Evan Charteris (K.C.) (1864-1940), Trustee of the National Gallery and Wallace Gallery, Chairman of the Trustees of the National Portrait Gallery (1928) and Tate (1934), Chairman of the Standing Commission on Museums and Galleries, 1937, Vice-President of the Museums Association 1938-39; The Earl of Crawford and Balcarres (father Trustee 1885-1913), Trustee 1923-19; Alderman Brittain of Sheffield; Alderman Squires of Leicester, the first lay president of the Museums Association. Sir Henry Alexander Miers, M.A., D.Sc. LL. D., F.R.S. (1858-1942). As a scientist: Waynflete Professor of Mineralogy, Oxford; Professor of Crystallography, London, 1915-25; Editor, Mineralogical Magazine, 1891-1900. As a university administrator: Principal, University of London, 1908-15; Vice-Chancellor, University of London, 1915-26. As museum authority Trustee, British Museum, 1926-39; Member of the Standing Commission on Museums and Galleries; Report to the Carnegie United Kingdom Trustees on Public Museums published in 1928; author with S.F. Markham of Reports on the Museums of Canada and of Africa, President, Museums Association, 1929-33.

¹⁵Donald Harden, "Recruitment and Training for the Museums Service," Museums Journal 48 (April 1948), 1.

Duties of the Curator in 1888, as recorded in the Minute Book of a particular museum

The Curator shall attend daily (Sundays, Good Fridays and Christmas days alone excepted) and shall have the Library and Museum open and ready for Members and Visitors from 10 am to 4:30 pm. He shall have charge of the Library and Museum and shall be responsible for all their contents as well as for all the furniture within the building.

He shall keep the door at all the Society's Lectures, Committee Meetings, and General Meetings of the Members and shall collect the Annual Subscriptions of the Members. He shall light all fires including that required for heating the Museum, shall keep all rooms well swept and dusted, and the furniture clean.

He shall engage a boy, to be approved by the Committee, whose hours of attendance shall be the same as his own, who shall have charge of the Library whenever he (the Curator) is engaged in the Museum, and shall render such general assistance as may be necessary.

He shall once in every week, at fixed times to be approved by the Hon. Secretary, have all the Society's grates, stoves, fender, hearth-stones, and scrapers black-leaded and all steps, landings, the floor of the Hall, and the coverings of the floors of the Libraries washed.

His salary shall be Ninety Pounds per annum, payable quarterly on the usual quarter days, out of which he shall pay the boy's wages and all the expenses attending the cleaning of every kind already mentioned as well as sweeping the cellar and keeping it in order.

He shall on the first and third Tuesday of every month inspect the state of the drains of the Society's Building in accordance with the instructions set forth on the Plan of the said drains, and shall record the results in a book provided for the purpose.

He shall provide at his own expense all the brushes, black-lead, soap, dusters, and brooms that may be required, as well as soap for the lavatory, and two clean towels weekly for the same.

He shall provide also, at his own expense, all shovels and pokers required for the fires, all firewood, coals, coke, and candles that may be necessary for heating and lighting the Society's rooms, and shall have the chimneys swept and pay for sweeping them, to the satisfaction of the Committee.

He shall act as Assistant Secretary, and shall attend to such other duties under the direction of the Hon. Secretary as from time to time may be required.

The Curator and his Assistant shall remain on duty from the hour the Rooms are opened in the morning to the hour at which they are closed in the afternoon unless special leave of absence be granted them or either of them by the Committee.

In case of illness or other emergency, but not otherwise, he shall be allowed to send to the Museum a substitute who shall be approved by the Hon. Secretary.

He and the boy shall together be allowed an annual holiday of two consecutive weeks at such times between the third Monday in June and the fourth Monday in August as the Committee shall determine.

In the event of either he or the Committee wishing to terminate his engagement as Curator, he shall give or receive in writing three months' notice at any time.

London.¹⁶

Many who came to work in museums had no specific training other than the correct background of a liberal education, or were attached by birth, education or service to the founders. The vision of their duties was, often, not beyond that of caretaker-servant to those in authority as indicated in the listing of the 'Duties of the Curator' in 1888 (See Figure 13).¹⁷ At Leicester the same limitation was indicated in the instructions:

The Curator is directed to keep from this day forward a rough or waste book in which he is daily and from time to time to make a concise and correct entry of the works on which his time be occupied. This book to be at all times in readiness for inspection by the Honorary Curators.¹⁸

Expertise in museum work, however, could be acquired by exposure to museum practice through apprenticeship or family ties as well as by education. Many individuals hired as assistants became the core of a professional cadre of individuals promoting museum efforts; whether based in one institution or several, many of the early curators remained in the museum field for a long period of time giving stability to the occupation, to the Museum Association that they supported and to the development of museum ideas. Some staff remained in one institution either in one position or working up to the organizational hierarchy. James Reeve was Curator at Norwich Museum from 1848 to 1910 (sixty-two years of service). G. Kirby (1845-1931) was at York City Art Gallery as Curator for fifty-two years retiring at age eighty-six. Henry Minton Cundall (1848-1940) became Supplementary Clerk at South Kensington in 1865 then Assistant Keeper in

¹⁶Others are: Sir Charles Holyroyd (1861-1917), a painter from Leeds, Director of the Tate Gallery and National Gallery; C.J. Holmes, Artist, Slade Professor of Fine Arts, Oxford, Editor of the Burlington Magazine, Director of the National Portrait Gallery, 1909, Director of National Gallery 1916-30; Samuel Herbert Moss, Curator West Park Museum, Macclesfield, who taught art at Macclesfield School of Art, and Royal College of Art, Paris.

¹⁷"Duties of the Curator in 1888," Museums Bulletin 75 (March 1976), 157.

¹⁸T.A. Walden, "Address by the President," Transactions of the Leicester Literary and Philosophical Society 44 (1959-60), 8.

1879 and Keeper in 1900.¹⁹

Other individuals moved amongst several institutions, Leicester, Liverpool and Sheffield groomed many figures. F.R. Rowley began museum work in 1882 as a youth in the Leicester Museum then moved to become Curator at Exeter in 1902 to complete fifty-two years in service (retired 1934). During this period he perfected the use of models of Protozoa in display and was also Editor of the Museums Journal (1909-14), a Council member, President in 1925 and President of the South-Western Federation of Museums and Art Galleries in 1935. Another well-known personality was Elijah Howarth who commenced at Liverpool in 1868 as an office boy and then went to Sheffield in 1875 to become Curator of this new museum until 1929. Nathaniel Plant began his career at Leicester as the first paid Curator in 1846 but after two years of trouble with the Honorary Curators moved to

¹⁹Some other examples are: Charles Madley, Curator and Librarian, Warrington for 46 years; Hugh G. Clayton, Deputy Director, Walker Art Gallery to 1931 (36 years); Professor J.W. Carr, Nottingham Natural History Museum for 42 years (1888-1930); E.W. Swanton, Haslemere Museum for 51 years; Dr. John Allan, British Museum (Natural History) 1907-49 for 42 years; D.W. Herdman, Cheltenham Art Gallery and Museum for 28 years (1922-50); William Frost, Chief Assistant, Salford City Art Gallery, then Keeper, Natural History Museum for a total of 42 years; Arthur Bensley Chamberlain, Assistant Keeper, Birmingham for 38 years (to 1927).

Salford where he remained until 1892.²⁰

Motivation and preparation often came from family ties. There are several dynasties recorded in museum history one of the most noteworthy being that of George Wallis, Keeper of the Art Department, South Kensington, whose son, eventually Sir Whitworth Wallis, moved from Clerk at South Kensington to become Director of the new Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery while another son, George Harry Wallis, became Director of the Nottingham Castle Museum and Art Gallery. William Pearson was with the Royal College of Surgeons for fifty-seven years following his father and grandfather, totalling 153 years of collective family service.²¹

The results of these staff patterns were that some institutions had only one or two staff over their entire history creating a degree of

²⁰Other examples are: Dr. Edwin Ernest Lowe (1877-1958), Assistant, Warrington Museum, 1891-1901; Curator, Plymouth Museum and Art Gallery, 1901-07; Curator, Leicester Museum, 1907-18; Director of the City Museum, Art Gallery and Libraries, Leicester, 1918-49; President, 1922, Author of report on American Museum Work 1928; Herbert Bolton, D. Sc. (d. 1936) Began at Manchester University Museum then Bristol (Curator of Museum 1898-1911, Director of Museum and Art Gallery, 1911-30) President of the Museums Association, 1924. He also visited the chief museums in Europe, Australia, Canada and the United States; William Evans Hoyle, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S.E. (1860-1926) trained as an anatomist became Keeper, Manchester Museum, 1889-1909 and Director of the Welsh National Museum, 1909-24, President, Museums Association, 1906. James W. Cutmore, trained with a London firm of taxidermists before joining the Liverpool Museums to become Keeper of Vertebrate Zoology. He is especially noted for his work in habitat groups; Henry Crowther (1848-1937) 1871-76 Assistant Secretary Leeds Philosophical Society and Assistant Curator Museum, 1876-93, Curator at Truro, Cornwall, 1893-1928, Head Curator, Leeds; Nathaniel Plant, 1849-51¹ Leicester's first paid Curator, 185?-1892, Director Salford; James Paton (1843-1921) 1861 Edinburgh Museum (age 18), 1876-1921 Curator, Kelvingrove Museum, Glasgow; W.P. Pycraft from Norfolk, began at Leicester Museum, in 1892 became Assistant to Ray Lankester at Oxford University Museum, then Assistant at British Museum (Natural History), Assistant Keeper to 1933.

²¹Some other examples are: W.E. Mayes, 1900 British Museum (Natural History), 1912 Leicester, 1922 Sub-Curator later Deputy Director, son W.P. Mayes, Assistant Leicester, 1934 Assistant at Royal Albert Memorial, Exeter; Charles L. Eastlake, nephew of Charles Eastlake (Artist, Director of National Gallery 1878-98); J.E. Gray (1800-1875), 50 years at British Museum, 35 years as Keeper of Zoology, nephew of E.W. Gray (1784-1806) Keeper of Natural Curiosities.

stability. For example, at Salford, John Plant was Curator from 1857-1892 followed by Ben H. Mullen 1892-1925 (formerly of the Science and Art Department, Dublin).

Whether prepared for museum work by direct experience as apprentices or enthusiasts, museum personnel formed a select group of individuals who knew the development of museum work at least from first hand experience and shared some of the same ideologies. The percentage of museum personnel, however, actually represented, in this professional cadre, was very low. By 1928 Miers recorded that only 14% of museums had full-time paid curators and only 4% had assistant curators; in only a dozen or so museums (out of 530) was there a "full-time competent curator with adequate staff."²² It was as if there were several museum work worlds running in parallel: the amateur or honorary; the professional. Meanwhile another orientation, that of the scholar or scientist, was developing to divide the collective sense of museum work even further.

As the scientific notion of the museum grew from earlier collecting trends, there was accordingly a growing association of curatorship with research or subject expertise especially in the larger national, university and provincial museums that could afford to support research. The specialization in scholarship paralleled the growing concentration of collections and was reflected in organizational subdivisions. In the British Museum, the Department of Natural and Artificial Products had been divided in 1807 into two departments of Natural History and Antiquities followed by intermittent subdivisions including the ultimate separation of Natural Sciences and Antiquities with the move of the former to South Kensington. Beginning with Dr. Mathew Maty (1718-1776), a doctor of medicine from Leyden, and Dr. Daniel Solander (1736-1786), a Swedish pupil of Linnaeus, the desire of a scientifically credible Keeper in the tradition of the scientific philoso-

²²Sir H. Miers, Report, p. 20. By 1963, there were still 100 Honorary curators of which 30 were in charge of Local Authority museums, while there were 140 persons either in charge of the library and the museum or were subordinate to the librarian, Survey of Provincial Museums and Galleries, (London, 1963), p. 39.

phers like Woodward was instilled.²³ Sir William Flower, Director of the British Museum (Natural History) believed that William Clift, the first Conservator of the Royal College of Surgeons transferred from John Hunter's Museum, was the first Curator of the modern type; apprenticed to Hunter, had become a scientist involved with collecting, identification, classification and arrangement of specimens as well as the visitors.²⁴ The museum was not actually public but devoted to medical education by means of lectures and specimens as illustrations. Clift's enormous energies in acquiring specimens, classification and cataloguing, influenced Flower and Sir Richard Owen who had both begun their careers as Conservator of the Royal College of Surgeons.

In all the departments of the British Museum, and the British Museum (Natural History), the development of scholarly abilities was part of the natural evolution of the size of the collections, and disciplines. With J.E. Gray, A.E. Gunther (1858-71) and Dr. Woodward, positions in natural history were transformed from an avocation into a profession. Gunther, for example, estimated that from 1858-71 he examined and named 40,000 specimens, described 8,000 species and wrote 6,000 pages. He had little time to pursue his considerable interests in museum education. By the late nineteenth century the British Museum (Natural History) employed leading scientists whose efforts were in the main devoted to collecting, identification and preparation of specimens: men such as Gunther (Ichthyology); A.G. Butler, F.W. Kirby, and E.E. Austen (Entomology); G.A. Boulenger (Fishes and

²³See above chapter 5 . See also E. Millar, That Noble Cabinet (London, 1973) and William T. Stearn, The Natural History Museum at South Kensington (London, 1981).

²⁴D. Murray, Museums: Their History and Their Use (Glasgow, 1904), p. 231.

Reptiles); O. Thomas (Mammals); R. Bowdler-Sharpe and W.R. Ogilvie-Grant (Ornithology).²⁵ Similar lists can be made for the various departments of the British Museum. Likewise after 1880 the South Kensington Museums, under the directorship of Cunliffe-Owen (1873-93), became a museum for antiquarian collections while contemporary pieces were relegated to Bethnal Green. The natural tendency of curators to immerse themselves in their subjects and the shift to connoisseurship resulted in a scholarly concentration shown in collecting, classifications and cataloguing and publications. Unfortunately, after 1910, as Cocks has claimed, "exhibitions were infrequent, displays static and the number of visitors small and select."²⁶

In this environment of scientific advancement the concern of curators for the quality of museum research was logical; thus, in 1913 F.A. Bather stated:

The post-graduate student is really the most important class for which the Museum has to provide. Just as a battleship is a great engine for the advancement of science. Neither the one, nor the other is to be used for the delectation of Tom, Dick, or Harry, ratepayers though they may be. A museum is not a mere instrument of popular edification but should be utilised to train and exercise the fighting line of science.²⁷

Curators were often professors or lecturers in University Museums while in 1893 the Director of the Liverpool Public Museum, Dr. H.O. Forbes was to have been appointed Professor at the University College of Liverpool.

²⁵ Examples of the scientist/scholar are: Sir Edwin Ray Lankester, Curator at Oxford University Museum (1898), Director British Museum (Natural History) and Keeper of Zoology (1898-1907); Sir Sidney Harmer, University Lecturer in Zoology, Cambridge (1891), Superintendent (1891-1908), Keeper of Zoology, British Museum (Natural History) (1909), Director (1919); Francis Arthur Bather, M.A., D. Sc., F.R.S. (1868-1934) scientific authority on Echinoidea and Crinoidea. Lifetime work at the British Museum (Natural History) where he was Keeper of Geology, 1924-28 as well as Editor of the Museums Journal for several years and President in 1903.

²⁶ Anna S. Cocks, The Victoria and Albert Museum: The Making of the Collection (London, 1980), p. 28.

²⁷ F.A. Bather, "Discussion," Museums Journal 13 (November 1913), 178.

Herbert Bolton and F.A. Bather, as members of a Sub-Committee of Museums of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, which reported in 1920, argued that the state of learning depended on the performance of research on museum collections by students and specialists. They believed that the trend to public education was out of balance with research work.²⁸

There were, as a result of ambiguities about the nature of museum expertise, controversies over the appointments to major museum positions. When Sir Thomas Martin, a Scottish editor, was appointed to be Director of the Royal Scottish Museum in 1910, the Museums Journal stated: "...we have been unable to discover what particular qualification he may have for the post of museum director."²⁹

There was also a parallel preoccupation with the inability of the average provincial curator to cope with the accumulated knowledge of the various disciplines. Attempts were made to devise helping schemes for curators for the identification of specimens and with scientific arrangement. In the 1850's E. Forbes had suggested that government curators could help local museums; in 1890 F.W. Rudler suggested forming a Committee of Specialists to act as referees for advice on naming specimens. Rudler also raised the significant question of whether the curator of a general museum should be a specialist or generalist with "methodical habits" and "administrative task" skills. In answer, the Association formed a committee of specialists but few curators used these services.³⁰ Repeated articles were written on suitable classification schemes for subjects in local museums

²⁸Dr. Herbert Bolton, "Presidential Address to the Museums Association," Museums Journal 24 (September 1924), 52-53 and British Association for the Advancement of Science, Report, 1920.

²⁹"The New Director of the Royal Scottish Museum," Museums Journal 10 (January 1911), 192.

³⁰F.W. Rudler, "Suggestions for Aid in the Naming of Natural History Specimens in Museums," Report of the Proceedings of the First Annual General Meeting of the Museums Association (1890), pp. 46-50, H.M. Platinauer, "To Utilize Specialists," Museums Journal 1 (September 1901), 63-65, Flinders Petrie, "A Federal Staff for Museums," Report of the Eight Annual Meeting of the Museums Association (1897), p. 74.

and the need for summary or Index collections that would be scientific yet informative.

With the additional pressures related to museum education and public programming came more debates about the nature of museum work and the balance of education and collections work. Thus, W.E. Hoyle in 1897 argued that curators should teach the teacher.³¹ In 1902, Ray Lankester, Director of the British Museum of Natural History, started a heated debate declaring, on a visit to a small museum, that a country museum is not a place for children or school teaching.³² Many museum curators such as Frank Woolnough and E.E. Howarth and E.E. Lowe disagreed promoting the educational work of museum staffs. F.A. Bather, however, also from the British Museum, could not agree: in 1915, in response to a strong pro-education statement by E.E. Howarth in "The Museum and the School," he argued that museum staff should not perform educational duties:

What is the function of the librarian? It is to procure good books, put them on the shelves, take care of them, and have them always accessible to visitors. But it is not the function of a librarian to teach the people who come there Greek, Latin history, geography, English literature, or anything else....³³

As for museum curators:

...it is our business to accumulate material, preserve it, and render it accessible to everyone who wishes to study it. The curator has a very large amount of work - a great deal more than he can possibly get through...there does exist in this country a class of people who are paid to teach the public....³⁴

Bather's and Lankester's views are countered by many museum critics who wanted reforms to accommodate the various publics of the museum. Under

³¹W.E. Hoyle, "The Use of Museums in Teaching," Museums Journal 2 (February 1903), 229.

³²Ray Lankester, "Professor Ray Lankester on Museums," Museums Journal 1 (December 1901), 176.

³³E.E. Howarth, "The Museum and the School," Museums Journal 14 (March 1915), 277-289. Discussion, F.A. Bather.

³⁴Ibid.

the pressures, curatorship was being pulled in several different directions: to be more scientific, to be more responsive to the museum visitors.

At this stage one should repeat Paul Marshal Rea's observation:

When, late in the last century, societies that maintained as used museums disintegrated, and when college interest turned to new fields, their museums either went into decline and became dusty musty storehouses, or else attacked the problem of finding new markets. It was only under these profoundly changed conditions that mere curatorship, however, faithful, became a fault.³⁵

Thus, although the potential of the Museums Association was acknowledged over and over, the various fragmentations of curatorship was a continuing problem:

The word 'Association' means a bringing together into a single body, for purposes of mutual help and common service, those who might otherwise find themselves isolated, ploughing a lonely furrow, and liable therefore under the pressure of circumstances to produce something considerably less than their best work. The idea of a 'Museums Association,' as first started in our country and subsequently taken up in other lands, has had as its basis the bringing together of those who might be corrected in any way with museums of every kind.³⁶

The author was quick to point out the major difficulty in this effort:

In practice, however, there appears to be a constant tendency to that differentiation and specialisation which it should be the constant aim of an association such as ours to guard against.³⁷

Training

Expert preparation for museum work became a growing issue in the face of the complex changes in museum collections, presentation and educational efforts. The same ambiguity remained in the discussion about training as identified in the position of curator. In 1895 James Paton addressed the Museums Association identifying two client groups: "the specialist who belongs to the great public and national museums" and the

³⁵Paul M. Rea, Museums and the Community (Lancaster, Pa., 1932), p. 27.

³⁶"On Museum Associations," Museums Journal 13 (October 1913), 123.

³⁷Ibid., p. 123.

"provincial curator, who has to be everything and to do everything in his own much embracing-institution."³⁸ How could one prepare for this range of work? His suggestion was a system of apprenticeship for youths based on four years of museum routine. He hoped that the Association would soon develop regulations for admission which would improve the existing situation where the worker picks up professional knowledge as they stumble along.

In 1906, W.E. Hoyle returned to the topic. He analyzed the heterogeneous preparation of museum officials giving six examples. Many went into museums without previous experience; therefore, trial and error was their preparation. They acquired their "technical training at the expense of the institutions under their charge."³⁹ He recommended two years of practical experience. Museum work became increasingly identified as a series of techniques added to a subject specialisation acquired experientially.

Training was again discussed after World War I. The 1920 Report of the British Association pointed to the disparity between the national museum staff and their specialism and the provincial curators who should have a university preparation and exposure to museum technique. In 1921 Dr. W.E. Hoyle again discussed the question of training recommending a diploma for museum curators as librarians had established. Training would consist of: 1) Accessioning, Registration and Cataloguing; 2) Mounting of specimens of all kinds; 3) Structure of cases and case arrangements; 4) Label-writing and labels. Again, the emphasis was on techniques as he

³⁸James Paton, "The Education of the Museum Curator," Proceedings of the Sixth Annual General Meeting of the Museums Association (1895), p. 95.

³⁹W.E. Hoyle, "The Education of a Curator, Presidential Address," Museums Journal 6 (July 1906), 10.

also proposed a "School on Museum Technique."⁴⁰

Miers in 1928, and the Royal Commission Report of 1929, raised the possibility of national museums providing the training for provincial museum staffs. Miers also proposed a diploma to be sponsored by the Museums Association.

Several educational efforts were already in progress. In 1904 the Director of the Manchester Museum invited museum personnel to a meeting to listen to papers on common interest. From this grew up periodic meetings on museum topics as a kind of in-service education and the North-Western Federation of Museums was formed.⁴¹ From 1925 to 1932 the National Museum of Wales (under W.E. Hoyle) ran a summer school to instruct Museum Curators that were part of the Welsh Affiliation Scheme.

In 1930 the Museums Association ran a five-day "Short Training Course for Curators" using L.V. Coleman's Manual for Small Museums as a text. Addresses included F.A. Bather's "The Principles Underlying Museum Technique and Work," E.E. Lowe's "Fundamental Points in Museum Practice" (Registration, Installation, Cases, etc.). Visits were made to the Victoria and Albert Museum, the National Gallery, the British Museum (Natural History) to hear a mixture of topics on treatment, display, mounting and preparation, and acquisitions in these institutions.⁴²

By October 1932 the regulations for the Diploma were established. There was to be proof of competence in a subject related to museum

⁴⁰Dr. W.E. Hoyle, "Training and Diploma for Museum Curators," Museums Journal 20 (February 1921), 176. It is interesting to note that on April 1, 1909, a school opened in Berlin offering a two-year course for museum work of all grades Museums Journal (March 1909), 331.

⁴¹"Manchester Meeting," Museums Journal 3 (April 1904), 333. Topics included "District Museums" by Charles Madeley and "Museums in School Teaching" by Professor J.J. Findlay.

⁴²"Programme of the Short Training Course for Curators," Museums Journal 30 (Nov. 1930). A second and third course were held in Edinburgh, September 14-18, 1931 and October 12-15, 1931.

collections followed by attendance at courses on museum administration, methods and techniques at elementary, advanced and specialized levels as well as a thesis on museum work and an example of museum performance. The syllabus was outlined in January 1935.⁴³ In December 1938 the first examination with two written papers, an oral and a practical were held. The Second World War interrupted this early start and in the post-war period men such as F.W. North, D.B. Harden, and W.E. Swinton worked to re-establish the Diploma. In 1948 Harden suggested a "School of Museology" to upgrade the field; in 1966 the University of Leicester began its Department of Museum Studies. By 1950 there were sixty Diploma holders but only two of these were in the National Institutions. Acceptance was slow; by 1970 under 20% of the 1,368 personal members (from 900 museums and galleries) had obtained the Diploma.⁴⁴

During the same period subject-related courses with museum application were initiated. In 1932, the Courtauld Institute at the University of London set up degree courses (BA., MA., Ph.D.) and a one-year Diploma for those in art history including courses for those wanting to go into museum and gallery work. In 1934, the Institute of Archaeology at the University of London was also established, including a course on "Museum Technology."⁴⁵

The Museums Association in 1932, however, clarified its own orientation to subject learning:

The Museums Journal is not concerned with Archaeology, Geology, Anthropology, Zoology, Botany, Medicine, Hygiene, Industry, Engineering, Social Work, History, Painting, or any other form of Art; it is concerned with the museum aspect of each and all these subjects of human

⁴³ "Museum Association: Syllabuses for Demonstration Course," Museums Journal 34 (January 1935), 389-392.

⁴⁴ Peter Cannon-Brookes, "Conservation and the training of art museum staff," Museums Journal 72 (March 1973), 150.

⁴⁵ Professor W.B. Constable, "Training for Museum Work: A Year's Experience at the Courtauld Experience," Museums Journal 33 (November 1933), 273-279. Both programmes are described in Frank Markham, The Museums and Art Galleries of the British Isles (Edinburgh, 1938), pp. 57-58.

study and activity, and of any others with which museum curators may be called upon to deal. A vast body of principles and methods, gradually increasing and assuming orderly shape, applies equally to all these subjects of museums work and to museums of every kind. Here is a common ground large enough for all of us without trespassing on the fields of the specialists.⁴⁶

However, the training syllabus of the Diploma has had a decided orientation to methods over philosophy and principles while the articles for the Museums Journal have become progressively less philosophical and more applied or pragmatic particularly in the post-World War II period.⁴⁷

Problems of Public Validation

If salary can be taken as an indication of public approval, then, museum work has had serious problems. The amateur and apprenticeship origins combined with the limited resources for public museums (Chapter Six) have kept pay levels continually below similar service fields such as library work, teaching, and hospital work as well as parallel administrative officers in local government. When James Empson began as Sir Hans Sloane's executor, he was paid £100 per annum to "have the immediate care and management of my (Sloane's) collection of curiosities and museum."⁴⁸ By 1909, the curator at Doncaster Museum, Dr. Corbett made only £50 per annum. There was little rationalization of pay level, background and responsibility; thus, in 1934 the County Borough of West Ham advertised a job for a full-time museum assistant at £155 requiring a science degree, biological training and photography skills while the County Borough of Reading wanted a male assistant with only Museum and Art Gallery experience for £115 per year.⁴⁹

⁴⁶Museums Journal 32 (March 1933), 459.

⁴⁷This analysis is based on an indexing and reading of articles printed by the Museums Association from 1890 to 1983 and is confirmed in Laurel Ball's conclusion about articles from 1969 to 1973: 50% were design and exhibitions; 16% technical (security, conservation, storage and cataloguing); 14% education, general philosophy, Museums Journal (1973), p. 36.

⁴⁸The Will of Sir Hans Sloane, p. 43.

⁴⁹Museums Journal 34 (March 1935), 490.

In the British Museum, the low salaries in the early years of the museum's history were so low that keepers spent time writing books and articles to earn money. Despite opinions such as that of Gladstone who said he "would never be a party to increasing the salaries of the gentlemen of the British Museum; for he could imagine no more delightful existence," the prevailing concern to upgrade the scientific quality of the museum gradually led to an important/increase in pay levels and restrictions on outside work.⁵⁰

In many provincial museums, the improvements in salary levels were won only after long struggle. At Hull City Council a discussion to increase the salary of the Curator, Tom Sheppard, when he was made Director, brought about minute examination and rejection of the proposal until it was realized that Mr. Sheppard was paid much less than curators in similar positions and that:

Mr. Sheppard was an indefatigable worker. He lectured to the school children, and at 10 o'clock at night could be found working at the museum.⁵¹

Finally, the resolution was passed to increase his income by £25 but only by a vote of 27 to 22.

The perception of museum work as an amateur and non-essential avocation continued. In 1913 two institutions advertised in Nature for "Gentlemen with private means" to be curators.⁵² Hence, the Museums Association issued a guide to salaries for the chief officer of a museum and recommended that the pay and status should be equivalent to other officers of the

⁵⁰William E. Gladstone as cited in F. Kenyon, Museums and National Life (London, 1927), p. 27.

⁵¹"Hull City Council and Museum Salaries," Museums Journal 25 (February 1926), 241-242.

⁵²"Wanted: Gentlemen with Private Means as Curators," Museums Journal 19 (January 1920), 120 and "A Curator's Qualifications," Museums Journal 13 (May 1914), 374.

Corporation.⁵³ In addition, some jobs were now advertised in the Museums Journal.

Another serious limitation was when the museum was connected to a library where often the two positions of librarian and curator were combined. The conclusion of various critics was that the library usually did better and the first officer was most often a librarian. The result was that "the large proportion of space and funds are devoted to the library, and the museum is not conducted with the necessary vigour, and often falls into disrepute."⁵⁴

The low status of the museum employee has been indicated by numerous examples of management confrontations with governing authorities and led David Murray in his text of 1901 to state in strong terms:

No one would venture to entrust the preparation of a treatise on archaeology or zoology to a town council, but it is not seen to be quite as ridiculous to entrust the same body with the organization of a museum of archaeology or zoology.⁵⁵

At the Leicester Museum, the early curators had to cope with the presumed authority of the Honorary Curator; thus, a series of curators resigned in the period from 1849 to 1900.⁵⁶ Several incidents in national museum history have been well-documented also. The Board of Trustees of the British Museum were called to task in several Parliamentary Reports over the employment of sculptor, Sir Richard Westmacott, to display the collec-

⁵³"Council Meeting," Museums Journal 20 (December 1920), 127.

⁵⁴"Report ...upon the Provincial Museums of the United Kingdom," Report of the 57th Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science (1887), 115.

⁵⁵David Murray, Museums, p. 283.

⁵⁶Trevor Walden, "Address by the President," Transactions of the Leicester Literary and Philosophical Society, 44 (1959-60), 9.

tion of antiquities rather than the Keeper, Edmund Hawkins.⁵⁷ Another case was that of the Director of the National Gallery versus the Trustees: the ambiguous relationship of early years was corrected in 1855 when a Treasury Minute clarified the Director's power until 1894 when the Prime Minister, Lord Roseberry, issued an edict whereby the powers of making decisions reverted to the Trustees. The impact on acquisition policy was major as Trustees were often collectors themselves and viewed the Director's voice as only one among many experts; as collectors and institutions in the United States and Germany bought up available art works, the Director was no longer free to take initiative to acquire works on short notice; these frustrations contributed to the resignation of several Directors.⁵⁸

Thus, returning to Mariner's criteria, the museum field has had only partial success in becoming a profession. Charles Carter's evaluation of the period of his museum career from 1925 to 1969 is fair only to a degree:

The profession has come of age and has acquired these signs of maturity: an awareness of itself, a feeling of independence, and the 'key to the door' of opportunity which is provided by recognized professional standards.⁵⁹

This summation does not convey the deeper problems of the museum field's inability to get a better deal for museums, to build a cultural tradition into a developed body of knowledge or even to share the basics of the cultural tradition with those working in the field. One explanation may lie in the derivative origin of the museum worker's authority. Connected by birth, schooling and patronage to the groups running museums, the museum worker

⁵⁷ Edward Millar, That Noble Cabinet: A History of the British Museum, pp. 175-76, 192, 196, 207, 301, 347. See especially the Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the Constitution and Government of the British Museum (1850), vol. 24, Sir Charles Fellows, Evidence, para. 1686 and Letters from Fellows to the Trustees, 1 August 1845, Royal Commission Appendix, p. 405.

⁵⁸ C.J. Holmes, The Making of the National Gallery (London, 1924), pp. 31, 65 and Philip Hendy, The National Gallery London (London, 1960).

⁵⁹ Charles Carter, "Then and Now: Professional Ruminations after Forty Years," Museums Journal 69 (August 1969), 116.

was often considered as a servant-caretaker. Further, there were different, sometimes conflicting, images of the curator: self-indulgent enthusiast, amateur, scientist or 'museum man'.⁶⁰ In addition, public acknowledgement of the importance of the museum person was slow to develop at least in material terms.

As important to the power base, however, was the failure of the museum people to control and develop their own cultural tradition and 'body of knowledge'. In 1908, Frank Woolnough might proscribe:

A curator tries to leave behind him true records for those who come after him to take up and carry on the work so that development and knowledge may grow hand in hand.⁶¹

The evidence suggests his remedy was not often followed. The pragmatic requirements of everyday work discouraged comprehensive documentation of museum processes while the idiosyncratic backgrounds of individual museums discouraged the comprehensive application of methods. The relegation of museum work to applied technique confirmed the specialist subject identification of museum work to the degree that today the term 'keeper' often equals researcher rather than keeper of the collection in all capacities including research. Further, the ambiguities and paradoxes of the museum and its functions rise again to confuse, to polarize the occupational players whose subject interests, which are externally defined, are deemed more important than their abilities to perform museum functions.

In summary, then, the museum occupational members, despite some successful professional actions, could only have limited effectiveness; the most basic problem was that their place of work was measured and defined by external measures. Museum workers were defined by the institution they worked in much as 'the protestant minister was once defined by his church' as Daniel Robbins so graphically put it. Further, the ambiguities

⁶⁰ Daniel Robbins, "The Development of the Museum Professional," Conference Proceedings for 2001: The Museum and the Canadian Public (Ottawa, 1977), pp. 86-91.

⁶¹ Frank Woolnough, "History of Ipswich Museum," Museums Journal 8 (December 1908), 199.

and complexities of the job of curator, like that of the museum and museology, prevented curators from ever gaining control of their own cultural tradition or workplace. Several areas of museum thought and action demonstrate the problems in the conceptual basis of museum work and the transmission of ideas: the ideas about the role and purpose of museums, the experience of the visitor, and the experience of the object.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE MUSEOLOGICAL TRADITION AT WORK ("How Thought Circulated"):
I. THE MUSEUM IDEA: IDEOLOGY AND THE MUSEUM PROCESS.

In olden times, Museums, were doubtless, receptacles for freaks of imposture, and thus they may have greatly extended popular error: in these days, such tricks are out of the question, and every wonder monger must dread the detective police of enlightened public opinion.

- Illustrated London News, April 3, 1847. 1

The popular imagery of museums, fed by the examples of the unattended, under-supported local and college museums and the avid but disorderly collector, is rooted in the language of our culture. Indeed, museum people repeat the stereotype constantly. From the Alexandrian "Bird-Coop of the Muses" to the present, many examples of literary imagery have supported the myth. John Masefield wrote, "Dead Museums and miles of misery... uprooted from man's needs."² Thomas Hardy's Lucretia in The Mayor of Casterbridge tells Elizabeth-Jane, in order to get rid of her, to go to the museum "...you can finish the morning by going there. It is an old house in a back street-I forget where-but you'll find out- and there are crowds of interesting things-skeletons, teeth, old pots and pans, ancient boots and shoes, bird's eggs- all charmingly instructive..."³ Or there is the view of the Spectator in January, 1924 which reported a conversation:

'I've seen a number of things in England does best,' an American friend told me the other day. 'But, say, what does she do worst?' 'Museums outside London.' I answered without hesitation. 'The very word strikes a chill into the warm humanity of our race.'⁴

Lamartine called the museum "cimetiere des arts,"⁵ Maurice Barres the place where "the dead corrupt the living"; the Italian artist, Marinetti in 1908

¹ Illustrated London News, (3 April 1847), as quoted in Richard Altick, The Shows of London (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), p. 253.

² John Masefield as cited by Miss Hindshaw, Museums Journal 18 (May 1919), 173.

³ Thomas Hardy, The Mayor of Casterbridge also in Hindshaw, Museums Journal 18 (May 1919), 173.

⁴ The Spectator, (17 January 1924) as cited in Museums Journal 24 (February 1924), 176.

⁵ Germaine Bazin, The Museum Age, p. 265.

attacked the museum in the Futurist Manifesto:

We will destroy the museums, libraries and academies of every kind... Museums, cemeteries...truly alike in the sinister promiscuity of so many bodies who never knew one another. Museums: public dormitories where for ever sleep the hated and forgotten. Museums stupid shambles of painters and sculptors slashing at one another with colour and line for disputed wall space...Will you then waste all your best powers on this everlasting and useless admiration of the past...from which you can only emerge exhausted, diminished and dishonoured.⁶

Curators too joined in the rhetoric; as Herbert Read quipped, "I felt as if imprisoned in some endless maze of meretricious junk" and Salmon Reinach referred to "museums and morgues, cemeteries, hypogea."

Rea's thesis that in the United States the imagery of the musty ill-kempt museum was fed by the deterioration of the college and society museum which had become outdated by the turn of the century was paralleled in Britain.⁷ Here, too the uncertain lives, the limited resources, and understaffed society, mechanic's institutes and some town museums, combined with the decline of university, college and school museums and the disreputable opinion of popular exhibits amongst critics and curators contributed to the negative image of museums, both in popular and museum professional myth. A museum might languish in later years when the originator(s) died, when the museum was transferred to a university, the society transferred to local museum or the town started up a museum without adequate housing, staff or personnel, or when the exhibits did not keep up with newer styles and scientific theory. These declining museums fueled the professional pre-occupation to upgrade the local museum, producing the repetition of similar "musty, dusty" museum critiques, texts which are still being written today.

In 1928 Sir Henry Miers stated that "given definite policy, good buildings, adequate equipment, collections and staff, the duty of a museum

⁶Herschel B. Chipp, "The Foundation and Manifesto of Futurism, 1908," Theories of Modern Art (Berkeley, 1968), pp. 286-288.

⁷Paul Marshal Rea, The Museum and the Community (Lancaster, P.A., 1931), pp. 26-29.

to the public has yet to be defined.⁸ Yet, there had been many earlier discussions of the role or purpose of the museum, as there were to be after Miers' claim of 1928. In 1853, John W. and W. Papworth, two architect brothers, wrote a treatise on the planning of museums so that money would be spent well, buildings used to best display the contents and the collections be "arranged in a manner sufficient for use and enjoyment." The authors called for a clear museum policy:

P.S. It is supposed that no person projects a museum of any sort, without being able to give a clear definition of its end and aims, general as well as special, theoretical and practical, and in the abstract as well as in the concrete.⁹

Discussions about the museum's role exists as a theme throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century. One preoccupation of the discussion about the museum was that of the condition of museums; discussions, critiques, recommendations on the appropriate purpose and organization of museums enriched the period. Indeed, descriptions of the small, crowded local museum remain remarkably alike from 1845 to 1945 and their cure was a preoccupation; the solutions or visions of the museum, however, are not identical. For some writers the museum should be improved as a scholarly scientific agency, for others it was an educational agency either in the sense of a place to school scientists, artists, scholars or the populace, particularly the working public; for others a museum existed to improve taste for commercial improvement or for the moral uplift they could provide common lives; for others, racing against the serious, purposeful and somewhat overbearing ideals of these statements, the museum was seen as an agent of aesthetic enjoyment and refinement. Often, these beliefs overlapped or conflicted.

⁸ Sir Henry Miers, A Report on the Public Museums of the British Isles (Edinburgh, 1928), p. 63.

⁹ John W. and W. Papworth, Museums, Libraries and Picture Galleries, Public and Private; Their Establishment, Formation, Arrangement and Architectural Construction to which is Appended the Public Libraries Act, 1850, and Remarks on its Adoption by Mechanics and Other Scientific Institutions (London, 1853). Their father was a Director of the Schools of Art and an architect.

The discussions about the role of the museum took place in the unique context of British events of the nineteenth and twentieth century which was at the root of the consciousness of the museum thinkers. The unravelling of the knots of economic, political and social events in Britain in relation to museum thought, is, however, problematical. Glyn Daniel crystallized earlier arguments relating to the growth of collections, and implicitly museums.¹⁰ In the Marxian view, the Industrial Revolution generated collections and the new disciplines such as geology, archaeology as activities associated with the process of industrialization such as coal and iron mines, canal and railway cuttings, land drainage led to the discovery of fossils and artefacts.¹¹ Industrialism also created the bourgeois class who would form the next generation of private collections and control. Daniel suggests that the bourgeois class merely replaced the aristocratic collector of the eighteenth century which were in turn replaced in the twentieth century by the University and State museums.¹² Looking at the larger picture of museum development, Glyn Daniel's argument convinces to a certain degree. As Neil Harris has suggested, care should be taken when discussing the museum's function as a vehicle for the expression of the conspicuous consumption of the upper classes or bourgeoisie;¹³ the actual world of museums is much more murky. Strict economic explanations or 'Vulgar Marxism' and simplified sociological interpretations for the development of the modern museum has led to reductionism. For example, Edwina Taborsky has recently developed a 'sociostructural' model of museums using socio-linguistic methodologies in anthropology which relate the museum to stages

¹⁰Glyn Daniel, A Hundred Years of Archaeology (London, 1950), p. 53.

¹¹O.G.S. Crawford, "The Dialectical Process in the History of Science," Sociological Review (1932), pp. 165-173 in G. Daniel, p. 53.

¹²G. Daniel, A Hundred Years of Archaeology, p. 53.

¹³Neil Harris, "The Gilded Age Revisited," American Quarterly 4 (Winter 1962), 545-566.

of industrial societal organization.¹⁴ Aside from contradictions in the argument, such analyses are ahistorical, and are exceedingly uncomfortable with the historical facts of the museum world and miss the random quality of events, the root of the pervasiveness of the cultural apparatus.

The image of museums as elitist institutions may have been derived from the mythological roots of the "musty, dusty" museums which predate the Industrial Revolution as much as the associations of collecting with the life-styles of the landed aristocracy and country houses. The pervasive view of museums may also have come from an association with other cultural activities such as the performing arts of ballet, opera, which have traditionally had upper class identification through both support and usage, although art museums have tended to project a more exclusive character as in the eighteenth century exhibitions.¹⁵ In fact, collecting was a persistent activity after 1500 (if not before) carried out by virtuosi-connoisseurs, gentlemen-scholars-scientists or artisans in Huddersfield, or inn-keepers in London. Class, perhaps, could condition the taste for what was collected but did not suppress human collecting habits. Thus, by Victorian standards, collecting in the natural sciences was surprisingly classless although some branches were identifiable with certain groups. The upper classes collected ornithology, the middle-class ladies and clergymen pursued botany while the lower classes entomological specimens which could be acquired with minimal resources.¹⁶ Class also entered into the power structures of the boards and councils which ran museums but not so clearly the visiting of them. (See Chapter Ten) Thus, the success of the

¹⁴E. Taborsky, The Socio-structural Role of Museums (Ph.D. Ontario Institute for Studies in Education).

¹⁵Paul DiMaggio and Michael Useem, "Cultural Property and Public Policy: Emerging Tensions in Government Support for the Arts," Social Research 45 (Summer 1978), 356.

¹⁶Lynn Barber, The Heyday of Natural History (London, 1980), pp. 35-36. See also D.E. Allen, The Naturalist in Britain (London, 1976).

prevailing cultural system may have been as much the result of the ability to be all things to all people, as the reflection of the pervasiveness of human collecting habits combined with the acceptance of the museum as an instrument of 'good', a view which crossed class divisions, however defined.

The Victorian bourgeoisie and some of their lower class brethren had absorbed the enlightenment ideas of the museum as a social tool, mechanism, or agent which, when combined with their methodist concerns and capitalist aspirations, translated into the museum forum as an attempt to render the museum a serious civilizing, humanizing, improving place for all, but particularly for the artisan to acquire knowledge and production skills to improve British production and, they believed, national culture. The museum must be a place no longer for the mere gazing at curiosities or fakes and certainly not for fun but have serious application; it must be a place, as J.E. Gray said, of 'rational amusement'. Richard Altick has described the phenomena:

When it became apparent in the early Victorian era that commercial or proprietary sponsorship could not, or would not, supply uplift, the state, goaded by liberal reformers, assumed responsibility for the instructional side of the exhibition as part of its larger, reluctant acceptance of responsibility for providing schools and teachers for the masses. The age of exhibitions for profit gave way to the modern age of museums and public funds for the benefit established and maintained by public funds for the benefit of all.¹⁷

This pervading philosophy marked the recurring parliamentary investigations, as well as the actions of the private museum benefactors like John Newton Mappin whose nephew Sir Frederick Mappin, M.P. spoke at the opening ceremony of the new Mappin Gallery:

... He desired to promote a taste for art, and for the love of the beautiful; for I know his opinion of his townsmen was that they did not possess too many opportunities of indulging in and obtaining that education which is such an advantage to all of us.¹⁸

It should not be surprising then if those involved with museums echoed versions of those ideals of museums.

¹⁷Richard Altick, The Shows of London, p. 4.

¹⁸Thomas Greenwood, Museums and Art Galleries (London, 1888), p. 168.

One type of discussion, understandable given the ambivalence of the civic agencies to set up museums, consisted of exhortations to found museums and different statements on the importance of their role in the community. Adam White (an Assistant in the British Museum) wrote Four Short Letters...On the Subject of An Open Museum in the Scottish Capital (Edinburgh, 1850) to encourage the formation of a museum for Scotland.¹⁹ For many the "aims" of the museum were related to ideals of education or of improving whether for better art, taste, trade, citizens or civilization. Thus, in January 1855, Charles Heath Wilson, (A.R.S.A.) addressed the Architectural Institute of Scotland in Glasgow "On the Formation of Provincial Museums and Collections of Works of Art" as efforts were being made to establish an art exhibition there.²⁰ Wilson compared Britain unfavourably to other countries; existing museums were not easily accessible, nor did their collections merit as they did not add to either local schools of artists or to public taste:

In such museums, pictures and objects of natural history, sculpture, and New Zealand war clubs and paddles, bronzes and stuffed birds, illuminated manuscripts and Indian pagodas, are jumbled together....²¹

The earlier connection of art to manufacture of the 1830's continued, translated into the Crystal Palace Exhibition 1851 and the Museum of Manufactures while William Ablett in 1866 prescribed the establishment of

¹⁹Adam White, Four Short Letters...On the Subject of an Open Museum in the Scottish Capital (Edinburgh, 1850). Another work of this type was by Sir George Crewe, Bart., A Few Remarks upon the Subject of the Derby Town and County Museum, and upon Museums Generally, Addressed to the Members of the Society at Derby (Derby, 1839).

²⁰Charles Heath Wilson, "On the Formation of Provincial Museums and Collections of Works of Art," Transactions of the Architectural Institute of Scotland, Session 1854-55, pp. 53-69. He was the third director of the Schools of Design and the set up of the South Kensington Library.

²¹Ibid., p. 58.

commercial or trade museums throughout Britain.²² The relation of art to industry so prevalent in the mid-nineteenth century remained an accepted role for the museum. Thus, in 1902 Sir Cecil Harcourt Smith, Director of the Victoria and Albert Museums, in an address echoed the views of the founders of South Kensington in stating that a museum was first and foremost an institute for the development and improvement of the trade of the country.²³ He did doubt, however, the success of the mere imitation of objects of antiquity in improving British art and the philosophy of art education based upon it.

A related view of museums, that of an active educational mission, was championed by the success of Prince Albert and Henry Cole in the transfer of their ideas of the relation of art to industrial development and moral uplift to the projects of the Great Exhibition (1851), the Department of Practical Art (the Department of Science and Art after 1853), the Schools of Art and the South Kensington Museum.

Sir Henry Cole brought the educational role of museums to the forefront with frequent statements about the mission of the South Kensington Museum. In a report in 1854, for example, he claimed:

A museum may be a passive, dormant institution, an encyclopedia as it were, in which the learned student, knowing what to look for, may find authorities; or it may be an active teaching institution, useful and suggestive. The latter has emphatically been the status of this museum from its origin. ²⁵

²²William Ablett, "Museums of Trade Patterns and Industrial Examples," Journal of the Society of Arts (15 January 1886) 34, 144-. There were many European models; in France, there were trade museums in Lyons, St. Etienne, following early leads dating before the French Revolution. There were Kunst Gewerbe in Germany and Switzerland, and a Museum für Kunst und Industrie at Vienna, and the Landesgewerbehalle at Karlsruhe. Ablett reported on this evidence before the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction of 186

²³Sir Cecil Harcourt Smith, "Modern Industrial Art in the Victoria and Albert Museum," Museums Journal 21 (Feb. 1922), 241. There were frequent references in museum writings to the industrial, commercial or trade connections of museums. An example of action, was that of the Hull Museums where Thomas Sheppard fostered the development of a Trade and Shipping Gallery finance with exhibits financed by local industry.

²⁴ W. Ames, Prince Albert and Victorian Taste (London, 1967) discusses the various areas of Prince Alberts encouragement of this view.

²⁵ Parliamentary Papers. vol.28 (1854) Reports from Commissioners, Inspectors and Others. 'First Report of the Department of Science & Art'.

At least, one author claimed that the change in outlook of museums was due to the influence of the South Kensington Museum:

Whether intentionally or not, they have brought into operation a system which has familiarized the minds of the people with the idea that museums are for the many as well as for the few. By removing restrictions as much as possible, by consulting their convenience as to the hours of opening and shutting, by keeping the museum open at night, by a liberal use of labels, and by making them the means of conveying as much information as possible they have taken the initiative in putting the mission of museums in its proper light.²⁶

The educational idea of museums, combined with their significance for the working population and industrial and cultural well-being, were extended to civic philosophies. Thomas Greenwood in 1888 ultimately envisaged the museum as a civic educational agency functioning like jails to educate and uplift the working classes, to decrease crime and to improve their mental and moral health.²⁷ Sir Henry Cole had made such a statement at Birmingham in 1874:

If you wish your schools of science and art to be effective, your health, your air and your food to be wholesome, your life to be long and your manufactures to improve, your trade to increase and your people to be civilized, you must have a museum of science and art to illustrate the principles of life, wealth, nature, science, art and beauty.²⁸

Frederick Harrison in "The Future of Great Cities," a lecture delivered at Toynbee Hall on what London should be, said:

²⁶Thomas Laurie, Suggestions for Establishing Cheap Popular and Educational Museums of Scientific and Art Collections (London, 1885).

²⁷Thomas Greenwood, Museums and Art Galleries, p. v.

²⁸George Brown Goode, as cited in "Museum History and Museums of History," Memorial of George Brown Goode, Report of the U.S. National Museum, Part II, 1897, p. 72.

It must be a city where our noble river will flow so bright and clear that the young people can swim in it with pleasure; where we shall again see the blessed sun and clear blue sky, and the towers and steeples rising aloft in the bright air - a city which at night will be made as light as day with electric lamps, and in whose midst fountains will pour forth water from the hills of Snowdon or Helvellyn; a city where noxious refuse will be unknown, and where no deadly exhalation will be pumped into homes; a city where typhus and typhoid and small-pox and fevers will be as rare as the plague, and as much a matter of history as the leprosy; a city where the dead shall no longer be a terror to the living, where preventable disease will be a crime chargeable to someone and an opprobrium to the district in which it breaks out; a city where no man shall go without recreation, or society, or religion, because there are no Libraries of Museums near his abode, no Galleries of pictures to visit on Sunday, no Parks within easy reach, and no free seats in the church which he cares to enter.²⁹

By the 1890's many of the earlier ideas of the museum's role and purposes were reworkings of earlier statements echoed since Bacon's time indicating the extent of acceptance in the belief system. Thus, David Murray states that museums were to raise the people above "the depressing influence of dull and common-place surroundings"; John Burns, President of the Board of Trade, stated at the opening of the extension of the Leicester Museum that "museums were absolutely essential if they were to provide for the great mass of the people a nobler method of spending their leisure time than the public house."³⁰ Sir Philip Cunliffe Owen, of the South Kensington Museum, in a similar vein, said:

We educate our working people in the public schools, and give them love for refined and beautiful objects, and a desire for information. They leave school, enter town life, see only dirty streets and monotonous rows of buildings, and have no way to gratify the tasks which they have been forced to acquire. It is as much the duty of the Government to provide them with museums and libraries for their higher education as it is to establish schools for their instruction.³¹

George Brown Goode of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. stated

²⁹Frederick Harrison, "The Future of Great Cities" in Thomas Greenwood, Museums and Galleries, p. 176.

³⁰David Murray, Museums: Their History and Their Use (Glasgow, 1904).

³¹As cited in G.B. Goode, "Report on the Condition and Progress of the U.S. National Museum during the Year Ending June 30, 1893," Smithsonian Report. U.S. National Museum (1893), p. 12.

in his Principles of Administration, also influential in the British museum world, that:

The degree of civilization to which any nation, city or province has attained is best shown by the character of its Public Museums and the Liberality with which they are maintained.³²

Professor Patrick Geddes, a noted sociologist, wrote several works underlining the role of the museum in city development which would extend its popular appeal:

Thus this practical proposal, of legitimately interesting the public by a development of the civic character and possibilities of the museums, would soon be found of value all round, and the museum's endeavours would be approved and supported by all types of mind, by representatives of all classes, all parties...Our towns are beginning to stir, their awakening towards citizenship is at hand, so let us help it and further make our town's museum more of a Civic one.³³

Both A Suggested Plan for a Civic Museum (or Civic Exhibition) and Its Associated Studies and City Development, A Report to the Dunfermline Trust, 1904 offered detailed plans for museums including for nature museums and historic institutes. Other works on the museum and community followed.

Another type of museum discussion centered on the 'condition of museums' and their cure. There was a general reaction to the amateurism of collectors and connoisseurs as well as the fakery of commercial exhibits which were judged by scientists and scholars to be keeping the British behind continental efforts where the role of museums was viewed very clearly. In 1849, before the Committee on Public Libraries, George Dawson summed up the concern:

The [museum] often consists of two or three cases of stuffed birds and Indian canoes, and two or three matters of that kind, but there is little scientific arrangement; you could not study by them.³⁴

³²G.B. Goode, "Principles of Administration," Proceedings of the Annual General Meeting of the Museums Association (1895), p. 141.

³³Patrick Geddes, "Museum and the City: A Practical Proposal," Museums Journal 7 (May 1908), 373 and A Suggested Plan for a Civic Museum (or Civil Exhibition) and Its Associated Studies and City Development. A Report to the Dumfermline Trust, 1904.

³⁴George Dawson, "Evidence Before Committee on Public Libraries," in Thomas Kelly, A History of Adult Education, p. 179.

Some scholars were most concerned with the quality of scientific work in museums and their role as a research agency. In 1848 a Memorial of Scientists was prepared by the British Association for the Advancement of Science which stated that they wanted the natural history collections of the British Museum to be:

well selected and well classified objects of contemplation and comparison as shall not merely gratify the curiosity and excite the wonder of the multitude, but shall prove of real use to the researches of the student and the man of science.³⁵

This viewpoint was reinforced by the Conclusions of the 1860 Select Committee on the British Museum:

It has been suggested that lectures should be delivered in connection with the Museum; but Your Committee are of the opinion that though it would be of the greatest advantage that the meaning of the various collections should be rendered as intelligible to the public, yet it is questionable whether the conversion of the Museum into an educational institution would not be a departure from the principles on which it rests. Your Committee look on the British Museum as primarily being a great consultative repository.³⁶

Occasionally, the research aim was phrased more directly as in the Brighton Herald in 1894 when quoting from an American brochure:

It is a philosophical subject, philosophically treated, demonstrating the important relation that museums hold to science and to civilization as centers of learning and conservatories of the evidence concerning acquired knowledge. Museums should not only be made safe treasure-houses of science, but they should be what their name implies, temples of study perpetually open to all investigators.³⁷

It was Richard Owen, Director of the British Museum (Natural History) who emphasized the scientific role of the museum. In 1861 he drafted plans for the new British Museum of Natural History to be a repository in an extensive building to cover five acres:

³⁵Memorial to the First Lord of the Treasury presented on 10 March 1847 by Members of the British Association for the Advancement of Science... regarding the Management of the British Museum" 34 (1847), p. 25.

³⁶"Report of the Select Committee on the British Museum, etc." 16 (1860) p. 173.

³⁷Brighton Herald, 18 August 1894 as cited in G.B. Goode, Report upon The Condition and Progress of the U.S. National Museum During the Year Ending June 30, 1893. Smithsonian Report. U.S. National Museum (1893), p. 22.

I need hardly say, however, that the appliances of a National Museum of Natural History are of a wider and higher nature than to gratify the gaze or the love of the marvellous in the vacant traverser of its galleries.³⁸

But his views also had shades of a moralistic role for museums:

We may fail to adequately appreciate the humanizing and ameliorating effect of such mere opportunity of contemplating the extent, variety, beauty, and perfection of Creative Power upon the people of a busy and populous nation;....³⁹

H. O'Hara in Principles Which Should Govern the Classification and Arrangement of Public Museums (1862) stated that "the drowsy appearance of a museum peculiarly adapts it to the requirements of students."⁴⁰ G.Y. Donisthorpe in 1868 in an account of the origin and progress of the Exeter Museum wrote:

Provincial Museums are usually little else than collections of curiosities, falling short of the original significance of the name, originally applied to that quarter of the magnificent palace at Alexandria which was set apart for the worship of the Muses and the study of Sciences, and which included colleges with erudite professors and handsome revenues. The Exeter and Devonshire Museum approaches, at humble distances, the ancient model, for living agencies as well as dead examples come within its scope, comprising as it will a School of Art, a School of Science.⁴¹

A debate in Nature in the 1870's highlighted the problem as it applied to the British Museum; Stanley Jevons claimed that:

The British Museum exists not so much for the momentary amusement of gaping crowds of country people, as for the promotion of scientific discovery, and the advancement of literary and historical inquiry.⁴²

³⁸Richard Owen, On the Extent and Aims of a National Museum of Natural History (London, 1862), p. 115.

³⁹Ibid., p. 113.

⁴⁰H. O'Hara, Principles Which Should Govern the Classification and Arrangement of Public Museums (1862) as cited in F.J. North, Museums Journal 50 (March 1951), 281. Despite the many library searches, I have not found an original copy of this work.

⁴¹G.T. Donisthorpe, Account of the Origin and Progress of Exeter Museum (1868).

⁴²Stanley Jevons, "The Management of the British Museum," Nature (13 November 1873), pp. 26-27.

A "S.G.P." (probably S.G. Pycraft) disagreed, insisting that "the British Museum existed for the instruction of the people."⁴³

Nevertheless, recurring attempts were made by scientists to synthesize the scientific and educational role of museums. Their methods, however, varied; some suggested that the reform of museums should be to make them more instructive, others more popular, while some worked on schemes to do both. For example, in 1840, William Swainson, a scientist and private collector, provided a lucid analysis of the array of museums and collections of natural history.⁴⁴ There were two kinds: the first "Public or national, founded, like libraries, for the general diffusion of knowledge, and open to the inspection and study of all: to these the name of museum is more properly applied"; the second "Private collections, formed by individuals either for the gratification of the eye, or the advancement of their own particular studies, these are generally called collections, or cabinets."⁴⁵ Swainson gave a further division; a "National Museum" was one which should show not only all the genus and individual species of zoology but the natural productions of the nation and its colonies. The collections of the Jardin des Plantes, Edinburgh College, and the Zoological Society received his approval but the British Museum was, aside from shells and native animals, hardly "worthy of a great and enlightened nation." He said:

In the British Museum, there are, it is true, vast numbers of specimens, but the majority are so old and faded, that two-thirds might be cast out with much advantage.⁴⁶

Other types of public museums were called "local museums" such as the Natural History Society of Manchester and the Royal Liverpool Institution

⁴³S.G.P., "The British Museum," Nature (11 December 1873), p. 103.

⁴⁴William Swainson, Taxidermy with Biography of Zoologists (London, 1840), Chapter 3, On the Formation and Arrangement of Collections, pp. 71-97.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 73.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 77.

and "local or municipal collections" formed for the purpose of public exhibition such as those of Ashton Lever, Bullock. As for "private collections" he defined two sorts:

1. Those intended to illustrate some scientific object;
2. Those formed upon no plan, intended merely for the gratification of the eye.⁴⁷

One example of a scientific collection was Swainson's own conchology collection representing 2,510 species and comprising 6,150 specimens, then in the Manchester Natural History Society. An example of the gratifying collection was that of the Earl of Tankerville who had 2,487 species formed for size, beauty, and perfection. Collections could also be "typical" consisting of only single specimens or examples to give "general and enlarged views of science" which were particularly useful to students. He recommended that in all public museums, and even in private, a series of generic types should be kept apart; "local or geographic collections" are those of animals of one region which he questions as an artificial arrangement providing no answers to the distribution and variation of species. "Economic collections" would be those animals which have a negative or positive relation to the economy. Swainson, unlike most scientists, could admit the importance of the role of collecting for non-scientific reasons:

Collections formed without reference to any general or connecting plan, are not scientific; although they may be very useful in exhibiting the form and characters of individual species, or in calling the attention of the spectator to the beauty and variety in Nature's forms.⁴⁸

The scientific naturalist should not denigrate these collections:

In nothing has the growing taste for natural history so much manifested itself, as in the prevalent fashion of placing glass cases of beautiful birds and splendid insects on the mantel piece or the side-table. The attention of the most indolent is attracted, the curiosity of the inquisitive awakened; and thus a first impulse may be given particularly to youthful minds, to tastes and studies which may prive the solace and delight of after years.⁴⁹

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 78.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 81.

⁴⁹Ibid., pp. 81-82.

J.E. Gray was one of the first of a series of scientists who held both liberal ideas on social and museum reform and a desire to improve the research role of the museum. When he became Keeper of Zoology at the British Museum in 1840 his aim was to make his department the finest in Europe.⁵⁰ In twelve years, he achieved his aim by amassing numerous specimens, identifying, cataloguing, publishing and working on arrangement and visiting museums and maintaining correspondence. In 1856, he wrote that the British Museum was regarded:

...by all foreign naturalists who come to consult it, to be the most complete in Number of Species, the best arranged and named in all its branches, the most easy access and offering the greatest facilities for study of any zoological collection in the world.⁵¹

Yet, Gray was also always concerned with the public. To the Select Committee on National Monuments in 1840, contrary to Sir Henry Ellis, he supported Sunday openings of museums and sites:

I do not see that there is any religious objection to giving rational employment to people on Sunday.⁵²

Although much of his life had been devoted to the idea of the researcher-curator in his address to the British Association at Bath in 1864 as President of Section D, he stated a two-part philosophy of museums which was to become an axiom for curators:

First, the diffusion of instruction and rational amusement among the mass of people, and secondly, to afford the scientific student of every possible means of examining and studying the specimens of which the museum consists.⁵³

He added:

⁵⁰ J.E. Gray, "Draft," in A.E. Gunther, "The Miscellaneous Autobiographical Manuscripts of John Edward Gray," British Museum (Natural History) 6 (28 February 1980), 221.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² J.E. Gray, Evidence, Report of the Select Committee for National Monuments (1840), para. 3166.

⁵³ J.E. Gray, "Address to Botany and Zoology Section," Report of British Association for the Advancement of Science (1864), p. 76.

Now it appears to me that in the desire to combine these two objects, which are essentially distinct, the first object - namely the general instruction of the people - has been to a great extent lost sight of, and sacrificed to the second without any corresponding advantage to the latter, because the system itself has been thoroughly erroneous.⁵⁴

The scientists were supported in their attempts for a synthesis by scholars, such as Charles Thomas Newton, head of the Department of Antiquities of the British Museum, who said:

...museums are designed for the instruction and recreation, first, of the general public; secondly, of the artist by profession and of the student of art; and thirdly, of the archaeologist and historian.⁵⁵

Professor Edward Forbes opened the 1853-54 session of the Government School of Mines with a lecture "On the Educational Uses of Museums" which was an influential statement of the educational use of museums.⁵⁶ Forbes' premise was that "Museums, of themselves alone, are powerless to educate. But they can instruct the educated, and excite a desire for knowledge in the ignorant."⁵⁷ For example, the labourer who visits the British Museum "cannot fail to come away with a strong and reverential sense of the extent of knowledge possessed by his fellow-men."⁵⁸ For the educated man, the museum will stimulate that underdeveloped ability, observation. Forbes introduced the theme which was to dominate much of the discussion on museums over the following century - the relationship of education to the arrangement and classification in museums. Museum officers must not only be

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 76.

⁵⁵C.T. Newton, Essays on Art and Archaeology (London, 1880), p. 701 from the Report from Select Committee on the National Gallery (1853), Appendix XII, p. 772.

⁵⁶Edward Forbes, On the Educational Uses of Museums, an Introductory Lecture at the Metropolitan School of Science of the Museum of Practical Geology (London, 1853) (Longman & Co.). This speech was reproduced in several places including Thomas Greenwood, 1888, p. 393 and in the U.S. in the American Journal of Science (Nov. 1854), pp. 340-352, and the Art Journal 15 (1853), 282-284.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 9.

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 9.

knowledgeable in their department (subject) but

be men mindful of the main end and purpose in view, and of the best way of communicating knowledge according to its kind, not merely to those who are already men of science, historians or connoisseurs, but equally to those who as yet ignorant desire to learn...Unfortunately museums and public collections of all kinds were too often regarded by their curators in their scientific aspect only....⁵⁹

But Forbes believed although the "increase and diffusion of scientific and literary pursuits" is of great national consequence, it is "not the main purpose of public money." He also recommended that museums attend to industrial topics and provide lectures and public teaching.

He entered into the criticism of 'country' (provincial) museums as "disorderly piles" although he pointed to the numerous exceptions - Ipswich, Belfast, Manchester, York, Scarborough and Newcastle - usually because of the work of one or several figures after whose departure the collections decline. Most collections were not open freely to the public; most receive no local funds existing on subscriptions of private persons; indeed many towns opposed the establishment of public museums:

Unfortunately not a few country museums are little better than rare-shows. They contain an incongruous accumulation of things curious or supposed to be curious, heaped together in disorderly piles, or neatly spread out with ingenious disregard of their relations. The only label attached to nine specimens out of ten is 'Presented by Mr. or Mrs. So and So'; the object of the presentation having been either to cherish a glow of generous self-satisfaction in the bosom of the donor, or to get rid - under the semblance of doing a good action - of rubbish that had once been prized, but latterly had stood in the way. Curiosities from the South Seas, relics worthless in themselves, deriving their interest from association with persons or localities, a few badly stuffed quadrupeds, rather more birds, a stuffed snake, a skinned alligator, part of an Egyptian mummy, Indian gods, a case or two of shells, the bivalves usually single and the univalves decorticated, a sea urchin without its spines, a few common corals, the fruit of a double cocoa-nut, some mixed antiquities, partly local, partly Etruscan, partly Roman and Egyptian, and a case of minerals and miscellaneous fossils - such is the inventory and about the scientific order of their contents.⁶⁰

He confirmed the idea of the museum in a nation's culture:

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 11.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 14.

...every shilling granted judiciously by the state for purposes of education and instruction, for the promotion of schools, libraries, and museums, is a seed that will in the end generate a rich crop of good citizens.⁶¹

Forbes also suggested museums would be improved by the exchange of duplicate specimens and that the larger might give to the smaller as well as advise in scientific arrangement.

Other scientists were concerned with museums; thus, in 1855 the Natural History Section of the British Association called for a report "On a Typical Series of Objects in Natural History Adapted to Local Museums" assigned to Professor J.S. Henslow who produced a list of typical objects for geology, suitable for a local museum, emphasizing British types or species and he co-ordinated other scientists' suggestions for the Animal, Vegetable and Mineral divisions.⁶² Dr. Hooker followed later in the decade addressing his Presidential Address to the British Association at Norwich on the best situation and arrangement of museums.

T.H. Huxley joined in attempting to marry the educational and scientific role of the museum. He was one of the signees to the 1848 memorial, yet followed Forbes as Paleontologist and Lecturer in Natural History attempting to organize the Museum of Practical Geology as an educational instrument. He spent several years arranging specimens to illustrate lectures and writing "introductions" to sections of the catalogue to be a guide. He studied 'museums' (or collections) such as the private collections of Sir Philip Egerton 1856, at Chester and Warwick, and the British Museum and Owens College Museum, Manchester. It was Huxley who called the British Museum "a consultative library of objects," a phrase which G.B. Goode was to support later in the century.

Huxley developed several ideas about museums; he believed there should

⁶¹Ibid., p. 17.

⁶²Prof. J.S. Henslow, "On a Typical Series of Objects in Natural History Adapted to Local Museums," from the Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science for 1855 (London, 1856), p. 1-20.

be three levels in a museum for each subject - Zoology, Botany and Geology - one would be 'typical' or popular "in which all prominent forms or types of animals or plants, recent or fossil, could be so displayed as to give the public an idea of the vast extent and variety of natural objects, to diffuse a general knowledge of the results obtained by science in their investigation and classification, and to serve as a general introduction to the student in Natural Science";⁶³ the second level was scientific:

In which collections of all available animals and plants and their parts, whether recent or fossil, and in a sufficient number of specimens, should be disposed conveniently for study, and to which should be exclusively attached an appropriate library, or collection of books and illustrations relating to science, quite independent of any general library.⁶⁴

The third level was economic:

In which economic products, whether zoological or botanical with illustrations of the processes by which they are obtained and applied to use, should be so disposed as best to assist the progress of Commerce and the Arts.⁶⁵

As for local museums:

Whereas the ordinary lumber-room of clubs from New Zealand, Hindoo idols, sharks' teeth, mangy monkeys, scorpions and conch shells - who shall describe the weary inutilit of it? It is really worse than nothing, because it leads the unwarry to look for the objects of science elsewhere than under their noses....⁶⁶

Therefore,

Except in the case of large and wealthy towns...a Local Museum should be exactly what its name implies, viz. 'Local' - illustrating local Geology, local Botany, local Zoology, and local Archaeology.⁶⁷

Alfred R. Wallace in the 1869 article "Museums for the People", although

⁶³"T.H. Huxley, To the Commissioners of the Manchester Natural History Society, January 25, 1868" in Life and Letters of Thomas Henry Huxley (London, 1900) vol. 1, p. 136.

⁶⁴Life and Letters of Thomas Henry Huxley, p. 134.

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 134.

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 134.

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 134.

also a scientist, accentuated the need for museums to be popular; to provide both for "the amusement and instruction of the public and for the purposes of the scientific student" and developed a plan for a Typical Popular Museum.⁶⁸ Wallace claimed that a museum of natural objects was "best fitted to interest, instruct, and elevate the middle and lower classes and the young for:

It enables them to acquire a wide and accurate knowledge of the earth and of its varied productions; and if they wish to follow up any branch of natural history as an amusement or a study it leads them into the pure air and pleasant scenes of the country, and is likely to be the best antidote to the habits of dissipation or immorality.⁶⁹

With this statement of the role of the museum in controlling the dissipation of the masses we have entered into another type of argument. The concern for scientific or scholarly worth in museums was rejected by some museum thinkers for whom the museums were sacred sources of the enobling and moral qualities of culture. These ideas were products of romanticism mixed with methodism, a combination we have already recognized in the rhetoric of museum legislation and reform. The romantic ideal of the museum had been expressed in Germany in the late eighteenth century by Wackenroder:

Picture Halls...ought to be temples, where in subdued and silent humility...we may admire the great artists...Works of art in their essence for as little in the common flow of life as the thoughts of God.⁷⁰

In Britain, these views were expressed by William Pater, John Ruskin and others. Ruskin's opinion, although changeable and often over-emotional to

⁶⁸ Alfred R. Wallace, "Museums for the People," Macmillan's Magazine 19 (1869), 244.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 245.

⁷⁰ Wackenroder in Herzensergniessungen (Berlin, 1797) as quoted in Hans Seiling, "The Genesis of the Museum," Architectural Review 14 (February 1967), 114.

us were extremely influential to subsequent generations.⁷¹ He combined a number of views about museums believing them to be an educational and moral tool, a refining influence in an age of decline and that they especially should be popular. To these concepts he added the concept of the sacred or aesthetic role of museums to bring beauty to the common lives. He was disenchanted with existing museums, particularly South Kensington and the prevailing spirit of art history and once described a visit to its halls in the most dramatic terms:

I lost myself in a Cretan labyrinth of military ironmongery advertisements of spring-blinds, model fish farming and plaster bathing nymphs with a year's smut on all noses of them; and had to put myself in charge of a policeman to get out again.⁷²

In 1860, he appeared before the Committee on Public Instruction supporting the Royal Society of Arts' demand for extended hours and shortened working days to let workers visit the museum.

He wrote a series of letters to the Art Journal on the functions and structure of a museum and gallery. He would have museums be "an example of perfect order and perfect elegance...to a disorderly and rude populace."

He believed:

A Museum, primarily, is to be for simple persons. Children, that is to say, and peasants. For your student, your antiquary, or your scientific gentleman, there must be separate accommodation, or they must be sent elsewhere. The Town Museum is to be for the Town's People, the Village Museum for the Villagers.⁷³

⁷¹For John Ruskin, see Edward R. Cook, Life of John Ruskin (London, 1911) and William White (Comp.), The Principles of Art as Illustrated by Examples in the Ruskin Museum at Sheffield (London, 1895), William White, "Function of Museums as Considered by Mr. Ruskin," Proceedings of the Annual General Meeting of the Museums Association (1890), p. 27 and "John Ruskin and Museums," Museums Journal 27 (January 1927), 169-170.

⁷²John Ruskin, "A Museum or Picture Gallery: Its Functions and Its Formation," Art Journal 32 (1880), 161. These words were written on invitation from subscribers to the new Leicester Art Gallery who wanted comments on how best to dispose of monies for a new picture gallery.

⁷³John Ruskin, "A Museum or Picture Gallery: Its Functions and Its Formation," Art Journal 32 (1880), 161-162.

In Ruskin's view, every town should have a collection of woodwork, iron-work and jewellery connected to schools of trade while the public museum should present the six arts: needlework, writing, pottery, sculpture, architecture and painting. Only the best should be exhibited with a statement to that effect explaining why as well as showing historical steps in the evolution of the material. Thus, "every form of noble art would take harmonious and instructive place...its efficiency...would depend not on its extent but on its strict and precise limitation."⁷⁴

In his view, a museum should have a man of reputation and sense directing it with a reasonable number of staff and a fixed annual sum which should be accounted for annually to the public. There should be a unluxurious coffee-house (serving non-carniverous food, of course) while there should be a minimal entrance fee to keep out those for whom the museum is merely "refuge from the rain or a haunt for tramps."⁷⁵ But in 1877 he recognized: "The main difficulty which we have to overcome, is not to form plans for a museum, but to find the men leisure to muse."⁷⁶ In other writings he put forward his view of the enobling qualities of art. In The Crown of Wild Olive he wrote that "what we like determines what we are, and is the sign of what we are; and to teach taste is, inevitably, to form character."⁷⁷ Art was central to national moral strength:

Whenever Art has been followed only for the sake of luxury or delight, it has contributed, and largely contributed, to bring about the destruction of the nation practising it: but wherever Art has been used also to teach any truth, or supposed truth, - religion, moral or natural - there it has elevated the nation practising it, and itself with the nation.⁷⁸

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 163.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 162.

⁷⁶ Fors Clavigera, vol. 8, p. 282 as cited in William White, The Principles of Art, p. viii.

⁷⁷ John Ruskin, The Crown of Wild Olive as cited in W. White, p. xxx-iii.

⁷⁸ On the Old Road, vol. 1, pp. 434-435 as cited in W. White, p. 46.

The museum was also the vehicle for this:

Every house of the Muses in an Interpreter by the wayside; or rather a place of oracle and interpretation in one; and the RIGHT FUNCTION OF EVERY MUSEUM IS THE MANIFESTATION OF WHAT IS LOVELY IN THE LIFE OF NATURE, AND HEROIC IN THE LIFE OF MEN.⁷⁹

But Museums as they were now could not achieve this role:

...I went into the British Museum, and found a nasty skeleton of a lizard, with its under jaw dropped off, on the top of a table of butterflies - temporarily of course - but then everything has been temporary and temporising at the British Museum for the last half-century; making it always a mere waste and weariness to the public, because, forsooth, it had always to be kept up to the last meeting of the Zoological Society, and last edition of the Times. As if there had not been beasts enough before the Art to tell our children the manners of, on a Sunday afternoon.⁸⁰

Ruskin preferred to produce not artists, as South Kensington was set up to do, but judges of art and taste to which drawing was a means to learn observation and the elements of "good" art: indeed, he took exception to the scholarly approach to art:

We are overwhelmed with a tribe of critics who are fully imbued with every kind of knowledge which is useful to the picture-dealer, but with more that is important to the artist.⁸¹

Ruskin followed his ideas and established the St. George's Guild Museum in Sheffield. In the words of the first curator Harold Swann:

There were few things to see, but everything was co-ordinated in an intelligible scheme of artistic education...Whatever there was beautiful and good of its kind so that every visitor saw the interest and value of things collected in a single room.⁸²

The curator guided visitors around while, when Ruskin visited, Swann organized informal evening meetings for workers where Ruskin would share his philosophies and lead classes in drawing and painting using material from natural history or legend. The museum was re-established by the Sheffield

⁷⁹On the Old Road, vol. 1, p. 630 as cited in W. White, p. viii.

⁸⁰J. Ruskin, "A Museum or Picture Gallery," p. 162.

⁸¹As cited in W. White, p. xli.

⁸²As quoted in Archie Key, Beyond Four Walls (Toronto, 1973), p. 4.

Corporation as the Rusking Museum in Meersbrook but later dissolved and stored by the St. George's Guild at Reading after World War II.

In 1882 Thomas C. Horsfall published The Study of Beauty, and Art in a Large Town to solicit support for the Ancoats Hall Museum, Manchester then forming loan collections for schools and collections for the Museum.⁸³ His ideas read much like those of Ruskin; he pointed out the importance of the love of beauty in early education, its relationship to religious feeling and right living as well as the possibilities of financial gain. The plan for Manchester was to establish a collection in an industrial population; Ancoats, an industrial neighbourhood, was chosen to bring beauty to the workers in order to assist in the task:

...the object he wished to attain by bringing the influence of art to bear on the masses of the population in our large towns, is the giving to them of the power and wish to discriminate between beauty and ugliness, in order that they may give beauty to their work, and that they may get much of the pleasure and happiness which beautiful things can give.⁸⁴

Religious persons, too, saw the museum as a special agency; the Reverend Henry Housman, for example, in The Story of Our Museum (1881) told of the character building effect of his own museum formed when he was a youth.⁸⁵ Religious books appeared on the collections such as that of the British Museum.

From 1870, the debate on the condition of museums, particularly that of local museums, heated up as the electoral reforms of 1860's and the growing concern with education combined with the new post-Darwin scientific ideas to put pressure on museums to keep up with the times. Interpreta-

⁸³ Thomas C. Horsfalls, The Study of Beauty and Art in a Large Towns. He also wrote The Relation of Arts to the Welfare of the Inhabitants of English Towns (1894), The Government of Manchester (1895), The Use of Pictures in Education (1902).

⁸⁴ Ibid., p.33.

⁸⁵ Reverend Henry Houseman, The Story of Our Museum (1881)

tions of the right instructional form for the museums gained in intensity. George Gulliver in 1871 wrote an article for Nature "On the Objects and Management of Provincial Museums" which discussed the limitations of the provincial museums whose "managers" or "guardians" are precisely of the unfit class and less able to manage even "mere curiosity shops":

Thus we are met at once in the hall and saloons by such incongruous lots as effigies of double women, elephant's teeth, nose-rings, brain-stones, tomahawks, stuffed alligators, moccassins, New Zealanders' heads, cockatoos, canoes, Babylonish bricks, cocoa nuts, boas, javelins, lions and tigers, calumets, matchlocks, palm-branches, shields, monkey-stones, sugar canes, Roman cement, Oliver Cromwell's watches, Panama hats, fabricated elephants, walking-stick insect, and numberless other eccentric things of this motley and confounded order....⁸⁶

What was necessary was "careful preparation, display and description" particularly an orderly method, grouped in kingdoms and arranged by class, order, family, genera and species. The aim of the Provincial Museum is not "to suppress or degrade but to develop and elevate the taste of the multitude."⁸⁷

In January 1874, Thomas Webster submitted an article on museums and technical instruction to the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, while the Royal Commission on Scientific Instruction discussed how the museum could be made more educational.⁸⁸ Professor Leoni Levi followed in October with a lecture on "The Educational and Economic Value of Museums and Exhibitions" in which he stated, "Let the museums of our day be places of solid instruction as well as of elevating enjoyment for the whole people."⁸⁹

⁸⁶George Gulliver, "On the Objects and Management of Provincial Museums," Nature 5 (November 9, 1871), 36 an Address to a Meeting of the East Kent Natural History Society, Canterbury, October 12, 1871.

⁸⁷Ibid., p. 36.

⁸⁸Thomas Webster, "On Museums for Technical Instruction in the Industrial Arts and Manufactures of the United Kingdom," Journal of the Society of Arts 22 (January 16, 1874).

⁸⁹Professor L. Levi, "The Educational and Economic View of Museums, and Exhibitions," Journal of the Society of Arts 22 (October 16, 1874), p. 958.

In June of 1877 W. Boyd Dawkins of Owens College Museum, Manchester noted "the collecting instinct" which created museums of "high or low type" depending on whether individual museum units are coalesced into a living whole or keep individual identities; the provincial museums of England are of the low sort and "constitute a serious blot on our educational system, since they are worse than useless for purposes of teaching."⁹⁰:

In one instance which occurs to me you see a huge plaster-cast of a heathen divinity surrounded by fossils, stuffed crocodiles, minerals, models of various articles, such as Chinese junks. In another, a museum unit takes the form of a glass case containing a fragment of a human skull and a piece of oat-cake, labelled 'fragment of a human skull and a piece of human skull very much like a piece of oat-cake'. In a third wax models are exhibited of a pound weight of veal, pork and mutton-chops, codfish, turnips, potatoes, carrots and parsnips, which must have cost the value of the originals many times over, with labels explaining their chemical constitution, and how much flesh and fat they will make.⁹¹

His suggestion was that the reasons for the shortcomings were resources and organization. In the provinces, society museums were 'poverty-stricken' and public museums drained of resources by library activities. He recommended the split of museums from libraries for they have no 'real connection'. Each museum should be divided into sub-sections: Mineralogy; Palaeontology; Botany; Zoology; Comparative Osteology and Anatomy; Ethnology; Art. First attention should be to material from the surrounding districts for teaching purposes and be available to the general public, societies, and teaching bodies; only then will museums become "important instruments in spreading culture,...."⁹²

In 1879 Rooke Pennington's paper to the Manchester Geological Society presented a rational scientific scheme of arrangement: once again his target was local museums, "ill-arranged lumber rooms," he said, noting one

⁹⁰W. Boyd Dawkins, "The Need of Museum Reform," Nature (May 31, 1877), p. 78. Dawkins wrote many similar articles during his career as Curator of the Owens College Manchester Museum and member and president of the Museums Association.

⁹¹Ibid., p. 78.

⁹²Ibid., p. 137.

donor's gift:

...snout of sword-fish, a Chartist medal, a large goose-egg, a piece of stone from Temple Bar, a sword used at Waterloo, an ammonite from the coal measures, a fossil cockle from ditto, some copper coins, and a bear's paw.⁹³

In 1880 Albert Gunther, Keeper of Zoology at the British Museum (Natural History), also discussed museums. He listed the objectives of museums as: 1. To afford rational amusement to the mass of the people; 2. To assist in the elementary study of the various sciences; 3. To supply the specialist with as much material as possible for original research for local museums; 4. To illustrate local industries.⁹⁴ He divided museums into three groups which W.S. Jevons, Professor at the Museum of Economic Geology expanded to: 1. Standard National Museum; 2. Popular Museum; 3. Provincial Museum; 4. Special Museum; 5. Educational Museum; 6. Private Museum. The purpose for each was different. The National Museum, for example was for the advancement of knowledge and the presentation of specimens or works of art.⁹⁵ "It can only be in a merely secondary way that such invaluable and costly Museums are opened for the amusement of casual sightseers and strollers."⁹⁶ Local museums, again, according to Jevons were typically:

A Roman altar dug up in a neighbouring farm supports a helmet of one of Cromwell's soldiers; above hangs a glass-case full of butterflies, surmounted by poisoned arrows and javelins from the hill tribes of India. A large cork model of a Chinese temple blocks up one corner of the room, while other parts are obstructed by a brass gun of unknown history and no interest, a model of an old three-decker, an

⁹³Rooke Pennington, "Upon the Arrangement of a Geological Museum," Transaction of the Manchester Geological Society 15 Session 1879-80, 248-49.

⁹⁴A. Gunther, "Objects and Uses of Museums," Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science (1880), p. 591.

⁹⁵S. Jevons, "The Use and Abuse of Museums," Methods of Social Reform (London, 1883), pp. 53-81.

⁹⁶Ibid., p. 75.

Egyptian mummy, and possibly the embalmed remains of some person who declined to be laid under the turf.⁹⁷

A paper by Professor Herdman of Liverpool was published in 1887 on "The Ideal Natural History Museum" as an attempt to show the phylogenetic or evolutionary arrangement in a museum.⁹⁸ It was seen as the ultimate scientific arrangement for the natural science museum although it was a sincere attempt to make the theory understandable.

Not all of the criticisms of this period follow the idea that instruction was the foremost function of museums. J.C. Robinson, once with South Kensington Museums and then Keeper of the Queen's Pictures, was a noted art connoisseur. He believed that museums were for enjoyment. Nevertheless, he argued strongly for museum reform in a series of articles.

The provincial museums also received criticisms as he described the architecture and collection of a city museum and School of Art which remained nameless:

The absurd omnium gatherum is somewhat as follows: there is the well-known dried head of a New Zealand chief and his moth-eaten old feather clock, half a dozen clubs and paddles, a case of Napoleon medals and miscellaneous coins and tradesmen's tokens, minerals, shells, stuffed birds, snakes in bottles, a lamb with two heads, and a mummy; worthless pictures with high-sounding names, and several very conspicuous works of art on a large scale, such as a cork model of the cathedral three yards long, made by an ingenious but misguided shoemaker; big bulky curiosities, contributed by generous donors evidently with an eye to killing two birds with one stone - to wit, the getting rid of worthless incumbrances, and gaining a reputation for public spirit and liberality by so doing.⁹⁹

One of the products of this rich discussion on museums was the formation of the Museums Association. In 1877 E. Howarth, Curator at Sheffield wrote to Nature pointing out the advantages that might result from co-operation amongst museum staff; the Library Association had formed in the same

⁹⁷Ibid., p. 78.

⁹⁸Professor W.A. Herdman, "An Ideal Natural History Museum," Report of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool 41 (1887), 61-81. Also reprinted in Thomas Greenwood, pp. 180-195.

⁹⁹J.C. Robinson, "Our National Art Collections and Provincial Art Museums," Part II, The Nineteenth Century 8 (1880). 261-2.

year probably suggesting the idea to Howarth.¹⁰⁰ The issue was taken up again in Nature by James Paton of Glasgow (1880) who proposed an annual conference for curators which was further supported in the journal by A.B. Meyer, a noted curator from Dresden, and T. Romilly Allen as well as by others such as W.S. Jevons, Thomas Greenwood and the British Association. One 'Academicus' denounced the idea in favour of higher salaries to attract competent staff. In 1884 Howarth went to the annual meeting of the Library Association in Dublin to ask if that association would include museums and was refused. The idea then developed that a Scientific Institution might act as a sponsor to get an association started.

Thus, on February 29, 1888 H.M. Platinauer, Curator of the Museum of the York Philosophical Society issued a circular to consider establishing a Museum Association "for mutual help." A group met on May 3, 1888 in York and created the Museums Association of Great Britain. The original four points in Platinauer's letter were expanded to eleven goals for the Association:¹⁰¹

1. Means of interchange of duplicates and surplus specimens
2. Means of securing models, casts and reproductions
3. Scheme for the general supply of labels, illustrations and information
4. Uniform plans for arrangement of natural history collection
5. A scheme to secure the services of specialists
6. Improvement of library and museums legislation
7. Indexing of the general contents of museums
8. Promotion of museum lectures to working men
9. Preparation of small educational loan collections for circulation among schools
10. Concerted action for securing Government publications and also specimens
11. The issue of a Journal by the Association and the collecting of scattered original papers in the said Journal if found possible

¹⁰⁰ E. Howarth, "Museums," Nature (January 25, 1877), p. 276; James Paton, "Museum Reform," Nature (July 5, 1877), p. 182; A.B. Meyer, Nature (July 19, 1877), p. 227; S. Jevons, "The Use and Abuse of Museums," p. 80-1, T. Greenwood, Museums and Galleries, p. vii.

¹⁰¹ Proceedings of the First Annual Conference of the Museums Association (1890), p. 7.

The first conference was held in 1890 in Liverpool and the proceedings published. Professional museums associations and periodical publications were founded in other countries, too, over succeeding decades; the American Association of Museums (1906), the Museiförbundet (in Scandinavia, 1915) the Deutscher Museumsbund, Germany (1917), the Associations des Musées de Province and the Association Syndicale des Conservateurs des Collections Publiques de France (1918), the Czechoslovakian museums group in 1919.¹⁰²

In 1927 at the suggestion of the art historian Focillon the International Museums Offices was set up in Geneva under the auspices of the League of Nations Committee of Intellectual Cooperation. After World War II it was followed by the International Council of Museums (1946). In 1926 the American Association formed permanent headquarters in Washington while the Museums Association followed setting up an office in 1929.

During this period museum personnel began to draw together to examine museum practice and codify ideas, an expression of their sense of leading a museum reform period. In 1883, Professor W.S. Jevons' article "The Use and Abuse of Museums" had focused attention on the absence of a treatise on museums:

It is a remarkable fact that, although public museums have existed in this country for more than a century and a quarter, and there are now a very great number of Museums of one sort or another, hardly anything has been written about their general principles of management and economy. In the English language, at least, there is apparently not a single treatise analysing the purposes and kinds of Museums, or describing systematically the modes of arrangement. ¹⁰³

Thomas Greenwood confirmed this opinion in Museums and Art Galleries in 1889:

¹⁰²The publications were: France: Bulletin des Musées, Garnier et Benedite, Paris, 1894; Musées et Monuments (ed. P. Vitry) Laurens, Paris, 1908-14, 6 vol.; Bulletins des Musées français (ed. P. Vitry), Eggiman, Paris, 1908-14, 6 vol.; Musea Revue de l'Association des Musées de Province, 1918. Germany: Zeitschrift für Museologie, Dresden, 1878-85, Die Museums Kunde, Berlin, Reimer, 1905-to present. Bohemia: Bulletin des musées tchecoslaves et des associations archéologiques, 1896. United States: Proceedings of the American Association of Museums, American Association of Museums, 1906-1917; Museum Work, 1918-1926, 8 vol.; Museums News, 1924-to present. International: Museumion, International Office of Museums, Geneva, 1926-1940?; Museum, UNESCO, Paris, 1946-to present.

¹⁰³W.S. Jevons, "The Use and Abuse of Museums," p.53.

The subject upon which this book treats is almost without a literature. Several books on some of the pictures in the leading Galleries have been written, but the chief of these are now out of print. Taking the subject in its entirety, all that has been published are fugitive articles in Reviews and Magazines, or an occasional paper read before the British Association....¹⁰⁴

The claim, given the sources already quoted here, may seem absurd but it is obvious that earlier discussions about museums were not accessible to most museum people. The challenges of these authors spurred many museum people to produce writing on museums. In Europe too there was a wave of museum studies.

An indication of the amount of museum literature available was given in 1909 by Louis Reau, Maitre de Conférences à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Nancy, in L'Organisation Des Musees a study of the building, administration, formation and management of collections.¹⁰⁵ In this work

¹⁰⁴ Thomas Greenwood, Museums and Galleries, p. 5.

¹⁰⁵ Louis Reau, L'Organisation des Musees. There were other volumes written as statements of museum work:

- I. General Works - Prof. Browne Good, Museums of the Future, Report on National Museums, (Washington, 1889); Sir William Flower, Essays on Museums, (London, 1893)
- II. Inquiries and Reports - Saglio, Rapport sur l'organisation des Musees en Allemagne, (1887); Ad. Blanchet, Rapport sur les Musees d'Allemagne et d'Autriche, (1893); l. Benedite, Rapport sur l'organisation des Musees de la Grande-Bretagne, (Paris, 1895), etc.
- III. French Museums - Gonse, Les chefs - d'oeuvre des Musees de France; E. Miche., Nouvelles Etudes d'Histoire de l'Art (Le Musee du Louvre), (Paris, Hachette, 1908)
- IV. German Museums - W. Von Humboldt, Ueber das Museums in Berlin (1830); Zur Geschichte der Kgl. Museen in Berlin, Festschrift zur Feier ihres 50 - jährigen Bestehens, (Berlin, 1880); Berichte des Kaiser Friedrich Museums Vereins (depuis 1896); Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst: Das Kaiser Friedrich Museum, (1905); W. Bode, Denkschrift betreffend Erweiterungs- und Neubauten bei den Kgl. Museum in Berlin, (Berlin, 1907) L. Reau, Les Musees de Berlin (Revue de Paris, 1909); Brinckmann, Das hamburgische Museum für Kunstgewerbe, zugleich Handbuch der Geschichte des Kunstgewerbes, (1894); Erreichtes und Erwünschtes, (Hambourg, 1898); Berichte des Museums für Kunst und Gwerbe.
- V. Scandinavian Museums - Axel Nilsson, Skansens Vagvisan-Skansens Kulturhistoriska afdelning; Meddelanden från Nordiska Museet, (1901) (Bibliographie d'hazelius).

were listed a sampling of the major writings particularly in French, German and Scandinavian on museums indicating that they were too numerous to prepare an exhaustive bibliography.

Nevertheless, museum professionals could still decry the lack of museum study. In his 1949 autobiography What I Am Pleased to Call My Education, Henry Watson Kent remembered his experiences in museums which as Curator and Librarian at Slater Museum, Norwich, Connecticut and Supervisor of Museum Instruction at the Metropolitan Museum of Art from 1907, was of no little account. He acknowledged both the American Association of Museums and the American Federation of Artists (1909) for their work in increasing "knowledge of museum management," for promoting co-operation between museums, and for the education of people about to enter the museum field but he also added a comment which cut to the heart of the problem of museum work. Invoking the personage of Melvyn Dewey, his mentor when at Columbia Library School (1887), he warned of the museum habit of evading the study of its own "economy":

Sometimes confusion existed in such schools, education in the history of art being mistaken for the necessary education in museum economy, as Dewey would have called it. I see now why Dewey in his lectures to students in the Library School did not waste his time on the character of the literature in his books, but devoted himself to the 'economy' side of his subject, leaving the other sort of lectures to the professors of the colleges.¹⁰⁶

It is unlikely that Kent was totally unaware of the discussions in his own country or those abroad but rather is commenting on the lack of clarity or

¹⁰⁶ Henry Kent, What I Am Pleased to Call My Education (New York, 1949)

accessibility of the literature to the majority of museum people.¹⁰⁷

Perhaps the problem is the complexity of museums ideas and the diversity of opinions about them. For example, in the English literature after 1870 the diversity of museum roles outlined in the previous periods continued to be articulated by museum thinkers who projected one or another of the roles as the predominant one; some museum thinkers do present syntheses of the contradictory tensions in museums but somehow these statements do not end the debate for the original position always returns.

In Britain a number of authors attempted to take up the challenge and develop a treatise on museums in response to Jevons and Greenwood. The latter discussed the organization and state of museums in his Museums and Art Galleries and recommended improvements based on his idea of the educational role of museums and their relationship with the 'life of towns'.

¹⁰⁷ Other works produced during the first decades of this century were important. Gustave Gilson, "Le Musee Propedeutique," Annales de la Societe Royale Zoologique et Malacologique de Belgique, 44 (1904), 46-62. There should be two institutions-museums, and didactic centres for education; B. Gilson, The Modern Natural History Museums, Its Mission, Organization, Laws (Brussels, 1914). Director of the Royal Museum of Natural History; museums have three functions: exploration, study, exposition; M.M. Loir and H. Legagneur, Precis de Museologie Pratique, 1919. A discussion on the natural history museum; they are aware that French museums are less popular than in England and in the U.S.; they were too much foyer's of science and curators treat collections like their own libraries. The scientific order of hoards of specimens had broken the visiting habit of the public. Museums should be a centre of instruction and be useful to all the population. The solution was to form an association. In English, there were the following works: A.B. Meyer, "Notes on Some European Museums and Kindred Institutions," Report of the U.S. National Museum (1903), pp. 520-608. Meyer is typical of the scientist who wants to open the museum for only two or three hours per day and the rest of the time protect the specimens from the light. He disagreed with the BM (NH) habit of opening hours. Meyer believed in the scientific order of collections; nevertheless, he investigated aspects of display and developed metal cases; Margaret Talbot Jackson, The Museum (London, 1917); Laurence Vail Coleman, Manual for Small Museums (New York, 1927); Arthur C. Parker, A Manual for History Museums (New York, c 1935); Benjamin Ives Gilman, Museum Ideals of Purpose and Method (Cambridge, Mass., 1923). There were three noteworthy bibliographies written: David Murray, Museums: Their History and Their Use (Glasgow, 1904) 3 vols.; William Clifford, Bibliography of Museums and Museology (New York, 1923), pp. 1-7; Ralph Clifton Smith, A Bibliography of Museums and Museum Work (Washington, 1928). He was Assistant Secretary of the American Association of Museums.

He attributed much of the problem of the state of museums to the political philosophy represented by Herbert Spencer which saw any type of government action as "State Socialism" such having resulted in delays in measures such as the Education Act of 1870. Museums and Free Libraries should be part of the life of towns; the Corporations existed in perpetuity and, thus, unlike private enterprise, can both represent the citizenry and hold their institutions necessary "for mental and moral health of the citizens as good sanitary arrangements, water supply and street, lighting are for physical health and comfort."¹⁰⁸ In particular it was the educational value of museums for children, for the working-classes especially, which encouraged the "observing powers," this being very different from instruction.

Fundamentally Greenwood believed in the popular role of museums. He stated, "Unmistakably useful as are a large number of Museums and Art Galleries, we have as yet, only touched the fringe of their public usefulness."

I have watched minutely the faces of visitors at many an Art Gallery and Museum, especially in the evening, and the faces of the working-class visitors have provided a study in physiognomy so gratifying that I now enter a Museum without giving some attention to the faces of the visitors as well as to the objects in the Museum. How the eyes light-up at some picture, where the 'one touch of nature makes the whole world kin'.¹⁰⁹

But museums for mere entertainment or amusement rather than education were unsuitable like the "Dime Museum" in the United States which he had seen at first hand; he deplored:

It has remained for our American cousins to drag the term Museum down to a very low level...The most extraordinary make-believes which a deluded public ever paid their money to see are to be found in collections.¹¹⁰

The local museum was not the model to develop either:

¹⁰⁸ Thomas Greenwood, Museums and Art Galleries (London, 1888) p. 28.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 173.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., p. 6.

The orderly soul of the Museum student will quake at the sight of a Chinese lady's boot encircled by a necklace made of shark's teeth, or a helmet of one of Cromwell's soldiers grouped with some Roman remains. Another corner may reveal an Egyptian mummy placed in a medieval chest, and in more than one instance the curious visitor might be startled to find the cups won by a crack cricketer of the county in the collection or even the stuffed relics of a pet pug dog.¹¹¹

Greenwood also polled every Museum listed in the British Association Report of 1887 with a series of questions; the answers are a volume on museum ideas of the time. He asked, "What do you consider the best means of extending the work of Museums generally, and of increasing their individual utility?"¹¹²

He recommended four points to reform the museum system: first, there should be a Ministry of Education to which all national institutions report and which would keep in touch with provincial museums; second, that the national institutions should loan objects; third, that an Association of Curators be formed especially to help exchange duplicates; fourth, that museums, like gaols and workhouses be considered as absolutely necessary for the welfare of every Municipality, one result of which would be a decrease in crime; fifth, that only rate-supported Museums continue, as those run by subscription and donations are in "Decrepitude and Decay." With his sixth point, Greenwood gave away his identity as a librarian recommending that "in the majority of cases, it is wise and more politic to begin with a Free Library, and let the Museum grow out of this work."

He also listed the aims of museums:

- 1st - That it provide rational amusement of an elevating character to the ordinary visitor.
- 2nd - That it be in the fullest sense an educational institution easily accessible to all classes.
- 3rd - That it provide a home for examples of local objects of interest of an antiquarian, geological or other character.
- 4th - That a section of it be a commercial Museum containing specimens of manufactures resembling those produced in the immediate locality.

¹¹¹ Ibid., p. 4.

¹¹² Ibid., pp. 5-6.

5th- That it be one in a series of institutions whose object shall be to further the education of the many, and the special studies of the few.¹¹³

He even provided rules for the visitor on how to visit a museum.

The Reverend Henry Higgins of Liverpool in "Museums of Natural History" (1883), based on a study of the responses of visitors to Liverpool museums over twenty years and his own experience, discussed various aspects of the museum, visitors, maintenance and display.¹¹⁴ He believed that the first principle was parsimony, to do what the museum does best and to do it well. Higgins asked whether a public museum ought not to show "the beauty of natural objects" rather than be turned into a silent school.¹¹⁵

For many natural scientists it was the didactic, institutional role of museums to illustrate science that should be paramount. The British Association for the Advancement of Science prepared a two-part Report upon the Provincial Museums of the United Kingdom in 1887 and 1888.¹¹⁶ In addition to statistics and a list of museums, the committee discussed many features of museums. They made practical suggestions such as the formation of a museums association to issue a publication for curators, a travelling inspector for museums, liberal funding and, also, outlined the common purpose of museums on which there was not great difference of opinion:

1. To preserve, for the purpose of comparison and study, such specimens, whether of natural or artificial production, as may illustrate the history of the earth and its inhabitants.

¹¹³He also wrote "The Place of Museums in Education," Science 22 (1893), 246-248.

¹¹⁴Reverend Henry Higgins, "Museums of Natural History," Proceedings of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool, 73rd Session (1883-83), no. 38. He had also written the Synopsis of an Invertebrate Animals in the Free Public Museum of Liverpool (Liverpool, 1880), a paper read before the Society in 1873.

¹¹⁵Ibid., p.

¹¹⁶"Report upon the Provincial Museums of the United Kingdom", (1887 and 1888), British Association for the Advancement of Science

2. So to arrange and display these specimens as to make them most available for such purposes. 117.

Provincial museums should concentrate on making the museum a "fully illustrated monography of its own district" and thereby contribute to the national scientific world, to display the collections for "the greatest amount of popular instruction consistent with their safe preservation and accessibility as objects of scientific study" and to render special assistance to students and teachers.

William Flower, Superintendent of the British Museum(Natural History) was considered a leader of this period of museum reform. Flower considered that the museum literature of the past thirty years had shown:

...the gradual development of the conception that the museum of the future is to have for its complete ideal, not only the simple preservation of the objects contained in it, but also their arrangement in such a manner as to provide for the instruction of those who visited it. The value of a museum will be tested not only by its contents, but by the treatment of those contents as a means of the advancement of knowledge. 118

For Flower "the first duty of museums is, without question, to preserve the evidence upon which the history of mankind and the knowledge of science is based" to which would then be added, an "arrangement in such a manner as to provide for the instruction of those who visit it."¹¹⁹ Repeating J.E.Gray's earlier analysis, Flower stated that the purpose of forming collections were two-fold, although distinct and sometimes in conflict. The first is "research"- to advance the knowledge of some given subject which requires huge collections; the second is "instruction"- by which museums must be " a powerful means to aid in acquiring knowledge" which requires a different treatment and separate display collection."¹²⁰

¹¹⁷Ibid., (1888), 125.

¹¹⁸William Flower, "Modern Museum," Essays on Museums (London, 1898) p.32.

¹¹⁹W.Flower, "Museum Organization," Essays on Museums, p.13.

¹²⁰Ibid., p.115.

Only in national museums could a balance between studying and diffusion be maintained; in all others the primary function should be the diffusion of knowledge or popular education. Flower offered opinions on national museums, school museums and boy's museums, on museum organization and, of course, on the condition of museums, particularly local museums.¹²¹

Sir Henry Howarth in "Some Casual Thoughts on Museums in Natural Science" summarized the instructional view of museums:

No question has been more debated recently, and none deserves to be ventilated more in your pages, than the best arrangement of our museums, and especially of our great museums like the one in Cromwell Road. The problem, of course, depends upon the purpose and aim of museums. The old-fashioned notion that they form a kind of dustbin, where all the useless, ugly, eccentric, and curious productions of art and Nature are to be shown together and labelled with fantastic information is obsolete. This kind of museum is now rapidly disappearing everywhere, and a theory (conceded as a theory by everyone) prevails that every object exhibited should teach something in a definite and precise way, and should be arranged with other objects so that a continuous lesson can be conveyed, and should not include a series of epileptic jumps from Cathay to Peru and from a mermaid to a mouse.¹²²

He went on to discuss museums in general, as well as specialized geology and palaeontology museums.

Another leader of the period was F.A. Bather, a Keeper at the British Museum (Natural History) who occupied many positions in the Museums Association.¹²³ Bather was most concerned with the poor showing of museums in science and discussed various ways to improve this condition such as treating the curator as a field natural scientist rather than a clerk, bringing collections together, preventing such ills as: crowded displays, idiosyncratic classification, and the hiding of specimens. Bather felt that the education of the post-graduate student was the primary responsibility of

¹²¹ See articles in W. Flower, Essays on Museums.

¹²² Sir Henry H. Howarth, "Some Casual Thoughts on Museums in Natural Science," Natural Science 7 (1895), 97, 319 and 8 (1896), 114, 377.

¹²³ F.A. Bather, "President's Address to the Museums Association," Museums Journal 3 (September, 1903), 73.

museums.¹²⁴ He was, however, concerned for the whole range of museum activity. In his President's Address to the Museums Association in 1903 he recognized the usual division of the functions of museums into two, research and education - corresponding to the two types of visitors - students and the public,¹²⁵ but he expanded them to three functions: Investigation, Instruction and Inspiration paralleling the three types of visitors - investigators, students of school or college standing and the lay public. There should, therefore, be not two but three exhibitions series. As for the small museum, he advised the curator to examine its purpose in the light of these three divisions: "Ask yourself which of these three functions your museum is intended to fulfill, which of these classes forms the majority of its visitors, or which of them you most desire to serve...."¹²⁶

By now the tripartite or quadripartite separation of functions for museums had become an axiom for museum work. F.T. Mott, of Leicester, spoke to Section D of the British Association in January 1890 "On the Development of Museums as Public Educators."

Museums, Free Libraries, and Art Galleries have this in common, that they are each expected to fulfill two purposes which are somewhat incongruous and require to be pursued by different methods and with different methods and with different appliance. Each of these institutions is expected to minister to the wants of both of trained students and of the untrained and ignorant public; and the demands of these two classes of persons are so diverse that they must be provided for separately...The Museum, however, has a still more complex and difficult part to play. It has not only to provide for the diverse wants of students and visitors, but it has also to contribute to the general progress of scientific knowledge. Every Museum, at least every provincial rate-supported Museum, which is a public and in some sense a national institution, has a three-fold duty: 1) to

¹²⁴F.A. Bather, "How Many Museums Best Retard the Advance of Science," Science 5 (April 30, 1897), 177-183 and the Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Meeting of the Museums Association (1877), pp. 677-683.

¹²⁵F.A. Bather, "The Functions of Museums, a Re-Survey," Popular Science Monthly 64 (January 1904).

¹²⁶F.A. Bather, "President's Address to the Museums Association," Museums Journal 3 (September 1903), p. 73.

the nation at large, 2) to the students of the neighbourhood, and 3) to the local public. If the Museums are ever to be more than a confused compound of the curiosity-shop and the peep-show, which is what very many of them are at present, this three-fold duty must be very clearly recognised and means must be found for....¹²⁷

The multi-faceted role of the museum was generally recognized. In 1901 E.E. Howarth, in announcing the new Museums Journal, explained the various sorts of museums:

Museum National - the most comprehensive of all
 Museum Artistic - to delight the eye and character of the mind
 Museum Scientific - where the learned in classification work out the intricate mysteries of their systems and pursue their special lines of research
 Museum Scholastic - student still at classes
 Museum Educational - where the public generally are supposed to store their minds with useful knowledge
 Museum Personal
 Museum Municipal¹²⁸

Yet, as varied as they were they shared many features in common.

Some museum thinkers, thus, accepted as an axiom the multiple-purpose of museums. Nevertheless, the focus in British society caused by the Education Acts of 1870 and 1902 created a parallel discussion in museums which exacerbated the inner philosophical divisions; much of the discussion about museums centered on the question of whether museums were to be primarily educational institutions or not and, if so, what was that education to comprise. The educational role of museums had been long established as we have seen.

In a "Museum for Wales" (Transactions of the National and Eisteddfod of Wales) the writer outlined the extent to which the idea of museums as

¹²⁷F.T. Mott, "On the Development of Museums as Public Educators," also in Transactions of the Leicester Literary and Philosophical Society, vol.11 Part 1 (October 1889).

¹²⁸E.E. Howarth, "The Museums Association and its Journal," Museums Journal 1 (July 1910), 1-6. The idea of the divisions of museum functions was becoming generally accepted. For example Fenollosa in the U.S. listed four divisions: preservation, acquisition, original research and public education with the emphasis on the last. In 1930 Paul Marshal Rea listed three functions: "... the acquisition and preservation of objects, the advancement of knowledge by the study of objects, and the diffusion of knowledge for the enrichment of the life of the people." He combined the first two, "What are Museums For?" Journal of Adult Education 2 (June 1930), 265.

educational bodies had been accepted:

The utility of various museums in our country as education institutions is beyond question. It is admitted by the general consensus of civilized mankind... Even those who are sceptical about the progress of humanity, the cynics and the pessimists; those who made merry at the spectacle of the workers, gazing with only a dim conception and hazy ideas at an Egyptian hieroglyphic or an Assyrian tablet or a Roman bust must acknowledge that a museum is a source of mental profit and delight to a scholar. But they who feel assured that the condition of man may be indefinitely improved, not only materially but intellectually as well, go further than this and believe that the artisan and the collier, the miner and the agricultural worker may be trained to look with appreciation and an understanding eye upon antiquities... The importance of museums as educational institutions, as important means of educating the people and diffusing knowledge of all kinds, has long since been recognized.¹²⁹

Nevertheless, many museum writers, however, were of the opinion that the education work was hardly yet beyond question. R. Cameron warned:

The popular idea of a Natural History Museum is somewhat vague, and I fear often unfavourable. Museums, hitherto cannot be said to have been popular institutions.¹³⁰

As did G.W. Ord who wrote:

I believe I am perfectly justified in saying that the necessity of well-equipped museums as an integral part of the educational system of the country has not yet dawned on the imagination of the great majority of ratepayers. This prevalent misconception of museums and museum work is one of the greatest impediments with which museum officials have to deal.¹³¹

There were several types of reactions to this presumed inadequacy.

George Brown Goode, Director of the Smithsonian Institute in Washington who studied in London during visits to South Kensington, wrote several works which were influential in Britain. Although his works represent a number of attempts to accommodate the various aims of museums he was remembered in particular for one statement which was later challenged by Benjamin Ives Gilman: it was a point of view previously put by Huxley:

¹²⁹"Museum for Wales," Transactions, National Eisteddfod of Wales as cited in J. Geraint Jenkins.

¹³⁰R. Cameron, "The Best Means of Making Museums Attractive to the Public," Proceedings of the First Annual General Meeting of the Museums Association (1890), pp. 78-85.

¹³¹G.W. Ord, "Chemistry in Museums," Proceedings of the Seventh Annual General Meeting of the Museums Association (1896), p. 113.

An efficient educational museum may be described as a collection of instructive labels each illustrated by a well-selected specimen.¹³²

Thus, Goode was interpreted as the ultimate scientific man who believed in the didactic role of museums. In actuality, in his work Principles of Museum Administration, a treatise on the museum operation, which was published in the Museums Journal and remained influential for many years, Goode declared his worthy intention:

It has been my desire, in the first place, to begin with codification of the accepted principles of Museum administration, hoping that the outline which is here presented may serve as the foundation for a complete statement of those principles such as can be prepared by the cooperation of many minds. With this in view, it is hoped that the paper may be the cause of much critical discussion.¹³³

In eleven sections Goode dealt with the responsibilities of museum work. These were: for the advancement of learning by providing for learned men and original research on its own collections, for the record to keep study material for the future; as an adjunct to the class-room and lecture-room for students at various levels; to impart special information; and for the culture of the public.

Some theorists in Britain, reinforced by Goode's view of the instructional role of museums, continued to support the focus on such a use of museums. Dr. R.H. Traquair, Director of the Royal Scottish Museum, considered educational methods such as type collections and the integration of recent and fossil species but rejected the more sensational methods of pictorial groups then being promoted on the basis that this was for the theatre not the museum:

A museum is a place where people who wish to study may find the material necessary for such study. But I have no faith in the idea of its being a place where people, who have no natural inclination for the studies

¹³²G.B. Goode, "Museum History and Museums of History," Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1897, Part II (Washington, 1897).

¹³³G.B. Goode, "Principles of Museum Administration," Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Conference (1895), p.71.

concerned, may be theatrical display, be induced to cultivate an inclination which they would not otherwise possess. 134.

Scientists were not the only ones given to didactic interpretations. Lewis Foreman Day gave an address to the Applied Art Section of the Society of Arts in 1907 urging that South Kensington Museum return to its original purpose as a museum which provided models for design and workmanship stating:

I grant you a technical museum is a deadly place until you come to it with a purpose; but it's of no use trying to make it lively. Is there any reason to suppose that people who can't come now would flock to it if it were enlivened with peep-shows? Or that it would do them very much good if they came? The museum I have had in mind all along will kindle interest in those capable of taking an interest in it; but its chief business is not so much to arouse interest as to satisfy it. It is no pleasure-palace for people bent on exploration. 135

Both Day and Traquair were reacting to an article written by J.G. Wood on "The Dulness of Museums" in which he claimed on behalf of the "General Public" for whom there is no doubt that the museum was an "intolerably dull" place.¹³⁶

I have long thought that in the management of our museums we have too much ignored the wants of the general public. 137

He took exception to the attempts to make the museum more didactic and educational for the effort had resulted only in the opposite result.

Many writers, both museum staff and critics, put forward the argument earlier articulated by Ruskin and others that the museum was primarily a popular place. Thus, in 1903 an entire congress was held at the invitation of the town council of Mannheim then considering the aspects of building a museum; entitled "Museums as places for popular culture", the German gathering had many sessions on museums functions to which

¹³⁴R.H.Traquair, "Natural History Museums," Proceedings of the Royal Physical Society, Session 121 11 (Edinburgh, 1891), p. 173.

¹³⁵Lewis Foreman Day, "How to Make the Most of a Museum," Journal of the Society of Arts 65 (10 January, 1908), 146-160.

¹³⁶J.G.Wood, "The Dullness of Museums," The Nineteenth Century 21 (March 1887), 384.

¹³⁷Ibid., p. 385.

representatives from museums in Germany and Britain were invited. The meeting was reported in the Museums Journal and would seem to represent the beliefs of many in Britain.¹³⁸ Papers were presented on various ways the influence of museums upon the people could be increased. Dr. Lichtwark, director of the Kunsthalle, Hamburg spoke on Museums as places of culture; others spoke on museum history, arrangement, instruction while Gill Parker of the Ruskin Museum in Sheffield described the museum and programme.

The same motivations were at work in various British museums. For example, in 1883, 1884 and 1891 the Glasgow Corporation put on temporary exhibitions in the east end of the city, Glasgow Green. In 1894 they built the People's Palace, a Museum and Art Gallery which had immense popularity. In the first seven weeks 225,000 people were said to have visited it.

In "Museums from a Philistine's Point of View" R.E. Ariel Wright presented the view that the educational efforts of scientific didacticism and not worked, "From the point of view of the Philistine our museums are too much rare shows of the scientific order, and too little elementary textbooks for the use of the seeker after knowledge."¹³⁹ Despite the statistics, visitors stroll about helpless of showing a lack of interest; labels and lectures were needed to combat this. Lord Sudeley (Charles Richard Douglas Hanbury-Tracy, 1840-1922) was a one-man critic of museums for twenty years. Sudeley served as an M.P. for Montgomery Borroughs until 1877 when he was elevated to the House of Lords.¹⁴⁰ While in the House of Lords, in addition to representing the Board of Trade and the Office of Works for the government, he acted as Lord-in-Waiting to Queen Victoria. In the last capacity, he accompanied the Queen on royal tours, where, he said, he learned to

¹³⁸"General Notes," Museums Journal 3 (July 1903), 27 and 3 (October 1903), 105-109.

¹³⁹R.E. Ariel Wright, "Museums from a Philistine's Point of View," Proceedings of the Tenth Annual General Meeting of the Museums Association (1899), pp. 97-105.

¹⁴⁰Lord Sudeley, The Public Utility of Museums (London, 1913). Also Address by Lord Sudeley, on the Public Utility of Museums, Picture Galleries, and Botanical Gardens, more especially in relation to Education with comments from the Press (London, 1914). For obituary see Times (11 Dec. 1922).

appreciate the tour method: efficient communication of information in a short time. Perhaps inspired by the late Prince Consort's interest in Exhibitions and Museums, Sudeley applied his tour experiences to his own museum visits:

When I went round some great gallery I could not help wishing for such guidance as I had then known, for some great master in art or science to open out quickly and simply some of the mysteries and beauties locked up in the pictures of the exhibits.¹⁴¹

Although Lord Sudeley's only experience in a museum-related activity was as Chairman of the British Commission to the Vienna Electrical Exhibition, it was enough to confirm his distinct views of the responsibility of the museum to the public:

I saw the helplessness of thousands as they trudged round seeing but blocks of stone where a few wise words would open their eyes to beauty.¹⁴²

He wrote to The Times raising subjects such as the need for guide lectures which eventually became successful.

Lord Sudeley continued his work and published a pamphlet, The Public Utility of Museums (1913) a compilation of newspaper articles, and letters from 1910 to 1913 on various museum concerns - Guide Lectures, Education, and Museums and the Public. Lord Sudeley's view on the utility and educational value of museums in relation to political and social life were expressed in various writings; in one interview on his eightieth birthday he stated his aims:

If democracy can only be brought to realise the treasure of which they themselves are the owners it will not only stir up a new interest in these things, but will help the spirit of contentment...it would lessen the mania for motion, noise, excitement and the opportunities to spend. It would breed the spirit of contemplation and of quiet.¹⁴³

Another influential theorist of the popular role of museums similar to Lord Sudeley, was an American, John Cotton Dana, whose ideas were brought

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Ibid. At Sudeley's death, a committee was formed in his name to carry on his work; until the 1950's the Committee lobbied on topics such as access, evening and Sunday lectures, lifts, labels, layout, advertising. Sudeley Committee Papers. University of Leicester.

to the attention of museum workers in Britain through the pages of Museums Journal.¹⁴⁴

Another opinion on the role of museums, particularly art museums, gained ground at the turn of the century. The idea of the museum as an aesthetic agency grew out of some of Ruskin's ideas and was reinforced by the 'art for art's sake' movement in literature and art. This rejected the scholar's preoccupations with scholarship and pedagogy, the heavy handed moralising of those who promoted the refining qualities of art, as well as the popularising of museum and their evaluation by the number of visitors that crossed the threshold. Art history was unrelated to true art; therefore, art collections should not attempt to be comprehensive, mixing bad and good examples merely to show the development of art, but represent only the best examples. Here, the idea of connoisseurship combined with the older idea of virtuosity was fostered by numerous journals and resulted in a growth in private collecting.

A major thinker of this interpretation of museums was the American, Benjamin Ives Gilman. For him the museums was to assist the viewer to appreciate fine art, to see it through the eyes of the maker. Knowledge of art was the goal, not knowledge about art, as was the scholarly approach. Gilman rejected the didacticism of Goode and the scientists. He turned Goode's famous dictum around:

A museum of fine art does not exist for purposes of instruction at all but solely for purposes of enjoyment.¹⁴⁵

He in turn was criticized by others such as John Cotton Dana for excluding the popular role of the art in the community. Gilman claimed, however rightly, to have been misunderstood to mean that fine art had no role in affording instruction when he had meant only that its paramount role was not

¹⁴⁴ John Cotton Dana, a librarian at Newark New Jersey, where there was a museum and a library who wrote populist articles on museums and their roles, some of which were reported in Britain, "The Gloom of the Museum," Museums Journal 13 (Jan. 1914), 231-233.

¹⁴⁵ "Dr. Goode's Thesis and Its Antithesis," Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Meeting of the American Association of Museums, (1915) 21. He was Secretary at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and his work was reported in Britain.

instruction. In 1919 he re-wrote his anti-thesis to Goode's thesis.

Thesis: An efficient educational museum may be described as a collection of instructive labels each illustrated by a well-selected specimen.

Antithesis: An efficient museum of art may be described as a collection of enjoyable objects each interpreted by a well-devised commentary.

Thesis: An educational museum does not exist for the purposes of enjoyment at all, but solely for purposes of instruction.

Antithesis: A museum of art does not exist for purposes of instruction at all, but solely for purposes of enjoyment.¹⁴⁶

Gilman saw the philosophical difference of approach to museums as that between art and science.

The distinction admits of many forms of statement. Museums of science aim first at abstract knowledge, museums of art at concrete satisfaction. A museum of science is a place of pleasant thought; a museum of art a place of thoughtful pleasure. A scientific museum is devoted to observations, an art museum to valuations. A collection of science is gathered primarily in the interest of the real; a collection of art primarily in the interest of the ideal. The former is a panorama of fact, the latter a paradise of fancy. In the former we learn, in the latter we admire. A museum of science is in essence a school; a museum of art is in essence a temple.¹⁴⁷

Gilman was expressing the essence of an aesthetic backlash that was part of an international movement.

In England, the Burlington Magazine carried the American and international controversies. Professor Mather wrote in the magazine in 1906 that the question was whether the museum of art "should be primarily educational in intent" or whether the "aesthetic should have precedence over scholastic considerations."¹⁴⁸ A generation of individuals schooled in the ideas of Ruskin and Walter Pater, several of whom had been attached to the Burlington Magazine, expressed the ideals: Charles Holyrod at the National Gallery, D.S. Macoll at the Tate Gallery, Roger Fry who went to the Metropolitan in New York, and C.J. Holmes who was Director of both the National Portrait

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., p.22.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 26.

¹⁴⁸ Professor Mather, "Art in America, A Question of Museum Policy," Burlington Magazine 9 (April-September 1906), 62-63.

Gallery and the National Gallery. Holmes wrote Notes on the Science of Picture Making¹⁴⁹ in 1909 based on the idea that people should not read and theorize second-hand about art but scrutinize actual words of art, collect them, handle them and produce them.

According to Louis Reau (see p.240), the same reform movement was going on in Germany where the early ideas of Frederick William III and Wilhelm von Humboldt, which projected the University (1810) and the Museum (1830) as forces to prepare the intellectual development of the nation, had led to a concentration on the methodical classification of collections, and on the didactic role of Museums. In 1860 L. Viardot visited German museums and concluded they were "never very excellent, never very bad; all is in limits of a tolerable necessity." With Bode, Director of the Musee of Emperor Friederick and M.M. Lichtwark the older ideas of the museum were rejected and a reform begun, based on the idea of the museum as a house of major works of art. In France as well, despite early developments, museums had fallen into a neglected state and from 1870 the French government was constantly reviewing and studying foreign museums, in particular those of Germany with whom it was in direct competition in most fields.

Despite the statements of alternative viewpoints of museums, as places of popular culture or of aesthetic richness, however, the instructional didactic role for museums would be restated.

Between the two World Wars, museum people devoted energy to the museum question through the vehicle of the Museums Association, agencies and government, although their concern was not matched by the establishment of a unified national museum policy nor of a marked increase in the parsimonious level of funding. Again, the main question addressed was the condition of museums and, in particular, ways to improve the educational role of museums brought to the fore by the 1902 Education Act. Museums were particularly vulnerable to criticism. The popular imagery of museums and the

¹⁴⁹C.J. Holmes, Notes on the Science of Picture Making

existence of poor unkempt museums, made them once again a target for reform. In addition, the artificial division of museums between scholarship and popular education was still in existence despite frequent theoretical syntheses, reinforced by the growing specialization of national, university and large provincial museum collections and staffs; museums were, thus, left vulnerable to the external criticisms of either poor scholarship or insufficient educational work, despite the multitude of discussions and attempts to raise the standards of both. Paul Marshal Rea in 1930 recognized two types of "museum enthusiasts":

The scholarly curatorial type, convinced that the world owes it support because of the supreme importance of what it is doing, and the educationally minded type, convinced that it has a social mission so evident that its worthiness of support is obvious. Both feel that it is for them as experts to decide what the museum shall do and how, and they often persist in what they believe to be right at the cost of great privation.¹⁵⁰

A synthesis of the two views had often been stated; nevertheless the idea of two opposite approaches remains and is re-stated at intervals. The question was whether scholarship could be treated separately from education or community services or vice versa. As Theodore L. Low was to write in 1942:

Some people might say that acquisition and preservation, scholarly study, and popular education are incompatible. That is far, far from the truth as they are all bound up in the same process and are so interrelated as to make one inseparable from the others. The difficulty is that museums have separated them in an artificial manner and have created jealousies which have resulted in the discord about which we have already spoken. Perhaps the most devastating result of this conflict (and universities are to blame as well as museums) has been that scholars have come to look with disdain on popular education and popular education has, in turn, come to decry the narrowminded, haughtiness of the scholars. The fact is that both pursuits are just as lofty, just as rewarding, just as difficult and both are dependent on the function of acquisition and preservation which supplies them with the objects to be used for their respective ends.¹⁵¹

In 1913 two presentations before the British Association for the Advancement of Science by Dr. Joseph Clubb (Liverpool) and A.R. Horwood

¹⁵⁰Paul Marshal Rea, The Museums and the Community, p.23.

¹⁵¹T. Low, The Museum as a Social Instrument (New York, 1942), p.20.

(Leicester) led to the formation of a Committee on Museums "to examine into and report on the character, work, and maintenance of museums, with a view to their organisation and development as institutions for education and research and especially to inquire into the requirements of schools."¹⁵²

Their investigations were interrupted by the war but a report was released in 1920 based on 134 replies to a questionnaire. The Committee tried to present a balanced view of education and research work in museums and recommended the development of school's work and educational grants but took up larger questions regarding museum effectiveness: labels, guides, tours, lectures, temporary exhibitions and the local museum. The Report promoted the museum as a research centre needing facilities for the researcher and advanced student; in addition, there should be a published list of the principal contents of all provincial museums and co-operation with universities to improve classical education and the humanities. There should be a national body of experts to offer assistance to local museums. The minimum annual costs of a museum should be at least £800 and salaries and acquisition budgets should be improved.

The Report of the Ministry of Reconstruction in 1919 created a crisis of identity for museums. E.E. Lowe of Leicester wrote a pointed analysis of the proposal. He believed that the committee had promoted personal education over museum work rather than for its own sake representing "that damaging utilitarian spirit" which threatens scientific and artistic progress."¹⁵³ The change in organization to report to County Education Councils would be a loss of status:

I think we may claim the work we have in hand to be of such importance as to deserve separate and distinct development of such a body to whom it shall be the main consideration. Rather than have the education

¹⁵² J. A. Clubb, "The Educational Uses of Museums," and A.R. Horwood, "The School and the Museum," in the Report of the 83rd Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science (1913), 743-44.

¹⁵³ E.E. Lowe, "The Transfer of Museums to the Education Authorities," Museums Journal 19 (January 1920), 107.

committee managing museums by co-opting people interested therein, let us have the existing museum committees co-opting persons interested in education.¹⁵⁴

Nor should a shift be justified by the fact that money would be more easily given for education than for museums. Although every museum should be educational, "it is not the primary function of a museum or a museum man to serve the purpose of education as we ordinarily understand it."¹⁵⁵ Lowe, like Gilman, was rejecting Dr. Brown Goode's idea of didactic education or the "teacher's view" in favour of the idea that "the special and peculiar characteristic of museums is that they collect and preserve specimens... primarily for their own intrinsic interest and value."¹⁵⁶

The Museums Association wrote a letter to the Board of Education urging them not to accept the proposals of the Interim Committee and supporting much of Lowe's philosophy. They appealed to the Committee to have the rate-limit removed and, importantly, "to obtain a further source of income from the State under conditions which could have the effect of promoting the development of museums without in any way limiting their initiative or individuality."¹⁵⁷ The aims and functions of museums must be understood in order of their importance:

1. To collect and preserve the works of nature and of man. This is their first and most important function - the technical and curatorial side of their work.
2. Having collected their objects, the latter must be studied. This is the research side of museum work, and the highest aim of a museum is the advancement of Science, Art, and Industry.

¹⁵⁴Ibid., p. 107.

¹⁵⁵Ibid., p. 106.

¹⁵⁶E.E. Lowe, "The Public Libraries Act of 1919 and its Effect on the Future Policy of Museums," Museums Journal 20 (October 1920), 83.

¹⁵⁷"Report of a Conference Between Representatives of the Board of Education and a Committee of the Museums Association on the Proposed Transfer of Museums to the Local Education Authorities," Museums Journal 19 (February 1920), 124-125.

3. Having collected objects and studied them, the museum makes the results available for the education of the public by the suitable arrangement, exhibition, and labelling of selected series of specimens. This is the educational side of museum work.¹⁵⁸

The latter is dependant on the first two. This was essentially H.R.

Singleton's argument in 1971 (p.18)

The discussion of the museum and the educational work of the community intensified in the inter-war era. W. Boyd Dawkins in "The Organisation of Museums and Picture Galleries in Manchester" described a scheme where museums and art galleries in a district would join with educational authorities and teaching institutions for educational purposes using the example of the Manchester Museum.¹⁵⁹ Sir Francis Ogilvie (Director of the Science Museum) wrote a report for Sheffield in 1919 on the museums of the city and methods for co-ordinating their work with that of other educational institutions. He recommended that the City have a central museum based on the major collections from all the others, with adequate accommodation and display space to be a "centre of reference to objects that bring home to people some of the great facts of nature and of the history of man on earth...."¹⁶⁰ For he believed:

The proper ultimate aim of the Council in the matter of museums provision is the development of the museum as a living element in the organisation of a large community.¹⁶¹

Lord Sudeley was still active and in 1920 reinforced the community concept of popular education in "The Public Utility of Museums" as did Sir Robert Witt in "The Public and the Museums" in 1926 and Sir Frederick Kenyon in "Museums and National Life" in 1927 while the Sudeley Committee took up

¹⁵⁸Ibid.

¹⁵⁹W. Boyd Dawkins, "The Organisation of Museums and Picture Galleries in Manchester," Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society (1918), p. 1-11.

¹⁶⁰Sir Francis Ogilvie, Report on the Sheffield City Museums, Board of Education, Educational Pamphlets, no. 34 (London, 1919), p. 23.

¹⁶¹Ibid., p. 23.

Sudeley's work after his death in 1922.¹⁶²

In 1926 the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust, following a suggestion that they look at supporting museums as they had for libraries, funded a Conference of local authorities on museums and education which proposed an inquiry into the function of municipal and other local museums as factors in education. Sir Henry Miers, a mineralogist, who was formerly employed at the British Museum (Natural History), and subsequently became Vice-Chancellor of the University of Manchester and a Trustee of the British Museum, was commissioned to prepare the report published in 1928 and became the leading museum man of the period.¹⁶³ Miers criticized the "haphazard" distribution of museums which existed with little regard for the needs of communities; he recommended that a museum be started in towns where there was none and that museums adopt a limited policy to provide the best service for their regions. Museums should be administered by a full-time qualified curator with an appropriate salary. Both educational authorities and research workers should be encouraged to utilize museums which should co-operate amongst themselves and develop one in each county as a country museum to exchange specimens and loans, circulate collections and provide lectures in rural areas; the Museums Association should be strengthened to assist in this.

Miers called for "a movement that will sweep away the conventional attitude towards museums and arouse widespread enthusiasm for them."¹⁶⁴

There were too many local museums that fit the following description:

In a certain museum - not by any means the worst - the following objects were all met in a single case 12" x 24": a Saxon brooch,

¹⁶² Lord Sudeley, "The Public Utility of Museums," Nineteenth Century and After (July 1920), Sir Robert Witt, "The Public and the Museums," Museums Journal (October 1926), 101-111 and Sir Frederick Kenyon, "Museums and National Life," Romanes Lecture (1927).

¹⁶³ Sir Henry Miers, A Report on the Museums of Great Britain (excluding the National Museums) (Edinburgh, 1928).

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 80.

a few feathers, several geological specimens and a couple of fossils. By the fireplace were two beautifully carved wooden stair heads; on the top of one reposed a Russian helmet and on the other a Roundhead casque. In the whole of the museum there were only a few labels, and some of these were almost illegible. It may be questioned whether such a museum, and there are many similar, serves any useful purpose whatever, and whether it should continue to exist.¹⁶⁵

The result was that:

The very word 'museum' excites quite the wrong impression in the minds of people... This is not surprising when one considers how dull many of them have become and how low the worst of them have sunk.¹⁶⁶

On the contrary, Miers indicated the museum should play a part in the community; it "should be one of the best-recognized forms of public service and should attract the enthusiastic support of the community."¹⁶⁷

A Royal Commission on National Museums and Galleries was appointed in 1927; the idea of a commission to study all museums was first suggested in 1905 by Spielmann and reiterated by Lord Sudeley and the Museums Journal.¹⁶⁸ Viscount d'Abernon, a trustee of the National Gallery, was appointed chairman and Sir Henry Miers a member. The mandate was to discuss the financial, housing, storage and organisational problems of the national museums although the study went far beyond this to interview members of the Museums Association and foreign museum personnel such as Laurence Vail Coleman of the United States and Edward Robinson, Director of the Metropolitan Museum. The final reports in 1929 and 1930 had many recommendations, one of which was the establishment of a standing commission on the national museums and galleries to co-ordinate their work and facilitate their relations with provincial museums. The Standing Commission was created in 1931 (now the Museums and Galleries Commission) and issued a series of reports. The 1930

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., pp. 39-40.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 80.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 80.

¹⁶⁸ "The Future Administration of the Fine Arts in England," Burlington Magazine 8 (1905-1906), 378 ; the Royal Commission was requested "to consider and secure the proper registration of works of art in private possession in England."

Report justified more expenditure on museums:

The development of the National Museums and Galleries has not kept pace with the growth of population and with educational needs. As compared with the development of and expenditure on other social services, the growth of these Institutions has been severely checked.¹⁶⁹

For the provincial museums, there needed to be an increase in grants-in-aid, assistance from the staffs of National Museums, loans of objects from National Collections and a general stimulation of public interest.

Education representatives seemed to have a one dimensional view of museums. The Association of Education Committees in 1929 in evidence to the Royal Commission said:

It is suggested that a large number of the existing Provincial museums and galleries are not fulfilling the proper purpose for which they were instituted. To obtain efficiency they may, like the Public Libraries, have to be brought into closer association with the Local Education Authorities. The criterion of the value of their usefulness to the community is mainly, if not wholly, education.¹⁷⁰

The Standing Commission suggested to the Board of Education that there be a report on the utilization of Museums and Galleries by Education Authorities and schools; the result was Museums and Education, 1931. Mostly a re-statement of information in the earlier reports, the document did claim:

...the word 'museum' is perhaps in part responsible for the present unsatisfactory state of affairs. Does it not suggest a depressing, decaying institution, the last resting place of travellers' mementos and of fossils which have undeservedly survived from ages long ago? The existing prejudice is deeply rooted in the tough soil of our

¹⁶⁹Royal Commission on National Museums and Galleries. The original motivation of the set up of the commission was to see that finances were being well spent and if there could be any retrenchments. The terms of reference were felt by one editor of the Museums Journal to show the usual tendency to regard the exhibitions of specimens as the only function of museums. This was probably true. "Royal Commission on Museums," Museums Journal 27 (August 1927), 166. Standing Commission on Museums, 1931. The members were Rt. Hon. Viscount d'Abernon, Evan Charteris, Sir Richard Tetley Glazebrook, Rt. Hon. Lord Hanworth, Earl of Harewood, Sir George MacDonald, Sir Henry Miers, Charles Reed Peir, Rt. Hon. Sir Philip Sasson, J.B. Beresford.

¹⁷⁰ "Memorandum of the Association of Educational Committees," Oral Evidence, Memoranda and Appendices to the First Report of the Royal Commission on National Museums and Galleries (London, 1929), p.254.

language and in the popular mind, but it would most surely be overcome if a generation of children were given systematic opportunities of enjoying treasures of modern museums.¹⁷¹

With this statement we are back at "the bird-coop of the Muses" idea expressed of Alexandrian Museum.

This circularity of ideas is reinforced by a quarrel that occurs in the pages of Museums Journal in 1935; it is nearly identical to earlier discussions between Jevons and S.G.P. in Nature. A Mr. Buckmaster had criticized the aesthetical display standards in the British Museum which brought a reaction by "two others":

But are such standards necessary to be imposed? Surely the British Museum can be judged only as a scientific institution having the aim of preserving for students the greatest possible amount of important material in the fields which it covers without any too great attention to effectiveness of display or obvious 'attractiveness'.¹⁷²

Local museums were a major topic from 1845 as already noted; the principle of concentration of the local museum on the surrounding district for its collections remained the essential feature of discussions, to which was added the idea of local or community involvement, especially of the children, in studying and collecting local specimens. Several writers had remarked on the condition of local museums in general discussion; then, the local museum became a specific target when George Payne addressed the Congress of Archaeological Societies hoping to convince them that they should approach various town corporations to rearrange poorer museums.¹⁷³ The aim of the local museum was not to be, in his opinion, to collect rare objects but typical series of the area; the rare material was to be sent to a central general collection. The model local museum should also have an industry and manufacture section as well as a separate area for pictures and works of art. Local museums should exchange specimens to develop their collections on local lines and attempt to popularize their work with local

¹⁷¹ Museums and the Schools (London, 1931), p.

¹⁷² Discussions in Museums Journal 35 (July 1935), 148 (August), 183, (Sept.), 244, (October) 284, (Nov.), 323.

¹⁷³ G. Payne, "Local Museums", Antiquar 27 (1893), 251-245.

people. In 1882 John Gray wrote an article on local museums while in 1894 a Conference of Delegate of the Corresponding Societies meeting at the British Association at Oxford spent one day on the subject of local museums.¹⁷⁴ William Flower, too, wrote on the local museum recommending that a section local antiquities and customs local natural history of zoology, botany, geology and a small typical collection for instruction make up such a museum.

Attention was focused on the local museum in the publications of the Museums Association but gradually interest in local natural history shifted to local history for which there were several terms, local antiquities, folk-life or 'bygones'. The Reverent Canon Hicks suggested in 1892 that the proper study of the museum is 'Man'.¹⁷⁵ The museums of natural history were not much more than museums of curiosity and that history and archaeology combined with historical groupings were important topics for the local museum.

The concern for the condition of local museums was expressed in the reports of Miers and Markham, while specific works were addressed to the topic. Thus, in 1919 T.W.Woodhead wrote on the arrangement of local museums while in 1932 H.A. Kennedy wrote "Notes on the Establishment and Conduct of Local Museums which later was printed as Local Museums.¹⁷⁶ These works followed on Laurence Vail Coleman's Manual for Small Museums, an influential American text read by British museum people and used as a text for the 1930 Training Course in London.

The principles of the local museum were challenged on a few occasions. Swainson questioned the validity of local collections on a scientific basis while Dr. Harmer of the British Museum(Natural History) pointed out that it was impossible to expect any local museum to be able to illustrate local flora and fauna, as no museum in the country had a complete representation of British fauna and no curator was specialized in regional studies to handle

¹⁷⁴ John Gray

¹⁷⁵ Reverend Canon Hicks, "Local Museums of Art and History", Proceedings of the Third Annual General Meeting of Museums Association, (1892), 46.

H.A.Kennedy, Local Museums: Notes on Their Building and Conduct, (London, 1938) and L.V.Coleman, Manual for Small Museums (New York, 1927).

the task. It was William White, of the Ruskin Museum, who challenged the principle of setting formulas for local museums for it was their individuality which should be groomed.¹⁷⁷ The extent of the acceptance of the local museum doctrine is a moot point; however, many museums applied the restrictive collections policies by drastically weeding out collections during the Inter-War Years as well as the Post-World War II period often loosing some significant ethnographical "curios". It is interesting to note that the same policy was not applied to the art collections.

Another topic that received much attention during the period was the need to establish certain types of museums to keep up with foreign progress or British needs. After the creation of the Open-Air Museum of Skansen, several people called for a similar type of establishment in Britain which they referred to as a Folk Museum, Open-Air Museums or other terms. In 1902, Hall-i-th'-Wood, in Bolton was set up as a folk museum; it was really a period house museum furnished to represent a yeoman's house in the seventeenth or eighteenth century with an additional twenty-three acres of land for the eventual allocation of historic buildings. There were no cabinets or labels but items were in open display.

One must disagree with A.F.Chadwick's claim that "museums had not appeared as institutions central to the well-being of society"; for over 100 years the rhetoric of legislators, benefactors and museum thinkers have reiterated the roles of the museum integral to British society. Nevertheless, the museum in Britain has had limited success; there have been three problems. First, ideas of reform in the museum system could be stated, argued but seldom implemented. There was no mechanism, not it seemed will, to implement universal reform in the museum system until the 1960's. Secondly, the lack of funding countered the effects of reform or museum philosophy as

¹⁷⁷Sidney Frederic Harmer, "Address by the President," Museums Journal (July, 1904),³ and William White, "The Individuality of Museums," Report of the Proceedings of the Ninth Annual General Meeting of the Museums Association (1898), 113-128.

under-supported museums continued to be created , thus, contributing to the imagery of the 'musty dusty museum'. Thirdly, and perhaps most fundamentally, the lack of clarity of purpose about museums , partly because, of its complex origins, created an impression of inertia and made the museum vulnerable to the external pressures of scholars, educators and politicians to be reformed in their image. The museum thinkers were plagued by the dichotomy of the museums existence, whether it was a research repository or active educational agent; despite attempts to resolve the ambiguities, the original tensions would reappear once more. Furthermore, the development of specialization in the larger museums, without socialization and education for museum work, led to growing isolation instead of creating a need for professional unity.

It is meaningful that in a 1983 issue of Museum a familiar discussion on the role of museums occurred between Sir Roy Strong and James Porter. Strong argued that although a museum should be a communicator "...foremost, it is a place that selects and collects the finest, moving from a premise of high scholarship and knowledge" while Porter argues that this orientation is inappropriate for the majority of museums for "it is the sharing that represents its (the museum's) particular function and which legitimizes the appointment of the staff, the maintenance of the building and the continuity of the activity of the museum as collector, preserver and communicator." ¹⁷⁸ Apparently the discussions about museums will continue to be set in opposition.

¹⁷⁸ Sir Roy Strong, "The Museum as Communicator," and James Porter, "A Rejoinder", Museum XXXV (1983), 75-82.

CHAPTER NINE

THE MUSEOLOGICAL TRADITION AT WORK ("HOW THOUGHT CIRCULATED")
THE EXPERIENCE OF THE VISITOR

The reflection on the relationship between the museums and the public is by no means new but as old as, and even older than the public museum itself, and can be regarded as one of the central themes of the social history of the museum that has yet to be written.

- Manfred Eisenbeis¹

Under the heading of "How Thought Circulates?" an editor of the Museums Journal in 1905 discussed a notice in an English newspaper reporting on a visit by the director of the London County Council's Horniman Museum, A.C. Haddon, to New York. Haddon was impressed by the Museum of Natural History's small nature-study collections provided for elementary schools and proceeded to study the methods and materials used "with a view to providing similar collections for the elementary schools of the metropolis" of London. The editor commented on Mr. Haddon's "discovery":

Considering that circulating school museum cabinets were adopted in Liverpool more than thirty years ago, and that they have been in operation ever since, while Sheffield for twenty years has carried out similar work from its museum, Dr. Haddon is to be congratulated on the originality of the idea he brought from America. Possibly if he referred to the first Report issued by the Museums Association in 1890 he would find some information on the subject, which might be increased by a reference to later Reports and to the Museums Journal.²

This is only one of multiple examples of corrections to inaccurate claims in museum literature suggesting the tendency to accept a fictional vision of the origin of museum ideas and techniques as part of the ritual of the museum reformer who declaims what has gone before, although he might not actually be familiar with it, in order to establish the basis for his own platform. The result is a confused vision of museums, a lack of clarity of the substance of museums, and an inability to control the ideas and the evolution of the conceptual basis of the field. Another product is the statement of extremes as paradoxical opinions are constantly expressed in the occupational tradition.

¹Manfred Eisenbeis, "Elements for a Sociology of Museums," Museum 24 (1972), 111.

²"How Thought Circulates?" Museums Journal 5 (March 1905), 327.

A major dichotomy in the debate on museums is whether they exist to house and protect objects for science or posterity or whether they exist to be used by the general public or specific groups. A false dichotomy or not, the issue has preoccupied critics and museum personnel alike throughout the modern museum period. The argument remains essentially the same as Arthur Deane stated in 1948:

The aims of the earliest promoters of Museums in this country, as elsewhere, ran constantly on the lines of conservation and education. The ideals of all Museum management on these two aspects of its organization, that is of conserving and education, is very high, but there is a narrow margin between the two.³

With the term "museum education" etymological problems abound; sometimes the term is used to refer broadly to any activity related to the interaction of the museum and its visitors, actual or potential, including display, architecture, special programmes. Often, however "museum education" is equated with formal programmes of instruction usually for children in school groups; a museum "educator," then, is a museum teacher. As programmes for children in museums in Britain were virtually non-existent before the 1880's except in school museums, it might be assumed, if the above definition is accepted, that museums were not educational before that period. The educational role of museums, nevertheless, pre-dates the present notion of school services and was focused on education for adults, artisans, scholars, students or the general public. The earlier idea of the museum as an educating location was, then, abridged in the push for the formal education for children in Britain after the Education Acts of 1870 and 1902. This chapter is concerned with the ideas and activities of museums and their public in the broadest sense.

There is indeed a confusing historical picture of opinions about the state of education in British museums; Kenneth Hudson, for example, contends that the idea that people could educate themselves and that the business of public bodies was to provide opportunities for this to take place

³Arthur Deane, "The Uses of Museums and Art Galleries," Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society, vol. 3, Part 4, Second Series (1948-1949), p. 213.

was, "in general, more typical of America than of Europe during the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries."⁴ The opinion of American primacy in education has often been expressed by museum people in America and re-iterated by British and European critics. As early as 1917 Margaret Jackson argued that the educational aspect of museum work was distinctly American:

Here in America a museum is regarded as a part of the educational system, and the great contribution that we have made to the development of museum science has been the addition to the duties of the museum official of the important work of teaching Art, not only to those who know they are interested, but to the school children and others who may be induced to take an interest.⁵

Laurence Vail Coleman distinguished American from European museums as collections to raise the public's level of culture and knowledge;⁶ many museum authors have agreed.⁷ Alma Wittlin has been one of the main contributors to the idea of American primacy:

On the whole the European Museum is an ill-adjusted and in many cases a functionless institution. This fact is revealed both by the attitude to museums of the public which is in fact supposed to benefit from them, and by the views of experts. The public is indifferent to museums.⁸

Of course, Europe is not necessarily Britain but Wittlin also states that although a few British museums offered special exhibits for children,

⁴Kenneth Hudson, The Social History of Museums (London, 1975), p. 59.

⁵Margaret Jackson, The Museum (New York, 1917), pp. 3-4.

⁶Laurence Vail Coleman, "Evidence," Royal Commission on National Museums and Galleries, Oral Evidence, Memoranda and Appendices to the Interim Report (London, 1928), pp. 77-84.

⁷Other authors have been: T.R. Adam, The Museums and Popular Culture (New York, 1939); Grace Fisher Ramsey, Educational Work in Museums of the United States (New York, 1938), pp. 1-4; Theodore Low, The Educational Philosophy and Practice of Art Museums in the United States (New York, 1948); S. Dillon Ripley, The Sacred Grove (Washington, 1969); Edward T. Alexander, Museums in Motion (Nashville, 1979); Nathaniel Burt, Palaces for the People, A Social History of the American Art Museum (Boston, 1977).

⁸Alma Wittlin, The Museum, Its History and Its Task in Education (London, 1949), pp. xiii-xiv.

"they were all modest if compared with the vigorous activities in the United States, where education was considered a primary function of public museums."⁹ Many British writers have accepted this view of American primacy in education beginning with E.E. Lowe who in 1928 wrote:

In recent years there has been a growth of interest in the museum question, and many American museums have developed in scale, attractiveness and public services to a degree not reached in Britain except by national institutions.¹⁰

This opinion has been often repeated, for example, by A.F. Chadwick in his 1980 work:

There was a basic difference between the Old and the New World with regard to change. Europeans generally did not react to or want change, whilst Americans saw it as a possible way of improving their lives.¹¹

It is intriguing that in 1888 Thomas Greenwood did not agree:

...the general verdict of opinion respecting American educational matters is that they are considerably in advance of us...but in Art Galleries, Museums, Schools of Art, and technical education England is in advance of our enterprising cousins....¹²

George Brown Goode, head of the Smithsonian, looked to Britain as a model in education:

Under the wise administration of the South Kensington staff, a great system of educational museums has been developed all through the United Kingdom...There are now over one hundred and fifty museums in the United Kingdom, all active and usefull....¹³

The question to be answered, then, is to what degree was the public considered in British museums between 1845 and 1945. In fact, the belief in the educational role of the museum was an early axiom of museum thinking as previously discussed. The opinion of Sir Henry Miers "that it is only

⁹Alma Wittlin, Museums: In Search of a Useable Future (Cambridge, Mass., 1970), p. 142.

¹⁰E.E. Lowe, A Report on American Museum Work (Edinburgh, 1928), p. 11.

¹¹A.F. Chadwick, The Role of the Museum and Art Gallery in the Community (Nottingham, 1980), p. 8.

¹²Thomas Greenwood, Museums and Art Galleries (London, 1888), p. 309.

¹³G.B. Goode, "Museum History and Museums of History," Annual Report of the United States National Museum, Part 2 (1897), p. 71.

necessary to stir the public imagination and they (museums) can easily be made one of the great educational forces in the country" was typical.¹⁴

Still, although an accepted premise for most museum workers, education was identified in different ways. For some the museum was a place of instruction or training for the artist, scientist or scholar; this focus was then extended to the general public. For others, the museum was a place of exploration. Thus, education remains ambiguously perched between broad education and specialized instruction, and between the provision of simple, passive exposure to collections and active, formal, didactic efforts related to formal educational institutions.

The Visitor

Throughout the period in question the various parliamentary reports and articles by museum staff and critics reveal the extent to which the museum was viewed as an educational agency. There is ample evidence of initiatives to liberalize access to museums, to provide public services such as lectures, guides, publications, advertising, public comfort, consideration for the handicapped, as well as audio-visual, film and radio support. From the 1830's on the number of visitors to museums was linked to the ease of access, facilities and display by such reformers as D. Chadwick and Thomas Greenwood.¹⁵ The concerns of the reformers were paralleled by a dramatic increase in the number of visitors to museums that would be difficult to match in later years.

For example, the number of visitors to the British Museum increased dramatically from 11,989 in 1805-6 to 230,000 in 1835 after the new building was opened and the visiting rules liberalized.¹⁶ The number of visitors at

¹⁴Sir Henry Miers, "Museums and Education," The Journal of the Society of Arts (February 1929), 19.

¹⁵D. Chadwick, Free Public Libraries and Museums, Their Usefulness in the Promotion of the Education of the Working Class (Salford, 1857) and T. Greenwood, Museums and Art Galleries (London, 1888).

¹⁶These statistics were prepared from various reports in the Parliamentary Papers (Commons).

the National Gallery increased from 60,321 in 1830 to 503,000 in 1840, after the completion of the new building although only four rooms were open. By 1856, the number of visitors to the British Museum was up to 334,000 with opening hours of 10 to 4 (10 to 6 in winter) Monday, Wednesday, and Friday. At this time, records of provincial museums with more liberal opening hours revealed high proportional attendance; there were in 1856 123,000 visitors at the Derby Free Museum, Liverpool and 580,000 to the Royal Free Museum at Salford which was open 10 a.m. to dusk (not Sundays) the whole year round.¹⁷ By 1858, the three major national museums in London were experiencing high numbers of visitors: the British Museum, 517,895, the National Gallery, 1,000,000 and South Kensington, 475,365.¹⁸ South Kensington reached the height of its popularity in the next decade when the number of visitors was up to 1,000,000 in 1869 although the numbers quickly dropped after 1887; one suggestion was that the crowding caused by the quantity of new collections and lack of space made any visit fatiguing.¹⁹

The degree of popularity of museums during the nineteenth century might be explained by the existence of the feeling that the municipal public museums, at least in the provinces, were a 'new' phenomenon which brought in a curious population until attracted to newer forms of recreation

¹⁷D. Chadwick, Free Public Libraries and Museums, p. 17. The attendance at Liverpool was high despite the location of the collection in the Union News Room at the back of the Free Public Library until the museum and library building opened in 1860. By 1887, the common hours of opening for provincial museums were from 10 to dusk or 10 to 8 if there was gas lighting while Canterbury had the longest hours from 9 a.m. to 10 p.m. "Report upon the Provincial Museums of the United Kingdom," British Association for the Advancement of Science (1887), p.119

¹⁸"Report ...British Museum", (1860). By 1953 in comparison, figures were National Gallery, 900,000, Victoria and Albert, 835,000, Science Museum 1,000,000, Tate Gallery, 500,000, Museums Journal 54(May 1954), 43.

¹⁹Thomas Greenwood, Museums and Galleries, p. 248. At the British Museum the Principal Librarian, E.A. Bond, had the museum opened after 1879 daily except Sundays although certain galleries were closed on alternate days; the results were a significant rise in visitor numbers from 573,319 in 1875 to 767,402 in 1882. E. Miller, That Noble Cabinet, pp. 256-257.

such as the music hall or cinema. Further, the extent of interest in natural philosophy and the debates leading up to the Darwinian controversy stimulated great interest in museums. Thus, in provincial towns the annual attendance figures were often higher than the total local population; visitors were often on train excursions as at Liverpool where parties arrived from Birmingham, Leeds, Nottingham, Sheffield and the cotton towns of Lancashire.²⁰

Perhaps more important was the acceptance of the merit of a visit to the museum as a suitably improving recreation for the moralistic Victorians as was again revealed in heated debates on the subject of Sunday openings and extended hours. The Lord's Day Defence Association (Non-Conformist) wanted adherence to the scripture while the Lord's Day Rest Association believed a seven day working week would follow if institutions were opened on Sundays. The National Sunday League, on the other hand, viewed Sunday recreations as a balance for excessive drinking. Thomas Greenwood supported Sunday openings and provided examples of success: Birmingham not only had Sunday openings but Monday, Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday opening from 9 a.m. to 9 p.m. while Bethnal Green was open Monday, Thursday, Saturday from 10 to 10, on Tuesday and Friday 10 to 6 and on Wednesday 10 to 6 with a sixpence entrance fee.²¹ In 1888 Northampton tried an experiment opening the Museum and Reading Room on Sundays from 2 to 9 for six months with the overwhelming results of 2,000 visitors per afternoon.

In 1860 a memorial signed by leading men such as Thackeray, Dickens, Mill, Owen, Babbage was conveyed to the Queen in support of Sunday openings. In 1874 the M.P. from Brighton, P.A. Taylor, presented a petition signed by 200 clergymen and ministers and proposed a motion in Parliament which was voted down by an overwhelming majority:

²⁰Molly Pearce, Museums in Three Industrial Cities, 1845-1900 (Museums Association Diploma Thesis, London, 1968), p. 8.

²¹Thomas Greenwood, Museums and Galleries, Chapter XI, pp. 196-209. The British Museum had Sunday openings after 1896, Maidstone 1878-81, Chester 1884, Salford 1888.

That in the opinion of this House it is desirable to give greater facilities for recreation of a moral and intellectual character, by permitting the opening of museums, libraries, and similar institutions on Sundays.²²

Taylor provided evidence that Hampton Court and Greenwich Hospital picture galleries, Kew, Brighton Aquarium, Glasnevin Botanical Garden, the national museums and square in Dublin, the Library and Art Gallery at Birmingham (1871), Bethnal Green and Manchester were open on Sundays.²³ In 1877 Taylor introduced another motion at last with success.

Thus by 1890 when James W. Davies wrote "The Sunday Opening of Public Libraries, Art Galleries and Museums" he could refer to eighteen or twenty public institutions open on Sundays many of which reported large attendances.²⁴ In 1901, the Museums Journal reported the end of the first decade since the Sunday Society began to record the number of visitors on Sunday to national and municipal collections: London averaged 8,500; Dublin, 5,000; Edinburgh, 2,100 per Sunday.²⁵ Still, picture galleries in London remained closed on Sundays in winter.

Evening openings also were studied. Liverpool tried evening openings. South Kensington Museum had 30% of its visitors in the evening while Bethnal Green 50% of the visitors came during the three open evenings.²⁶ Edinburgh was open free from 10 to 10 Monday, Wednesday and Friday but for sixpence on the other days with the result that the largest attendance was in the evenings.

²²P.A. Taylor, Opening of Museums, Libraries, etc. on Sundays. Speech of Mr. P.A. Taylor, M.P. in the House of Commons (London, 1877), p. 3.

²³Ibid., pp. 36-55.

²⁴James W. Davies, "The Sunday Opening of Public Libraries, Art Galleries and Museums," Westminster Review 134 (1890), 9-18.

²⁵"Museum Sunday," Museums Journal (December 1901)1, 178.

²⁶"Report of the Secretary of the Working-Men's Lord's Day Rest Association," The Times (2 November 1883) as cited in Kenneth Hudson, The Social History of Museums, p. 70.

Around 1910 there was a general decrease in the number of visitors as noted by museum writers who offered explanations such as the competition of the cinema. The attendance of the Birmingham Museum over nearly one hundred years of operation reveals the changing patterns: 1885-1,165,666, 1891-738,875, 1900-493,837, 1976-571,356, 1978-947,715.²⁷ Similarly the number of visitors recorded at the British Museum in 1851, the year of the Great Exhibition, was only surpassed in 1924 when the attendance went to 1,181,242.²⁸ Whether caused by changing leisure patterns, growing scholarly preoccupations offered in the displays or the fundamental process of the aging of museums and their exhibits, the condition of museums and various remedies were discussed by museum personnel at great length. Solutions varied from increasing the educational value of collections by modernising displays to adding services for students such as special exhibitions or services for the public such as lectures, books, branch museums. The British Museum's attendance it was noted rose in 1913 when the new guide lecture series began. Leicester with a population of 227,000 in 1913 had 334,000 visitors or one-half more than its population; this increase was attributed to building alterations and a special loan exhibition of Impressionist Pictures.²⁹

Despite this awareness of requirements for greater access, many smaller museums still operated with limited hours as at Boston, in Lincolnshire where the Museum opened in 1927 from 2 to 4 on weekdays for only ten hours a week.³⁰ Many museums also originally prohibited unaccompanied visits by children; in 1934, Leeds lifted this regulation and was said to be one of the last to do so.

²⁷ Annual Reports, Birmingham Museum and Art Galleries.

²⁸ Museums Journal 25 (September 1925), 102.

²⁹ Address by Lord Sudeley on the Public Utility of Museums, Picture Galleries, and Botanical Gardens, more especially in relation to Education with comments from the Press (London, 1914).

³⁰ Museums Journal 27 (July 1927), 29.

Admission fees were another factor considered to affect attendance. J.E. Gray discussed admission fees in 1837 describing the practice at Newcastle-on-Tyne which gave free access to the museum; tickets were given to different local factories for each night opening yet not one specimen was lost.³¹ Gray recommended similar trials at other museums. By 1886 according to the Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science there were a variety of practices:

Museums Free to the Public Daily	84
Museums Free to the Public Certain Days	15
Museums Charging Fees Daily 1d. to 1s.	46
Museums Charging Fees Certain Days	8
Museums Free on Special Order	31
Museums Open on Sunday	4
Museums Receiving Loans from South Kensington	19 ³²

The Manchester City Art Gallery experimented with admission fees to the annual Spring Water-Colour Exhibition. In 1902 when the charge was sixpence the number of visitors was 1,625; the next year when the fee was dropped, the visitation went to 29,880.³³ There was no drop in income, however, as the sale of more catalogues made up the difference.

Despite a Select Committee on the Museums of the Science and Art Department in 1890 which considered "that admission to all museums be always free," pay days operated at the Victoria and Albert Museums; on three days a week sixpence was charged. In 1921 the National, Tate and Wallace Galleries accepted the Treasury plan to make the National Museums earn their grants. The National Gallery added two pay days totalling four pay days out of six and one-half with a resulting fall in numbers but an increase of £2,400 was added to the purchase grant.

Thus, the fight for visitors has had a long history but not without some criticism and caution. Apparently many museums lacked turnstiles and

³¹J.E. Gray, "Free Admission of the Public to Museums," Penny Magazine (4 February 1837), pp. 46-47.

³²"Report upon the Provincial Museums of the United Kingdom," British Association for the Advancement of Science (1887), p. 115.

³³Museums Journal 22 (August 1902), 69.

the visitor statistics were based on daily guesswork and could be high or low. Stanley Jevons had cautioned in 1883:

...at the South Kensington Art Museum they make a great point of setting up turnstiles to record the precise numbers of visitors, and they can tell you to a unit the exact amount of civilising effect produced in any day, week, month, or year. But these turnstiles hardly take account of the fact that the neighbouring wealthy residents are in the habit, on a wet day, of packing their children off in a cab to the so-called Brompton Boilers, in order that they may have a good run through the Galleries....³⁴

But the question still remains as to who these visitors were and what transpired during their visits to the museums. This concern, too, was a constant preoccupation of their contemporaries. According to Sir Henry Ellis the idea of opening the museum after 4 p.m. should have been rejected as "the most mischievous portion of the population is abroad and about at such a time" and might come into the Museum:

People of a higher grade would hardly wish to come to the Museum at the same time with sailors from the dock-yards and girls whom they might bring with them. I do not think such people would gain any improvement from the sight of our collections.³⁵

Fortunately, there was not much agreement with Ellis. George Samouelle lauded the behaviour of the visitors:

...the ignorant are brought into awe by what they see about them and the better informed know how to conduct themselves. We have common policemen, soldiers, sailors, artillerymen, livery-servants, and of course, occasionally mechanics; but their good conduct I am very much pleased to see, and I think the Exhibition at the Museum will have a vast influence on the national character of Englishmen in general.³⁶

The Report on the British Museum in 1836 recommended more liberal opening hours which were extended from 10 to 7 on public days during the summer and on holidays. The results were satisfactory as between 16,000 and 32,000 persons passed through the museum in one day without problems although the exclusion of children under eight and no ladies room had caused incon-

³⁴Museums Journal 1 (February 1901), 216 and W. Stanley Jevons, "The Use and Abuse of Museums," Methods of Social Reform (London, 1883), p. 55.

³⁵Parliamentary Papers (Commons), "Report from the Select Committee of the British Museum" (1835), Sir Henry Ellis, "Evidence," para. 1323

³⁶George Samouelle, "Evidence," para. 3916.

venience.³⁷ A special Select Committee on National Monuments and Works of Art in 1841 followed to study the affects of visiting national monuments and museums, longer opening hours, Sunday visits, and catalogues. J.E. Gray reported that visitors to the British Museum were better behaved and were allowed more liberty than museums on the continent where museums often had police guard. In Vienna, one could only go with a guide and in Munich there was only a one-way controlled route.³⁸

According to other evidence, Queen Victoria had ordered twenty-nine rooms at Hampton Court to be opened in 1838 gratis without the voluntary donation to the housekeeper of the earlier period. The results were "the lower class: they come in vans; sometimes...60, 70 and 80 vans in a day, each van containing nearly 30 persons although some men coming in tipsy and being sick."³⁹ At the National Gallery, the "lower classes" were reported in attendance:

...you see now a great number of poor mechanics there, sitting wondering and marvelling over those fine works, and having no other feeling but that of pleasure or astonishment; they have no notion of destroying them; I was very much delighted to see them.⁴⁰

Subsequently, the Art Journal of 1853 commented on the numbers in the British Museum:

That there is a most intense desire to learn, is proved by the numbers which crowd the galleries of the British Museum. We may be told this is idle curiosity, and that but little good results from the visits which the thousands pay to our national collection...but nevertheless, every visit of each man, woman, and child is a fact in proof of the innate longing of the mind to gather information.⁴¹

³⁷Parliamentary Papers (Commons), "Report from the Select Committee on National Monuments and Works of Art," (June 1841), para. 3102, 3147.

³⁸Parliamentary Papers (Commons), "Select Committee on National Monuments," (1841), J.E. Gray, "Evidence," para. 3130

³⁹Report, p. 125.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 91.

⁴¹Art Journal (1853), p. 282.

Several studies of visitors were also conducted. In September 1859 Sir Henry Cole had forms prepared for visitors to fill in; he found that of the 1,530 who replied, 402 were from the provinces, 71 foreigners, 201 from beyond six miles, 87 from five to one mile and 114 from within one mile. Further, opening hours clearly affected attendance; in 1857 the museum was open three mornings free to the public (100,633); two evenings (138,802); three mornings (19,744); one evening for study (9,112). Monday free evenings had many working people, husbands, wives and children in "festian jackets and clean collars."⁴² They had even opened a beer shop which was used within the bounds of temperance. Cole reported that he once asked some artisans if they had ever gone to the National Gallery; of 1,660 only 137 had been. He believed an evening opening would change that.

Similar concern for visitors to the British Museum was expressed to the Select Committee on the British Museum in 1860; the natural history collections were believed to be most popular with the working classes. Evidence reported on numerous working class scientific societies such as a Manchester group which met and exhibited collections in natural history which they had made. J.E. Gray recorded that there were two or three such groups in London, as well as Oxford, Cambridge and that the Entomological Annual listed 1,200 provincial entomologists alone. About fifteen people of the lower classes would visit the study collections a day; 200 to 300 collectors lived near the British Museum.⁴³ The suggestion made by several witnesses was that the study of natural history could be followed without large expenditure and was thus popular with the working classes whereas the study of art required education and income to pursue.

Several witnesses claimed that most visitors went to see the natural history collections. Antonio Panizzi, the Principal Librarian of the

⁴² Parliamentary Papers (Commons), "Report of the Select Committee on Public Institutions," (1860), pp. 9, 11, 21 and Sir Henry Cole, "Evidence." p.11

⁴³ J.E. Gray, "Evidence," "Report of the Select Committee on British Museums, etc.," (1860). Evidence. Para. 3130.

British Museum, doubted this fact and set out to conduct a test. Unknown to the Committee he had the warders conduct a count for a month. On sixteen days at different times each day the warders would simultaneously note the number of visitors in each section. Repeatedly the statistics showed that there were about 7% more visitors in the art and antiquities and library sections than in the natural history departments.⁴⁴ This is a very early visitor study.

Higgins at Liverpool was in the habit over thirty years of spending several hours on different occasions each week in display areas to observe the visitors who averaged 2,000 per day during the four open days in the week; his explanation was:

I have long been convinced that a series of observations on the constituents of this irregular procession of visitors combined with overtures suitable for inducing them to make remarks on the objects exhibited - in a word, the application of the inductive method to the examination of human elements in transitu through a museum - might lead to much valuable information.⁴⁵

He was able to measure the popularity of the museum versus the gallery finding a higher daily attendance at the museum where the general public were particularly attracted by the invertebrates in the table-cases.

Visitors were one of three "classes" - "Students, Observers, Loungers"; there were also foreigners. The students were "all those who come with a definite purpose of improving their knowledge of natural production; "observers" were those "who are not conscious of any purpose beyond a wish to see the Museum, but who fix their attention with more or less intelligence on the objects displayed...."; the "loungers," including children, need to be studied and encouraged.⁴⁶ In every 1,000 there would be 10 to 20 students, 780 observers, and 200 loungers. Based on these

⁴⁴Parliamentary Papers (Commons), "Report of the Select Committee on British Museums," (1860), Antonio Panizzi, "Evidence."

⁴⁵Reverend Henry Higgins, "Museums of Natural History," Proceedings of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool, 73rd Section (1883-84), p. 188.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 786.

findings, Higgins published the Museum Memorandum Book with plans of the main features of the Natural History Department with space to write about the visit and sold them for one penny plus pencils for a half penny.

David Murray in 1904 continued the analysis of types of visitors. Most of the visitors were not in classes or society groups but units whether students who come with a specific aim, beginners, or, the largest group, those with no particular purpose. What all had in common was "to know what the object is they are looking at, and to have some general information about it."⁴⁷ Eric MacLagan, the Director of the Victoria and Albert Museum, pursued the same topic in Muséographie (1934) acknowledging that "visitors to Museums are actuated by very varying motives; and that this applies to the serious visitors as well as to the mere stroller who will not and cannot complain of what particular objects he is shown."⁴⁸

Dr. C. Hay Murray of Liverpool conducted one of the most interesting studies as reported in 1931; in order to find out how many visitors left the museum without any more information than when they entered he first talked to individual visitors. Then, he had an attendant note the number of people in parties, their times of entry and exit as well as the day and weather. Next, he calculated the length of the visit compared to the basic walking time around the museum which was twelve minutes; the result he called "the value factor" of the museum.⁴⁹ He conducted the same experiment some time later when renovations were going on and fewer rooms were on display to discover that the value factor had increased. Dr. Murray

⁴⁷David Murray, Museums: Their History and Their Use (Glasgow, 1904), p. 262.

⁴⁸Eric MacLagan, "Different Methods of Presenting Collections," English Translation, Report No. 7 in Museographie, Architecture et Aménagement Des Musees D'Art, Madrid Conference 1934, International Museums (Paris, 1934), p. 5.

⁴⁹C. Hay Murray, "How to Estimate a Museum's Value," Museums Journal 31 (March 1932), 527-530. The work of Arthur Melton in the United States was reported in Museums Journal 33 (April 1933), 11. Arthur Melton, "Some Behaviour Characteristics of Museum Visitors," Psychological Bulletin 30 (1933), 720.

attributed this to the display improvements that he and Trevor Thomas had initiated in the museum: the reduction of the number of objects in cases and the weeding out of curios; the use of colour more creatively with case backgrounds now designed not uniformly but to set off or harmonize with the particular object on display. He called for other museums to carry out similar experiments; however, no responses were recorded. In fact, one curator asked how to use the findings to get rid of undesirables on Saturdays when the weather was poor. It is difficult to detect if Murray's work was influenced by the major developments in the United States which were also reported in Museums Journal.

Thus, museum writers in Britain have been preoccupied with their visitors. Thomas Greenwood was aware of "museum drunkenness" and recommended in "Museum Memoranda, Useful Rules to Keep in Mind on Visiting a Museum" ways of coping in a visit.⁵⁰ In 1914 Arthur Deane of the Belfast Museum referred to "Museum Headache," a "little understood condition caused by straining the muscles of the eyes caused by superimposing the reflected images in a different focal plane from that of the specimens."⁵¹ Despite the recurring interest in museums and their visitors and some attempts at scientific studies of the visiting phenomenon, there has been no consolidated study based on the earlier attempts. More importantly, the earlier studies are not known to most museum people so Kenneth Hudson could claim that no study had been done on visitors in British Museums.⁵² Although this was not true, the fact that the earlier studies were not known had the same effect.

⁵⁰ Thomas Greenwood, Museums and Galleries, p. 29.

⁵¹ Arthur Deane, "Museum Headache," Museums Journal 14 (September 1914), 117 plus discussions in subsequent issues.

⁵² Kenneth Hudson, A Social History of Museums, p. 7. See especially the theses on the educational effects of the Science Museum done in the 1950's at the University of London. Appendix I.

Public Activities

There were also many attempts to enrich the visit to the museum using lectures, publications, and other programmes. E.E. Howarth in Museums Journal in 1915 attributed the origin of guide lecturers to Chicago where a separate guide was set up especially for the teachers of the city although after a short time the guide was replaced by regular staff.⁵³ The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, under Benjamin Ives Gilman started a guide or "docent" programme in 1907 which was followed by the American Museum of Natural History, the Metropolitan Museum of Art and others. In fact, lectures were an early practice adopted from the societies and Mechanic's Institutes. Ipswich tried lectures in 1849 and Leicester had Saturday lectures as early as 1850.⁵⁴ The Hunterian Museum, the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons, the Edinburgh Museum, the Museum of Practical Geology, like the Museum of Natural History in Paris and other continental museums, had lecture programmes as part of educational programmes. Ruskin and his Curator acted as guide-lecturers in the St. George's Museum, Sheffield. Private museum owners or the staff of one person run institutions often acted as guides as did Sloane and William Clift. When similar lectures were recommended for the British Museum, however, the 1850 Parliamentary Commission rejected the idea on the basis that they were not part of the mandate of the museum.

Guided lectures were a slightly different phenomenon; these were given at a scheduled time in the exhibition galleries or pre-arranged at the request of special parties. The idea was discussed in 1873 in a letter to The Times by Mr. Hodson Pratt, of the Working Men's Club and Institute Union, who suggested that scholars guide working men:

⁵³E.E. Howarth, "The Museum and the School," Museums Journal 14 (March 1915), 280.

⁵⁴T.A. Walden, "Address by the President," Transactions of the Leicester Literary and Philosophical Society 44 (1959-60), 9.

From these visits, numbers of artisans have received some general ideas as to the purpose of these several collections, and as to the general scope and value of the branches of knowledge which they represent. In many cases, doubtless, men have thus for the first time been impressed with a sense of the deep interest attached to the pursuit of some department of scientific study, and with a desire to follow up the enquiry to the great advantage alike of the individual student and of the community to which he belongs.⁵⁵

Greenwood recorded that lectures were held in the British Museum, the British Museum of Natural History, Oxford University Extension Lectures, Leeds and Liverpool.⁵⁶ Liverpool had evening openings from 7 to 10 one night a week from October 1 to March 31 from 1863 to 1871; a large number of young people gathered in groups preventing other visitors from seeing the museum. So thirty minute popular lectures on selected specimens were revived and given on Monday evenings in the public rooms so that the visitors would be near the objects; the intention was to encourage working people to focus on parts of the collections. As Higgins said:

It is hardly to be expected that working men and working women will finish the labours of their day by entering upon a toilsome kind of study of the multifarious objects collected in a Museum.⁵⁷

There were about 309 in attendance although under the crowded conditions only a dozen could see the objects. Eventually Liverpool built a lecture theatre (although Birmingham or Manchester did not have one) and organized a lecture programme during the winter. Lectures presented to an average of over 1,000 visitors were on the latest scientific topics, the latest acquisitions of the museums based in at least one instance on the latest Assyrian discoveries, specific problems of the working people "Modern Progress," "Never Dispair," "Prison Characters and Pictures of Perverted

⁵⁵Mr. Hodson Pratt, "Letter to The Times," The Times (1873) cited by Kenneth Hudson, A Social History of Museums, p. 62.

⁵⁶Thomas Greenwood, Museums and Galleries, Chapter XIII, p. 210.

⁵⁷Richard Paden, "Winter Evening Lectures in Museums," Proceedings of the First Annual General Meeting (1890), p. 95. Six lectures were given on Vertebrates, seven on Invertebrates, two on Osteological subjects, five on Geology and Mineralogy, six on Antiquities, etc. Lectures were given by Higgins, the Curator, T. Moore and other staff, and members of Scientific Societies and the University (p. 97).

Life," "Disinfectants and Their Action," "Thrift and Thriftlessness," and "Men who have got on and the lessons they teach." In 1907, lectures were added on "Bygone Liverpool."⁵⁸

By the turn of the century, lectures had become a common feature in museums. For example, Benjamin Lomax of Brighton gave weekly lectures (1893); at Bootle nine museum lectures and a course of eighteen free lectures on various subjects were arranged by the Library and Museum Committee. In 1901 museum lectures were held in Dublin and Boyd Dawkins organized them in the Manchester Museum as well. At Birmingham, Whitworth Wallis lectured at various locations on "The Art Gallery and How to See It" while Robert Martin of the Victoria and Albert had a series of art lectures on the treasures of the Victoria and Albert which he gave in various towns.⁵⁹

Lord Sudeley made the guide-lecturer a cause in his campaign for the educational value of museums in the House of Lords and in the press.⁶⁰ As a result of his efforts in 1911 Cecil Hallett was appointed as guide-lecturer at the British Museum, J.H. Leonard to the British Museum (Natural History) in 1912, and Mrs. Faraker at the Victoria and Albert in 1913. The guides would take special parties around or give scheduled one hour tours. Hallett also guided school groups, clubs and provided talks on varied subjects. By 1923 the H.M.S.O. were publishing a monthly list of lectures and special exhibitions at the National Museums and Galleries of London.

Outside of London Miss F.A. Rodgers was appointed guide-demonstrator in 1924 at Leicester to provide classes for school children and adults. Bristol appointed guide lecturers in October 1931.⁶¹ By 1938, F. Markham

⁵⁸Molly Pearce, Museums in Three Industrial Cities, 1845-1900, p. 9.

⁵⁹These and other references to lectures can be found in the information notes of Museums Journal 1 (1901), 181, 240.

⁶⁰Address by Lord Sudeley, On the Public Utility of Museums, Picture Galleries, and Botanical Gardens, More Especially in Relation to Education with Comments from the Press (London, 1914).

⁶¹Museums Journal (December 1931), 31, 422.

recorded eighty museums with guide-lecturer programmes by arrangement, on call or scheduled and about a hundred where lectures were given outside the museum.⁶²

The early preoccupation in Britain with the education of the worker was also maintained through lectures, radio programmes and links with the Workers Educational Association. In 1913 Leicester Museum offered an official first-year university level science course for prospective medical students which was transferred to the new Leicester University College in 1925. Several museums also had classes for the unemployed during the depression.

Published lists or inventories of collections, with the later addition of a discussion of the objects, were an early tool. Thus, van der Doort printed "A Catalogue and Description of King Charles the First's Capital Collection of Pictures, etc."⁶³ Joseph Planta supervised the attempt at the British Museum to produce two types of catalogues - a popular general one and a scholarly version. The former was produced in 1808 as the Synopsis of the Contents of the British Museum which went through sixty-three editions up to 1856. Scholarly publications on limited parts of the collections were also produced.

At Liverpool the Reverend H. Higgins supervised the preparation of Synopsis of an Arrangement of Invertebrate Animals (Second Edition 1880, One Shilling), Museum Talk About Animals Which have no Bones (Fifth Edition 1885, One Penny), Museum Memorandum Book (1887), Museums of Natural History (1884, One Shilling). The Bulletin of the Liverpool Museum was prepared to present research to the scientific world. One of the most prolific curator-writers was Thomas Sheppard of Hull who by 1923 had published 136 publications such as the 1902 Round the Hull Museums and the 1923 The Place of the

⁶²F. Markham, A Report on the Museums and Art Galleries of the British Isles (Edinburgh, 1938), pp. 140-141.

⁶³As cited in O. Millar, The Queen's Pictures (New York, 1977), p. 45. Hans Hoetnik claims the Catalogue of the Desenfans Collection at Dulwich was the first art catalogue for the general public "Evolution of Art Market," International Journal of Museum Management and Curatorship (1982), I 107-118.

Small Museum.

In 1919, after some debate, the National Gallery began to publish post-cards, photographs, catalogues and guide-books sold in a stall in the Gallery despite criticism that it degraded the Gallery to the level of a shop. The Director wrote a successful Illustrated Guide as a popular work. By 1920 the British Museum had sets of picture postcards of the collections and forty-five study sets of fifteen pictures sold to schools as an introduction to the museum.⁶⁴

By 1938 Markham reported that most museums published an annual report, usually a short account of yearly events for their committees rather than for public consumption.⁶⁵ Some produced popular guide-books, the most noteworthy being those of Bristol, Liverpool, Norwich, Port Sunlight and the National Museum of Wales; some guide-books might not be re-written for decades. About forty museums produced free short guides or leaflets of the "What to See" type. Often catalogues were merely a series of numbers, picture titles and artist's names without comment on the art history of the exhibit. About a dozen museums produced a periodical such as the Leicester Bulletin.

According to an investigation of museum advertising by a committee of the British Association in 1915 about 85 of the 135 respondents did use reports in the press of donations, exhibitions, meetings and other events as well as posters, guide-books, handbills and lectures. By 1938 Markham was recommending the use of notice boards and signs, advertisements in hotels, newspapers, handbills, press articles, posters and museum windows and noted that advertising had increased since the Miers Report of 1928.⁶⁶ In London,

⁶⁴C.J. Holmes, Self and Partners, Mostly Self (London, 1936), p. 369 and Museums Journal 28 (December 1928), 144.

⁶⁵S.F. Markham, A Report on the Museums and Art Galleries of the British Isles, pp. 106-107.

⁶⁶"Advertising," Museums Journal 19 (June 1920), 193 and F. Markham, Report, p. 110.

the Underground ran a series of museum posters advertising museums in London and at the Leicester Square Tube Station the Victoria and Albert had a museum shop window, an arrangement of articles in a museum window or an external location in town to attract visitors as was done in libraries.⁶⁷

About forty British museums had instituted film programmes by 1938 but were slower to use this medium than the museums in the United States. British museums used broadcasting as well.⁶⁸ In 1923 Dr. J.J. Simpson gave a weekly chat on British mammals in Cardiff. The Museums Journal published future broadcasts that were suitable for museum exhibits or discussion groups and many museums arranged events related to these. In 1929 programmes were added after the Head of the Adult Education Section of the B.B.C. suggested co-operation between museums and broadcasting to give radio a concrete base. The Castle Museum, Norwich and the Perth Art Gallery and Museum installed loudspeakers in 1932 so that visitors could listen and look. Examples were Mr. Stanley and others on "Artists at Work," Professor James Ritchie on "The Changing Face of Nature," and Sir J. Arthur Thomson on "Biology and the Service of Man." In 1933 the British Museum (Natural History) prepared an experimental programmes in biology; 770 children in 1936-37 heard the broadcast. The relationship between radio and the museum cooled slightly in the late 1930's as the B.B.C. often only gave three weeks' notice of programmes. By the 1950's there was a fully-fledged programme for schools with illustrated handbooks for teachers and museum curators.

Attempts were made to accommodate disabled visitors. The British Museum (Natural History) had an invalid chair in use after 1896 and an ele-

⁶⁷ Collections were often set up in an external location such as a shop window or hotel or train station, F. Markham, Reports, p. 112. Examples were Leeds City Museum and Hereford Museum 1934, Museums Journal 34: 106. The loan or gift of duplicates or unwanted items were another means of the extension of collections. See T. Greenwood, Museums and Galleries, p. 223.

⁶⁸ Margaret Scherer, A Note on Adult Education in British Museums (New York, 1934).

vator was provided at the British Museum for access to the second floor. The blind also received some attention: In Sunderland Public Museum, J.A. Charlton Deas in 1912 described efforts to provide facilities for the blind. By 1931 thirty-nine museums were prepared to offer special services for blind visitors.⁶⁹ In Liverpool in 1936 the Keepers took twenty-four blind people and discussed specimens that were passed around a table. At Norwich Castle, a class of blind girls met regularly on Monday afternoons to hear lectures and examine natural objects from the country and seashore.⁷⁰ Special Programmes for the blind were set up in 1947-49 at the British Museum (Natural History) and the London Science Museum 1949-51.

Considerations of the public's comfort were considered as well. A pub was provided at the South Kensington in the 1870's and a Refreshment Room at the British Museum in 1884. Other types of facilities such as washrooms or Ladies Cloak Rooms were not always provided although there was an awareness of their need.

The Extension of the Museum

The idea that more people should have access to collections was applied beyond the physical visit to museums; collections could also be shown outside of the four walls of a specific institution and be shared by means of duplicates, gifts, loans or exhibits. One of the first educational activities in museums was the circulating collection, an idea first raised by George Rennie in the 1836 Committee on Arts and Manufacture which suggested the selection of objects to travel to different localities to present examples of good manufactured articles. Circulating libraries had existed since 1726 according to Thomas Kelly while the Mechanics' Institutes circulated boxes of 50 to 100 books all over the country as well

⁶⁹"Museums and the Blind," Museums Journal 31 (October 1931), 322 and Museums and Education (1931). For a history see Nelson Coon, The Place of the Museum in the Education of the Blind (New York, 1953), pp. 9-11.

⁷⁰Museums Journal 33 (January 1934), 368. These references are found in "Notes" in Museums Journal.

as exhibitions.⁷¹ Rennie was probably also aware of French precedents.

Thus, in 1854, the Museum of Practical Art began to organize loan exhibits and in February 1855 the first collection of about 430 specimens and 150 framed drawings were sent out and eventually exhibited in twenty-six towns in England, Scotland and Ireland. In 1859 these exhibits were replaced by a second collection. Local users, however, wanted more variety and asked that objects be selected related to local concerns such as metalwork at Sheffield. After 1864, a special selection of objects was made up for each loan with the advice of local staff. Discussion in the House of Commons in 1880 led to the extension of loans from schools to municipal museums. Not until 1908, though, were separate Circulation Collections developed from material transferred from the permanent collections or special gifts or acquisitions for loan. By this time, loans were sent in trains in vans built for the purpose and accompanied by a curator.⁷² Often the staff member was asked to advise local museums so H.A. Kennedy wrote Local Museums in 1938. The circulating scheme ended in 1977 after 122 years.

Museums could share their collections by setting up exhibits in different locations in the town or country and some went as far as to establish branch institutions in another building. In 1907 the Walker Gallery in Liverpool sent 100 pictures to the town hall and branch libraries.⁷³ One of the first branch museums was Bethnal Green opened in 1872 in the East End of London as a branch of South Kensington. Glasgow developed a series of active parallel institutions.

⁷¹ Thomas Kelly, A History of Adult Education in Great Britain (Liverpool, 1970), p. 85 and "Report of the Select Committee on Arts and Manufactures," (1836), George Rennie, "Evidence." During the French Revolution museums were founded for schools of art in University towns. In 1800 the Minister of Interior disseminated some of the collections of the Louvre to in each province; each was to receive a range of works. Eventually twenty-two cities received 1,508 paintings, G. Bazin, The Museum Age, p. 180.

⁷² Miers, Report, p. 28 and Museums Journal 17 (July 1917), 6-7 and Local Museums: Notes on Their Building and Conduct (London, 1938) by H.A. Kennedy.

⁷³ Museums Journal 7 (1907), 255.

Eventually most provincial museums developed branch locations which have absorbed many much-needed resources for "core museums." The Corporation of Glasgow, for example, purchased the M'Lellan Galleries on Sauchiehall Street in 1856 with its art collection and built the first museum in Kelvingrove in 1870. Before 1899 two branch museums were built at Camphill and the People's Palace in Glasgow Green. In 1905 a children's museum was built at Tollcross and a museum for 'old folk's' at Springburn Park and in the 1930's the King's Park Museum. The present building at Kelvingrove was created in 1902.⁷⁴

Another way that collections could be circulated was in small containers or units. One of the earliest circulating exhibit schemes for schools was started in 1883 in Liverpool to utilize duplicate specimens. The Reverend H. Higgins at first planned to give specimens to the schools.⁷⁵ After receiving encouragement from the School Board, however, he devised a circulating collection and issued a Memorandum to the 106 Board and Voluntary Schools in the area with an invitation to an evening meeting "to consider the best method of carrying out the objects of the proposed Circulating Museum." A Committee of Teachers was set up to work the scheme; 64 schools, 32 to the north, 32 to the south, registered. In May 1884, sixteen boxes were sent by van to eight schools in the north, eight in the south, then after a month they were refurbished at the museum and sent out to different locations. After eight years there were twenty-three cabinets in use; damage had been minimal and the advantages for teaching marked. The programme continued until interrupted by World War II.

E.E. Howarth at Sheffield was invited by the Teacher's Guild to a conference on school museums in 1889 to which he brought a cabinet borrowed from Liverpool. The Guild adapted the scheme for Sheffield; the Guild paid

⁷⁴ Corporation of Glasgow, Glasgow's Museum and Art Galleries, A Commentary by James Eggleston (Glasgow, 1936).

⁷⁵ John Chard, "On Circulating Museum Cabinets for Schools and Other Educational Purposes," Proceedings of the First Annual General Meeting of the Museums Association (1890), pp. 54-59.

for the cabinet and equipment, the museum for specimens, maintenance and transport. The cases stayed in school for one month, pictures for six.⁷⁶ The first cases contained natural history material although history, geology and archaeology were later added. One of the ideas that Howarth contributed was to include 200 stereoscopes and thirty copies of views with a case so that the whole class could study views at the same time. Howarth, in fact, did not feel restricted to developing cases on the lines of the collections of the museum but created them to match the school curricula, the cases acted as a teaching resource. In 1953, the programme was re-organized with the help of the Local Education Authority Grant.

Other towns became involved. (See Figure 14). In Worksop, 200 to 400 circulating school sets were used before 1905 when the scheme was taken over by the Education Authority.⁷⁷ Other towns would give out or loan duplicates to schools for teaching or for school museums.

During the same period circulating collections became very popular in North America beginning in Buffalo. The North American examples influenced E.E. Lowe from Leicester who travelled there in 1926 and wrote a Report on American Museum Work for the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust; Miss Ruth Weston of Leicester Museums, also visited to study school extension services and returned to organize a loan scheme on American practice.⁷⁸ Interestingly enough they do not seem to have studied the schemes at Liverpool, Sheffield or elsewhere.

In January 1931, at a Conference of Directors and Secretaries of Education held at County Hall, Westminster, the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust and the Museums Association arranged an exhibition of Circulating Museum Specimens of ten United Kingdom museums and two United States

⁷⁶ E.E. Howarth, "The School System at Sheffield," Museums Journal 7 (1907-08), 358.

⁷⁷ Museums Journal 30 (November 1930), 173.

⁷⁸ E.E. Lowe, A Report on American Museum Work (Edinburgh, 1928).

museums in order to bring "vividly before the minds of prominent education-
alists and museum curators the possibility of extending museum services to
rural areas" one of Miers' recommendations in the Report of 1928.⁷⁹ The
British museums, then, included Batley, Huddersfield, Liverpool, Middles-
borough, Perth, Reading, Salford and Leicester. The circulating collec-
tions captured the attention of the reforming groups. The Board of Educa-
tion in the pamphlet Museums and Schools of 1931 recommended very highly
the loan of exhibits to schools:

The one least extensively in operation at present...is that...circu-
lating loan collections for exhibits...for use in the classroom...and
(they) probably represent the only means by which the museums can give
direct service covering a large proportion of schools.⁸⁰

The Carnegie Trust in 1935 offered funds for circulating schemes and in
1938 Leicester received a second grant to extend their loan scheme to county
schools.

By 1938 of the 800 museums Frank Markham listed in his report, eighty
or 10% had loan collections excluding the activities of the Circulating
Collections of the Victoria and Albert Museum while many other museums in-
formally loaned out specimens.⁸¹

A different type of scheme was funded in 1936 by the Carnegie Trust in
Derbyshire following a model in the United States. In St. Louis in 1903 a
school museum collection was formed with 10,000 boxes and packages held in
six large rooms. Each week 500 groups of organized museum material were
distributed to 125 schools according to selections that teachers made from a
catalogue representing 2,000 items. At the end of the week the units were
returned. This was a teaching resource collections as there was no museum

⁷⁹An Exhibition of Circulating Museum Specimens (January 28-30, 1931),
Museums Journal 30(March 1931), 360.

⁸⁰Board of Education, Museums and the Schools (London, 1931), p. 37.

⁸¹F. Markham, Report, pp. 124-125.

per se, only the circulating collections.⁸² In Derbyshire, likewise, there was no museum as a base but a collection was formed with one staff member (Barbara R. Winstanley) who worked out of a workroom and storeroom in the County Library.⁸³ With an advisory committee she collected cases, models, charts, specimens in glass, reproductions of pictures to create cases to support the school curriculum in natural history, geography, history, design, arts and crafts, domestic science and hygiene. The Derbyshire Education Committee received £1,200 for a three year period to establish the first School Museum Service. From June 1937 to March 1938, eighty schools were supplied with cases. The West Riding of Yorkshire followed in 1949 with an independent loan service for the county and in 1948 the National Museum of Wales developed a loan service for Wales and Monmouth with 13,000 items of art, archaeology, botany, zoology and natural history.

Schools

The topic of formal education in museums raises more questions about the British record. The details of the history have been given in two M.A. theses by J. Smythe and G. McCabe but a re-evaluation is necessary in light of the broader popular activities of museums already discussed.⁸⁴ Smythe's conclusion that the introduction of the teacher into museums brought about the most dramatic changes in museum education seems particularly debatable. Two issues need to be addressed: the extent of museum education ideas and programmes in Britain and the development of the museum educational structure.

Much of the pioneer work in museum education was initiated by

⁸²S. Dillon Ripley, The Sacred Grove, p. 74.

⁸³Barbara R. Winstanley, "The Derbyshire Museum Service," Museums Journal 39 (March 1940), 473-478 and School Loan Services, Handbook for Museum Curators, Part G, Section 4.

⁸⁴John E. Smythe, The Educational Role of the Museums and Field Centres in England from 1884 (M.A. University of Sheffield, 1966) and Geoffrey McCabe, Museums in Education: the Educational Role of Museums in the United Kingdom (M.A. Department of Education, University of Sheffield, 1975).

Figure 16.

Partial List of
Circulating Collections

<u>Places</u>	<u>Date</u>
South Kensington	1854
Liverpool	1883
Sheffield	1889
Ancoats	1887
Worksop	1900 c.
Dundee	1907
Aberdeen	1913
Leicester	
Batley	
Huddersfield	
Liverpool	
Perth	Prior to 1931
Middlesborough	
Reading	
Salford	
Derbyshire	1936
Leicester City	1938
Glasgow	1942

Partial List of
School Programmes

Ancoats	1887
Haslemere	1890
Liverpool Sheffield	1890's
Whitechapel	1895
Manchester	
Hastings	1895
Perth	1901
Edinburgh	1900
Selby	1899
London	
Worcester	1902
Warrington	1901
Plymouth	1902
Huddersfield	1902
Hull	1903
Leeds	1901
Brighton	1908
British Museum (NH)	1911
British Museum	
Victoria and Albert	
Norwich	1914
Salford	1915
Salisbury	1916
Reading	
Middlesborough	
Aylesbury	
Tolson	1922
Letchworth	1922-31
Wales	
Leicester	1924

individuals in isolation from one another; when they died or retired their work was suspended; programmes were begun and ended with little or no record left of their activities, the victims of financial restrictions or changes in staff. Peter Floud, Keeper of Circulation at the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1952 provided a pertinent analysis of the problem:

As a result of their individual efforts have never added up to anything in the way of a consolidated body of principles, and the conclusions to which they may have come have never been absorbed into the main stream of museum thinking.⁸⁵

He noted that a system of museum teaching being instituted for children then at the Birmingham City Museum was identical to that of Jonathan Hutchinson's at Haslemere Educational Museum in 1896 since abandoned as being out of date.

Perhaps the "lack of a consolidated body of principles is merely a typical example of British empiricism" as Floud has claimed; however, similar conditions exist in other countries indicating that the condition may be a product of more universal museum conditions. Discussions about museum education also are often a description of a particular programme rather than a review of all programmes or the merits and problems of museum education which is another characteristic of isolation and incomplete empirical method which is still demonstrated on the subject of museum education. Thus, the sources for a study of educational activities are a mixture of treatise on general aspects of museum education and descriptions of specific programmes from which we must conclude evidence of the extent of thought. At any given point there is a lack of awareness about the number, quality and activities of museum educational programmes manifested in various forms in Britain so the first act must be to recreate a rough indicator of the development of programmes. (See Figure 14).

Although many educational authorities rejected time in the museum as time in school, Liverpool was more liberal; school visits were allowed providing children were organized into small groups to focus on small series of

⁸⁵Peter Floud, "Changing Fashions in Museum Teaching," Museums Journal 52 (December 1952), 215-224.

exhibits. In addition, the schools were admitted free to the annual art exhibitions. The Reverend Henry Higgins, as a former school inspector, helped to organize the system of schools' loans and in 1872 a visit by the first year students of the College of Education to the Museum. As of 1893, perhaps as a result of work done both at Liverpool and Manchester with Thomas Horsfall, Article 84 of the Education Code was modified to allow visits to museums by school classes to count as school attendance.

Higgins' philosophy for the school loan cabinets was that of the object lesson; he had obviously been influenced by the thinking of Pestalozzi, Kay-Shuttleworth and others:

The peculiarity of the scheme may be said to be based upon the recognition of the capacity in the children educated in the elementary schools to be interested and delighted with objects of beauty or skill with which they are unfamiliar. This is shared by all ages and ranks. A crystal vase in a drawing room at length attracts little admiration from its owners, but fills with enthusiasm a stranger guest. The failure in schools, of series of objects which have been extensively made up and sold as grammar collections has risen mainly from the large number and insignificant individuality of the specimens.⁸⁶

The secret for Higgins was that the individual objects should be individualized by being shown in limited numbers and not being confined to groups alone. The philosophy of the object lesson was not held by Higgins alone. David Murray in 1904 referred to the practice in Denmark and Sweden of schoolmasters guiding pupils through city museums to study objects:

This familiarizes children with the objects, it teaches them what to observe and how to distinguish points of difference, and to recognize points of difference, and to recognize points of resemblance. It compels them to employ their own eyes and not to depend upon those of others.⁸⁷

The ideas of the object-study applied to natural history became 'nature

⁸⁶Reverend Henry Higgins, "Circulating Museum for Schools and Other Educational Purposes" cited in J. Chard, "On Circulating Museum Cabinets...", Proceedings of the First Annual General Meeting of the Museums Association (1890), p. 60.

⁸⁷David Murray, Museums, p. 250.

study.⁸⁸

In art, also, there were changes; the earlier conception of training in art was that of copying, the close study of the finest examples of art. By 1900, the idea of original creativity in art challenged the idea of art by example and the "masterpiece" concept. The concept of the enjoyment of art or the appreciation of art replaced art instruction; thus, art education in museums was directed more to the public and less to the student artist; children's classes were set up in places such as Aberdeen where Percy Bates developed a programme of children's art activities from which the children would learn from doing.

Educational establishments such as Rugby School, Winchester School and the colleges and university departments often formed their own teaching collections. Many school museums are listed in early reports but seem to have been dispersed as functions were taken over by museums. The Manchester Sunday School Union also established a loan museum of models and objects useful for Sunday School teachers; it had illustrations of plants and animals in the Bible, the gods and sacred animals of Egypt, and copies of the Rosetta Stone.⁸⁹

According to C.G. Rathman, Director of the Education Museum of St. Louis, the schools of Britain and Europe were very active in children's education outside the classroom to supplement by "observation and study of things and conditions in the world" through visits to parks, fields, forests, zoos, museums, art galleries and theatres.⁹⁰ Schools had their

⁸⁸ William Flower was a enthusiast of object study, "Museum Specimens for Teaching Purposes," Nature 15 (1876-77), 144-146. One outcome of the interest in nature study was the School Nature Study Union (1905) which published a list of facilities for nature study in Museums in and near London listing the facilities, demonstrations, fees and whether loan specimens were available, Museums Journal 5 (January 1905), 221.

⁸⁹ Museums Journal 1 (1901), 139.

⁹⁰ C.G. Rathman, "The Museum and the Schools in Europe," Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the American Association of Museums 8 (1914), 107-120.

own museums often while school districts would have resource centres with illustrative material, books, apparatus, school equipment. South Kensington formed an exhibit of teaching appliances modelled after one in Stuttgart (closed by 1888). The Scottish Education Department had a small gallery in 1901 to illustrate nature teaching methods as well as the stages of science and art for junior school teaching.

There had been a series of initiatives in museum education work many based on the philosophy of the object lesson or nature study after the 1880's. Thomas Horsfall opened Ancoats Hall in a poor area of Manchester in affiliation with the Manchester Art Museum. There, he developed an innovative programme to stimulate the observation and reasoning power of local children of industrial background. A collection of different works of art, historical portraits, pictures of historical events, landscapes, flora, fauna and pottery were sent to twenty elementary schools and replaced every six months. In addition, elementary schools were also sent in classes of up to fourteen to receive lessons at the Museum, given by a special museum teacher who used pictures as illustrations of their lessons.⁹¹

Dr. Jonathan Hutchinson was another innovator who said in 1883 that "the object of an Educational Museum should be to educate, rather than to collect."⁹² He established the idea of the "Educational Museum" as "one which should adapt itself to the untaught and take them in hand from the first." His techniques were: 1) the liberal use of pictorial illustration; 2) use of models and busts; 3) descriptive labels in everyday language; 4) inexpensive reference books for the visitors' use; 5) a museum catalogue; 6) free handling of inexpensive specimens. He had exhibits of live material, living plants and a micro-projector to reveal the world of ponds

⁹¹T.C. Horsfall, "Art in Large Towns," in The Study of Beauty and Art in Large Towns (London, 1883), p. 35. Also see B. Hindshaw, "The Young Visitor," Museums Journal 29 (1929), 227-228, "Children and Museums," Museums Journal 1 (December 1901), 171 and B.V. Vernon, "Children and the Cult of the Beautiful," Museums Journal 6 (December 1906), 207-208.

⁹²E.W. Swanton, "Notes upon the Haslemere Educational Museum," Museums Journal 2 (October 1902), 118.

and lakes as reminders of the everyday world. He used examinations to motivate the children; giving out 200 questions in a ten page pamphlet the day before the examination. For the adults he also gave lectures on various topics. The Haslemere Museum was in financial difficulties after Hutchinson's death in 1913 and moved three times.

There were many other examples of educational awareness. In 1895 Mr. William Crake of the Hastings Museum or one of the masters of the School of Science would give lectures to local schools.⁹³ Classes would arrive in the museum and be given a demonstration and lecture of twenty minutes with specimens placed on a table in the front of the room. Six questions were written up on a screen which the student would answer the next day in school. This technique is still used for many visits. After 1899 Henry Coates at Perth would address groups of teachers on a subject selected from each school session.⁹⁴ The teachers would then take the class to a lecture in the museum lecture room on the subject which was also demonstrated in the exhibits and country visits. Secondary school students were reached through a junior section of the natural history society while some were taken on as assistants in the museum.

At Warrington, in 1901 Ethel Webb wrote up an experiment for the Museums Journal of a children's botanical competition held in connection with a "series of object lessons in plant natural history." Specimens were exhibited in museum wall-cases and lectures given.⁹⁵ Children were asked to write out the substance of the lectures at school and 50% got it right. Similarly Kate Hall developed a well regarded programme at the Whitechapel Art Gallery where once a month there would be a popular science lecture (the

⁹³ Mrs. Tubbs, "The Relation of Museums to Elementary Education," Proceedings of the Eighth Annual General Meeting of the Museums Association (1897), p. 69.

⁹⁴ Henry Coates, "School Children and Museums," Proceedings of the Tenth Annual General Meeting of the Museums Association (1899), pp. 45-49.

⁹⁵ Ethel A.M. Webb, "The Utilization of Museums: A Successful Experiment at Warrington," reported in Museums Journal 1 (December 1901), 164.

first was given by William Flower in 1895).⁹⁶ The curator would give demonstrations to school classes or groups from Toynbee Hall and many others. She also arranged temporary exhibits to illustrate seasonal developments such as flowers or fungi and named specimens brought in by the teacher.

A very successful programme began around 1901 at Leeds when the National Union of Teachers invited the curator of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, H. Crowther, to give a series of twenty-two weekly lectures with lime-light illustrations and museum objects on some aspect of nature study.⁹⁷ About 350 children attended each lecture and eventually 50% of the pupils of the fifth, sixth, and seventh grades were accommodated. After the lecture, the students would be taken around the museum then on a later day they would write about their experience. By 1931 the programme had evolved to the point that lectures were given to one class at a time by a specialist teacher employed by the Local Education Authority and a timetable of class visits was printed and circulated each year to the schools.

Thus, by 1914 several museums were offering organized school programmes while many others were available for visits. Seven museums actually received grants from education committees for work with schools; in many cases, however, this must have been a minimal amount, as at Norwich where the museum was given £26 a year.⁹⁸ After World War I many more museums became involved in school activities. At Salisbury, the curator, noticing that children came in on the open night and asked questions, developed an historical course given at schools to show local history through objects.

⁹⁶"General Notes Stepney Nature Study Museum," Museums Journal 4 (June 1904), 417.

⁹⁷"The Museum as Teacher," Museums Journal 1 (December 1901), 179-180.

⁹⁸E.E.Howarth, "The Museum and the School," Museums Journal 14 (March 1915), 288.

Aylesbury worked with the Buckingham County Council to advise teachers, providing cases of exhibits for schools and guidance for school visits.

Indeed, public museums in Europe developed active school programmes for elementary, high, technical and continuing education according to C.G. Rathman, of St. Louis, who claimed that "the co-operation between schools and museums is firmly established and systematically conducted." As for London, Rathman described the educational work in glowing terms:

There is no city in the world in which better opportunities for concrete study of the wonderful things at home and abroad are offered to the school children than in London...in no city do the museums and schools cooperate in a more systematic and efficient way to make the masses of interesting material accessible to teachers and pupils.⁹⁹

The London County Council sent a Handbook on Educational Visits to all the city schools listing twenty-four institutions, and describing the features of each suitable for discussion in the different schools and grades, the hours of opening, the location and help available, as well as the regulations established by the schools and museums. By 1929 the London County Council had 8,000 elementary children in lecture programmes. Schools could have four visits per year although some worked out a study programme in the museum aligned to the school curriculum. Rathman concluded that in comparison to the United States the relation between museums and the public were as a result of these educational programmes much more democratic, an interesting contrast to what was generally perceived:

The museums in Europe are nearer to the people, the people of all classes, than the museums in America.¹⁰⁰

Is this comparison of museum education among countries to be depended on or merely the case of the grass always being greener elsewhere?

Comparisons of educational efforts between countries are very difficult to make; nevertheless, the usual assumption is that the United States had the lead in school's work although this is not supported entirely by statistics. In 1917 Paul Marshal Rea reported that of the 600 museums in

⁹⁹C.G. Rathman, "The Museum and The Schools in Europe," Proceedings of the American Association of Museums, VIII (1914), 117.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., p. 119.

the United States, fifty-one had organized educational programmes; thirty-eight of these received public support through taxes or membership dues while twenty-nine received direct municipal support, thereby supporting his thesis that educational efforts were the direct result of government inter-relationships with museums.¹⁰¹ Indeed, only three of the programmes analyzed began before 1905 while in Britain during the same period there had already been a series of educational efforts. By 1931 the United States recorded that about 20% of museums offered organized educational programmes and about 210 of the 1,000 museums had lectures or well-organized school visits.¹⁰²

By 1938 Markham recorded that of the 800 museums, 400 or 50% had visits from school parties of which 150 had special arrangements for museum staff or assistance for teachers, 80 had guide-lecturers, 80 loan collections, 40 special classes for groups like the disabled, 30 had special exhibits connected to B.B.C. programmes.¹⁰³

The question of the structure of museum education also raises interesting questions. The 1920 Report on Museums and Education by the British Association and the Public Libraries Act of 1919 were both attempts to give museums more funding and a better structure in relation to educational authorities. When Miers recorded in 1926 that 20% of local museums had organized visits given by the curator or teachers, at Greenwich, Leicester and Norwich there was a museum staff member to lead the classes while at Manchester there were school teachers.¹⁰⁴ During World War I some elementary school buildings were taken over by the War Office as military hospitals in

¹⁰¹Paul Marshal Rea, "Educational Work of American Museums," United States Bureau of Education, Reports (Washington, 1917), pp. 401-403.

¹⁰²Grace Fisher Ramsey, Educational Work of Museums in the United States (New York, 1938).

¹⁰³S.F. Markham, Report, p. 114.

¹⁰⁴Sir Henry Miers, Report, p. 31

Manchester.¹⁰⁵ Two classes had to share accommodation so classes spent half of the time in public locations such as the museums, art galleries, cathedrals and Town Hall. Some teachers were relieved of regular duties and assigned to the city museums to give lessons. The older children were taught in botany, zoology, geology, ethnology, Egyptology and art; the younger had local history, geography and literature. About 5,000 children, mostly those who live near to the museum branches - Whitworth Art Gallery, City Art Gallery, Ancoast, and the University Museum - were involved. After the war, an organized system was set up where special teachers were moved from their class duties to give lessons in the various city museums. The scheme was recommended by the Report of the British Association in 1920, by Miers in 1926 and by Museums and Education in 1931. In 1954, the scheme was replaced by the City Art Gallery and Manchester Museum Schools Service with a permanent staff.

In retrospect it would seem that several works may have over-emphasized this structure of the teacher in the museum when reporting on the United States scene. There were two structures for educational programmes in the museums of the United States: those set up by the museum with their own staff or special education department staff and those where the teachers were fully qualified as teachers and paid by the local boards to work with classes. Of the latter category, examples were the University of Pennsylvania, the Commercial Museum in Philadelphia, Cleveland Museum of Art and Cleveland Museum of Natural History in Cleveland, Ohio, the Carnegie Museum and Art Gallery in Pittsburgh. E.E. Lowe in his Report on American Museum

¹⁰⁵ Lessons in the Museums and Art Galleries of Manchester, (Unpublished Manuscript, Manchester, 1915). See also Museums and the Schools (Board of Education, 1931). In 1941, a Schools Museum Service was inaugurated by the City of Glasgow following on the Manchester model with a large teaching staff, accommodation and programmes for school visits. The programmes were funded and staffed by the Local Education Authority to which the teachers were responsible. This became a model for many museums in Britain after the World War II, Samuel Thompson, "The School and the Museum," Museums Journal 42 (July 1942), 81.

Work (1928) and others highlighted this use of teachers in museums.¹⁰⁶

Thus, although the teacher paid by the local board was the exception rather than the rule, the impression seems to have existed in Britain that it was common. Thus, the Board of Education in the pamphlet Museums and Education in 1931 wrote when evaluating the Manchester scheme:

These arrangements resemble those so common in America, the specialist teachers working full-time in the museums, while continuing to be employed and paid by the Local Education Authority.¹⁰⁷

Many museums in North America in fact developed their own staff or departments for education or lectures (docents) if only because they had not funds to pay the professional teachers in most cases. These developments would explain why, today, there are more teachers involved with museum education in Britain than in North America.

Thus, the perceived approach of certain United States museum educational activities have had a great influence on Britain although there were more British initiatives in museum education than previously noted. The fact that the American educational reputation was rated higher is the result of a number of factors. No British museum could come near the level of support found in the largest American museums which carried the reputation of other museums. More importantly, the educational work of American museums has been better publicized in the museum field whereas the extent of early educational programmes in Britain is only now being appreciated. The early reports of the British Association (1920), Miers (1928), Lowe (1928), Museums and Education (1931) had only partial knowledge of the schemes in their own country. The most important problem, however, was the organization of museums in Britain; museums might develop formal educational programmes but it was difficult to receive financial credit for that work. Even the transfer to educational authorities by some museums after 1919 did not lead to more abundant funding. Seen in this light, the wonder is that

¹⁰⁶ E.E. Lowe, Report on American Museum Work (Edinburgh, 1938), pp. 28-29.

¹⁰⁷ Board of Education, Museums and the Schools (London, 1931), p. 33.

museums in Britain were able to initiate programmes in education to the extent they did after 1880. The fact that there were so many efforts would suggest both the extent of the belief in the public educational role of museums and the role of individual fortitude in pioneering activities.

Thus, despite the discussion of public and educational initiatives in museum literature, the tradition was lost to British museum workers; the older imagery of the 'musty, dusty' museum resurfaced in the post World War II profession who set out once again to put the field right as had earlier generations of reformers although older lessons have still not yet been learned. Neither is the inner vision of the museum clearer, nor the problem of the delivery system of museum ideas solved.

With this lack of awareness about museum programmes, it is no surprise that much of the discussions about museums are defensive. Curators were either for or against education, defined in their particular way, but the subtleties of their arguments have been lost. So those who resisted involvement with formal instructional systems are projected as "old guard" or "traditional"; those who encouraged it "progressive." Since 1902, there has been a growing identification of education with the school's service in Britain; the narrowing of the scope of museum activities and the justifications of museums in relation to the educational system may not, however, have assisted the museum out of its traditional condundrum of infusion or diffusion. Further, the museum's success has constantly been examined by the criteria of outside educational establishments or even foreign systems rather than by its own standards - whether scholarly, educational or entertaining. That defence rather than an articulation of the "unique" elements of the museum communication experience, despite earlier argument, has occupied some museum personnel. In addition, the long history of concern for the museum visitor, for improving the museum visit, publicity, handicapped facilities, circulating collections and school programmes has been misunderstood.

CHAPTER TEN

THE MUSEOLOGICAL TRADITION AT WORK ("How Thought Circulated"):III. THE EXPERIENCE OF THE OBJECT

Some of the exhibits of the old museums - unicorn's horns, giant's bones, petrified toad-stools, and the like - strike us as somewhat extraordinary, but they were placed there in accordance with the opinions and teaching of the time. Our point of view is so different that we are inclined to look upon much of the material of the old collections as rubbish, and it is apt to be so treated by keepers only interested in the current views of museum management, but this is a mistake.

- David Murray¹

The museological principles of objects or collections are as problematic as those of the topic of the museum's visitors. Again failings in the movement of ideas are indicated by the numerous occasions when claims are made of a 'new' technique or of a vacuum of museum thought only to be countered by others aware of earlier efforts. For example, Rooke Pennington in a paper to the Manchester Geological Society in 1879, "Upon the Arrangement of a Geological Museum," made the familiar claim that "until recently, with a few notable exceptions, local museums were ill-arranged lumber rooms."² He recommended that the curator "exercise despotic control to ruthlessly exclude mere curiosities." Collections, building and arrangement should all be sympathetic to the proper geological order, using proper names relating fossils to living things and making the Collection 'popular' by means of labels, drawings, time references and colours.

The audience reaction was telling. Professor Boyd Dawkins and others agreed wholeheartedly; Mr. John Plant, however, struck a different note:

...if he had not, in the course of 35 years' experience, read the same thing many times, he might have been struck by the novelty that

¹David Murray, Museums: Their History and Their Use (Glasgow, 1904), p. 83.

²Rooke Pennington, "Upon the Arrangement of a Geological Museum," Transactions of the Manchester Geological Society, Part XII, vol. 15 (1879-80), pp. 248-249.

it presented. As it was, he was used to this; he possessed a dozen or so such lectures of advice, what to do in museum arrangement.³

Such lectures, in Plant's opinion, "...contained a great deal more theory than practice, always as it were criticising or censuring somebody or other for not doing some thing which was done, or for doing that which was done."⁴ The failing was funds as he didn't know of any institution "not limited by want of money." Pennington responded:

He was not aware of those numerous works to which Mr. Plant had referred; he would have been only too glad to have been acquainted with them, but must confess his ignorance. Certain, he was, however antiquated those views might be, they had not produced any reform of museums in this country, such as might have been expected or expounded by eminent men so many years ago.⁵

Similar claims of innovation were likely to inspire counterclaims. In the Museums Journal in 1910 a statement by Charles Madeley of a "new move in museum work" in reference to the temporary exhibition of local antiquities of the Hastings Corporation was quickly corrected by Jonathan Hutchinson who pointed out that the Educational Museum of Haslemere had in 1907 held a highly popular temporary exhibition of the objects, prints, and photographs of bygone Haslemere.⁶

Part of the problem lies in the ignorance of the actual facts of the evolution of museum functions but another cause may be the experiential approach to museum work which is descriptive, dwells on techniques and status quo operations and prevents the perception of complex and often contradictory underlying phenomenon.

³Ibid., pp. 258-259. The writings were Professor E. Forbes, On the Educational Uses of Museums (1853); Alfred Wallace, On Museums for the People (1869); Ed Solly, Museums, Their Nature and Uses (1853); E. Charlesworth, On the Arrangement of Museums, Applied to the Derby Museums, and others.

⁴Ibid., p. 259.

⁵Ibid., pp. 260-261.

⁶"Correspondence," Museums Journal 10 (January 1910), 295-296.

Object Theory

One topic which illustrates the faulty basis of present museological analysis is the failure to study the museum as a process to be analyzed rather than a product to be described. At the heart of the museum process is the act of selecting and showing objects or their symbols. Z.Z. Stransky and S. Gregorova have recently stated in the museological journal MuWop that the decoding of this human/object relationship is at the base of museology.⁷ Thus, one axiom of museum thought has been the sanctity and unique role of the object in the museum; yet, the interpretation of this simplistic principle is open to complex contradictions parallel to the philosophical divisions, articulated in Chapter Eight, of the museum as a place of research versus education. Paradoxical ideas recur about objects which confuse the cultural tradition for the new generation who lose track of precedents in the impression of a seemingly retrograde past. In both art and science museums there have been two related preoccupations to complicate object theory as manifested in the selection and showing of objects; one is to see the object as representing either concrete or abstract values; the second is to see the object either in or out of contextual setting. These different approaches to the object as affected by the changes in the humanities and science disciplines, the expansion of knowledge and the parallel increase in the size and variety of collections at least offers one explanation of the history of the museum process.

Benjamin Ives Gilman's discussion in 1915 of the question of the nature of the object, when offering an antithesis to George Brown Goode's thesis of a collection of labels illustrated by specimens, is worth restating: An object is a "specimen" when one wishes to emphasize certain qualities in which it resembles other things; the opposite is a "unicum" in which qualities are emphasized which make it different from any other

⁷Z.Z. Stransky and Anna Gregorova in MuWop I (Stockholm, 1980), p. 42 and p. 19 respectively.

thing.⁸ All things are both "specimen" and "unicum" as they are more or less like other things and, yet, like nothing else. A specimen is a "thing we talk of and treat with reference to its resemblance to other things." It is illustrative and abstract. A unicum is a "thing we talk of and treat with reference to its differences from any other thing." Its value is individual, residing in its concrete self. Any object then can be the source of many qualities, abstract or concrete, not the only illustration of one.

In a museum of science, Gilman concluded, the accompanying information is more important than the objects; in a museum of art, less.⁹ In the museum of science the creation is the general law represented by the description; in the art museum, it is the particular fact presented by the object. Therefore, a museum of science is in truth a collection of labels plus illustrations; but a museum of art a collection of objects plus interpretations.

Despite, Gilman's view, the philosophical differences about objects could not apparently be reduced to the difference between art and natural science. In 1912 a debate occurred at a Museums Association conference over the whether art works were specimens or not.¹⁰ E. Rimbault Dibdin, Curator of the Walker Art Gallery argued that objects were not only objects of beauty but specimens of an artist and of a school:

It was part of the duty of an art gallery to be a museum, as well as a place where beautiful works of art were brought together.¹¹

⁸ Benjamin Ives Gilman, "Dr. Goode's Thesis and its Antithesis," Proceedings of the Tenth Annual General Conference of the American Association of Museums (1915), pp. 21-25. Goode's dictum first appeared in "Museum History and Museums of History," Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1897, Part II.

⁹ Ibid., p. 26.

¹⁰ "Discussion," Museums Journal 11 (January 1912), 203-206.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 205.

James Paton of Glasgow, however, believed that art was not instructional but existed for pleasure. Howarth of Sheffield agreed:

The inherent power of a picture is educative, yet its purpose is not education, or it would never be a work of art. It should make a deep appeal to the emotions of the person who looks at it. To teach the soul through the senses.¹²

Dibdin had reacted to an address by H.M. Platinauer in which he insisted that art galleries contain works of art which were "in no sense specimens. A picture, or a statue, is a thing complete in itself: it has no necessary relationship with any other object."¹³ Obviously, art could be treated scientifically or science treated artistically depending on the orientation of the presenter. As Gilman deduced, any object could represent a multitude of qualities, some concrete, some abstract.

The basic act of gathering one or more objects into a collection is predicated on the selection of one or more values of those items that made them collectable. During the sixteenth century as the number of objects multiplied in collections, it was natural to build comparisons between some aspect of the object and create series based on those features whether similarities or differences. Some collectors created arrangements based on size or aesthetic attributes, others on the subjects portrayed or the maker or origin. Once a collector opted for one principle of selection there were others to disagree with it, resulting in the degree of criticism of the order, classification or arrangement of collections which has marked museological discussion throughout. Before the late nineteenth century, the collection was shown in one physical form in the exhibit, its order, classification or arrangement a visible statement of the expertise of the curator; at that time, the separation of collections provided even more opportunities for schemes of arrangement.

¹²Ibid., p. 203.

¹³H.M. Platinauer, "What is a Museum?" Museums Journal 11 (July 1912), 5.

To complicate matters further, no matter for what value the museum material was chosen, there has been a repeating paradoxical style of display between showing the objects as part of the surroundings - the object in context, such as habitats, dioramas, period rooms - or the object as primary, as a unique piece or as an item in a series out of the context of the room - the object over context, systematic, analytical series or highlighted objects. There is, however, a problem of historical interpretation to be addressed; Alma Wittlin has emphasised the difference of national or regional styles of presentation stating that there are two types of display tendencies, the 'analytical' and the 'synthesis' methods.¹⁴ The analytical approach presented objects in a typological or systematic classified series in a scientific, analytical manner. The synthesis view present objects in a holistic format as in habitat groups. Wittlin assumed that the synthesis approach was a better method of education and communication and that the United States has been more representative of the approach.

The museum, then, reflected a complex often paradoxical relationship of man with reality. On the one hand, for some, the emphasis for collecting was on values inherent in the object itself, its colour, material, or other value. On the other hand, objects could be an expression of or illustration of some extrinsic value such as lifestyle or rational scientific thought. Objects could thus be collected and shown because of what they evoked, for example, healing, magic or spiritual values, emotions, entertainment or what they illustrated such as scientific principles.

Sometimes collections were simply assemblies of objects with seemingly only the slightest connections. Descriptions resemble that of the apothecary's shop recorded by Garth in The Dispensary:

¹⁴Alma Wittlin, Museums: In Search of a Useable Future (Cambridge, Mass., 1970), pp. 134-135.

Here Mummies lay most reverently stale,
 And there the Tortoise hung her coat o'Mail;
 Not far from some huge Shark's devouring Head
 The Flying Fish their Pinions spread.
 Aloft in rows large Popy Heads were strung
 And near a scaly Alligator hung.
 In this place, Drugs in musty heaps decay's,
 In that dray Bladders and drawn Teeth were laid.¹⁵

The original connections may have been clear to the collector but are not necessarily obvious to others. This type of assembly was characteristic of the later local museum of curiosities, particularly those that were not maintained, so often the target of the museum critic who declaimed their lack of scientific order.

Objects have also been chosen for their exceptional qualities. Pre-scientific collections may seem foreign to the modern mind; the pre-occupation with the exotic, curious or rare has led the modern critic to dismiss them as 'mere curiosities.' In fact, the mentality of earlier times, influenced by Pliny's Historia Naturalis, led collectors to explain the mysteries of nature in terms of the exceptional or the rare. Bazin has argued that this 'Mannerist' view of the world was that creation was manifested more by monsters than by the normal.¹⁶ Typical items were the "bezoars," the gall-stones of camels effective for melancholy, teeth of sharks to detect poison, "unicorn horns" usually rhinoceros or narwhal tusks and, adder's tongues.¹⁷ Most of these items were recognized as extremely rare and valuable but also useful as charms or for medicinal application. Human remains too were important: the parts of a mummy were especially rare, while skulls or skeletons usually from freaks or executed criminals were treasured partly because they were available and partly because they represented divergence. The Theatre and Anatomy Hall of the

¹⁵As cited in David Murray, The Museum: Their History and Their Use (Glasgow, 1904), p. 265.

¹⁶G. Bazin, The Museum Age (London, 1967). See also Niels Von Holst, Creators, Connoisseurs and Collectors (London, 1967) who calls this the Mannerist philosophy.

¹⁷David Murray, Museums: Their History and Their Use (Glasgow, 1904) Chapter IV, pp. 37-77.

University of Leyden held a characteristic collection of this type.¹⁸ Objects were not placed in a special room but in the entrance, on the ceilings and walls and in a cabinet or cupboard all around the theatre. The items were diverse: ethnological items in no particular order, a mixture of stuffed animals or skeletons and, of course, the skeleton of a woman of seventeen who killed her son, a woman who strangled for theft, the skin of a "man tann'd" as well as the "Effigies of a Prussian Peasant who swallowed a knife of ten inches in length which was cut out of his stomach and he lived eight years afterward." The attraction of the exceptional remained as "freaks of nature" collections of two-headed animals, three-legged calves, and foreign curios remained the mainstay of the exhibition industry and the local in generating public interest museums despite the inroads of museum reformers to whom such displays were anathema. One incident reveals the continuing recognition of the value of the unusual. In July 1903 the Museums Journal described an exhibit at the Hull Municipal Museum which was judged to be a remnant of "the museum as a curiosity shop."¹⁹ A number of items from the Martinique eruption were exhibited: "an elaborate brass candelabrum and portion of the confessional box from the cathedral of St. Pierre, a vase and candle-holder in brass" and a number of other assorted relics. The critic doubted how these objects could demonstrate a volcanic eruption. Thomas Sheppard, the curator, took exception; the specimens were, in fact, graphic proof of the heat and devastation of a volcanic eruption. Further, the case was only a temporary exhibit and the museum committee had no money to buy collections so the curator had to use his talents.

Many objects have been gathered because of their shape, colour or

¹⁸Jacob Voorn, A Catalogue of All the Chief Rarities the Public Theatre and Anatomie Hall of the University of Leiden Which are so set in Order that all may Easily be Found in Their Places, trans. from Latin (Leiden, 1683). This is one of the first such catalogues in English tradition.

¹⁹"The Museum as a Curiosity Shop," Museums Journal 3 (July 1903), 22 and the rebuttal by Sheppard, Museums Journal 3 (August 1903), 102.

form, and were displayed accordingly. The private treasure chambers of nobles and kings often contained art and natural objects arranged together to form aesthetic natural shapes, a montage of shells and decorative constructions. For example, Philip Hainhofer of Augsburg, a dealer in rarities, created combinations of paintings and collages to create optical illusions.²⁰ One cabinet prepared for Gustavus Adolphus had ebony drawers and doors to hold specimens and at its top a decorative construction of minerals and shells topped by a drinking vessel of carved coconut, coral and silver with Neptune and Venus. The anatomical collection of Dresden had skeletons with branches interwoven into hedges. Frederick Ruysch (1638-1731) anatomist of Amsterdam, had a mixture of plants prepared as nosegays and figures made up from shells. Many specimens of natural history in the nineteenth century were collected for their colour and beauty rather than scientific value. Often they were shown in patterns in cases or frames; on example is the cases of fans in the York Castle Museum arranged by James Kirk in the 1930's.

Niels Von Holst and Germaine Bazin have presented convincing, if sketchy arguments that the development of aesthetics in display, particularly of art works, has alternated between two tendencies, clarified in the tension between the "Baroque" and the "Neo-classical" philosophies of the eighteenth centuries.²¹ The "Baroque" approach is crowded, seemingly disordered aesthetic presentation where it is the appearance of overall interaction of the objects which is paramount - the object in context; the "Neo-classical" presentation is cleaner, more ordered with emphasis on each object alone or in series rather than the surroundings - the object over context. For these authors, however, unlike Wittlin, there is a constant

²⁰ Philip C. Ritterbush, "Art as Science as Influences on the Early Development of Natural History Collections," Natural History Collections, Past. Present. Future. Proceedings of the Biological Society of Washington, vol. 82, p. 569.

²¹ Niels Von Holst, Creators, Connoisseurs and Collectors (London, 1967) and Germaine Bazin, The Museum Age (London, 1967).

movement from one to the other of these tendencies in display as each up-set in the museum's history brings one or the other view to predominance rather than differences linked to regional or chronological evolution.

Thus, in the early sixteenth century, statuary was placed side by side, on pedestals in orderly rows, each treated equally, as at the Belvedere and Arundel House. Gradually some collectors began to arrange statues according to the architectural layout of the room in which they were held; thus, in houses at Florence medium-sized pictures, bronze statuettes on pedestals and vessels and drawings were set in three rows one on top of another and grouped together. During the seventeenth century, some collectors had walls covered with paintings from top to bottom in a manner resembling a tapestry, hence the name "en tapisserie." Gradually these assemblages, too, became more symmetrical as pieces were worked into the layout of the wall, as similar images were placed next to each other or placed in parallel positions to give harmony and balance.

The formal rules for the display of painting reached their height in the early 1700's indicating a highly developed visual or aesthetic sense held by collectors and visitors. For example, the Royal Academy of France in the 1699 exhibition placed paintings close together according to fixed rules; the large scale Italian and Flemish works were placed in the central positions; oval pictures were hung higher up. Large canvases were surrounded by smaller shapes. If need be, pictures would be "formatized" as portions were removed or added to achieve the best placement of the picture in the visual pattern on the wall. Thus, forty percent of the works in the Stallburg in Vienna were adjusted in size. Sculpture and antiquities were often grouped symmetrically around a centrepiece. The overall result was the loss of the individual work of art to the general visual look of the space. Gradually the aesthetic rules of arrangement began to relax as fewer works of art were shown.

The epitome of contextual display was presented in 1772 at the Museo Pio-Clementino which provided a model for other exhibition. There, Michelangelo Simonetti proposed that the statuary be put in settings for which

they had been created, the vast halls, baths, galleries of the palace. So the curator Giovanni Battista Visconti installed them to look like a typical ornate princely house with Pompeian red walls, columns of alabaster with gilt capitals and benches of porphyry. The collections of thousands of unlabelled statues, busts were set randomly around the space to convey the setting of the original 'period.'

England demonstrated two related systems. At Wilton House for example, paintings were dispersed freely around the living spaces, an individual picture highlighted by architectural features such as a fireplace or table. Most collections were accommodated into living spaces according to their imagery and effect. Sir Henry Wootton in The Elements of Architecture of 1624 recorded the conventions:

Lastly, that they be as properly bestowed for their quality as fitly for their grace: that is, cheareful Paintings in Feasting and Banquetting Roomes; Graver Stories in Galleries; Landships and Boscage, and such wilde workes, in open Terraces, or in Summer Houses.²²

Gustave Waagen noted how many English lived amidst their art works.

As objects accumulated, special locations could also be chosen for their display, either long, well-lit corridors or, in other instances, a "Cabinet." An example of the first would be Althorp, Northamptonshire, (c. 1675-80) and of the latter, Ham House, Surrey. Here, too, the display emphasized the relationship of the work of art to the overall design of the room, but conveying "Baroque" lavishness. Lord Burlington had a separate picture gallery specially built attached to his villa at Chiswick (c. 1725) built according to ancient Roman models depicted by Palladio. In decoration, it had richly moulded ceilings, lavish frames, Italian cut velvet wall coverings while the pictures were hung symmetrically from floor to ceiling.

Similarly, the art exhibitions of the Royal Academy of Artists also

²²Christopher Hussey, "Country-House Art Galleries," Country-Life Annual (1959), p. 40.

revealed "Baroque" aesthetic predilections.²³ The display appears disordered to the modern eye but there were strict principles understood by the contemporaries. At Somerset House and later at Trafalgar Square, there was a cornice running around the walls eight feet from the floor; the top of the frames were level with the cornice, so the centre of the picture was roughly at eye level. This was an honoured location - "on the line." Iconographic images were sorted with portraits, nudes, children and women placed together. Pictures were hung in two lines. Very large pictures were placed above the line. First, one decided on the central and most important picture for the wall then hung the lower line and finally the upper line. Horace Walpole understood the symmetrical disposition of pictures as in Anecdotes of Painting in England in 1782 he wrote "in hanging pictures, opposition makes harmony. Histories should be mixed with landscapes or heads."²⁴

Another display convention was that of the many galleries specially built up to the end of the eighteenth century for classical sculpture (Holkham, Norfolk, c. 1735 and Newby Hall, Yorkshire 1765-75). Works were placed in spare neo-classical interiors in niches symmetrically placed around the room. "Neo-classical" conventions also were used for the showing of pictures in a number of galleries such as Dulwich and Attingham Park, Shropshire using convention of display resembling the style used in the Halian Palazzo Corona in 1703. Timothy Clifford has described this form in detail.²⁵ Pictures were hung above the chair rail up to the cornice. Small or fine pictures were hung low while larger works were hung higher up as in the Royal Academy Fabrics on the walls, gilt picture frames, painted or

²³Kenneth Luckhurst, The Story of Exhibitions (London, 1951), pp. 33-37.

²⁴Horace Walpole, Anecdotes of Painting in England (1782).

²⁵Timothy Clifford, "The Historical Approach to the Display of Paintings," International Journal of Museum Management and Curatorship 1 (1982), 93-105. See also John Cornforth, "London's Lost Galleries," Country-Life Annual (13 June 1968), Christopher Hussey, "Country-House Art Galleries," Country-Life Annual (June 1959), 40.

gilded ceilings created a lavish impression. Tables and chairs were placed around the walls of the room in balanced symmetrical patterns which visually connected the walls to the floor. A carpet in a sympathetic colour finished off the overall neo-classical design of the room.

Gradually, the classification principles of the history of art, the chronological ordering of objects by school and country stimulated the systematic arrangement of art works. In Vienna, the display work of Mechel created a dramatic debate on the proper arrangement of art work which was repeated in Munich, Berlin, Paris and London. When the Louvre was opened in 1792 the historical principles of display were only partially in place. Works were organized broadly into schools but then were subdivided according to the aesthetic guidelines of the baroque method as was explained:

The arrangement we have adopted is one of a flower bed composed of an infinite variety of blooms. If by a different disposition we had shown art in its infancy, in its developing stages and in its present state...we might have pleased a few erudits but we would have feared the well-founded reproach...of having impeded the studies of the young.²⁶

This display was not a critical success and by 1799 the collection was re-organized completely following historical schools. Each twist of taste in display brought criticism of preceeding styles and a defence of the 'new' method.

Another tendency in collecting was to universality or comprehensiveness, to develop a mirror for the whole world. Objects, thus, are treated in a deductive process as illustrations for ideas. Giulio Camillo from Udine developed a scheme which combined the Christian idea of heaven and the Roman amphiheater into the "Theatrum Mundi."²⁷ Seen at the French court in 1558, it was a wooden semi-circular structure covered with images and boxes and cofferes with papers as "explanatory texts" hanging from the walls. Its aim was to display the structure of the world and to present universal

²⁶G. Bazin, The Museum Age, p. 171.

²⁷Richard Bernheimer, "Theatrum Mundi," Art Bulletin 38 (December 1956), 225-247.

truth:

He put the first causes closest to the arena and the derivations from them higher up...the seven archetypes of creation, which Camillo called Saphiroth...in the form of columns like those in Solomon's temple. There followed in mounting order the seven planets, the simple elements of matter, the elements in a state of mixture, man's inner being, the juncture in him of body and soul, the varieties of his work and finally the arts, seven levels in all.²⁸

It resembled the Christian image of heaven with saints but he put Francis I, for whom it was built, as god on earth. The "Theatrum Mundi" had enormous influence on the arrangement of collections as well as in literature, painting, architecture, feasts and extravaganzas.

One of the most influential treatises written in this vein was that of Samuel Von Quiccheberg, a Flemish Doctor in the service of Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria.²⁹ In 1565, he published Inscriptiones vel tituli theatri amplissimi complectentis rerum universitatis singulas materias et imagines eximias, the ideal museum was to represent the universe by the systematic classification of all subject matter; he identified five divisions of material: Christian Religion; Plastic; Natural History; Instruments and Handicrafts and Painters. Under "artificialia" were unusual items such as a portrait in cherrystone. This work, written in Latin, was read extensively and many others followed his scheme.

A related trend was illustrated by collectors for whom the arrangement, classification of objects and specimens was a scientific act, the assembling and presentation of objects to illustrate the attempts to classify the state of knowledge about the world. There were several factors which tended to favour the approach; first, in natural history and art collections when collections increased in size, the number of articles increased the tendency to sort and classify items to be able to find and locate them as well as to make the collections make sense to the owner or visitors. Secondly, as the interest in scientific research developed, the interest in

²⁸ Ibid., p. 227.

²⁹ David Murray, Museums, p. 28.

the material, its acquisition in information, especially when obtained from distant locations, put pressure on scholars to store the material for research and consultation. Thirdly, the increasingly rationalistic spirit rejected the emphasis on wonder and rarity; Descartes, like Bacon, in The Passions of the Soul, remarked on the unsuitability of displays based on the rare:

When it is excessive, and causes us to arrest our attention solely on the first image of the objects which are presented, without acquiring any other knowledge of them, it leaves behind it a custom which disposes the soul in the same way to pause over all the objects which present themselves, provided that they appear to it to be ever so little new. And this is what causes the continuance of the malady of those who suffer from a blind curiosity - that is, who seek out things that are rare solely to wonder at them, and not for the purpose of really knowing them.³⁰

Some scientists attempted to go beyond the essentially antiquarian spirit of holding rarities and wonders to use, in the manner of Baconian empiricism, observation and experiment to gather and study collections, that is the inductive scientific research method. Thus, Sir Thomas Browne, amidst his assortment of curious items, formed a collection of eggs and birds as well as fishes from which he wrote a scientific tract on the birds of Norfolk and another on the fishes.³¹

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a number of men attempted to develop universal classifications for their subjects. In collections, too, items were presented in a systematic manner; the most common division for collections was between 'Artificialia' and 'Naturalia' as first presented by Ulisse Aldrovandi (1527-1605) who published thirteen volumes summing up his thirty year effort to describe all of nature.³² Specimens in his museum were arranged by species beginning with the skeleton

³⁰René Descartes, "The Passions of the Soul," Article LXXVIII in The Philosophical Works of Descartes, trans. by Haldan and Ross, vol. I, (London, 1935), pp. 365-366.

³¹Gordon Keith Chalmers, "Sir Thomas Browne, True Scientist," Osiris 2 (1936), 29.

³²David Murray, Museums, pp. 78-79.

of homo sapiens, then animals, and next plants and minerals with subdivisions. Man-made or artificial curiosities were divided by material in both the natural and man-made states; thus, minerals were shown as used in arms and armour or locks and keys.

According to the printed catalogue of 1656, Museum Tradescantianum or a collection of rarities preserved at South Lambeth near London, the collection was sub-divided as was the custom: the "Natural" group included "Birds, four-footed Beasts and Fishes, Shell-creatures, Insects, Minerals, Outlandish-Fruits and the like" including a "Dodar, from Island Mauritius."³³ The plants and trees were carefully listed with English and Latin names. The "Artificials" group included "Utensils, household stuff, habits, instruments of war used by several nations, rare curiosities of art, etc." and included Roman pottery and pre-Roman coins. For the Royal Society Museum, Nehemiah Grew followed the system of the European scientists but in a different order: Animals, Plants, Minerals and Artificial Curiosities; the "Humane Rarities" led the Animal section starting with a mummy.³⁴

In the eighteenth century a number of scientists continued writing descriptions and, even treatises representing the preferred arrangements of collections such as that of Caspar F. Neickelius, a Hamburg dealer and merchant who in 1727 published Museographia to guide the amateur collector. These works composed the body of opinion on which the growing criticism of museums was based.³⁵ For example, Sloane's methods were judged by a pupil of Linnaeus to be advanced in preservation, mounting and display. But several years later the display at Montague House was the frequent target of

³³Museum Tradescantium; or a collection of rarities (London, 1656)

³⁴Nehemiah Grew, Musaeum regalis societatis or a catalogue and description of the natural and artificial rarities belonging to the Royal Society and preserved at Gresham College (London, 1681).

³⁵Caspar F. Neickelius (Jenckel), Museographia, oder Anleitung zum rechten Begriff und nutzlicher Anlegung der Museorum oder Raritäten-Kammer (Leipzig, 1727).

criticism: Saint-Fond's called it "an immense magazine, in which things have been thrown at random" not as "a scientific collection, destined to instruct and honour a great nation." On the other hand, the Natural History museum of the University of Edinburgh did pass judgement:

...the objects which comprise it are in a more methodical order... This Museum is as instructive and interesting to the native as it is agreeable to foreigners, who are always much more desirous of seeing collections of the natural and local riches of a country, than the multitude of disconnected and inconsequential objects constantly brought from India, and which are repeated over and over in every cabinet.³⁶

These criticisms were in spite of staff attempts to correct display problems. James Empson, the Keeper of Sir Hans Sloane's collection worked to order the natural history collection into three sub-divisions of fossils, vegetables and animals for the reason that "by this Arrangement the Spectator will be gradually conducted from the simplest to the most compound and the most perfect of Nature's productions." In 1782, F.W. Gray rearranged the Bird Room, the first attempt to follow the Linnaean system. Rearrangement had previously been performed by attendants.³⁷

But the criteria for museums went further than scientific arrangement for some early writers. In 1674 D. Major of Kiel expressed the pedagogical or educational role of museums; he was concerned that the collections be arranged to have the best impact on the observer and criticized the arrangement of dissimilar objects by size, then a common technique in random collections.³⁸ A number of specimens were to be displayed at the entrance of the cabinet to catch the "visitor's eye," a crocodile, a stuffed bear, tiger or lion or other impressive item would be their "splendour," "venerable character" or "ferocious looks" intrigue the visitor. Kirchner

³⁶ Barthelemy de Saint-Fond, A Journey Through England and Scotland to the Hebrides in 1784, 2 vols. (Glasgow, 1907), 85-90.

³⁷ A.E. Gunther, "Edward Whitaker Gray (1748-1806), Keeper of Natural Curiosities at the British Museum," Bulletin of the British Museum (Natural History) 5 (London, 1976), 197.

³⁸ S. Bedini, "The Evolution of Science Museums," Technology and Culture, 6, 1-29.

and Sir John Sloane, Bullock and Lever followed this advice placing a mummy in a prominent place.

'Naturalia'

A number of developments altered the world of museums. Until the early nineteenth century, the predominant belief was that the Old Testament was the record of the origins and early history of nature and man and the Creation and the Flood were critical events of the history of the world then 6,000 years old. Paley's Natural Theology or Evidences of the Existence and Attributes of the Deity Collected from the Appearance of Nature of 1802 was the main scientific authority.³⁹ The prevailing view was that of natural theology (the knowledge of God as gained by reason and the light of nature) and in the "fixity of species," the proofs of God's existence revealed in natural organisms. The driving force of collecting was to discover the varieties of life forms (species). In 1758 Linnaeus recorded 4,162 species; in 1898 Moebius listed 415,000; today, it is suggested there are well over a million with 6,000 insects alone added each year.⁴⁰ In ornithology alone the increase was marked: Linnaeus (1758) recorded 444 species; Cuvier (1817) 765; J.E. Gray (1834) 4,000; Johnston's physical atlas (1856) 6,000; and Richard Owen (1862) 8,000.⁴¹ Collections increased apace; Sloane's original collection listed 32,000 coins, 5,843 shells, 2,275 metals and ores and 2,098 miscellaneous items for a total of 42,216 objects. In zoology alone, J.E. Gray at the British Museum added 991,899 specimens that he was either given or collected from 1837 to 1874.⁴² By

³⁹Rev. William Paley, Natural Theology or Evidences of the Existence and Attributes of the Deity Collection from the Appearance of Nature (London, 1802).

⁴⁰Lynn Barber, The Heyday of Natural History (London, 1980), p. 65.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 65.

⁴²The Will of Sir Hans Sloane, Deceased (London, 1753), The Names and Numbers of the Several Things Contain'd in the Museum of Sir Hans Sloane, H.J. Braunholtz, Hans Sloane and Ethnography (London, 1970) and A.E. Gunther, A Century of Zoology (London, 1975), p. 111.

1872 there were 35,000 ornithology specimens and by 1900 400,000.⁴³ The dramatic increase in the size of collections and the stability provided by the formation of permanent museums and conservation improvements created the most dramatic conditions for change in museum processes.⁴⁴

In the early part of the century cabinets were arranged to illustrate the richness and order of the natural world. Thus, the Encyclopedia Perthensis (1816) contained "Treatises on Natural History, and of the Arrangement of a Museum," a translation of an earlier French text, but a standard for the 1800's.⁴⁵ A Museum of Natural History was to have windows along the two longest sides of the building for suitable lighting and have eleven presses or shelves on one wing containing the "eleven classes of the Mineral Kingdom": 1. Waters, 2. Earths, 3. Sands, 4. Stones, 5. Salts, 6. Pyrites, 7. Semimetals, 8. Metals, 9. Bitumens and Sulphurs, 10. Volcanic Productions, 11. Petrifications, Fossils, and Lufus Naturae. The second wing would contain ten presses for the vegetable kingdom: 1. Roots, 2. Barks, 3. Woods and Stalks, 4. Leaves, 5. Flowers, 6. Fruits and Feeds, 7. Parasite Plants, Agrarics and Mushrooms, 8. The juices of gums and gums properly so called, 9. Extracted juices, sugars and drebs, 10. Marine plants, and plants growing on the shores of the sea. The third section was for the Animal Kingdom: 1. Lithophytes, 2. Zoophytes, 3. Testaceous, 4. Crustaceous, 5. Insects, 6. Fishes, 7. Amphibious animals, reptiles and ovivarous quadrupeds, 8. Birds with their nests and eggs, 9. Viviparous quadrupeds, 10. Man.⁴⁶

⁴³The History of the Collections 11 (London, 1904), 87-88.

⁴⁴Paul Farber, "The Development of Taxidermy and the History of Ornithology," ISIS 68 (1977), 566.

⁴⁵"Treatises on Natural History and of the Arrangement of a Museum," Encyclopedia Perthensis (Edinburgh, 1816); sections were translated from an earlier French work by Valmont de Bomarré, Dictionnaire d'Histoire Naturelle (Paris, 1775), p. 384, according to D. Murray, Museums, pp. 226-228.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 593-5.

Decoration was also important to create a sense of "one complete whole" walls must be "furnished" or covered with objects such as wasp's nests, horn of rhinoceros, elephant's trunks, horn of a 'unicorn,' figures of native bronze and the floor paved with common stones. The white ceiling should be divided into three areas with hooks and brass wires from which large items were suspended.⁴⁷ To this point, the outline of the collection was similar to the earlier convention with newer scientific additions. However, there was also to be a section on comparative osteology and drawings on the walls to facilitate the understanding of specimens.

The predominance of these arrangement principles in museum processes were reflected in the architecture of the Philosophical and Archaeological Society Museum at Scarborough which was built in 1829. It comprised a Rotunda, fifty-five feet by thirty-two feet in diameter. The plan was conceived by Dr. William Smith, the geologist, who believed it more capable of exhibiting the stratification of the rocks of Great Britain in a simpler and more intelligible form than could be obtained by any other method.

A number of developments in the nineteenth century gradually took the focus away from the taxonomic preoccupation of natural theology to questions of biology. First, some of the controversy over taxonomic questions was removed with the establishment of mediators in 1841 through a Committee of the British Association, followed eventually by a Commission on Zoological Nomenclature and the International Congresses of 1867 and 1930 on Botany.⁴⁸ Second, the concepts of the origin of man and animals projected in natural theology were challenged: by the discovery of fossils and artifacts with extinct animals in situ, by Charles Lyell's doctrine of uniformitarianism which argued that geological strata were formed in a uniform, progressive way, not by catastrophe or flood and of course, by the theories of Evolution

⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 596-7.

⁴⁸ W.E. Swinton, "Classification and Nomenclature," Museums Journal 48 (May 1948) and J.S.L. Gilmour, "The Development of Taxonomy," British Association for the Advancement of Science, vol. IX (1952), pp. 70-74.

presented by Alfred Russel and Charles Darwin which eventually solved the earlier controversy.⁴⁹

By 1860 the work of exploring species had become an overwhelming task, only trained professionals could spend the time studying collections, species and books necessary to identify specimens. Scientists built their own societies, literature, language, methods, becoming a professional elite.⁵⁰ Then, Darwin's work opened up a whole new set of questions requiring field work and microscopic study, based on rules governing the development of species, variation due to sex, age, season, feeding and habitat and further specialization.

The enormous popularity of natural science passed. Geology too lost its controversy and popularity as scholars took over the systematic surveying and studying of collections. By 1886 there were 19,000 fossil species in Britain alone. Thus, by the third-quarter of the nineteenth century natural history had lost its earlier popular fascination: it had become a subject for specialists, at best a school subject, and a visit to the British Museum (Natural History) an educational requirement.

To some extent the growing complication of subject areas and scholarly discoveries created the communication gap with the public. In the 1850's young girls would know the names of ferns, mosses, fungi and beetles; by 1888 Babbington recorded:

It is rare now to find an Undergraduate or B.A. who knows, or cares to know, one plant from another, or distinguish insects scientifically. I am one of those who consider this to be a sad state of things. I know that much of what is called Botany is admirably taught amongst us; but it is not what is usually known as Botany outside the Universities, and does not lead to a practical knowledge of even the most common plants. It is really Vegetable Physiology and ought to be so called. It is a very important subject, but does not convey a knowledge of plants.⁵¹

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Glyn Daniel, One Hundred and Fifty Years of Archaeology, Chapters 2 and 3.

⁵⁰L. Barber, The Heyday of Natural History, p. 185 and D.E. Allen, pp. 181-194.

⁵¹D.E. Allen, The Naturalist in Britain (London, 1976), p. 185.

By 1904, David Murray summarized the display principles of museums: objects should be arranged according to the "best accepted system" and be placed to the best advantage for the viewer so that one object would not interfere with another; cases should not be overcrowded and each object should be described concisely and methodically.⁵² The question, though, was what was the "best accepted system." To the scientists it was the order of the specimens, not the specimens themselves, that conveyed the content of the display.

Specialization only exacerbated the dualism already evident in museums. The scientific basis of selecting and arranging collections and the appearance of the display to the visitor now became a medium to unravel complex theories. As William Flower noted:

It is not the objects placed in a museum that constitute its value, so much as the method in which they are displayed and the use made of them for the purpose of instruction.⁵³

Thus, for many scientists, the scheme was all important. In 1887, Professor W.A. Herdman, University College, Liverpool, presented a scheme for a museum following the phylogenetic evolutionary classification of animals. Herdman rejected the linear classification of most schemes as pre-Darwinian and attempted to present clear and comprehensive picture of evolution.⁵⁴ The collections would be shown in three parts: a large Type or Phylogenetic collection in a great central hall on the ground floor in which cases would be arranged around the walls and in groups on the floor to show the developments of leading groups of animals and the story-line or message would be highlighted by a stout brass bar seven feet from the ground which would be labelled. In addition there would be a second section to show local collections and a third for special collections to illustrate

⁵²David Murray, Museums, p. 263.

⁵³William Flower, Essays on Museums, p. 55. This belief was repeated frequently by people such as L. Aggasiz and G.B. Goode.

⁵⁴W.A. Herdman, "An Ideal Natural History Museum," Report of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool, vol. 14 (1887), pp. 61-81.

geographical distribution, variation of species, of domesticated animals and plants, parasitism and so on. However, his attempt to present complicated ideas was judged to be far too scientific for most museum visitors.

In this scientific milieu, some scientists endlessly discussed classification systems for the arrangement of displays especially those suitable for Typical or Local collections according to articles in the first twenty years of Museums Association publication. The latest classifications of geology, vertebrates, invertebrates, botany as well as for archaeology, folk and bygonies and how best to arrange them and the merits of each were repeatedly discussed.⁵⁵ These discussions were proof that most scientists agreed with G.B. Goode's dictum already quoted that "an efficient educational museum may be described as a collection of instructive labels, each illustrated by a well-selected specimen." The object was a specimen illustrating one of the many scientific principles of classification. In addition, the taxonomic questions were giving way to post-Darwinian questions of life-cycles, biological processes and ecology.

The problem was that the rapid changes in scientific knowledge led to ever changing classifications. Curators and arrangements were constantly under pressure to catch up with science and public ability to comprehend it.

⁵⁵Prof. J.S. Henslow, "On a Typical Series of Objects in Natural History adapted to local Museums," Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science for 1855 (London, 1856), Rev. H. Higgins, Plans for Invertebrates (1859), Synopsis of an Arrangement of Invertebrate Animals in the Free Public Museum of Liverpool (1880), Rooke Pennington, "Upon the Arrangement of a Geological Museum," Transaction of the Manchester Geological Society 15 (Session 1879-80), 248-9, also works of H. Higgins as cited on page 245, H.M. Platinauer, "On the Arrangement of Insect Collections in Museums," Report of the Proceedings of the Fourth General Meeting (1893), pp. 95-103, Herbert Bolton, "On the Arrangement of a Geological Museum," Report of the Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Meeting of the Museums Association (1895), pp. 50-59, Prof. H.A. Miers, "On the Arrangement of the Mineral Collections in the University Museum, Oxford," Report of the Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Meeting of the Museums Association (1897), pp. 37-46, E.M. Holmes, "The Arrangement of Herbaria," Report of the Proceedings of the Seventh Annual General Meeting (1898), pp. 63-78, George H. Carpenter, "The Re-arrangement of the Natural History Collections in Science and Art Museums, Dublin," Report of the Proceedings of the Tenth Annual General Meeting of the Museums Association (1899), pp. 37-44, J.M. Goodchild, "On the Arrangement of Geology Collections," Museums Journal 2 (February 1902), 219-225.

Not all museum personnel, however accepted the idea. E.E. Lowe, the Director at Plymouth in 1904 offered another thesis to that of Goode that of the concrete over the abstract. In his opinion:

The proper function of a Museum, however, is the exhibition of specimens and not of labels, but the educational and index series in all museums undoubtedly tend more and more to become collections of labels illustrated by specimens, probably owing to the influence of the aforementioned dictum.⁵⁶

Concerns about scientific presentation did not preclude attention to effective display methods. With the evolution of taxidermy and the development of habitat style of display, much energy was spent on improving the visitor's experience of the object. Both the habitat and diorama have a long history as an art form; the use of paint and models to create an illusion of reality of place, people or events can be traced to the Christian mosaics of the Roman period, the religious scenes of the early church such as the creche, and the scenic perspectives of the early Italian theatre.⁵⁷ The exhibition industry produced several influential visual display forms such as the panorama or cyclorama was used as a popular entertainment form after its invention by Robert Barker, an Edinburgh painter. In 1792 he opened a panorama of the English Fleet anchored between Portsmouth and the Isle of Wight in a London theatre which was extremely popular. Many others used visual techniques to convey scenes or landscapes not the least of which was William Bullock; in 1823, Daguerre and Bouton invented the 'Diorama' paintings on translucent gauze lit from above. Another display device was a miniature, three dimensional group representing a setting sometimes also named a diorama. One of the oldest models dates from 1618 and was a small European-made model of the people of Dutch Guiana carrying on their daily

⁵⁶ E.E. Lowe, "The Inductive Method in Installation," Museumkunde 2 (April 1906), 84-87.

⁵⁷ For a history of display techniques see Irene Fletcher Cypher, The Development of the Diorama in the Museums of the United States (D. Phil., School of Education, New York University, 1942); Ned J. Burns, "The History of Dioramas," Museums News 17 (15 February 1940), 8-12; Germain Bapst, Essay on the History of Panoramas and Dioramas, trans. by Ralph Lewis; Extract from the reports of the International Jury of the Universal Exposition of 1889 (Paris, 1891) and Richard Altick, The Shows of London.

activities before a grass-thatched hut. Another early example may have been the English Jungle scene at the British Museum (Natural History).

Naturalistic taxidermy and display methods were used by several early collectors such as the Comte de Réamur, a French physician, natural historian and inventor of preservation methods. The style of display followed on the continent was that started by J.L. Feisch in Berlin; he mounted each bird "as in life" in a separate tightly closed glass case to keep out the pests.

According to J.E. Gray, at the British Museum, the result of the continental display method was the appearance of rows of soldiers in glass cases.⁵⁸ Gray decided to experiment at the British Museum "with the view of testing the feelings of the public and the scientific visitors"; he grouped specimens of Nestor Parrots and Birds of Paradise, a family of Gorillas and the Impeyan Pheasants and some of the more interesting specimens in glass cases. Next, a series of fish and reptiles were stuffed for exhibit to illustrate the characteristics of the families and some genera while other specimens were kept in spirits and as skins in drawers for the scientific student. He also had a series of skeletons set up to show the forms of each class of animal while the remaining specimens were put in boxes for ready consultation. The results were considered quite attractive.

Gray was actually responding to a wider movement of display trends in Britain which had begun many years earlier. Before 1800, William Bullock had several displays of animals at the Egyptian Temple

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J.E.Gray, "Museums: Their Use and Improvement," British Association for the Advancement of Science (1864), p. 75.

such as the recently re-discovered display case of the Sabre Tooth Tiger and Boa Constrictor. The Newcastle bird collector, John Hancock, emphasized accuracy and artistry in the mounting of his specimens which became the basis of the Hancock Museum. E.T.Booth, in partiucular, placed birds in settings in cases placed in a long gallery in his museum on Dyke Road in Brighton(transferred in 1890 to the city of Brighton). In Liverpool, the curator T.J.Moore set up specimens in natural formations about 1865 while in Leicester the Natural History Committee first set up some of the British birds using 'artistic taxidermy'; then Montague Brown, a taxidermist appointed curator, set up the entire collection of birds in natural surroudnings.

At the British Museum, several figures continued Gray's work. Dr. A.E.Gunther, head of zoology had been influenced by the work of M.H. Ploucquet, a German taxidermist who worked for the Konigliche Naturalien Kabinet who liked to display specimens in natural family groupings. His popular work was exhibited and sold at the Crystal Palace Exhibition, Consequently, Gunther, aided by Bowdler-Sharpe, Assistant Curator and Montague Brown working as an assistant, set up the first bird group; it was a display of coots using actual specimens as found rather than contrived

⁵⁹Dr. R. Bowdler-Sharpe, "Ornithology at South Kensington," English Illustrative Magazine (December 1887), 166-175 and A.E. Gunther, A Century of Zoology (London, 1975), pp. 379-380. John Hancock (1808-1890), a taxidermist and ornithologist who developed a large collection of birds; he modelled the subject in clay and cast it in plaster to achieve realistic effects; samples where shown at the Great Exhibition, 1851. On his iniative the Hancock Museum, Newcastle-on-Tyne, was opened in 1884 when he presented his entire collection of mounted birds, skins, nests and eggs; E.T.Booth (1840-1890), Brighton, 1865-1890, was a private collector who was taught to prepare birds by Robert Kent of St. Leonards'. He built a museum in Brighton to house the bird collection. Montague Browne (1837-1923) began as a taxidermist in Brimingham, then became Curator at Leicester Museum in 1881 where he remained for twenty-six years. he reorganized the museum and wrote several books such as Practical Taxidermy (187). See British Taxidermists, a historical directory (Leicester, 1968).

mock-ups ; the principle was later extended to other animal groups.⁶⁰ By the 1880's the natural history rooms had wall-cases in the long bird gallery with birds mounted in systematic order but with habitat-type cases in the centre of the room. Gunther also outlined plans to show life-cycles of insects "to collect the larvae and chrysalides of insects, and to mount the caterpillars with their food plants..." and of British Birds showing changes in plumage, young and eggs.

Although it has been stated that in the methods of taxidermy the United States had the lead, George Brown Goode acknowledged their roots:

We frankly admit that in the matter of environmental groups of birds, Great Britain still surpasses the United States. So far as taxidermy is concerned, American workmen can hold their own, but the art of making and grouping accessories we have yet to acquire.⁶¹

In 1883, the British Museum had a series of mounted birds; the accessories, flowers and foliage were modelled in wax and other materials by Mrs. E.S. Mogridge and her brothers Messrs. Mintorn who, in 1890, were used to prepare bird groups for the American Museum of Natural History, New York. In the United States the work of Ward's Establishment, Rochester, the Smithsonian and American Museum of Natural History refined the habitat group adding curved backgrounds and artificial lighting for natural history and for human figures as well. This style of exhibit, then, was initiated in many museums across the United States.

Other museums also followed in Britain; the Zoological Room of the Leicester Museum as of the 1880's had thirty-nine cases (8' x 5') glazed with plate glass containing selected typical or orders of Mammalia and birds. The Curator, Montague Brown, instead of the "peg and block" system, put specimens on rock work to resemble their habitats. The fresh and salt water fish were in three "bays" with sea and river bottom reproduced.⁶²

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 380.

⁶¹G.B. Goode, "Report upon The Condition and Progres of the U.S. National Museum During the Year Ending June 30, 1893," Smithsonian Report, U.S. National Museum (1893), 40.

⁶²T. Greenwood, Museums and Galleries, p. 75.

The pictorial approach, however, created debate. As early as 1887 J.G. Wood in "The Dulness of Museums" questioned the educational value of the usual systematically-arranged displays prepared by scientists.⁶³ For Tom, Dick and Harry, museums of zoology should be arranged in picturesque groups "not of isolated animals but of groups, some large and some small, but all representing actual episodes the life history of the animals exhibited" and truthfully reproduced. Reverend Henry Higgins in 1892 in "Cultivation of Special Features in Museums" questioned the supposition that museums were "structures dedicated to systematic taxonomy" or "loving cult of nature" and presented an experiment in Pictorial Art in the life-history groups for birds.⁶⁴ He described a case for ocean birds 15' x 6' - only two specimens, an Albatross and a Frigate Bird, as a storm approaches with a painted background designed to convey the illusion of reality.

On the other side, many scientists were critical of the "pictorial method." In 1891 Dr. R.H. Traquair, Director of the Royal Scottish Museum, objected to the pictorial method for it would take an inordinate amount of space to set up all animals and was expensive to produce accurately.⁶⁵ He objected to the idea of 'amusing' the common person mentioned by Wood, and of teaching "them to be scientists in spite of themselves." In his opinion "if you wish to amuse people, you should subsidize a theatre at once!" But he also rejected Professor Herdman's attempt to convert visitors into scientist evolutionists but suggested the use of an introductory or a type collection as was being then built in Edinburgh.

Nevertheless, under the Directorship of Flower many additional

⁶³J.G. Wood, "The Dulness of Museums," The Nineteenth Century XXI (March 1887), 39.

⁶⁴H.H. Higgins, "Cultivation of Special Features in Museums," Proceedings of the Third Annual General Meeting of the Museums Association (1892), pp. 49-58.

⁶⁵R.H. Traquair, "Natural History Museums," Proceedings of the Royal Physical Society, Session 121 (Edinburgh, 1893), p. 173.

habitats were installed in the British Museum (Natural History) while elsewhere larger examples of habitats were eventually installed such as the Bass Rock Group at Royal Scottish Museum and the display of Norfolk countryside at the Norfolk Museum. Examples are still being produced.

'Artificialia'

Similar processes can be observed in the display of other subjects as the popularity of the natural sciences decreased towards the end of the nineteenth century resulting in growing interest in archaeology, ethnology, local history and 'bygones.' In the 1887 report of the British Association the largest number of objects were in the areas of geology and zoology. By the time of the Miers and Markham reports, it is clear that the emphasis of development was in the general local museum and historical museums with collections of 'bygones.' Museums of natural history had dropped dramatically to only 4.5% of the total museum institutions by 1938 (See Appendix V).

As collections grew in number, attempts were made to arrive at a systematic basis for subjects: classification schemes were an expression of attempt to put a field on a scholarly scientific footing.⁶⁶ Four types of classification or a mixture of all four could be founded in subject areas related to human productions: 1. Technical-material; 2. Aesthetic-presentation of a selection of the "best" according to form, style, or iconography; 3. Historical-chronological treatment of makers by school, country or period; 4. Cultural-grouping of all arts or products of one period, country or region or group. As in the natural sciences, the impact of evolution or staged schemes and reactions to them was felt in all subject areas.

In the mid-nineteenth century paintings were often hung in imitation of the eighteenth century but, without the same understanding of formal principles; instead they appeared as crowded miscellaneous walls described

⁶⁶ Art collections grew proportionately in number although the approximately 2,000 pictures of the National Gallery is much smaller than continental or United States collections.

by J.W. Papworth and W. Papworth in Museums, Libraries and Picture Galleries in 1853.⁶⁷ Some galleries were set up according to the country of the painter, miscellaneously hung as was done at the Pinakothek in Munich. Some were hung according to the qualities of certain recognized schools of art. Others were hung according to a capricious classification of subjects, such as historical, landscape, animal, etc. or as a miscellaneous system. In Papworth's opinion, arrangement by school was desirable:

If intended to illustrate the history of painting, it must be a very poor collection indeed, which will not admit of any arrangement according to the schools of painting; but noble collections exist, which were not formed with any such view.⁶⁸

However, it was the miscellaneous arrangement which was the general rule:

The miscellaneous arrangement of a collection is certainly the most common as well as the most gratifying to the public; it, is perhaps, less wearisome than the grouping of classes of subjects; which is the most valuable to the real student of art....⁶⁹

The objections to arrangement by schools were that there was no "critical giant" to say what was and was not a school; in addition, it was difficult for the spectator to see contemporaneous schools in succession. The greatest objection, however, was that in order to complete schools one had to allow "the admission of rubbish into a gallery arranged by schools," on the grounds that "many works are valuable from their antiquity, others as specimens of art; this applies to all collections of art; in order to have a complete history, a gallery must begin with the rudest specimens of all schools."⁷⁰

With the opening of the public galleries, the methodical study of works of art was combined with the connoisseurial appreciation of the virtuoso. Partly the result of the need to spend public funds wisely on

⁶⁷ J.W. Papworth and W. Papworth, Museums, Libraries and Picture Galleries (London, 1853), pp. 39-47.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 40.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 41.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 41.

acquisitions, partly the result of the placement of educated and trained men at the head of the institutions, the scholarly study of art, particularly art history, developed. Dr. Gustave Waagen, Director of the National Gallery in Berlin, who influenced practice in Britain through visits and reports, developed the technique of critical examination of pictures by scientifically comparing the different works of an artist. Sir Charles Eastlake followed these trends at the National Gallery using his technical training as an artist to examine closely and conserve the collection; he was responsible for the purchase of 139 works although a large number have since been re-catalogued as knowledge of artistic attribution have improved. Not until 1860 under Eastlake was the National Gallery arranged according to schools and periods, probably because there were not sufficient numbers of works to do so and as there was a shortage of display space.⁷¹

The epitome of the evolutionary development in art, parallel to Darwinism, was offered by Gottfried Semper who called for an historical typology of art like that developed by Cuvier in the natural sciences so as to follow the basic types "through progressive stages up to their highest point of development."⁷² Notwithstanding the fact that by 1860 most important major galleries in Europe such as Munich and Zurich National Museum were organized into periods or schools, the historical ordering of art museums was presented only within limits. A true genetic sequencing of exhibits from prehistoric to contemporary was not followed, nor were labels and wall charts used to explain historical relationships as in natural history or archaeology displays. For the most part, historical arrangement by chronology or schools was more of a narrative than a statement of cause and effect; further, the divisions varied greatly from museum to museum

⁷¹The Tate Gallery was not hung in chronological order until 1920, Note in Museums Journal 20 (October 1920), 97.

⁷²Thomas Munro, Evolution in the Arts (Cleveland, 1963), p. 7. Alex Dorner, the Director of the Hanover Museum who emigrated to the United States, experimented with 'genetic' art display forms in the 1920's as recorded in the biography The Way Beyond Art (New York, 1958).

according to the idiosyncracies of the collections and curator.

Papworth did not record the picturesque habit of showing art in sympathetic historical settings ; rooms were crowded in imageries of historicism, modelled after churches or living rooms of the past; the appearance of the room dominated individual objects. Sir John Soane, in his museum at Lincoln Inn Fields, set up an Egyptian sepulchre chamber surrounding a famous mummy, a suite of rooms set up like those of Walpole's Rooms at Strawberry Hill, and a hypothetical creation of a priest's room, Padre Giovanni. Bullock, too, recreated realistic display for his collections. They were following a European habit established at the Museo Pio-Clementine in the 1770's.

From the turn of the century, British writers were involved in an international debate on suitable art display. Wilhelm von Bode, art curator Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin, defended the principle of "historical interiors" which he too used to a limited extent in Berlin. Rooms were designed to represent a period; objects were mixed and the work of art part of the general effect of the whole. Bode warned against the "Japanese principle of isolating works of art up to the point of scattering them far apart." In his opinion, period rooms were better for the visitor:

Pictures and sculptures require a few good pieces of furniture, and occasionally some tapestries and decorative products of the applied arts in the character of that particular time. Thus, every museum room, as a whole will make an advantageous and distinguished impression and the effect of the pictures and statues will be heightened.⁷³

⁷³ Wilhelm von Bode, Mein Leben (Berlin, 1930). Bode was part of a long tradition. In France, the painter Lenoir directed the Museum des Monuments Francais (1795-1816) in the Convent of Petits Augustine which had separate rooms for each century beginning with the thirteenth. There was an "Elysian Field" with tombs for great men such as Moliere, Descartes, LaFontaine. In 1830, the Minister of the Interior, Guizot headed the movement for historic preservation establishing the Monuments Historiques to inventory historic sites. In Nuremburg, in 1856 the Germanisches was created in a Carthusian monastery with six rooms installed to depict a fifteenth century Tyrolean peasant dwelling, seventeenth century Nuremburg patricians and so on. Other examples were the Swiss Landesmuseum in Zurich with sixty-two rooms and the National Bavarian Museum, Munich, with seventy-six period galleries.

Like Bode, F.A. Bather, although a natural scientist, took great interest in art and the period display. The improvement of art museums was the topic of his Presidential Address to the Museums Association.⁷⁴ He quoted from leading art critics such as Robert Witt and Dr. Richard Mauther who put the argument that the art museum should not only exhibit but also be a work of art itself. The first requirement was to avoid crowding, select only the best and to mix objects as in real life. Bather promoted the period room movement such as he had seen at the Paris Room in the Hamburg Museum of Art and Industry; the exhibit

should not resemble a museum gallery or a store-closet, but should produce the impression of a habitable chamber such as might be furnished by an admirer and collector of modern art.⁷⁵

Bather discussed other examples such as the old House at Gothenburg, the National Bavarian Museum at Munich and the way "interiors" could be set up in smaller museums. He also promoted the idea of an open-air museum as in Scandinavia to appeal to the man on the street.

The period room or cultural history grouping was not universally accepted. Henri Verne called it the "Darwin theory of museography"; others felt that this "historifying" of art lacked refinement and trivialized the work of art, reducing it to mere decoration as the contents of the rooms were swamped by the decoration as in the Henry II room at the Louvre and the Pitti Palace. J. Gaudet wrote in Elements et Theorie de l'Architecture:

Understand, however, this harmony between the room and the objects in the museum does not convey a pastiche, too the contrary. There is no nonsense more shocking than the false conception in placing japonese collections for example in a false japonese decor, or egyptian collections in pseudo-egyptian interior.⁷⁶

L.F. Day criticized the cultur-geschichte of the German museums which used the object as the ultimate object lesson in this manner. "It is

⁷⁴F.A. Bather, "Presidential Address to the Museums Association," Museums Journal 3 (October 1903), 82.

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 82.

⁷⁶J. Gaudet, "Elements et Theories de l'Architecture," II, p. 315 as translated from the original French in Communication to the Trustees, vol. 1, Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Boston, 1903), p. 20.

sheer misuse of art to reduce it to the service of history."⁷⁷ The period room was sentimental and did not help to see the objects which after all was the purpose of the museum:

What we want to see are the things themselves, down to the last detail of their execution.⁷⁸

In his opinion, museums should be arranged for the study of artistic and technical development rather than of historical periods; Day preferred to treat the arts and crafts individually to show their separate development. In particular, he defended the 1908 reorganization at the Victoria and Albert Museum under the direction of Sir Cecil Harcourt Smith in which the craft or material division for the collections and departments was established: a) Woodwork, furniture and leather; b) Metal work; c) Textiles; d) Architecture and sculpture; e) Engraving, illustration and design; f) Library and book-production; g) Paintings; h) Ceramics, glass and enamels. Originally the Great Exhibition had been organized by type of manufacture which was followed in the first acquisitions of the South Kensington Museum. For example, the Soulanges collections made by a French advocate was a "series of decorative objects of utility" not usually accepted as "high art." However, when Sir. J.C. Robinson was Keeper he took the connoisseurial approach in that only objects of "unusual importance and finely decorative intention" not the common type would be acquired. Material made before 1830 was not to be acquired and modern works were banished to the Bethnal Green site after 1880. Smith was thus, returning to the original principles of the Museum to be a resource for instructional design and was reacting to the growing popularity of collecting objet d'art at the turn of the century.

The arrangement by technique or material too had its critics. Colonel Plunket in 1903 argued in favour of historical classification while

⁷⁷Lewis Foreman Day, "How to Make the Most of a Museum," Museums Journal of the Society of Arts (10 January 1908), pp. 146-155.

⁷⁸Ibid.

Dr. Grosse rejected both the technical principles and the art historical period rooms as a rejection of "serious purposes" of art for the pleasure of the "untutored multitude."⁷⁹ Grosse represented a general international movement of aesthetic reaction to the crowded and didactic methods of the historical method and the over-sentimentality of the period room. Based on the ideas of Ruskin, Whistler, and Morris, who in the 1870's preferred the so-called Japanese method of display against white or neutral surroundings and a few choice works. This principle of display had been articulated by Li Chih, a Chinese writer of the twelfth century in China whose writings were again studied:

No more than three or four pictures by eminent artists should ever be hung in one room. After these have been enjoyed for four or five days, others should be substituted.⁸⁰

First, then, the number of works on display should be reduced. The single-line showing of painting recommended earlier by Eastlake and Ruskin were enacted at the National Portrait Gallery about 1900 and the National Gallery in 1920; the Boston Museum of Fine Art followed this approach in 1907, the National Gallery of Berlin in 1908 and the Rembrandt Room of the Louvre in 1908. E. Schur in 1908 called on curators to "cleanse" display according to the principles of the modern style; curators such as Alfred Lichtwark of the Hamburg Kunsthalle and Tschudi in Berlin followed this thinking as did C.J. Holmes at the National Gallery in London.

One technique of the art museum had been to isolate some pictures for extra emphasis. For example, the Tribuna of the Uffizzi from 1700 to the early 1900's showed the rarest items of the collection. There was a return to the idea of highlighting a single object, which had been followed in 1742 in Dresden by Algarotti, when in 1931 the Victoria and Albert Museum selected a masterpiece of the week which was shown in a special room; photos, postcards, reproductions and leaflets were provided and the work

⁷⁹ Colonel Plunket, "How an Art Museum Should be Organized," Magazine of Art 1 (1903), 448-450.

⁸⁰ As cited in B.I. Gilman, "Museums of Fine Art," 9 (July 1909), 35. Museums Journal.

discussed in the newspaper.⁸¹

When planning a new building the Boston Museum of Fine Arts thoroughly investigated the state of art museums in Europe which resulted in a number of reports by Europeans and Boston Trustees; experiments were also conducted on architecture and lighting. These were printed in a series of reports entitled Communications to the Trustees which stand as a treatise on art museums in 1900.⁸² Led by Benjamin Ives Gilman, the Trustees decided to set up a museum with two exhibition halls, a popular area where a selection of the best art works were shown and a second study area where works were shown chronologically. As a result the Director, Edward Robinson, an archaeologist, who preferred a comprehensive systematic arrangement, quit to become Director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. These events were carefully told in Burlington Magazine at various intervals and the philosophies became known as the "Boston" and "New York" approaches.

Robert Witt in How to Look at Pictures expressed the same ideas in England:

A picture is far more than an exercise for the mind, a book written on a single page, the coloured map of a moment, a lesson on canvas. A great gallery is no mere dictionary of art, useful for reference and study...To arouse the powers of enjoyment, of abandonment to beauty as an end in itself, is the legitimate end of art.⁸³

Although now interpreted as an expression of high culture or elitism, the aesthetic treatment was not necessarily so. Some curators such as Meier-Graefe did hope that "the mob" would be shut out of museums; Benjamin Ives Gilman of Boston is interpreted as an elitist but in his works on art museums he was reacting to the heavy-handed and patronizing tone of the didactic methods of education. He devised several schemes such as the guide-lecturer 'docent' and gallery print-outs designed specifically for the

⁸¹M. Ugo Ojitti, in Museographia (Paris, 1934), pp. 3-4.

⁸²Museum of Fine Arts, Communication to the Trustees 4 vols., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Boston, 1904), "Art in America," Burlington Magazine 9 (April 1906), 62.

⁸³As cited in F.A. Bather, "Presidential Address," Museums Journal 3 (October 1903), 111.

public. Some museum thinkers presented the idea of the museum as a temple of art, a popular place where people could be inspired. At the 1903 Mannheim Conference the view was expressed that "great works of art are not a means of decoration" but "should be placed on an altar not over a sofa."

One version of display was the modern version of the "neo-classical," "objective" or "clinical laboratory" approach with white walls, rooms all of the same size with white or light metal frames for pictures. The emphasis here was on the gallery as a neutral aesthetic space as well, as a storehouse or place of study. Meier-Graefe described the effect: "With all the devices of the modern age, visibility is enhanced-sober as in an operating theatre." This style was followed by Le Corbusier, the Bauhaus artists, the architects Morris and O'Connor in Hartford, Connecticut and at the Fogg Art Gallery, Harvard University. In Britain, the idea was promoted by Eric Maclaughlan in his 1931 address to the Royal Institute of British Architects; he objected to the decoration of a room in period style for the aim of the museum was the minute study of art not the experience of it.⁸⁴ He pointed to the work done at the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard, under the direction of Paul J. Sachs.

The emphasis on scholarship intensified after the first World War. Reginald Dibdin, of the Walker Art Gallery continued to approach art works as study specimens believing that one should develop a comprehensive collecting policy for a complete showing of periods and styles rather than aesthetic standards.

Another reaction also in the 1920's was the return to the neo-classical display style of the Duveen rooms in the British Museum and the National Gallery; but the period room, too, was still evident in the interwar years. In the early 1930's Eric Maclaughlan sent out a questionnaire to museum curators in Britain and abroad on the period room and discovered that it was most widely used in the large museums of the United States and generally

⁸⁴Eric Maclaughlan, article in Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects 38 (6 June 1931), pp. 527-548.

opposed in Europe.⁸⁵ The exceptions were Boston, the Fogg Museum, Harvard and the Metropolitan which tended not to use period rooms. Europeans, in general, he believed, tended to oppose the period rooms on the basis that it did not respect the art work. Here, too, there were exceptions to the stated beliefs. In Berlin, the Pergamum Altar and the Gate of Ishtal of Babylon were set up as reconstructions. In April 1929, the Director of the National Gallery used the cruciform plan of a dome and four vaulted galleries to produce the appearance of a Renaissance church with Raphael's work placed at the place of the high altar flanked by Masaccio; a small ante-room for classical subjects was set up much like a Renaissance cabinet. At the Fitzwilliam, Sir Sydney Cockerell (1908-37) placed carpets, furniture, objets d'art in the galleries amidst the paintings of the period. The building housing the Wallace Collection was re-decorated with walls covered in crimson silk brocade, marbled wainscot, gold cornice and coving in 1931. The Octagon Court of the Victoria and Albert Museum was re-arranged as period displays in 1935. After World War II as a broader reaction to the technological presentation of art, several museums developed period environments for art. The National Gallery began to hang smaller pictures in two rows again.

Similar paradoxical movements of ideas went on in the other subject areas of the museum. In Britain the interest in classical antiquities predominated in private collections such as those of Elgin (1801-03), Charles Townley, Payne Knight and William Hamilton supported by the activities of the Society of Dilettanti and works such as Stuart and Revett's Antiquities of Athens (1762). Gradually the interest in archaeology shifted to British medieval and pre-historic archaeology as has been recorded by Glyn Daniel and Stuart Piggott; an archaeological method developed although some museums

⁸⁵Eric Maclaughlan, "Different Methods of Presenting Collections," Museographia, Report No. 7 (Paris, 1934). He also pointed out various combinations as at Cincinnati, where the collections were arranged by material in historical sequence and at Pennsylvania two series were used by culture and chronology, p. 26.

still treated archaeological material as art.⁸⁶

Research in prehistoric archaeology was begun in the eighteenth century by Scandinavian scientists among others. Christian Jurgenson Thomsen of Denmark was one of the first curators of the National Museum of Denmark. He developed the three stage system based on the material of the objects: 1. Stone; 2. Bronze; 3. Iron. The museum was organized on these principles which quickly spread to Sweden and Germany; an English edition was published by Lord Ellesmere in 1848 in A Guide to Northern Antiquities.⁸⁷

The debates on the proper arrangement of art were replayed by collectors and curators of antiquities. The new order of archaeological science challenged earlier ideas of display as two incidents at the British Museum illustrate. The sculptor Sir Richard Westmacott was asked by the Trustees to arrange the new Lycian marbles of Zanthos donated by Sir Charles Fellows over the head of the curator Edward Hawkins.⁸⁸ Both Hawkins and the donor reacted critically to this in several parliamentary reports. Fellows felt the arrangement was a "misrepresentation" and that Westmacott was "about to pile together the monuments in some instances and to separate them in others without any knowledge of any object in selecting them."

In the 1850's Austin Henry Layard, archaeologist and collector in Mesopotamia, donated a large number of his discoveries to the British Museum creating space problems and the eventual ousting of the natural history collections. Layard reported in the 1860 Commission on the British Museum:

⁸⁶ Glyn Daniel, A Hundred and Fifty Years of Archaeology and Stuart Piggott, Ruins in a Landscape, Chapter VI, IX.

⁸⁷ Thomas Munro suggests that this was a revival of a three-stage system described by Lucretius but in any event the principle divisions although further sub-divided remains the base of the relative chronology in the subject, Evolution in the Arts, p. 39-40.

⁸⁸ "Letter," Appendix (p. 405), "Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the Constitution and Government of the British Museum", (1850). These events are well described by E. Miller, That Noble Cabinet, pp. 175, 206-207.

I look upon the British Museum as a collection for the purpose of instructing the public, and I do not think that the present arrangement is such as to instruct the public: I think that in many respects they are misled.⁸⁹

Sculpture should be "...arranged chronologically, so as to show to the public what great changes have taken place in the history of human mind and of civilization." On the other hand, C.T. Newton, the Keeper of Antiquities, believed that material should be shown together and not necessarily in chronological order but as a mixture of juxtaposed styles:

A museum of antiquities, not of one people or period only, but of all races and of all time, exhibits a vast comparative scheme of the material productions of man.⁹⁰

Gradually, archaeology was exhibited to show the new classification theories of archaeological science, such as the three-stage system.

By the end of the nineteenth century professional archaeology had emerged. Scientific techniques were introduced for digs as exemplified in the work of Sir Flinders Petrie by which every part of the site must be carefully excavated and recorded. Along with these techniques went speculation about the classification of archaeological collections, discussed in a number of articles by Petrie and Dr. W.H. Hoyle.⁹¹ Petrie noted that schemes depended on the purpose of the collection which could be:

1. Artistic, as at South Kensington; 2. Historical as at the British Museum;
3. Cultural, as Ethnographical series; or 4. Technical such as at Jermy Street Museum, or some special class such as morphological development as at Pitt-Rivers, or technical or functional as at Manchester. Still, he began with a division into 'periods': 1. Prehistoric; 2. Dynastic Egyptian;
3. Classical Greek, Roman, and coinage; 4. Coptic; 5. Arab.

⁸⁹A. Layard, "Evidence," Report of the Selected Committee on the British Museum"(1860).

⁹⁰C.T. Newton, "On the Arrangement of the Collections of Art and Antiquities in the British Museum. Letter to the Select Committee on the National Gallery" in Essays on Art and Archaeology, (London, 1890), p.66.

⁹¹Flinders Petrie, "Egyptological Collections," Museums Journal 8 (November 1908), 101 and W.E. Hoyle, "The Arrangement of Egyptological Collections," Museums Journal 8 (November 1908), 152.

Ethnology, similarly, passed beyond the curiosity stage to be presented in more orderly systematic sequences. Ethnographic museums were first proposed in the 1830's and 1840's by the French geographer Jomard and instituted at the Danish Ethnographical Museum. England paid less attention to the idea of setting up separate collections or museums of ethnographic material except for the Christy Collection at the British Museum, the Pitt-Rivers Museum in Oxford, the Blackmore Museum, Salisbury. Early ethnology was approached by geographic divisions. However, the ideas of evolutionary stages defined by religion by Spencer, Tylor and Jevons, or the stages of social organisation depicted in Bachofen, McLennan and Morgan, gained followers in the 1880's and 1890's.

So by 1897 F.W. Rudler could argue that there were two basic methods of arrangement for ethnographical material: to link all objects of like character, comparative ethnography as used at the Pitt-Rivers Museum or to bring all products together of a particular people, the geographical method used at the British Museum.⁹² Pitt-Rivers started his ethnographical collection in 1851; he decided to organize the material like natural history objects classified by form and function from the most primitive to demonstrate development.⁹³ Rudler was followed by numerous authors in Museums Journal discussing classification and arrangement schemes as the subject area and collections evolved.⁹⁴

⁹²F.W. Rudler, "On the Arrangement of Ethnographical Collections," Report of the Eighth Annual General Meeting of the Museums Association (1897), p. 55.

⁹³H. Balfour, "Notes on the Arrangement of the Pitt-Rivers Museum," Report of the Eighth Annual General Meeting of the Museums Association (1897),

⁹⁴Such as Harlan I. Smith, "The Ethnological Arrangement of Archaeological Material," Report of the Ninth Annual General Meeting of the Museums Association (1898), pp. 143-149, and in Museums Journal, "Loan Exhibitions of Local Antiquities," vol. 9 (December 1909), 227, "Ethnographic Collections," 9 (November 1909), H. Ling Roth, "On the Use and Display of Anthropological Collections in Museums," vol. 10 (April 1911), 286, L.W.G. Malcolm, "Notes on Ethnological Arrangement in the British Museum," vol. 22 (July 1922), 4, H.S. Harrison, "Museums and Ethnography," vol. 24 (April 1925), 226.

However, the geographical system was adapted by most museums, such as the British Museum, the Edinburgh Museum and Dublin while the Pitt-Rivers Museum at Oxford, Salisbury Museum and Horniman Museum used comparative ethnological groupings (as did Chicago, Philadelphia, Washington, Saint Louis Museum). While a few foreign museums (Berlin, Bremen, Dresden and Brunswick, Lumbek in Germany) arranged material more or less in evolutionary sequence, most Provincial Museums in Britain followed the simpler geographical basis for arranging groups of objects.

With the growing interest in local history (folk-life, bygones, antiquities or local history) other classification schemes developed.⁹⁵ The usual remedy was to advise the local museum to concentrate on preserving and exhibiting specimens related to the local geology, fauna and flora, history, industries and art works of the region, although some objected to this type of restriction.

About 1900 'synthesis' types of arrangements (See page 315) entered display methods. In Britain, there were many calls to start up an open-air museum on the Scandinavian model. Several museums did set up reconstructed street scenes. The first was at Hull, where Thomas Sheppard amassed shop and building fronts and set them up in a street scene (destroyed in World War II). Dr. J.L. Kirk, a medical practitioner from the East Riding of Yorkshire, began to collect various items during his rounds to the villages and farms, storing them in his house and stables. Motivated by a visit to Skansen, he worked to set up a museum and in 1938 his collection was opened at York in the Castle Museum which included a street scene. Other museums followed such as Leicester in the Newarke Houses, Kirkstall Abbey in Leeds where the curator had worked at York. In 1945, Shibden Hall, Halifax and in 1947 Blaise Castle in Bristol, Kingussie, Scotland, and the Welsh Folk Museum at St. Fagan's were set up for folk-life material. Archaeology and ethnology were slow to move to the habitat or diorama display technique

⁹⁵T.W. Woodhead, "Scheme for the Development of a Local Museum," (Huddersfield, 1921), 23pps. Tolson Memorial Museum Publications. Handbook 1.

until after the Second World War.

The evidence, then contrary to Wittlin's argument, suggests that Britain in the use of realistic taxidermy, habitats and diorama, period rooms, historic house display, all examples of 'synthesis' display, had been active and in some cases innovative. Space and finance had restricted their ability to pursue the display method. Another factor may often be forgotten. With historic sites and buildings all around, the need to re-create "living history" may not have been as necessary in Britain as in North America.

Dual Arrangement

With the increase in the number of objects in collections most of which were on open display, exhibits became overcrowded and difficult to manage causing 'museum fatigue' or 'museum drunkenness.' Once having agreed that some museums were in a poor state of display, the exercise became that of devising schemes for ordering the display whether scientifically or for the best showing. As collections became larger, the idea appeared that the showing of the complete collection was not an absolute: it was possible to divide the collection according to the objects or their use by the different types of visitors. The idea was expressed by Goethe in Kunst und Alterum (1821) and certainly was followed by Klenze at the Pinakothek, Munich and by Schinkel at the Altes Museum (1824-28) and may have even earlier heritage.⁹⁶

Then, Sir Robert Inglis at the Select Committee on the British Museum in 1835 asked whether it might be a good idea to keep the mass of sensitive insect materials protected, while duplicate specimens were on show.⁹⁷ The Prince Regent hung the Dutch picture collection in a single

⁹⁶For the history of dual arrangement see G. Bazin, The Museum Age, p. 263 and Benjamin Ives Gilman, "Museums of Fine Art," Museums Journal 9 (July 1909), 29-44.

⁹⁷Sir Robert Inglis, "Evidence," Report of the Select Committee on the Condition of the British Museum (1835).

line against richly bordered panels of silk. Charles Eastlake, Director of the National Gallery, discussed bipartite or dual arrangements in an article to the Times in 1853 and Ruskin expressed his preference for the proper presentation of art "hung in one line, side by side" although this was not accomplished until after World War I at the National Gallery.

In 1864 J.E. Gray discussed the history of display. Around 1820 the predominant style had been to place every specimen on a separate stand "in rank and file" in large glass wall-cases following the method of the Jardin des Plantes.⁹⁸ The idea was that the English collections were smaller and the public wanted to see every specimen; as proof no items were hidden or lost "in the cellars." As the number of the collections grew, however, the result was a mass of specimens lined up as if in a "large store or city warehouse" with every specimen in its proper place on a shelf in order that it could be found. As a result:...

the general visitor perceives little else than a chaos of specimens, of which the bulk of those placed in close proximity are so nearly alike that he can scarcely perceive any difference between them, even supposing them to be placed on a level with the eye, while the greater number of those which are above or below this level are utterly unintelligible. ⁹⁹

The answer was to store some skins in drawers where there was more access for study. Scientists, like Swainson, at first objected then agreed to the efficiency of this method. Cases should not, as in the past, have only one specimen but have a series of specimens, chosen and displayed to present a particular point so that "any visitor, looking at a single case only, and taking the trouble to understand it, would carry away a distinct portion of knowledge." Cases should be arranged to show:

⁹⁸J.E. Gray, "Museums: Their Use and Improvement," p. 77

⁹⁹Ibid., p. 77.

The classes of the animal kingdom.
 The orders of each class.
 The families of each order.
 The genera of each family.
 The sections of each genus, by means of one or more typical or characteristic examples of each class, order or section.
 A selection of a specimen of each of the more important or striking species of each genus or section.
 The changes of states, sexes, habits, and manners of a well-known or an otherwise interesting species.
 The economic uses to which they are applied; and such other particulars as the judgement and talent of the curator would select as best adapted for popular instruction, and of which these are intended as partial indications.¹⁰⁰

A distinction should also be made between local museums and national or large provincial museums. Both William Swainson and Professor J.S. Henslow recognized that a local museum could not have a full representation of specimens so some selection should be made.¹⁰¹ Henslow drew together the recommendations of natural scientists for the Animal, Vegetable, and Mineral Kingdoms to present a selection of 'Typical' classifications suitable for a local museum. He carried out his scheme in the new Ipswich Museum, opened in 1847, which was depicted as:

Vast stores of objects in natural history, animal and vegetable, with an extensively classified series of mineral productions, were collected and placed in commodious premises, consisting of a fine and lofty room, surrounded by a gallery...Large handsome cases have been erected around and up the centre of the principal room and along the galleries, and these contain the various specimens of four-footed animals and reptiles, as well as specimens of works of art, and a small but extremely valuable library of books and specimens of the ingenuity of the inhabitants of other climes....¹⁰²

The plans were related to a clear and specific purpose for the museum:

From the commencement of the institution it was laid down as a fundamental principle, that the Museum should be more particularly for the working classes, and to carry out that principle the public are admitted free during one day in the week - Wednesday - and also on Wednesday and on Friday evenings.¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰Ibid. , p. 78.

¹⁰¹William Swainson, Taxidermy with Biography of Zoologists (London, 1840), Chapter III and J.S. Henslow, "On the Typical Series of Objects in Natural History Adapted to Local Museums."

¹⁰²J. Glyde, The Moral and Social and Religious Condition of Ipswich (Ipswich, 1850) as cited by T. Kelly, A History of Adult Education, p. 179.

¹⁰³Ibid.

Henslow advised that in all display, whether of antiquities, industrial material or natural history, it was important "to convey distinct notions of principles, practice or history." By 1887 the British Association also reported that for a new museum one should "determine upon a scheme, to provide cases sufficient to carry this out, to place all specimens in their permanent places, and to fill up the blanks gradually."¹⁰⁴

As previously noted, William Swainson followed by T.H. Huxley discussed the division of the museum into several sections according to types of use and visitor. For the general public, Huxley started with one typical or popular part "in which all prominent forms or types of animals or plants, recent or fossil," would be shown "to give the public an idea of the vast extent and variety of natural objects, to diffuse a general knowledge of the results obtained by science in their investigation and classification, and to serve as a general introduction to the student in Natural Science."¹⁰⁵ For the scholar and scientific student, a second part would be scientific where animals and plants, and their fossil parallels, would be available for study with an accompanying library. For useful applications, a third series would be economic to demonstrate zoological and botanical products with illustrations of how they are gathered and utilized "as best to assist the progress of Commerce and the Arts."

Huxley conveyed the same principles for the local museum in plans written in 1868 for the Manchester Natural Society; first, there should be a "public exhibition of a collection of specimens large enough to illustrate all the most important truths of Natural History" accessible to the public, but "not so extensive as to weary and confuse ordinary visitors" but there would also be material available to the curator and scientific students "without interference with the public or by the public." Thus, there would

¹⁰⁴"Report of the Committee...upon the Provincial Museums of the United Kingdom," Report of the 57th Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science (1887), pp. 107-129.

¹⁰⁵T.H. Huxley, Life and Letters of Thomas Henry Huxley (London, 1900).

be a big hall (350 x 40 x 30 feet) for the public, with narrower halls on either side for students, all lighted from the top.

A.R. Wallace in 1869 supported the same scheme presenting a plan for a popular museum of a typical series of objects to convey the "largest amount of information possible."¹⁰⁶ Each group should be in one room or compartment to be highlighted while a separate study collections would be available for students. The architectural result would be a simple series of long rooms or galleries (35-41 feet wide by 14 feet high) side lit with moveable upright cases transversely arranged leaving a passageway of five feet. Partitions and doors would keep the collections compartmentalized; in large galleries groups of objects would be kept in separate units to prevent distraction from too many objects.

Severable notable curators did not accept the prevailing view of the separation of the collections then gaining ground. Richard Owen in 1862 published *On the Extent and Aims of a National Museum of Natural History*, a scheme for the new museum of Natural History.¹⁰⁷ In the tradition of Paley and based on thirty year's experience with visitors, he recommended a building covering the space of five acres to accommodate the intricate and comprehensive system of natural history in the Galleries of Zoology, Botany, Geology and Mineralogy to suit the unique purpose of a "Museum of Natural History of a great Nation":

The proportion of each class of Natural Objects there to be seen should be such as will impart more than a mere elementary acquaintance with the class; it should give an adequate idea of its known extent and of the changes in or departure from the fundamental characters of the class; it should exemplify the gradations by which one genus and order merges into another; and how the type of the class may have risen from that of a lower or may be mounting to that of a higher class. Such a comprehensive, philosophic and connected view of the classes of animals, plants, or minerals, necessitates a Public Gallery of proportionate size.

¹⁰⁶ A.R. Wallace, "Museums for the People," Macmillan's Magazine 19 (1888-89), 249. Others who argued for the separation of collections were E. Edwards in The Administrative Economy of the Fine Arts and W.S. Jevons in "The Uses and Abuses of Museums".

¹⁰⁷ Richard Owen, On the Extent and Aims of a National Museum of Natural History (London, 1862).

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 117.

The plans were not accepted for one thing as they were more expensive than the alternatives.

It is difficult to conclude who was more correct. Recent writers have suggested that the removal of collections from public view through the dual arrangement method led to a reduction in popularity of the natural sciences and the gradual possession of the domain by scientists.¹⁰⁹

The separation of collections could take many forms: the establishment of a parallel study or reserve collection, or the creation of a Synoptic, Index or Type or Typical room to serve the layman or for introducing the collections. Louis Agassiz of the Museum of Comparative Zoology, Harvard University (built in 1850) proposed a scheme in the 1870's based on the bipartite principles. Of the seventy-four rooms, seventeen exhibition rooms were open for the public, seventeen for storage and workrooms, four library rooms, seven laboratories, and ten rooms in the basement for specimens preserved in alcohol.¹¹⁰ The remaining rooms were for curators and professors while the storage rooms contained cases with drawers for specimens. The building was divided into smaller rooms rather than lofty halls. Agassiz also set up a Synoptic Room with typical examples of the whole animal kingdom, well labelled and few in number for an introductory visit, as Swainson had advised in 1840 as well as Huxley and Henslow.

Montague Brown set up an Index Museum of Osteology in Leicester. He also added an interpretative touch colouring the bones to show parallels in vertebrated skeletons from man to fishes. The idea of an Index Museum was restated several times. In 1911 Dr. Joseph Clubb, Curator at Liverpool described a new scheme.¹¹¹

In 1881-86 the principles of dual arrangement were followed in the

¹⁰⁹L. Barber, The Heyday of Natural History, p. 168.

¹¹⁰Third Annual Report of the Museum of Comparative Zoology (Cambridge, Mass., 1861), p. 10.

¹¹¹T. Greenwood, Museums and Galleries, p.78 and J.A. Clubb, "Index Museum," Museums Journal 11 (March 1912), 254-255.

British Museum (Natural History) but only after Owen's objections were overruled. The ideas of dual arrangement were to remain topical. Dr. Albert Gunther, Keeper of Zoology (1875-95) referred to the need for two series in 1880 and outlined plans to display the life cycle of animals. William F. Flower, who replaced Owen at the British Museum (Natural History) promoted the separation of a reserve collection for students and specialists, providing a series for the public as was done at Berlin, Vienna and Harvard. He also followed Agassiz's ideas that there should be at the front of the museum a typical collection for exhibition to the public. In 1882 a display of birds was set up in the Type Museum, a series of bays in the main hall originally planned by Owen in 1859. Flower used the bays to show the outlines of comparative anatomy of various animals in relation to one another. The first two bays consisted of mammalia beginning with a skeleton of a baboon, and next to it another skeleton disarticulated, laying flat, for reference; next to it were skeletons of other mammalia showing how the limbs as those of man with modifications could be used for flying, running, jumping, etc. Another series showed teeth, then integuments and epiderman growths such as fur, horns, hooves and so on. Each bay had a brief list of the contents and type-chart of each organ, bones, etc. Flower too was critical of the overcrowding in museums:

Imagine a picture gallery with half the pictures on the walls partially or entirely concealed by others hung in front of them; the idea seems preposterous, and yet this is the approved arrangement of specimens in most public museums.¹¹²

In 1887 the Report of the British Association pointed out that there was a split in opinion on whether the museum should have large halls or galleries or smaller rooms of moderate dimensions.¹¹³ Most newer buildings used the large-hall system surrounded by one or two tiers of galleries (60' x 30' up to 250' x 70') resulting in more wall space. The galleries

¹¹²W.F. Flower, Essays On Museums, p. 21.

¹¹³"Report....," British Association for the Advancement of Science (1887), p. 119-20.

did block the light to the bottom hall so side windows had to be added. In the small room system rooms from 30' x 17' to 60' x 25' were linked. A first class museum according to the British Association has 5,000 square feet of space while second class ones from 2,000 to 5,000 etc.

With the introduction of cast iron and extensive glass in buildings, as used by Paxton in the 1851 Crystal Palace, and at the University Museum, Oxford, 1860 and the use of cast-iron pillars, arches, trusses and girders in the British Museum of Natural History, larger spaces or halls could be built to accommodate the scientist's schemes although they soon discovered what the increased light levels in this building style did to specimens. Only a few museums were built in this style. The new museum of the Jardin des Plantes was built according to the old ideal with one huge hall, galleries and some annexes, the intention being to show every specimen as a comprehensive systematic collection to which the public and students would be allowed in at different times. There were at first no workrooms, laboratories, or storerooms.

Dr. A.B. Meyer, of Dresden was in favour of large high galleries, as in the Musee Galliera, Paris and the Natural History Museum of Brussels, as masses of objects demanding arrangement in similar cases according to scientific classification could be spread around; all that was needed was the old box or gridiron plan.¹¹⁴ At Vienna, the natural history museum was set up with a corridor system on several floors so that the visitor could inspect the collections following a systematic order; in addition to the centre of the building there was a square. Moebius at Berlin separated the collections into dual arrangement by restricting the exhibitions on the ground floor to the public and the upper two floors for the reserve collections. William Flower in 1893 devised an architectural scheme for a national museum based on the idea that the building would be divided by lines intersecting at

¹¹⁴Dr. A.B. Meyer, "Notes on Some European Museums and Kindred Institutions," Report of the Smithsonian Institution (1903), pp. 520-608.

right angles, like the warp and woof of a canvas.¹¹⁵ The lines in one direction divided the collections into natural sections, while the other lines separated the collections into public exhibitions, reserve collections in the middle section, and the working rooms in the last. It also had a central hall for an index collection that could be adapted to the local museum.

Still, in this tradition, Dr. F.A. Bather in 1903 proposed that there should be a tripartite arrangement corresponding to what he believed to be the three functions of museums - investigation, instruction and inspiration - as well as the three kinds of visitors - scholars, students and the lay public.¹¹⁶ One series of specimens would be in drawers or special cases, private rooms for the use of specialists or researchers; a second series for students would be either in a private room for handling or an exhibited series under glass systematically arranged and labelled with controlled access; thirdly, a smaller series of selected objects would be set up to attract the public. These divisions were necessary because:

The advance towards democracy has been too rapid, the revolution too complete. We have thrown open everything to the public, to the public's bewilderment and our own undoing....¹¹⁷

Thus, when once again in 1921 Sir Frederic Kenyon suggested the division of collections with regard to the Greek vases in the British Museum, this was not new.¹¹⁸

As of 1904 it was reported in one study that the bipartite principles

¹¹⁵W.F. Flower, Essays on Museums, pp. 42-51.

¹¹⁶F.A. Bather, "Address by the President," Museums Journal 3 (September 1903), 72-73 and "The Functions of Museums," Popular Science Monthly 63 (1904), 210-218.

¹¹⁷F.A. Bather, "The Functions of Museums," p. 218.

¹¹⁸Sir F. Kenyon, "Presidential Address," Museums Journal 21 (August 1921) and subsequent discussions of the origins of the division of collections. Note Duncan Cameron's article "Museums and Public Access: The Glenbow Approach" in International Journal of Museum Management and Curatorship I (1982), 177-196 for a replay of the division of collections arguments.

were followed in a number of natural history museums: the British Museum (Natural History); the Museum of Comparative Zoology, Harvard University; the American Museum of Natural History, as well as Berlin and Vienna. After much study and discussion the Boston Museum of Fine Art Trustees adopted the plan of dual arrangement for their new building in 1907 and the Bayerisches National Museum in Munich followed suit.¹¹⁹ C.J. Holmes reported in his autobiography that he carried out the separation of the collections in the National Portrait Gallery in the 1890's in order to insure the proper exhibition of the best portraits; so they relegated "the unimportant to obscurity."¹²⁰ He orchestrated the same approach at the National Gallery in 1918 when he supervised the removal of secondary works to a Reference Section in the basement, reserving the upper floors for the exhibition of the finest pictures.

At the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, a reserve gallery was created for the ceramic collection in the interwar years for students by putting less important objects behind the barriers on the side of the cases facing the windows. The Victoria and Albert and the Metropolitan Museum were not to follow suit until the 1940's.

The idea that change was necessary in exhibition to keep up with altering knowledge, as well as to satisfy different types of audiences gradually became accepted and was translated into the idea that the exhibition space and the building should be flexible, a backdrop with flexible panels and cases to accommodate alterations. One of the first examples of the idea in action was the exhibition of the Arts and Crafts' Exhibition Society in 1903 when the sides of a hall were divided into bays with the use of moveable screens.¹²¹ Temporary partitions to divide a hall into many

¹¹⁹Communication to the Trustees.

¹²⁰C.J. Holmes, Self and Partners, Mostly Self (London, 1936), p.267-68.

¹²¹F.A.Bather, "Address by the President," Museums Journal 3 (September 1903), 71-94.

parts for special grouping of objects were used abroad at the Nippon Bijitsu-in of Tokyo, the Saxon Art Exhibition of Dresden, and the Secession at Berlin and Vienna. In Vienna, the building comprised a shell: the roof, outer walls, hall and offices. The rest was a large hall with a glass room with four iron pillars at the corners of a central rectangle. The outer walls and the pillars acted as support for wooden frames covered with canvas which could be arranged for exhibition or decorated.

False walls were used at the British Museum (Natural History) and could be used to block out windows. Thus, Bather suggested that any building, no matter how unfit, could be reformed and made suitable for exhibition. Thus, there was a gradual development of the idea that a museum should be a space with temporary partitions for flexibility. Many museums started to block out windows and erect false walls to create new spaces and use new methods of artificial lighting. Art galleries started to put in moveable walls or partitions as at York Art Gallery in 1951 where moveable screens were installed.

The idea of short exhibitions is of long standing in the annual exhibitions of the art societies. In 1813 the British Institution for Promoting the Fine Arts (1805) brought together from private collections works by Reynolds; this was the first exhibition devoted entirely to the work of a famous artist of the British school.

Loan exhibitions of Old Masters followed in London in 1806 and in Edinburgh in 1819. The Crystal Palace Exhibition and the Art Treasures Exhibition at Manchester were significant events which encouraged the taste for exhibitions. The art galleries of Liverpool and Manchester "held annual exhibitions of contemporary paintings"; Birmingham had exhibitions of the works of Burne Jones, G.F. Watts, David Cox as well as metal work and textiles from the circulating collections of South Kensington which were shown regularly. The South Kensington had occasional special exhibitions. In 1853 a special exhibition of French Eighteenth-century Art was presented at Gore House by the Museum of Ornamental Art, while in 1896 the Bethnal Green Exhibition of English Eighteenth-century

Art and the 1952 Exhibition of Edwardian and Victorian decorative art have all been instrumental in changing artistic interests.

The era of international loans began at the end of the century when the British sent material to the Van Dyck exhibition in Antwerp on the tercentenary of his birth. British works were also sent to the Royal Pavilion of the Paris Exhibition of 1900. Two official international art exhibitions were held before 1914 - the exhibition of Flemish Primitives held at Bruges 1902 and of French Primitives at the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris in 1904. During the inter-war years a new kind of international loan exhibition was held; one national museum would send the Old Masters of a single school abroad where it would be supplemented with collections from the receiving country. In the winter of 1920-21 a Spanish exhibition was held at the Royal Academy, followed from 1927 to 1932 at two year intervals by collections of Flemish, Dutch, Italian and French Art. The Museums Association, judging the circulation of collections to be a fundamental principle to the popularization of museums, participated in a Circulating Art Exhibition scheme from the 1920's to 1934 when it was realized that the terms of incorporation (1930) did not allow for the activity.

The idea of special or temporary exhibitions was accepted more slowly in natural science exhibits. The emphasis on the classification of specimens led to a sense of their fixedness. G.B. Goode, for example, at first refused to allow cases to have castors; then, he realized that castors could allow flexibility to change arrangements when new discoveries altered taxonomy or a better display method was found. As early as 1888, Butler Wood of Bradford, had had the idea for extending the museum's effectiveness by constantly changing exhibits.

As the interest in natural science shifted from systematics to biology, special themes or problems suitable for a temporary exhibition came to mind. One could have temporary exhibits of flowers in season; or develop exhibits in response to particular problems as, for example, the Leicester exhibits during the First World War on Infant Health and Care.

In 1918 a temporary exhibit on Victorian times was prepared at the Victoria and Albert Museum for the children during the Christmas holidays.

Thus, there were several phenomena that brought about some change in display methods. The first was the idea that museum displays could and perhaps should change in response to scientific discoveries. Furthermore, if one accepted the idea that there were several types of public for museums then different exhibit forms should be used to cater for them. While the concepts of an exhibit to convey scientific order and systems in the various disciplines were maintained for study collections or for university collections, many exhibits were overhauled to try to present what would attract and involve the average visitor to the public exhibition areas. The ideas which J.E. Gray, Higgins, Wood and many others had expressed in trying to find a suitable display style for a specific group of visitor were discussed more frequently.

Habitat or environment groups, period or folk-life displays, index or typical displays, special or temporary exhibits were all possibilities while better labelling and signing, colour, cases, photos, models, charts could contribute to display improvements. One problem was the restriction of resources to modernize the displays. Nevertheless, most major museums went through some form of renewal from building extensions to displaying cases and galleries. The Carnegie United Kingdom Trust monies provided support for change in a number of medium-sized museums. In addition, the development of international exhibitions such as the World's Fairs and more modern display commercial display techniques began to affect museum display.

Thus, the complex basis of objects, with their concrete and abstract characteristics, their atomistic and holistic interpretations, have been a timeless phenomenon in museum exhibit forms and will likely continue to be. But the growing number of objects and the multiplication of scholarly and other systems of classification and arrangement, combined with the awareness of different types of visit to the museum in the nineteenth and twentieth century acted as a catalyst in that ageless

process of the human/object relationship. One result has been the separation of collections according to purpose: index or introductory displays, public galleries, study reference or research collections, national versus local collections. A variety of display forms have resulted from select aesthetic showings in colourful arrangements, in single-line, single rooms or "laboratory" settings to period room display, from systematic analytical taxonomic series of objects to habitat displays showing life processes. There have been two responses to the growing number of visitors; the instructional display and the experiential display. In addition, there has been a growing accommodation to the changeability of scientific knowledge and in the design of cases, rooms, and special or temporary exhibitions. Often, however, the professionals themselves have not always been aware of the continuing processes behind this and so laid claim, inaccurately, to the invention of new techniques such as lifelike taxidermy or dual arrangement which had had a much longer history.

PART III
CHAPTER ELEVEN
MUSEOLOGICAL CONCLUSIONS

There is a sense of urgency in the current discussions about museology. Some writers hold the assumption that museums need help and that making a science or sounder theory will solve the problems of rotting collections, unaffordable acquisitions, inadequate buildings, poor research, ineffective presentation and unimpressed taxpayers. The fundamental sense of alarm for museums in the eighties may have increased the museological rhetoric although the perception of crisis has been well-documented as an historical fixture of thought about museum forms during the centuries. Another factor fuelling the museological concerns has been the ^{setting} / up of numerous formal educational programmes during the last two decades as preparation for museum work, increasing the effort to define terms, articulate concepts and to detail the so-called 'body of knowledge' of museum study if only to convince funding sources or college and university hosts. The current concerns about management structures of museums, of fair and reasonable pay, the professional status of museum work and the accreditation of museums and training programmes has only focused the role of a base of museum thought and practices as a criterion for evaluation processes. The 'cultural tradition' of museum work, however, can not be established merely by the acknowledgement of its need for the 'body of knowledge' has yet to be studied in depth, at least by this generation of museum workers; hence, discussions about the form, structure and status of museum work and preparation for it, of a museum science to upgrade the museum condition, all have a hollow ring. (Chapters One and Two.)

The Museological Experience in Britain

The study of the museum history and museological traditions in Britain can help clarify some aspects of the epistemological problems of museology and to create a sounder body of theory for the study of the museum phenomenon. Our first discovery, then, was the long history of museological speculation in Europe and in Britain beyond the actual use of the term 'museum' or 'museology' and rooted in complex early museum prototypes (Chapters Four and

Five). The British instance reveals the complexity of the museum phenomenon, challenging the overly simplistic picture of the history of museums projected in popular myth as well as theoretical studies. Indeed, a conscious attempt has been made in this work to go beyond the popular imageries and occupational myths about museums to discuss the founding and evolution of museums and the parallel traditions of museum thought, to recover the 'lost' world of museums and the ideas and activities related to them.

To reject the standard interpretations of museum history as simple, reductionist and ahistorical, is not, of course, to deny them any substance. For at this stage, we are in serious danger of falling into the seductive trap of a romantic view of museums where in finding chinks in the veneer of the traditional mythology of the elitist museum, we are tempted to throw out the entire interpretation in order to lift the early museum founders, the museum workers and visitors, to a more heroic level. The challenge rather is to test and refine the interpretations of museum history in the light of specific historical information about the museum and the museological traditions in Britain.

In light of these cautions, this work has dealt first with one explanation of the museum system in the British context as background to the inner study of the museum and its processes (Chapters Five, Six, and Eight). Some of these conclusions may have significance for British history of the period in general and museum history in particular. During the modern period of industrial and national development, the museum has been part of the structure of society, an institution that representatives of certain classes have viewed as a symbol of the social and ultimately economic control of society as expressed in the opinions recorded in various debates, legislative efforts and Parliamentary reports. One product was the sponsorship of museums by individuals whose wealth was derived from business and industrial endeavours most notably in the industrial Midlands and North West regions of Britain. Following this argument, these 'middle-class' interests inherited the leadership and collecting roles of the upper landed classes of the earlier era; however, this argument must be revised in the light of certain

information. The museum form and ideas about it were deeply rooted in the language and history of Britain shared by all classes. The multitude of collecting types and museums in all periods- scientific collections to popular entertainments- indicates the extent of the acceptance of the museum form; the multiple versions of the museum-entertaining, refining, scholarly, scientific, uplifting, redeeming, educational to civilizing- reveals the multi-dimensionality of the ideology of museums.

One failing of treatments of museum history has been to assume or project a homogeneity of viewpoints for all society or for all the members of a group or class of society whereas the historical evidence shows variation, complexity or heterogeneity of views. It is, in addition, difficult to read a clear class bias to the tapestry of views on museums. While the majority system of belief in the museum as a tool for social and economic utility dominated, based on earlier imageries of museums, other views of the museum as popular, as aesthetic or spiritual survived as a 'residual' or alternate viewpoints among representatives from many classes.

Further, the acceptance of the predominance of the so-called 'bourgeoisie' beliefs of museums as vehicles of social, political or economic control as proof of their success is faulty and trivializes the strength of the lower classes. First, the ambivalence of governing powers to provide legislation, funds or structure, certainly compromised the effectiveness of any ideology of museums whether conservative, liberal, popular or revolutionary. Secondly, the classes to be controlled were certainly capable of some degree of resistance through their own popular forms of museums - such as mechanic's institutes, societies, institutes, working men's clubs, pub museums, and entertainment collections. The class basis of the ideas about museums is also compromised by the fact that the lower classes probably shared most of the broad ideals of the museum purpose and were not in conflict with the dominant ideology; in addition to their own museum forms, the visit to the museum which was more frequent than previously acknowledged, was their own to some degree at least and not necessarily the experience which the controlling group had hoped for. In this the museum

must be seen as an informal setting different from educational and religious institutions. Fourthly, regional and type variations in museums, their very idiosyncratic nature, defied uniform control unlike curricula. Further, the museum was less dominated by 'social control' ideas if only because the museum was an afterthought which took second place to schools, churches and libraries. Nor was money or a governmental structure provided to make the museum system function effectively.

The diversity of viewpoints about museums might even be seen in part as an escape from the dominant social patterns and ideologies since at least a number of alternative viewpoints were possible. In this we are reminded of Richard Altick's statement about the attempt to control the reading habits of the lower classes during the Victorian period:

At no time did the campaign to dictate popular reading preferences wholly succeed, since the human yearning for entertainment is far stronger than any combination of forces that can be mustered against it.¹

Similar statements could be made about the possibility of controlling the human desire for curiosity, entertainment and the variety of institutionalized collecting forms.

Hence, the forces of 'embourgeoisement' in Britain may have attempted to control the museum institution, to make it a more respectable tool of science, learning, progress and moral uplift as defined by their belief system that the world of curios and freaks required reform but their success in achieving such wholesale reform could be, at best, only partial. The popularity of museums with the majority of the population (with the exception of the very lower-classes then being formed by Industrialization) would challenge the hegemony of the middle-classes. Thus, the aesthetic backlash of the 1880's, the rejection of instructional, didactic excesses, dual arrangement theories, habitats and dioramas, period rooms, folk museums, special and circulating exhibitions, branch museums and extension activities- the substance of the museum reforms- were often motivated by awareness of the broader public and attempts to modernize the museum.

¹ Richard Altick, The English Common Reader (Chicago, 1957), p. 140.

Given that there is a heterogeneity of cultural beliefs about museums which cross all classes, perhaps the success of the museum in the societal structure, has been its ability to accommodate the paradoxical variants represented in prototype museums into one modern institution (even in its multiple forms) that operates as a pillar of society. Rooted firmly in earlier imageries the majority belief in the museum as a tool for social utility was able to dominate while at the same time other views of museums as popular entertainments, as aesthetic, as spiritual places, survived while new views developed as alternate viewpoints within the dominant structure. Perhaps, this interpretation comes closest to the Marxian theorist Gramsci's ideas of 'hegemony' and 'heterogeneity' , a possible avenue of future investigation.² The fundamental strength of the museum is its ability to appeal to all for it represents the continuing human interchange with the physical object or material world and continues to reflect the transformation of that phenomenon in terms of the changing requirements of the processes such as modernization.

Thus, the success of the museum imagery in the cultural apparatus has been its very ephemeral nature; it could be all things to all people to be shaped in the image of the believer. On the other side of the coin, the mixed imagery has also been the source of confusion about the very meaning of the museum, about its 'cultural tradition' and the inability to define a professional 'ideology'.

Against the background of this complicated and somewhat contradictory history of museums in Britain, the existence of a 'cultural tradition' of museology is demonstrable despite the limited number of museum personnel familiar with it; the problem, then, is that this thought base has been largely inaccessible to the field at large, the routes of socialization faulty, with a resulting inability to raise the vague cultural roots beyond an experimental basis to the level of conceptualization necessary for the

²As discussed in R. Johnson, "Three problematics: elements of a theory of working-class culture," Working-Class Culture, Studies in History and Theory (London, 1979), 232-237.

scientific basis of research needed in any field of knowledge. As P.P.

Crets wrote in 1934:

Museum theory has been more a series of adjustments than consistent answers to a problem. One age places greater emphasis on one item, while the next reverses the order... the evolution of our methods in this regard has been slow and has consisted as much in retracing steps as going forward.³

Thus, as indicated in the numerous arguments that mark museum history issues resurface, perhaps re-discovered perhaps re-invented by the very phenomenon of collecting, showing and observing that is the museum process. (Chapters Eight, Nine, and Ten) As a result it is difficult to accept the developmental staged or line of progress explanations of museological thought offered by Tschuruta and others (Chapter Three). This is not to deny^{the} major changes in the museum world which have generated museological thought not the least of which is the constant attempt to deal with the 'publics' of the museums by means of various reforms in display, public programmes and so on. Despite significant reforms, however, the basic philosophic issues remain remarkably constant.

Part of the explanation for the failures in the development of museum thought may lie in the interplay between the museum system and the museum keepers (Chapter Seven). The museum activity in any age is also part of the cultural, social and economic system of that place and time and, in a very intricate way, the dominant ideologies of the time. The occupational members were employed for their special skill yet viewed as service agents creating an ambiguous power relationship among the employees, the employers and the public which has limited the tangible results such as funding and maintenance of museums, pay and status for workers. Perhaps, the most important product has been the museum occupation's inability to promulgate its own synthesized 'cultural tradition'; the group remains vulnerable to external often contradictory judgements by well-meaning critics who often fail to discern the subtleties of the museum phenomenon. The structure of the workplace has been such that the participants in the

³P.P.Crets, "Theories in Museum Planning," Museum News, 12 (Nov./Dec. 1934), 8.

occupational group have not been able to represent and to evolve their own ideology. Expertise is defined externally and inaccuracies about the museum become legend to be absorbed into belief systems. Even internal critics who set out on the path of reform have absorbed the older vision of museums as antiquated 'musty , dusty' places rather than the more objective, historical reality. Thus, despite professional associations, publications, conferences, educational opportunities, acquaintance with the precepts of museum work and thought, the museum occupation has not mastered the development of its own cultural tradition.

In Britain, even the professional ideology has often been borrowed from the continent or from the United States with the resulting distortion of the history of museology and the contribution of individuals to it. On the one hand, the international forum has acted as a catalyst and support for British museology, on the other, absorbed by the everyday necessities of museum work, British museum workers have failed to gather the details of their own work tradition and have accepted the stronger public relations based interpretations offered by American authors particularly regarding American leadership in display and education. This phenomenon may simply be the usual "grass is always greener" tendency or have more complicated roots.

Legislative and funding structures have no doubt proved a restrictive framework for the popular energies of the museum movement, museum work and the evolution of museum theories and should not be minimized (Chapter Five and Six). Indeed, Paul Marshall Rea 's argument is convincing⁴; local, society or university museums in the later seedier stages of their life-cycle, outstripped by popular scientific theories, without formal maintenance staff or funding to bring them into the modern period, contributed greatly to the long-lived mythology of the 'musty, dusty' museum just as the newly formed but underfinanced museums of the interwar years added to the problem. Nonetheless, these factors also motivated reform discussions of the conditions of museums and the variety of remedies for their improvement make up the body of museum thought of the time. But inevitably it

4. P.M.Rea, The Museum and the Community (Lancaster, Pa., 1932)

would seem that whatever the condition of the museum system and its funding levels, the philosophical and practical solutions still mirrored the complex and contradictory roots of the earlier phases of museums and inevitably limited successful reform. The fundamental dichotomies of the human/object relationship, the atomistic versus holistic views, unicum versus specimen, object versus the visitor, preservation versus interpretation, temple versus forum and other oppositions that run through the museums existence stood ready to re-emerge at every turn. The pendulum swing of extremes, the "Either-Ors" have not been stopped by syntheses of museum thinkers as the extreme imagery of the 'musty,dusty'; elitist, scholarly museum versus the educational, democratic institution recur.

Part of the problem has been that the 'delivery system' of museum ideas has failed. The journals, conferences, reports, books and educational programmes have not conveyed the basis of museum work and thought to the majority of people working in the institutions. Funding problems have limited support for museums associations, networking and the sharing of resources combined with a deeply fragmented museum world to curtail development. Both the Museums Association in Britain and the American Association of Museums were aware of such problems as early as the 1920's and drafted ambitious programmes to resolve them. Nevertheless, a shortage of resources, and perhaps intentions, have prevented the completion of these ideals and it is interesting that recent decades have seen similar efforts in several different regions to develop resource centres for museum work; the UNESCO-ICOM Museum Documentation Centre in Paris, the Museum Studies Department Resource Centre, Leciester University, the Documentation Centre, Office of Museum Programmes, Smithsonian Institute, the Canadian Museums Association Documentation Centre, the George Washington University Centre for Museum Education (dispersed). None of these efforts with the exception of the Paris ICOM Centre can be said to have had complete support or success. Resource problems that marked the limitation of the efforts in the interwar years are still evident as well as a confusion of the aims of such centres among some museum workers who do not see the need for the activities

It is also possible that the problems of access to the museum tradition have become more intense. During the interwar years in Britain a fairly stable if relatively small group of supporters benefited from the Museums Association, the support of the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust, the work of Miers and Markham, the Diploma Programme and so on. In the Post-World War II workplace, however, the limited success of the earlier entry systems in socializing museum workers has only been further weakened by dramatic changes. The rapid increase in the number and size of museums, programmes and staffs, the frequent turnover of personnel, the increasing specialization of types of museums and their staffs, all have had a disruptive rather than unifying effect on the transmission of museological thought.⁶ To compound, the problem little or no written documentation of museum procedures and systems has been left behind in the institutions; bewildered replacements start the process of re-invention, often feeling isolated from their peers, whether in museums at opposite ends of the country or in the next office. As the oral and written traditions have fallen away, replaced by the jargon of new bureaucracies and as the earlier written codifications of museum work have been lost, so the lack of a core concept of museums on which to evolve a discipline has been reflected in the state of the art of museum work.

Implications for Museological Theory

Thus, if there is a contemporary application for the conclusions of this work it is of the need for access to museum ideas and traditions, from which to develop a conceptual basis for the body of knowledge of museology. But there is yet another warning! Should such support be given to develop resource support for studying the museum, it is predictable that problems in the theory would still plague the museum field for our conceptual hurdles remain. Z.Z.Stransky has recently pointed out the extreme 'empiricism' of the museum field born out of pragmatic necessity which constantly burdens the conceptual basis of thought. He is reacting to the descriptive rather

⁵G. Lewis, "A Survey of Staff Movement in Yorkshire 1950-1971," Museums Journal 72 (Sept. 1972), 67-71.

than analytical bias of the existing study of museums wherein one aspect of museum work written from a particularistic point of view is presented without reference to overall phenomenon either viewed historically or comparatively or used to arrive at theories. It is easy to fall into the error of presuming the unique case is typical rather than possibly idiosyncratic.

Thus, in addition to the limitations of museology born of the structural context of museums, be it the museum cultural apparatus or the professional structures, a fundamental problem for museological thought has been the tendency to descriptive, incomplete approaches to the study of museums, the most fundamental expression of which is the definition of museums thought as a technique for the application of a subject speciality in the museum even to the extent of denying museology or museum thought.

There are direct applications of the insights of the historical study of museology in Britain to the problems of museological study raised in Chapter Two. The division of museological categories mapped out by Vili Toft Jensen (reproduced on p. 15) between museology as an applied science and museology as an independent science, not coincidentally, parallels the historical paradoxes of the museum.

At the most basic level, museology could be defined as Ilse Jahn has stated "as the systematised knowledge of forming, conservation, and utilization of museum collections and of the factors which determine these processes".⁸ It is the interpretation of the phrase "and of the factors which determine these processes" that problems occur; differences in the interpretation as in the past arise from the concept of the museum on which they are based. The meaning and activity to which the terms 'museum' and 'museology' apply have altered through time while the etymological understanding of the word varies markedly even in modern usage.

Nevertheless, there seems to have been essentially two different bases to the articulation of the theory of museums: one emphasizes the

⁸Ilse Jahn, "Paper", Methodology of Museology and Professional Training I.C.O.M. International Committee for the Training of Personnel and International Committee for Museology (London, 1983).

place of the collection- the building; the other- the idea of the collection and its uses. A typical definition following on the first rule would be:

A Museum is an institution comprising a building with two fundamental functions: to serve as a repository for the study of specimens of presumed cultural and research value; to provide for a selection of those specimens for the education and enjoyment of the public.

Museology, then, becomes the definition of the processes that transpire in these types of buildings and the learning of the skills necessary to function in them. Definitions of the museum begin with what they are now; thus, the conceptual orientation will be descriptive, 'empirical', pragmatic, the 'how to' school of museum practice. Training or educational preparation for personnel based on this model work within the parameters of the 'established institutions, that is the large nineteenth century institutions with occasional allusions to local museums. Components of the study of museums are placed neatly into the usual three or four compartments of museum functions based on a linear analysis: collection, conservation, presentation, education. Often, courses teach a small part of applied museum work within a traditional discipline area such as art history or archaeology.

The limitation of this approach to museology is that it excludes certain forms of museums, in particular, those which do not take traditional physical object form such as buildings, ships, historic sites or even lack objects as the root of the museum such as nature reserves or zoos. There are many examples of museum forms which hold an ambiguous relationship to the 'museum': zoos, planetaria, eco-museums, site museums and even art centres and art galleries. Further, museums in the popular and commercial exhibition tradition as well as prototype forms such as private collections, institutional and business holdings or formulations in non-western cultures are excluded. For clarification the designation "Museum" could be used for that form of the museum which emerged from the complicated process of the enlightenment, the liberal, national and industrial revolution processes and 'museum' used for the broader, generic form. It is interesting to note that in the 1920's American museum thinkers went even further to try to distinguish the museum of their era from that of the preceeding with the term of 'The Modern Museum'.

Obviously, the definition of museum and therefore of museology is often situational, dependant on the starting-point of the person doing the defining and their personal experience of 'the' museum; such thinking is teleological working from the present backwards and thus limited. There should therefore be more cross-cultural studies of museum forms.

If the first definition of museum is followed it will be necessary to invent other studies to apply to museum-related institutions excluded from the definition; already as previously noted the terms 'Critical Museology', and 'Neo-Museology' as well as archival studies and occasional references to Galleryology have been applied. There must be a problem in the conceptualization of museology if its 'neo' version must be articulated while at the preliminary stage of articulation.

The second interpretation of museum and of museology emphasizes the museum as an idea or societal phenomenon, concentrating on the museum as a process not as a product, as dynamic not static; this is an holistic or inclusive definition to explain the museum form. Thus, museology is the study of the human activity of identifying and collecting certain objects (or their image or record) from their material environment, whether they be man-made or natural, to represent a particular value, be it aesthetic, curiosity, worship, entertainment, science, utility, improvement or any combination of values. It is the action of housing this objectified reality in a private or societal form and presenting the object (or its symbol) for viewing by a clientele with the purpose of sharing that value. This definition is more dynamic than the first; it focuses on two fundamental moments encapsulated in the museum phenomenon; the activity of selecting an object or its symbol to represent the human mental encounter with the physical world; and secondly, the encounter of that object or its symbol with its collector or others at another time. The dialectic of the museum problem is continually created by the perceived opposition of these two moments translated into discussions of the object versus the visitor, the collection versus education, objects versus ideas, the 'Temple versus the Forum' and so on.

The specific evidence of the cultural context of museums in Britain from 1845 to 1945 supports the second conceptualization of museology (Definition II). There has been a long tradition of museological thought in Britain as there has been a myriad of museum forms reaching the state of affairs known in the period from 1845 to 1945. The specific political, economic, cultural context of Britain, the lack of a rational museum system, adequate funding, professional staff has markedly affected the museum condition and must be accounted for in the equation of museological study. Whether the result or the cause of museum problems, however, the thought about museums has suffered from repeating contradictory interpretations of museum ideas as well as myths about museum practice further complicating the condition of museums.

Using the evidence of Britain from 1845 to 1945 relating to ideas about museums, the visitor, the object (Chapters Eight, Nine and Ten), we have shown the complex texture of museum ideas which is often articulated as paradoxical statements centered on a number of recurring themes- the idea that museums are repositories for objects versus that of the museum as a showplace; between the idea that the purpose of museums is for instruction versus that of entertainment; between the idea that museums are to hold unique objects intrinsically valuable (unicum) versus that they are to hold representative items symbolizing ideas, periods, scientific theories (specimens); the object versus the idea an object symbolizes. The museum is an ephemeral concept, a kaleidoscope of forms, roles, functions often defying the fixity needed by its practitioners but whose very complex forms generate oversimplification and extremity translated into the dialectical tensions leading to Dewey's trap, the 'Either-Or' Syndrome. Extreme positions are expressed as "the" answer, casting one position in the role of the 'democratic' or 'Progressive' and the other in the role of the 'aristocratic' or 'conservative'. This polarization hinders syntheses and the constructive formation of the conceptual base of the field. Ideas move as a pendulum swing, from one view or opinion to the opposite one.

To see the polarizing process of museum thought that prohibits syntheses and progress in theorizing and to seek to understand the cause is to offer a solution for museology and to put it on a scientific path. The suggestion of this work is that the polarizing of museum ideas is rooted in the very origin of the museum phenomenon, especially in the perceived tension of the human/object relationship which can only be transcended by a holistic and integrated approach to the museum. (Definition II). Indeed, previous understandings of the museum scenario in Britain from 1845 to 1945 prove the mistaken conclusions of linear and one-dimensional models in museum history and for museological theory. This work has attempted to reformulate in detail the specific cultural, political, economic context of the museum in Britain, to rediscover the variety of professional and public responses, to identify problems of the occupational participants and their traditions of museum thought and work in order to unravel present museum phenomenon and establish a rational, conceptual basis for the study of museology.

APPENDIX 1

PARTIAL LIST OF RELEVANT BRITISH GRADUATE THESES ON MUSEUMS

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| L.W.G. Malcolm | Medical Museums: An Historical and Bibliographic Study. D. Phil. Cambridge, 1933. |
| Edmunds, J.M. | Art Gallery and Museum Buildings in England, 1845-1915. M.A. Machester, 1950-1. |
| Balfour, K.K. | An Investigation into the Reactions of Older Junior School Children to Works of Art; and into Problems relating to the Provisions of Works of Art in Junior Schools. M.A.London Institute of Education, 1951-2 |
| Jordan, Amy | An Investigation into the Relative Values of Using a Museum in Teaching the History of the Home and of Family Relationships to Secondary Modern School children. M.A. University of London (Ed.), 1952. |
| Brooks, J.A.M. | An Inquiry into Children's Visits to the Science Museum, Kensington. M.Sc. University of London, 1953. |
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Appendix II

EARLY OUTLINES OF MUSEUM STUDIES

There were several earlier efforts to outline the topics of museum work.

In "Indexes to Papers Read Before the Museum Association, 1890-1909" Charles Madeley outlined a classification system:¹

Subject-Index

I. Theory

- | | |
|--|---|
| 0.8 Scope and Functions of the Museum
(Special Function)
a. Relation to Classes of People
b. Relation to Locality
c. Relation to Education | d. Relation to Research Types
Departments
a. Natural Science
b. Anthropology, Archaeology
c. Technology
d. Art |
|--|---|

II. Practice

0.9 Organisation, Administration

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1.1 Law Relating to Museums
2. Finance
3. Personnel, Staff
3.4 Specialists
4. Establishment
4.1 Building
4.2 Maintenance
4.5 Fittings and Appliances
4.6 Library
5. Acquisition of Specimens
6. Loan
5. Registration, Inventory
7. Installation

Departments
a. Astronomy, Chemistry
b. Geology, Palaeontology
c. Botany
d. Zoology
e. Anthropology, Archaeology
f. Art | 7.1 Preparation, Mounting

a. Geology, Palaeontology
b. Botany
c. Vertebeates
d. Vertebrates
e. Coins
f. Pictures

7.3 Reproductions-Models
7.31 Accessories
7.39 Backgrounds
7.4 Cases
7.7 Labels
7.78 Illustration
7.8 Catalogues (Public)
7.95 Demonstration, Lectures
8. Public Use
8.3 Circulation
8.5 Copying

X Auxillary Institutions
Y Conference
Ym Co-operation |
|---|--|

¹Charles Madeley, "Indexes to Papers Read Before the Museums Association, 1890-1909," Museums Journal 9 (June 1910), 427-428.

III. History

Z History and Description of Museums

- a. United Kingdom
- b. British Colonies
- c. Europe
- d. Asia
- e. America

In the Museums Journal of 1911 a scheme was offered for topics suitable for the Annual Conference:

1. Administration: Finance, Officers and Staff. Office Methods and Appliance Rules.
2. Building: Structure. Form of Rooms, etc. Cleaning. Ventilation. Heating. Lighting.
3. Acquisition and Exhibition: Modes of Collecting, Exchange. Storage. Methods of Preservation, Restoration and Reproduction. Models. Identification and Authentication. Registration and Cataloguing. Cases, Cabinets, Frames, Trays and Fittings; Materials, Form, Colour, etc. Hanging of Pictures and General Methods of Installation in Art Galleries. Backgrounds (walls and cases). Labelling. Special Exhibitions. Loan Exhibitions. Museum Methods of Illustrating and Elucidating Subjects coming within the scope of Museums and Art Galleries.
4. Utilisation of Collections: Scope and Functions. Record. Research. Instruction. Recreation. Circulation. Branch Museums. Lectures. Guides (personal). Guide Books. Relation to Museums and Art Galleries to the State, to the Community at large, to Local Education Authorities and to other Bodies.²

The American Association of Museums Committee on Bibliography in 1910 prepared more or less the same outline as the ICOM Syllabus of 1972. Members prepared subject headings for the use of organizing museum literature. They are:

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| 1. General History of Museums | 6. Techniques of Museums |
| 2. Special History of Museums | 7. Relations of Museums to the Public |
| 3. Organization of Museums | 8. Publications of Museums |
| 4. Construction of Museums | 9. Bibliography of Museums ³ |
| 5. Administration of Museums | |

²"The Museums Association," 10 (January 1911), 189-190.

³"Report of Committee on Bibliography," Museum Work 1 (December 1910), 92.

Appendix III

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF SOCIETIES AND THEIR MUSEUMS
(Museums indicated by M)

15	Society of Antiquaries
1717	
1660 M	Royal Society
1710 M	Spalding Gentlemen's Society
1717	Spitalfields Mathematical Society
1721	Stamford Gentlemen's Society (gone by mid-1700's)
1721	Botanical Society, London
1732	Society of Dilettanti
1730c	Peterborough Lincoln Wisbech Doncaster Worcester
1734	Medical Society of Edinburgh
1751	Society of Cymmrodorion (Wales - ended by 1787)
1752	Glasgow Literary
1754 E	Society for Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures & Commerce
1758	Warrington Literary Society
1760c	Society of Literary and Scientific Men, London
1760	Society of Artists
1762	Free Society of Artists
1768 E 1780	Royal Academy
1769-74	Liverpool, Academy of Art
1770	Eccles, Lancashire, Natural History Society
1771	Physical Society of Edinburgh
1773	Medical Society of London
1775	Lunar Society, Birmingham
1779	Liverpool Philosophical Society (shortlived)
1782	Edinburgh Society for Investigation of Natural History
1780 M	Society of Antiquaries, Scotland
1781 AG 1829	Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society became Royal Manchester Institute
1783	Leeds Philosophical Society (shortlived)
1782	Society for Promoting Natural History Pimlico
1784 M	Derby Philosophical Society
1784 M	Perth, Literary and Antiquarian Society
1785	Lichfield, Botanical Society of
1788	Linnaean Society
1790 M 1835	Leicester Literary Society

1792	Friends of the People
1792	London Corresponding Society
1793 M 1829	Newcastle-on-Tyne Literary and Philosophical Society
	Bath
1801	Aurelian Society
1805	London Institution
1807	Philomathic Institution
1808	Wernerian Society of Edinburgh (Geology)
	Geological Society
1808	Russel Institution
1808 M	Paisley Philosophical Society
1811	Warrington
1812 M	Plymouth, Institution and Devon and Cornwall Natural History Society
1812 M	Liverpool, Literary and Philosophical Society of
1813 M	Newcastle-on-Tyne, Society of Antiquaries of
1813 M	Devon and Exeter Institution
1814 M	Cornwall, Royal Geological Society of
1818 M	Cornwall, Royal Institution of
1819	Cambridge, Philosophical Society of
1820 M	Leeds, Philosophical and Literary Society
	Royal Astronomical Society
1821 M	Belfast, Natural History and Philosophical Society
1821 M	Manchester Society of Natural History
1822 M	Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society
1822 M	Hull Literary and Philosophical Society
1823	Sheffield Literary and Philosophical Society
	Plinian Society of Edinburgh
1823 M	Yorkshire Philosophical Society, York
1824 M	Bristol Institution for the Advancement of Science and Art
1824 M	Bath, Museum of the Royal Literary and Scientific Institute
1824	Nottingham
1824	Manchester Natural History Society
1825 M	Inverness, Northern Institute
1825 M	Watt Institute, Dundee
1825 M	Canterbury Philosophical and Literary Society
1825 M	Norwich, Society
1826	Entomological Club became Entomological Society of London in 1833
1825 M	Tyneside, Northumberland
1826	Zoological Society
1828 M	Scarborough Philosophical and Literary Society
	(Scarborough Philosophical and Archaeological Society)

1828 M	Oxford, Ashmolean Society
1829 M	Northumberland, Durham, and Newcastle-on-Tyne Natural History Society took over Literary and Philosophical Society
1830 M	Halifax Literary and Philosophical Society
1830	Royal Geological Society or Geographical Society
1831	British Association for the Advancement of Science
1831 M	Chichester, Museum of Literary Society
1831	Ireland, Royal Geological Society of
1831	Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire
1831	Berwickshire Naturalist Club
1832 M	Manchester Geological Society
1832 M	Saffron Walden, Essex, Natural History Society
1833	Cornwall, Royal Polytechnic Society
1833	York School Natural History, Literary and Polytechnic
1833 M	Worcester Natural History Society
1833	Manchester Statistical Society
	Barnsley
	Rochdale
1834	Edinburgh Geological Society
1835 M	Essex and Chelmsford Natural History Society
1835 M	Kendal Literary and Scientific Society
1835 M	Leicester Literary and Scientific Society
1835 M	Shropshire Archaeological and Natural History Society
1835 M	Sawanse, Royal Institution of South Wales
1835 M	Wisbech Museum and Literary Institution
1836	Elgin
1836 M	Botanical Society of Edinburgh
1836 M	Sunderland Natural History and Antiquarian Society
1836 M	Montrose Natural History and Antiquarian Society
1836 M	Warwick and Warwickshire Natural History and Archaeological Society
1837 M	Orkney Natural History
1838	Gloucester
1838 M	Warrington Natural History Society
1839	Royal Botanic Society
1839 M	Penzance Natural History and Antiquarian Society
1840 M	Literary and Scientific Institution, Huntingdon
1840 M	Cambridge Antiquarian Society
1840 M	Arbroath Museum Society
1840	Aberdeen, Philosophical Society
1842 M	Ipswich
1842	British Archaeological Association
1843	Newbury Literary and Scientific Institute

- 1844 M Torquay Natural History Society
- 18 Northamptonshire
- 18 Lincolnshire Archaeological Society
- 18 King's Lynne, Athenaeum
- 18 M Frome, Sommerset, Museum of Literary and Scientific Institute
- 1846 Dorset Natural History Society (merged with Archaeological Society)
- 1846 Ireland Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of
- 1846 M Sussex Archaeological Society Lewes
- Barbican House
- Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society
- Cotteswold Naturalist's Field Club
- Tyneside Naturalist's Field Club
- Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural Society
- 1847 M Sommerset Archaeological and Natural Society
- 1847 M Buckingham Architectural and Archaeological Society
- 1847 Cambrian Archaeological Association, Winchester
- 1847 Huddersfield Naturalist's Society
- 1847 Lancashire Archaeological Society
- 1847 Cheshire Archaeological Society
- 1848 M Buckinghamshire Archaeological Society, Aylesbury
- 1848 Suffolk Natural History
- 1849 Yorkshire Naturalist's Club
- 1849 Ireland, Historical and Archaeological
- 1849 M Sommerset Archaeological and Natural History Society, Taunton
- 1850c Natural History Society of Glasgow
- 1851 M Museum of Pharmaceutical Society, Great Britain
- 1852 M Essex Archaeological Society
- 1852 Malvern Naturalist's Field Club
- 1852 Ebbe Vale, Literary and Scientific Society
- 1850c Royal Literary and Scientific Institute, Brighton
- 1851 Woolhope Naturalist's Field Club
- 1851 Natural History Society of Glasgow
- 1851 North of England Institute of Mining and Mechanical Engineers
- 1851 M 1872 Nottingham Naturalist's Society
- 1853 M Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society
- 1853 Worcestershire Naturalist Field Club
- 1854 Brighton and Sussex Natural History Society
- 1854 M Sussex Archaeological Society
- 1854 Warwickshire Naturalist and Archaeologist's Field Club

1854	Andover, The Institute
1855 M	Bath Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club
1855 M	Surrey Archaeological Society (Croydon)
1856 M	Hawick Archaeological Society
1856	Glasgow Archaeological Society
1857 M	Holmesdale Natural History Club
1857 M	Kent Archaeological Society
1857	Midland Institute of Mining, Civil and Mechanical Engineers
1857	Oswestry and Welshpool Natural Field Club and Archaeological Society
1857	Birkenhead Literary and Scientific Society
1858	Hastings and St. Leonard's Philosophical Society
1858 M	Geological Society of Glasgow
1858	East Kent Natural History Society
1858	Teign Naturalist's Field Club
1858	Bath Microscopical Society
1858 M	Birmingham Natural History and Microscopical Society
1858 M	Coalbrookdale, Shropshire, Museum of Literary and Scientific Institute
1859 M	Weston-Super-Mare, Albert Memorial Nightschool Industrial Institute and Museum
1859 M	Gloucester Library and Scientific Association
1859	Miner's Association of Cornwall and Devon
1859	West Kent Natural History, Microscopic and Photographic Society
1860c M	Thurso Science Association (L.A. Museum, 1872)
1860	Liverpool Natural Field Club
1860	Manchester Field, Naturalist and Archaeological Society
1861	York Naturalist's Union
1861	Manchester Scientific Student Association
1862 M	Dudley and Midland Geological and Scientific Society and Field Club
1862	Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science and Literature and Art
1862	Bristol Naturalist's Society
1863	Belfast Naturalist's Society
1863 M	Alloa Society of Natural Science and Archaeology
1863 M	Southampton Literary and Philosophical Society Hartley Institute
1863 M	Largo Field Naturalist's Society
1863	Severn Valley Naturalist's Field Club
1863	Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Association
1864	Norwich Geological Society
1864 M	Marlborough College Natural History Society

1864	Lewes and East Sussex Natural History Society
1864	Cleveland Institute of England
1865	High Wycombe Natural History Society
1865	North Staffordshire Institute of Mining and Mechanics
1866	Rugby School, Natural History Society
1866	Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society
1867 M	Cardiff Naturalist's Society
1867 M	Barnsley Naturalist Society
1867 M	Powys-land Club
1867 M	Perthshire Society of Natural Science
1868	Liverpool Microscopical Society
1867 M	South Staffordshire and East Winchestshire Institute of Mining Engineers
1868 M	Folkestone Natural History Society
1868 M	Eastbourne Natural History Society
1868	Wellington College Natural History Society
1869 M	Clifton College Scientific Society
1869	Norfolk and Norwich Naturalist's Society
1869	Edinburgh Naturalist Field Club
1869	Warrington Literary and Philosophical Society
1870	Norwich Science Gossip Club
1870	Croydon Microscopical and Natural History Club
1870	Newbury District Field Club
1870	Tamworth Natural History, Geology and Archaeology
1870	Leed's Naturalist's Club and Scientific Association
1870 M	Buteshire Natural History Society (Rothesay)
1871	Berwickshire Archaeological and Architectural Society
1871 M	Chesterfield and Derbyshire Institute of Mining, Civil and Mechanical Engineers
1871 M	Wakefield Naturalist's and Philosophical Society
1871 M	Chester Society of Natural Science
1872	Lambeth Field Club and Scientific Society
1872	Sheffield Naturalist's Club
Cabinet	South London Entomological Society
1873	Chichester and West Sussex Natural History and Microscopical Society
1873	Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club
1874 M	Dundee Naturalist's Society
1875	Bedfordshire Natural History Society and Field Club
1875	Inverness Scientific Society and Field Club
1875 M	Goole Scientific Society
1875	Hertfordshire Natural History Society and Field Club

1875	Liverpool Engineering Society
1876	Northamptonshire Natural History Society and Field Club
1876 M	Waterford Literary and Scientific Association
1876	Stroud Natural History and Philosophical Society
1876	Birmingham Philosophical Society
1876	Barrow Naturalist's Field Club and Literary and Scientific Association
1876	Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society
1876	Cornwall Mining Institute of
1876	Dumfriesshire and Galloway Scientific, Natural History and Antiquarian Society
1876 M	Burton-on-Trent Natural History and Archaeological Society
1876	Cumberland Association for the Advancement of Literature and Science
1877	Midland Union of Natural History Society
1877	Lancashire and Cheshire Entomological Society
1877 M	Hackney Microscopical and Natural History Society
1877 M	Keswick, Museum
1877	Cheltenham Natural Science Society
1877	Ealing Microscopical and Natural History Society
1878 M	Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society
1878 M	Dulwich College Science Society
1878	Erith and Belvedere Natural History and Scientific Society
1878	Rochester Naturalist's Club
1878 M	Sterling Natural History and Archaeological Society
1878 M	Baccup Natural History Society
1879	Lewisham and Blackheath Scientific Association
1879	Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society
1879	Stafford-William Salt Archaeological Society
1879 M	Launceston, Cornwall, Scientific and Historical Society
1880	Macclesfield Naturalist Field Club
1880 M	Peterborough Natural History Scientific and Archaeological Society
1880	Liverpool Geological Association
1880 M	Essex Field Club
1880	Keighley Scientific and Literary Society
1880	Arbroath Horticultural and Natural History Association
1880	Braintree and Bocking Microscopical and Natural History Club
1881	Cleveland Naturalist's Field Club and University Extension Society
1881	Kircaldy Naturalist's Society
1881	Liverpool Astronomical Society
1883	Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society

1883	Ripon, Yorkshire, Naturalist's Club
1884 M	Louth Naturalist's and Antiquarian Society
1884 M	Nicholson Institute, Leek
1884 M	Tunbridge Wells, Kent, Natural History and Philosophical Society
1884 M	Richmond, Yorkshire Naturalist's Field Club
1886 M	Museum of Glastonbury Antiquarian Society
1887 M	Literary and Scientific Institute, St. Neots, Huntingdon
1888	North Devon Athenaeum
1889 M	Leeds, Thoresby Society

Appendix IV

BUILDING DATES OF MUSEUMS IN BRITAINAuthorities1600

Arundel House

Ham House (cabinet for pictures
and miniatures)1700Gallery, Althorp, Northamp-
tonshire

1725 Chiswick House - 'Picture House'

1740 Stourhead - Cabinet Room

Holkham Hall, Norfolk - Gallery
built for classical sculpture1747 Strawberry Hill - Walpole's
purpose built exhibition gallery
and museum; first in London area1775 Newby Hall - built by Adam for
William Wedden in the style of
Roman architecture found at
Herculaneum1780 Sommerset House - first gallery
in England to have top lighting

1787 Ickworth

Castle Howard

Chatsworth

Petworth

1807 Attingham, Shropshire - Lord
Berwick's Picture Gallery built
by John Nash

1816 Belvoir Castle, Leicestershire

Sculpture Galleries

1735 Holkham Hall, Norfolk

1750 Northumberland House

1775 Newby Hall, Yorkshire

1807 Attingham, Shropshire

1816 Belvoir Castle, Leicestershire,
The WyattsLondon Galleries

1750 Northumberland House

1795-97 Bridgewater House, Duke of
Bridgewater opened to the
public in 18061811-14 Dulwich College Gallery
Architect Sir John Soane

1818	Sir John Fleming, Leicester 24 Hill, opened to British school	
1818	Lansdowne House; Soane built for Lord Ashburton John Nash's Gallery	
1827	Grosvenor House by Walter Horton Fawkes	
1825	Buckingham House; The Flemish Picture Gallery built by Thomas Hope	
1828	Londonderry House	
1830	Apsley House, Waterloo Chamber	
1840	Stafford House	
1848	Dorchester House	
1828	Philosophical Society, York Built by William Wilkins	
1829	Scarborough Museum built by R.H. Sharpe to plan by Smith; Art Gallery extension 1860	
1824-35	Royal Manchester Institution built by Charles Barry	
1832-38	National Gallery built by William Wilkins	
1821-40	British Museum built by George Smirke	
<u>1845-49</u>		
1845	Ashmolean Museum, Oxford Charles Robert Cockerell, R.A.	Univ.
1847	Museum and Literary Institution, Wisbech, Cambridgeshire by John Buckler	Soc.
1848	Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, George Basevi and Cockerell	Univ.
	Great Palm House, Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew by Decimus Burton	Ind. Support Gov.-Nat.
<u>1850-59</u>		
1851	Great Exhibition, Hyde Park by Paxton	Gov.-Nat.
	Museum of Practical Geology, Jermyn St., Piccadilly by James Pennethorne removed in 1933 to new building	Gov.-Nat.
1852	Royal Museum and Art Gallery, Peel Park, Salford	Gov.-Mun.
1855	Municipal Museum, Albion St., Hull	Soc.
1856	Corinium Museum, Cirencester	Priv.

1857	Museum of Economic Botany, Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew		Gov.-Nat.
	South Kensington Museum by Francis Fowke		Gov.-Nat.
	Art Treasures Exhibition, Manchester also by Fowke		

1860-69

1860	University Museum, Oxford by Benjamin Woodward		Univ.
	Municipal Museum, Vernon Park, Stockport	Ind. Support	Gov.-Mun.
	Public Museum, extended 1866, Liverpool by John Weightman with money of W. Brown, M.P.		Gov.-Mun.
1863	Burslem, Staffordshire, in Wedgwood Institute	Ind.	
1864	South Wilts and Blackmore Museums, Salisbury		Soc.
1866	Fine Art and Industrial Exhi- bition, York	Ind. Support	
	Royal Albert Memorial Museum, Exeter	Ind. Support	
1870	Guildhall, London		

1870-79

1872	City Museum, Park St., Bristol		Soc.
	Bethnal Green Museum		Gov.-Nat.
1873	Museum and Fine Art Gallery, Brighton by Foster and Wood		Gov.-Mun.
1874	Museum and Art Gallery, Black- burn, Lanc .		Gov.-Mun.
1875	Natural History Society's Museum, Torquay		Soc.
1876	National Gallery extension by E.M. Barry		
	Leicester Extension	Public	Gov.-Mun.
1877	Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool	Ind. Support	Gov.-Mun.
1878	Atkinson Art Gallery, Southport by Waddington and Sons, Burnley	Ind. Support	Gov.-Mun.
	Corporation Art Gallery, York by Edward Taylor		Gov.-Mun.
1879	Museum and Art Gallery, Derby by R. Knill Freeman with M.T. Bass, M.P.	Ind. Support	Gov.-Mun.
	Museum and Art Gallery, Dunder- land by J. and T. Tillman		Gov.-Mun.

1880-89

1880	Natural History Museum, South Kensington by Capt. Fowke		Gov.-Nat.
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1881	Corporation Natural History Museum, Ipswich by Horace Cheston		Gov.-Mun.
	Shakespeare Memorial Art Gallery Stratford-on-Avon by Dodgshun and Unsworth		
1882	Public Library and Museum, Penrith, Cumberland		
	North Gallery, Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew		Gov.-Nat.
1883	Art Gallery and Museum, Dorchester and built by G.R. Crickmay	Subscribers	
	Bedford School Museum		
	Queen's Park Art Gallery Manchester by John Allison	Ind.	Gov.-Mun.
	Hancock Museum, Newcastle-upon-Tyne by John Wardle	Ind.	Soc.
	Manicpal Art Gallery, Wolverhampton	Ind. & Mun.	Gov.-Mun.
	Nicholson Institute, Leek Staffordshire		
1885	Brunner Public Library and Museum, Northwick, Cheshire		Gov.-Mun.
	City Museum and Art Gallery, Birmingham	Ind.	Gov.-Mun.
1886	Grosvenor Museum, Chester	Ind.	
1887	Mappin Art Gallery, Sheffield	Ind.	Gov.-Mun.
	Workmen's Institute and Museum Street, Somerset		
	Library and Museum, Bootle, Lancashire		
1888	Manchester Museum	Soc. & Univ.	Univ.
	City Art Gallery, Leeds by W.H. Thorp		Gov.-Mun.
	Municipal Museum, Dudley, Worcestershire		Gov.-Mun.
	North Devon Athenaeum and Museum, Barnstaple		
1889	Buxton, Derbyshire		
	Eton College Museum		
	Museum of Classical Archaeology, Cambridge		
	Jubilee Museum, Cawthorne, Yorkshire		
<u>1890-99</u>			
1890	Rothschild Museum, Tring, Hertfordshire	Ind.	
	Museum and Art Gallery, Maidstone, Kent by H. Benstead		Gov-Mun.

1891	Storey Institute, Lancaster		
	South London Art Gallery, Camberwell	Ind. & Sub.	
1892	Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle, Durham by Jules Pellechet		Gov.-Ind.
1893	Imperial Institute, South Kensington by T.E. Colcult		
	Harris Museum and Art Gallery Preston. Architect Alderman James Hibbert	Ind.	Gov.-Mun.
1894	Corporation Museum and Art Gallery, Carlisle	Sub.	Gov.-Mun.
1895	Passmore Edwards Art Gallery, Newlyn, Cornwall by James Hicks	Ind.	
	Educational Museum, Haslemere, Surrey	Ind.	
	Winchester College by Basil Champneys		College
1896	National Portrait Gallery	Ind.	Gov.-Nat.
	Hastings Museum, Victoria Institute, Worcester		
1897	Tate Gallery, Millbank by Sydney R.J. Smith	Ind.	Gov.-Nat.
1898	Hertfordshire County Museum St. Alban's	Sub.	Gov.-County Council
	Country Museum, Stratford, Essex		
1899	Art Gallery and Museum, Chel- tenham	Ind.	Gov.-Mun.
	Royal Museum, Beaney Institute Canterbury	Ind.	Gov.-Mun.
	Whitechapel Art Gallery by Charles Harrison Townsend	Ind.	Gov.-Mun.
<u>1900-09</u>			
1900	Essex Museum of Natural History, West Hampton	Ind.	Soc.
	Horniman Museum, Forest Hill by Townsend	Ind.	
	Victoria Art Gallery, Bath by J.M. Brydon		Gov.-Mun.
1901	Art Gallery and Museum, Bury, Lancashire by Woodhouse and Willoughby	Ind.	Gov.-Mun.
1903	Art Gallery and Museum, Roch- dale, Lancashire.	Ind.	
	Whitworth Art Gallery, Man- chester by Messrs. Beaumont	Ind.	Gov.-Mun.
	City Museum, Winchester		
1904	Sedgwick Museum of Geology, Cambridge		

1904	Watts Gallery, Compton, Surrey by Christopher Turner	Ind.	
1901	Kelvingrove, Glasgow by Sir John Simpson		
	Museum and Art Gallery, Kingston-on-Thames by Alfred Cox	Ind. (Carnegie)	
	Dorman Memorial Museum, Middlesborough	Ind.	
	Laing Art Gallery, Newcastle- Upon-Tyne by Messrs. Cackett and Burns Dick	Ind.	
	Municipal Art Gallery and Museum, Bradford by Sir John Simpson	Ind.	
1905	City Art Gallery, Bristol by H.H. Wills	Ind.	Gov.-Mun.
1906	Corbridge, Northumberland		
1908	Museum and Art Gallery, Worthing	Ind.	Gov.-Mun.
1909	Victoria and Albert Museum by Aston Webb		Nat.
<u>1910-15</u>			
1910	Grundy Art Gallery, Blackpool	Ind.	
1911	Municipal Museum and Art Gallery, Plymouth by Snell		Gov.-Mun.
1912	Museum of Fisheries and Shipping, Hull	Ind.	
	Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge by Dr. Thomas Jackson		
1913	Alfred East Art Gallery, Kettering by J. Alfred Gotch	Ind	
	Museum, Stafford		
1914	King Edward VII Galleries, British Museum by John James Burnet		Gov.-Nat.
	Home Office Industrial Museum Horseferry Road		Gov.-Nat.
	Letchworth Garden City, Hertfordshire		
	Lady Lever Art Gallery, Port Sunlight, Cheshire	Ind.	

Dates of Museums in Historic Buildings

- 1670 Tower of London, the Armouries
- 1825 Norwich Castle
- 1846 Barbican House, Lewes, Sussex (17th century)
- 1848 Castle Keep, Newcastle-upon-Tyne (1172)
- 1858 Chillington Manor, Maidstone, Kent (16th century)
- 1866 Roman Villa, Chedworth, Gloucestershire
- 1874 Taunton Castle
- 1877 New Place, Stratford-on-Avon
- 1878 Roman Baths, Bath
Nottingham Castle
- 1880 Warwick Castle
- 1886 Aston Hall, Birmingham (17th century)
- 1887 Milton's Cottage, Chalfont St. Giles, Buckinghamshire
- 1889 Tolhouse Hall, Yarmouth (1250)
- 1890 Mere Hall, Bolton (early 19th century)
Tullie House, Carlisle (1689)
- 1891 Dove Cottage, Grasmere
- 1892 Anne Hathaway's Cottage, Shottery, Warwickshire
- 1893 Causeway House, Horsham Sussex (16th century)
Clifton Park, Rotherham, Yorkshire (1783)
- 1894 Abington Abbey, Northampton (1500)
Christchurch Mansion, Ipswich (1548)
- 1895 Carlyle's House, Cheyne Row, Chelsea
- 1898 Wesley's House, City Road, E.C.1
- 1899 Moyse's Hall, Bury St. Edmunds (12th century)
Tamworth Castle, Tamworth, Staffordshire
- 1903 Towneley Hall, Burnley, Lancashire (1350)
Eastgate House, Rochester, Kent (16th century)
- 1904 Swiss Cottage, Osborne, Isle of Wight
Dickens' Birthplace, Portsmouth
- 1906 West Gate, Caterbury (1380)
Wilberforce House, High Street, Hull (Elizabethan & Georgian)
- 1907 The Grey Friary, Lincoln (13th century)
- 1912 Tudor House, Southampton
- 1914 Thorpe Prebend House, Ripon, Yorkshire (15th century)
Geffrye Museum, Kingsland Road, London (1715)

APPENDIX V

INFORMATION FROM REPORTS, SURVEYS, DIRECTORIESA. Administrative Structures (Funding)1. Report upon the Condition of the Provincial Museums of the United Kingdom", British Association for the Advancement of Science, (1886&1887)

Special Rate	50		
General Boro		Municipal	55
Fund	5		
Local Societies	50		
Local Institution	13	Society	84
Annual Sub.	21		
College	30	Schools	30
Government	8	Gov't	8
Private	11		22
Endowment	11		
Unknown	12		12
Total			203

2. Thomas Greenwood, Museums and Galleries (1888).

Rate-Supported Museums	53	
Subscriptions & Fees	80	
Schools & Universities	18	
Government	5	
private	6	
Total		162

3. Museums Directory of 1911.(London, 1911)

National Museums	17	5.1%
Municipal	166	50.6%
Society	62	20
Institution	46	14
Univ, Collge, School	23	7
Trust	4	1.3
Private	10	3
Total	328	

4. H. Miers,

National	23	4.3%
Municipal	267	50.3
33% with library		
16 with art gallery		
8 with both		
Society, Subscribers	76	14
University, School		
Trustees	38	7.1
Private	25	4.7
Industrial, Business		
Total	530.	

5. Museums Directory, 1931.

National Museums	32
Rate-Supported(Mun.)	311
Owned by Societies and	
Individuals	181
Universities, Colleges	69

Of which 116 are or include art galleries of which 104 are municipally supported.

Total 593

6. S.F. Markham

National	17	2.1%
Local Authorities	400	50.8
330 Municipal or Metro-		
politan Boroughs		
40 Urban District Council		
7 County Councils		
Society	100	12.7
Trusts	60	7.6
Hospital & Univ.	50	6.3
College & School	70	8.8
Semi-Private		
Regimental	20	2.5
Individual or Business	50	6.3
Misc.	20	2.5

787

Funding

5,000 and over	20
1,000 " "	120
above 300	160
below 300	480

7. Survey of Provincial Museums. (1963).

Local Authority Museums	450
University & College	60
Military	90
Private	300
<hr/>	
Total	910

8. Wright Report. (1971).

Local Authority	468
University & College	73
Military	71
Private	338
<hr/>	
Total	950

B. TYPES OF MUSEUMS & COLLECTIONS

1. Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. (1886&1887

Approximate Estimate of the Number of specimens contained in Provincial
Museums

Collections	Geology	Zoology	Botany	Archaeol- ogy	Anthro- pology	Sundries	Art
General	2,000,000	1,000,000	500,000	250,000	50,000	50,000	20,000
Local	200,000	100,000	20,000	100,000	5,000	5,000	
Loan	10,000	5,000	5,000	3,000	1,000	1,000	15,000
Total	2,000,000	1,105,000	525,000	353,000	56,000	56,000	35,000

Museums in which the largest Collections are:

Geological	98	46%
Zoological	49	23
Botanical	9	4
Archaeological	23	11
Art	16	8%

Museums consisting entirely of General Collections	95
" entirely or chiefly of Local	16
" of both Local & General	92

2. Miers (1928)

Natural History	22	4.5%
Art Galleries	35	7
Historical Houses (30)		
Period (16)		
Roman-Pre-Roman(15)		
Naval & Military(10)		
	71	14
University & College,		
School,	60	12
Industrial	16	3
General	300	60
	<u>504</u>	

3. Markahm (1938)

Natural History	100	12.7%
Art	80	10.1
Medicine	20	2.5
Industry	20	2.5
Historical-		
Houses(personal)-50		
Period(folk) 40		
Naval or Military45		
General 10	165	20
General	<u>400</u>	50.8%

4. Wright Report (1971).

	Local Authority	Univ.	Private	Total
Fine & Applied Art	83	17	51	151
Arch. & Antiquities	24	9	34	67
Natural Science	9	14	13	36
Industry, Physical Sciences & Technology	22	9	32	63
Social History & Ethnography	87	10	88	185
Two or more of above	243	14	191	448
<hr/>				
Total	468	73	409	950

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Organization

I. Reference Works

- 1) Bibliographies and Guides to the Literature
- 2) Theses
- 3) Encyclopaedias, Directories, Statistics, etc.

II. Records and Documents

- 1) Government Papers
 - a) Debates
 - b) Bills and Statutes
 - c) Returns
 - d) Reports, etc.
- 2) Non-Governmental Papers
 - a) Records and Manuscripts
 - b) Reports

III. Printed Sources

- 1) Museology
- 2) Historical Background and Methodology
- 3) Museum History
 - a) General
 - b) Pre-1845
 - c) 1845-1945

IV. Source Material on Particular Museums

V. Other Sources: Interviews, Visits, etc.

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2. Visits

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