

'All Will be Amply Labelled...' The Educational Policies and Practices of the Horniman Free Museum

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Abstract

This work examines the policies and educational programming produced by the Horniman Free Museum in London prior to its closure in 1898. Relying upon primary sources, such as the writings of tea merchant and Member of Parliament Frederick Horniman and the staff of the museum, this article refutes previous scholarship on this museum and argues that the museum possessed a clear mission, curatorial and exhibition practices, and educational practices that were derived from late nineteenth-century museum practices and theory. By examining how the Horniman Free Museum created and described its policies and programming, this article presents a basis for further work on understanding how late nineteenth-century museums interpreted museum theory for constructing and displaying knowledge about the world.

Key words: museum education; museum history; nineteenth-century museum theory; Horniman museum; museum labels

The writings of Frederick Horniman and documents from his museum (the Horniman Free Museum) in the late 1890s demonstrate that both Horniman and the museum possessed a strong awareness of museum theory. Differing from other works on this museum, which ascribed other motivations for the museum and only hinted at its educational focus, this work will examine how both Horniman and the museum clearly relied upon contemporary museum theories and policies by detailing how museum policies and educational programming and materials fit within these theories. Focusing on the period between 1884 and 1898, the earliest attributable opening date of the museum to the closing of this museum, this work will show how the museum adhered to late nineteenth-century policies and practices in its mission statement, exhibition and collections practices, and educational programming and practices.¹

There are significant differences between the focus of this work and that of other scholars of this late nineteenth-century museum. In contrast to my argument, Kerlogue contended that Horniman created the museum to impress his friends and colleagues, and others, including Coombes and Duncan, focus on what they see as the museum's eclectic approach to collecting (Kerlogue 2008; Coombes 1988; Duncan 1972; Coombes 1991; Coombes 1994; Levell 2001a). Other authors, including Shelton (2001), highlight Horniman's interest in craftsmanship, or argue that the museum engaged in salvage anthropology. Levell, Teague, and Coombes, among others, acknowledge that the museum possessed educational goals and programming, but only speculate on its mission or programming goals in order to assert that the museum possessed a pedagogy based on an evolutionary paradigm (Duncan 1972; Coombes 1994; Levell 2000; Teague 2001; Kerlogue 2008). Alternatively, these authors place the museum in comparison to exhibitions such as the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, or the Great Exhibition in Sydenham (Duncan 1972; Coombes 1994; Levell 2000; Teague 2001; Kerlogue 2008). However, these authors rarely utilize the museum's own reports or Horniman's own thoughts on museums as expressed in his journals. Instead, they primarily rely upon the museum's guidebooks to demonstrate their view of the eccentricity of the museum and the museum's galleries.

However, I argue that Horniman's inspiration for and policies guiding the museum stemmed from his numerous connections with other cultural institutions and museum theorists. Relying upon primary documents, such as writings from Frederick Horniman and museum documents from the late nineteenth century, I will demonstrate how the museum adhered to museum theory of the late nineteenth century. First, I will show how the mission of the Horniman Free Museum was rooted within his knowledge of late nineteenth-century museums and exhibitions. Next, I will show how policies of the museum's collections and exhibitions were inspired by museum theory and organizations of the late nineteenth century. Finally, this work will demonstrate how the museum's educational policies and programming mirrored recommended best practices of this period.

The Mission of the Horniman Free Museum

Differing from previous works on this museum, my research makes clear that the museum possessed a mission to educate the public about foreign lands and peoples. A book about the museum published prior to its opening in 1901 provides a key statement that drove Horniman's collecting and that of the museum. The work, titled *An Account of the Horniman Free Museum and Recreation Grounds Forest Hill*, published in 1901, stressed this educational goal. Although this book primarily describes the new museum building (now known as the Horniman Museum and Gardens), the collection held by the museum, the building's architectural design, and a guide to the exhibitions in the building, this work also details the museum's mission. Early in this work, the unknown author provides a history of the museum prior to 1901 that clearly states the collecting and exhibition motivation for both Horniman and the museum. It claims, 'Mr. Horniman began... to collect in England and abroad those articles which either appealed to his fancy or seemed to him likely to interest and teach a lesson to those whom circumstances, or inclination prevented from visiting distant lands' (Anon 1901: 11). Placing emphasis upon how Horniman wanted to provide educational content/instruction, this work goes on to relate that Horniman decided to open a public museum in his home as the objects he collected and the number of people who benefited from viewing these objects increased (Anon 1901: 11).

In addition to this work, the First Annual Report from the museum after it reopened in 1901 rephrased and confirmed the mission of the Horniman Free Museum. When summarizing the history of the museum, the report stated, '[Horniman] acquired in England and abroad those objects which either appealed to his own fancy or which seemed to him likely to interest and inform those whom circumstances prevented from visiting distant lands' (London County Council 1902: 5). Like the work *An Account of the Horniman Free Museum and Recreation Grounds Forest Hill*, this report also underscored how the museum sought to provide information to its visitors on foreign countries and peoples. By combining these ideas of education, this publication provides the clearest sense of the overall mission of the museum: to collect and display objects from foreign cultures and people so that visitors may learn from them.

This mission matches with the stated purpose of contemporary exhibitions and museum theory. *The Official Guide to the Colonial and Indian Exhibition* described the purpose of the exhibition as 'one great Imperial display, of the resources and industries of the Empire of India, and of the Colonies that constitute what has been well called Greater Britain' (Anon 1886: 9). Further expanding upon the purpose of showcasing the assets and belongings of the empire, this guide expounded upon this point when it described the materials on display from India. Writing in 1886 George Augustus Sala described the purpose of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in a similar fashion. He wrote, '[the exhibition is] intended to show to Britons at home of what stuff their brethren and fellow subjects in distant climes are made' (Sala 1886: 472). Although written fifteen years before the accounts of the Horniman Museum listed above, these descriptions of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition nearly match the mission of the Horniman Museum, since both emphasize the idea of providing education about foreign peoples.

However, this mission of providing education about foreign places was not unique to the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in the late nineteenth century. With its emphasis on providing education to peoples not willing or able to visit other places, the mission of the Horniman Free Museum also matches the purpose of museums as described in the late nineteenth and early

twentieth centuries. Writing in 1888, Thomas Greenwood described the purpose of museums as 'educational institutions[s] easily accessible to all classes' (Greenwood 1888: 4). Like Greenwood, who noted that museums should be open to all people, George Brown Goode, then the Assistant Secretary at the Smithsonian Museum, writing in 1895, also stressed this point when he noted that museums should 'serve the needs of the general public' (Goode 1895: 9). Similarly, in 1904, David Murray wrote, 'in a general sense a museum is a popular educator. It provides recreation and instruction for all classes and all ages' (Murray 1904: 259). Like Greenwood and Horniman, this description about museums also focuses on making education available to all peoples.

Articles on the Horniman Free Museum from the early 1890s emphasized the notion of providing education for all. Similar to Murray and Greenwood, an 1891 article on the museum noted that the museum is for 'the benefit of the public in general and Londoners in particular' (Anon 1891: 5). An interview with Horniman in the following year also stressed this point. The article stated:

[Horniman] has for a considerable period been trying the experiment of admitting the public on certain occasions to view his collections, and found that so much pleasure was given to these casual visitors by the inspection of his treasures that he finally resolved to share them entirely with the people (Anon 1892: 663).

This same article also notes that Horniman enjoyed touring the museum with the public and discussing the museum with them, and that he loaned objects for schools to use as part of their lessons (Anon 1892). In a newspaper article from early 1898 Horniman again stressed this point. The article quoted him as saying:

The Horniman Free Museum and Grounds will be open to the public each day, including Sundays, until Saturday January 29th, when they will be closed at half past ten o'clock at night. Between now and that day bring your wife, or husband, and all your children, your cousins, uncles, and your aunts, so that they may inspect the Museum (Anon 1898: 5).

Consequently, like museum theorists Goode, Greenwood, and Murray, Horniman stressed the benefit of providing education to all peoples.

Based upon the mission and the emphasis on educating the public, Horniman and the museum demonstrate a clear awareness of contemporary museum theory. Although neither Horniman nor the museum directly acknowledge these influences, the policies and practices of the museum mirror those of other late nineteenth-century cultural institutions and theorists regarding the educational mission and the audiences the museum sought.

Inspirations for the museum's exhibitions and collections

It is clear that Horniman possessed a strong interest in international exhibitions, and they provided some influence on the museum. However, as opposed to authors such as Teague, Coombes, and Levell, who argue that the museum solely drew influences from international exhibitions, I argue that Horniman and the museum relied on numerous sources, including not only international exhibitions but also museum practitioners, theorists, and other sources.

Contrasting with the authors mentioned above, I contend Horniman and the museum possessed numerous influences. The museum's 1894 and 1895 annual reports both list Horniman belonging to eleven different learned organizations, including fellowship of the Royal Geographical Society, Royal Historical Society, Anthropological Institute, and membership of the Japan Society (Quick 1895; Quick 1896). Horniman would have met and interacted with people involved in museums through these societies. As Horniman's journal notes, for example, he was introduced to Thomas Hendley, organizer of the Jaipur Exhibition and Director of the Jeypore Museum in Jeypore India from 1880 to 1898 by Sir Somers Vine and South Kensington Museum's Professor Clark (Surrey House Museum c. 1883-1901: 27A, item 205). Both Vine and Hendley possessed strong museum connections. In addition to reopening the Horniman Free Museum in 1893 and knowing Horniman for many years, Vine worked at several cultural institutions. This included working as an agent at the international

exhibitions held in South Kensington between 1883 and 1886 (including the International Fisheries Exhibition, International Health Exhibition, International Invention Exhibition, and the Colonial and Indian Exhibition) and as the Assistant Secretary to the Imperial Institute (Anon 1895: 22).

Additionally, the Horniman Free Museum and its curator Richard Quick were involved in the professional museum group, the Museums Association, during this period, and may have moulded the museum's practices based on information he learned from this group. The report from the 1893 Museums Association conference lists the Horniman Museum as a member of this organization along with Greenwood, and William Henry Flower, the director of the Natural History Museum between 1884-1898, who are described as Associates of the Museums Association (Museums Association 1893). The Museums Association's 1895 conference reports also list the museum, Greenwood, and Flower as members along with Goode, whose work 'The Principles of Museum Administration' was presented at this conference (Museums Association 1895).

Documents from the Museums Association establish that Quick was an active member of this group. He wrote to the Museums Association in 1898 requesting they publish a weekly newspaper (Lewis 1989). He also attended and presented at both the 1899 and 1900 Museums Association conferences (on colours suitable for museum cases in 1899 and on the Horniman Museum in 1900) as well as adding a correction at the 1899 conference proceedings regarding information about the Horniman Museum listed in the association's 1898 conference report (Museums Association 1900a; Museums Association 1900b).²

Furthermore, Frederick Horniman possessed a strong interest in international exhibitions. Hoffenberg notes that the Horniman's tea company participated in the International Health Exhibition of 1884 (Hoffenberg 2001: 115). Additionally, the museum's annual report from 1894 states that Horniman travelled to Holland and Belgium in the summer of 1894, noting that he visited the Antwerp International Exhibition (Quick 1895). Consequently, Horniman would have acquired both an interest but also a familiarity with the content, objectives and display styles of the international exhibitions of the late nineteenth century.

Horniman's collecting and exhibitions for the museum show the impact of international exhibitions – specifically the Colonial and Indian Exhibition – on him. Shortly after the Colonial and Indian Exhibition closed, Horniman purchased many objects from it for the museum. These included 31 lots of goods from the Hong Kong Court, bought for a total of £29.6.6 on 14 December 1886 (Surrey House Museum 1890-1903: 83). Early the next year Horniman purchased additional objects from the exhibition, for example 80 lots of materials from the Indian Court for £252.8.6 on 24 January 1887, and 32 lots from the Natal and Straits Settlements Courts for £21.2.0 on 7 February (Surrey House Museum 1890-1903: 84-5).

Additionally, an early guide to the museum and a late nineteenth-century article on the museum note the influence of this exhibition. This guide, dated 3 November 1887, lists one of the rooms in the museum as the 'Indian and Colonial Saloon' and describes this room as '[containing] numerous Oriental curiosities, purchased by Mr. Horniman's liberal purse from the Commissioners of the late Indian and Colonial Exhibition' (Surrey House Museum c 1883-1901: 3, item 005). Although this article does not describe specific objects, it confirms the presence of objects from the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in the museum, as suggested by Horniman's numerous purchases from the exhibition. Furthermore, an article about the museum from August 1895, from the journal *The Biographer*, described these rooms. It stated, 'India and Ceylon are represented by five rooms. These departments, which are a feature of the museum, were commenced by Mr. Horniman at the close of the Indian and Colonial Exhibition of 1886 when he purchased many interesting objects' (Anon 1895: 24). Both of these sources confirm the influence of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition on the museum. Not only is one of the rooms in the museum named after the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, but contemporary descriptions of the museum also indicate that the museum placed objects from the exhibition in multiple rooms and that these rooms were based upon the objects Horniman purchased from the Colonial and Indian Exhibition. Consequently, based upon the purchase and display of objects from the Colonial and Indian Exhibition within the museum, this exhibition clearly influenced Horniman and the museum, as well as the mission of the museum, which I discuss below.

An article about the museum from 1891 further showcased Horniman's awareness of contemporary museum theory. When describing future plans for the museum this article mentioned that Horniman planned to add a library and classrooms 'for the convenience of visitors who may wish to improve their minds and extend their knowledge' (Anon 1891: 5). Although the idea of combining museums and libraries predated Horniman by centuries, it is also advocated by museum scholars contemporary to Horniman. Echoing Horniman, Murray wrote that a library is essential to a museum, since museums are places for study (Murray 1904). Additionally, Goode described libraries as essential to museums. He wrote:

Every well appointed Museum should have a good reference library which should include the principal books of reference in regard to the various specialities with which it is concerned, and especially the great illustrated works relating to other museums, which cannot be displayed in the exhibition halls. This library should be freely accessible to visitors and provided with comfortable furniture and facilities for taking notes (Goode 1895: 67).

Like Horniman, Goode stressed that the library should be available for the use of visitors. The Horniman Free Museum's 1896 Annual Report notes that the museum possessed a library and that it accessioned works relevant to the collection including books on musical instruments and the Kachin peoples (Quick 1896).

Other museum reports also reveal an awareness of late nineteenth-century museum practices and a possible connection to Goode. The museum's annual reports from 1895 and 1896 reveal that the museum loaned out objects to other museums and exhibitions and even gave objects away. The 1895 report states:

In August a collection of African curios, ivory carvings, bead work, weapons &c. was lent to the African Loan Exhibition, held at the Crystal Palace, and later in October a similar collection was lent to the Missionary Loan Exhibition held at Bedford. A few duplicate specimens were presented to the Desbury Museum (Quick 1896: 7).

Furthermore, this report indicates that the museum received a collection of casts of pre-historic implements from the United States National Museum (which Goode helmed) as part of an exchange, although the report does not indicate what the Horniman Free Museum exchanged in return (Goode 1895; Quick 1896). This exchange demonstrates that the museum possessed a contact at the Smithsonian and knowledge of the practice of disposing of duplicate objects, which Goode also recommended. Goode devoted a section of *The Principles of Museum Administration* to the disposal of duplicate objects. Echoing the Horniman Free Museum's practice of giving away duplicates and exchanging objects, he wrote, 'a duplicate, from the Museum standpoint, is simply a superfluous specimen... The use of duplicates is for exchange and distribution' (Goode 1895: 47).

The museum's annual report from 1896 also follows a practice recommended by Goode. This report notes, 'the Curator has re-arranged the Pottery, Musical Instruments, Hindu Idols, Armoury and Egyptian Collection, the cases of which have been re-lined with a light green paper, which is found to make a good background' (Quick 1896: 9). This rearranging of the objects and lining of the cases echoes advice from Goode. He stated:

Cases, labels, colors of background, aisles, and all the practical details of arrangement, however minute, should be considered with the comfort and physical ease of the visitor in mind, since the use of a Museum is at best necessarily attended by fatigue of eyes and of body, which may be greatly lessened by the adoption of proper devices (Goode 1895: 41).

Similar to the use of objects for loans and exchanges to museums, and regardless of whether or not the museum possessed a relationship with Goode, through these practices it is likely that the museum knew of and followed the advice of museum practitioners.

As demonstrated above, both Horniman and the museum drew heavily upon other cultural institutions of the late nineteenth century to shape the museum's collections and exhibitions. While the museum did explicitly cite some of these references, such as the Colonial

and Indian Exhibition, other museum policies, such as the colour of paper placed within the exhibitions, likely derive from museum theorists and practices of the time and possibly the connections the museum possessed with other cultural institutions such as the Smithsonian.

Museum Educational Policies and Practices

Similar to the policies described above, it is clear both Horniman and the museum followed established museum practice regarding the museum's educational materials and programming. This section will examine how materials such as the museum's labels, guidebooks, and programming demonstrate how both Horniman and the museum drew from or echoed late nineteenth-century museum theory and practice when creating these materials and programmes.

The museum provided information to visitors through a number of means, including the printing and distribution of guidebooks. In addition to numerous museum scholars recommending guidebooks for museum visitors, the Colonial and Indian Exhibition also featured printed guides (Peripatetic 1886). Goode defined the purpose of the guidebook when he wrote, 'the guide-book... is a brief manual in which the plan of the Museum and the general character of its contents are described... [and] the system of arrangement' (Goode 1895: 65). Here Goode stressed that the guidebook should provide visitors with a layout of the museum and description of its contents. Flower wrote that guidebooks proved a good supplement to labels and that visitors should be encouraged to take them home (Flower 1898: 19). Additionally, Murray, writing in 1904, highlighted the educational benefits of distributing guidebooks to museum visitors. He wrote:

[The British Museum] issued a series of short popular handbooks, prepared by the ablest officers of the staff, which have been of immense service in making known the contents of this vast storehouse, and in helping intelligent visitors to understand and appreciate the objects placed on view (Murray 1904: 264).

Similar to Goode, Murray underscores the function of guidebooks – to provide visitors with information on the museum's exhibitions and collections so that they might learn more about the contents of the museum and the subjects the objects depict.

As described above, from the earliest days of its opening as a public museum the Horniman Free Museum provided guidebooks to its visitors.³ Like Goode's description, these books offered information on the overall design scheme of the museum and included descriptions of each room. The museum printed numerous editions of the guidebooks, which demonstrate that the museum's collections and exhibitions changed frequently. Each edition of these free guidebooks provided information on the layout of the museum as well as descriptions for each room. An article about the museum from approximately the mid-1890s states that the museum provided guidebooks to all visitors (Surrey House Museum c. 1883-1901). The twelfth edition of the guidebook highlights how the books were intended to be used. It instructed visitors to 'keep to the Right throughout the inspection and USE THIS GUIDE in EACH ROOM to intelligently examine the OBJECTS OF INTEREST [emphasis original]' (The Horniman Free Museum and Gardens n.d.: 3). Comparable to the description offered by Murray above, here the museum demonstrated that it intended these books to help lead the visitors through the museum and offer instruction about the objects and the subjects or cultures the objects represented in the museum.

Additionally, the third and fourteenth editions of the guidebook (dated Christmas 1890 and April 1897 respectively) indicate that the museum printed guidebooks over the course of its existence and provides good examples of the construction of these guides. Both these editions of the museum's guidebook encouraged visitors to view the exhibition with the guidebook in their hand and the third edition noted that 'each room is numbered to correspond with this brief hand guide catalogue' (Surrey House Museum 1890: 1) As Flower suggested, both editions of the guidebook also encouraged visitors to make repeated visits to the museum and served as advertisements for the museum. The guidebooks provided the museum's opening hours while the fourteenth edition also urged people not to destroy the guide but to take it home or give it away (Surrey House Museum 1890; Horniman Free Museum and Pleasure Garden 1897).

Consequently, similar to Goode's description of a guidebook above, these books provided a layout of the museum's exhibitions with each room receiving a description regarding its contents, with occasional descriptions of specific contents in the rooms.

Furthermore, the fourteenth edition of the guidebook, dated April 1897, detailed the twenty-four rooms in the museum and provided a description of each, ranging from a single paragraph to over a page in length. These descriptions demonstrate that the museum followed the mission outlined above of educating visitors about distant lands. The guidebook described and interpreted the objects Horniman purchased in Tibet. Next to the heading of 'Tibetan Curios' listed in Room 17A (The Second Indian & Ceylon Room) it stated:

Then follows a very interesting collection of Tibetan curios, amulets, ear-rings, worn by men as well as women, trumpets, bells, etc., prayer wheels for hand and table use, etc.; above metal trays, etc., from Benares, Moradabad and Jeypore, etc., collected by Mr. Horniman on his first visit (Horniman Free Museum and Pleasure Garden 1897: 11).

Here again the guidebook demonstrates that the museum interpreted these objects as representing other cultures by describing the intended use of these objects (such as the jewellery and prayer wheels) and by detailing the places where Horniman purchased them.

In addition to guidebooks, a variety of late nineteenth-century museum scholars also advocated the use of labels in museum exhibitions to provide educational content to museum visitors. Goode noted the importance of labels in museums when he wrote that labels take the place of the curator in a museum in order to describe and detail the objects on exhibition (Goode 1895: 41, 56). Later he elaborated on the educational role of labels in museums by stating, 'the function of a label then is a most important one, since it is practically only through the aid of the labels that visitors derive any benefit whatever from a visit to a Museum' (Goode 1895: 57). Here Goode suggests that labels not only clearly aided the visitor, but without them they would gain no understanding of the objects or exhibitions. Similarly, when extolling the educational benefits of museums in 1888, Greenwood described the ideal use of labels in museums when he wrote that 'specimens of raw materials with labels clearly defining their properties and uses... are now, in many instances, looked upon as indispensable scholastic aids' (Greenwood 1888: 28-9). Here Greenwood argued that museums supplement other sources of education, such as schools and universities, in helping people to gain information on a subject. Additionally, William T. Stearn stated that Flower insisted on labels for the objects in the museum's exhibitions in order to educate the public. Stearn wrote, 'Flower held that every specimen placed in the public... should be there in order to demonstrate to the visitor some definite fact... and ticketed with an easily-read label stating clearly... why it is worth looking at' (Stearn 1891: 76). Like Goode, Flower argued that objects in museums needed to be labelled in order for the public to understand the ideas the objects represented. Hendley also described the importance and prevalence of labels in the museum. When describing the Jeypore Museum he stated, 'in all departments there were diagrams, charts, object lesson cards... and anything else which would serve to illustrate and explain a subject' (Hendley 1914: 51). Hendley similarly emphasized that objects should be displayed with interpretive materials, such as labels, to enhance the educational aspects of the museum for the visitor.

Horniman also believed that the museum should place labels with the objects in the exhibitions for the educational benefit of the visiting public. Although, unfortunately, the labels from the Horniman museum prior to 1898 are lost, Horniman wrote about the importance and educational use of labels in museums in his journals. During his visit to Egypt at the beginning of 1896, Horniman made two references to labels, or the lack of labels, in museums. In an article published on 21 February 1896, Horniman described a visit to a museum and specifically noted the lack of labels. He wrote, 'the collection is so extensive that one becomes bewildered, but this would not be the case if each article was properly labelled' (Horniman 1896a: 3). Like Flower, Hendley, and Goode above, Horniman clearly believed that labels were necessary in the museum to aid the visitors' comprehension of the objects and themes. Later during his trip to Egypt, Horniman described purchasing a number of objects for the museum and how he planned to display them. He stated, '[these objects] will make a valuable addition to the Egyptian section of the museum at Forest Hill, as they will all be amply labelled with



Figure 1. Horniman Free Museum Reception Room c. 1896. Most of the objects in the case in the centre of the image, likely the museum's collection of Japanese deity figures mentioned in its guidebooks, possess labels. Image courtesy of the Horniman Museum and Gardens. ARC/HMG/PH/SHM/MBP17, Surrey House Museum: Oriental Saloon, Photographer: unknown, Horniman Museum and Gardens. © Horniman Museum and Gardens



Figure 2. The Horniman Free Museum Ethnographical Saloon c. 1891. Note that many of the objects in this image possess labels attached to or next to the objects. The Hornimans stand in the middle of the group and include Frederick second from the left, his son Emslie third from the left, and Rebekah (Frederick's first wife) third from the right. Photograph courtesy of the Horniman Museum and Gardens. ARC/HMG/PH/SHM/MBP45/002, Surrey House Museum: Ethnographical Saloon, Photographer: A. & C. Taylor Photographers, Horniman Museum and Gardens. © Horniman Museum and Gardens

explanatory data supplied by the highest authorities and experts' (Horniman 1896b: 2). Again, Horniman noted the importance of labels in a museum to provide information to the visitor, as well as advertising the quality of the information presented by the labels in his museum, by noting that he would consult with experts in order to supply it. In this manner, through this description of the purpose of labels, Horniman underscored his belief in the necessity of labelling objects, and added that the labels in his museum would contain expert knowledge, likely on the foreign cultures and peoples these objects represented.

Other late nineteenth-century sources verify the labelling of objects in the museum. An undated article titled 'Museums and Museums' from the Horniman newspaper clipping scrapbook provides a brief description of the Horniman museum from approximately the mid-1890s (based upon the museum's three open days per week) and states that 'nearly all the objects [in the museum] have descriptive labels' (Surrey House Museum c. 1883-1901: 20, item 127). In addition to this article highlighting the prevalence of object labels in the museum, other articles noted the use of labels. A newspaper article dated 2 January 1893 also records the presence of labels. It notes that 'much labelling has been done in the different departments, and several cases re-arranged' (Surrey House Museum c. 1883-1901: 14, item 63). Although this article did not allude to the number of labels in the museum, it also confirmed the presence of labels in the museum. An undated article (likely written between 1890 and 1893 based on the fact that the article recorded the museum as being open on Sundays and Wednesdays) lauded the labelling in the museum. It stated, 'not the least valuable feature of the collection is the care bestowed on the labelling – nearly every object bears some intelligible description' (Surrey House Museum c. 1883-1901: 20, item 157). Like the two articles above, this article ties into the view that Horniman expressed in 1896, when he stated the objects in the museum needed labels to make the exhibitions understandable to the visitor.

Additionally, this description also points out that most of the objects in the museum possessed labels. Greenwood also noted the labels in the museum. He wrote, 'Horniman has probably the finest private collection of insects not only in this but in any country. In 500 drawers there are arranged, classified, and labelled considerable over 12,000 specimens' (Greenwood 1888: 150-1). In addition to noting that the museum labelled its collections, this article also reveals that the museum arranged objects in categories, as is also seen through the broad division of the museum between art and nature, its 24 rooms, and through the use of labels to instruct the visitors on how to interpret the objects. Two images from the museum also confirm the use of interpretive labels in the museum's exhibitions. Both Figure 1 (the Reception Room) and Figure 2 (the Ethnological Saloon) show that the museum placed labels next to the objects and that most objects appear to possess their own label.

Quick also commented upon the labels in the museum. In the report from the 1899 Museums Association conference, Quick provided samples of the labels for the museum (Museums Association 1900a). Also, stressing the museum's connection with and influence from other cultural institutions, Quick noted that the Horniman Free Museum had its labels printed or written by the same 'ticket-writer' who wrote the labels for the South Kensington Museum (Museums Association 1900a). Consequently, similar to the recommendations and practices of late nineteenth-century museum scholars such as Goode, Flower, Hendley and the South Kensington Museum, the Horniman Free Museum possessed labels and underscored the use of these labels by its visitors to gain information including the classification of insects and information on other cultures.

Nineteenth-century museum scholars also recommended that museums conduct lectures for the educational benefit of their visitors and community. Goode wrote that lectures with the use of specimens from the museum are 'exceedingly useful', but emphasized that lectures based upon specific topics or targeted for specific groups (he highlights schoolteachers) provided better educational value (Goode 1895). Similarly, Greenwood advocated the benefits of lectures by museums and cited a number of examples of museums that provided excellent educational lectures. He wrote, 'Wherever possible there should be in connection with all Museums and Art Galleries, at stated times, lectures on the objects in the Museum or on subjects incidental to the work of these institutions' (Greenwood 1888: 210). Greenwood later explained that the objective of these lectures would be to increase the educational benefit of the museum and encourage the general public to engage in 'continuous study' (Greenwood 1888: 210). He further noted that these lectures could address a wide variety of topics and

contended that successful lectures should relate to and use the objects from the museum, as well as using technology such as magic lanterns or slides in order to engage the audience.

Horniman and the staff of the museum also engaged in this practice of providing public lectures, seemingly adhering to the guidelines put forth by Goode and Greenwood. The topics and the use of objects in the lectures were also clearly designed to support the museum's mission of educating people on foreign cultures. The museum's fifth annual report noted that Quick gave a lecture on Japan using objects and a magic lantern. It stated:

On March 25th [1895] Mr. Quick read a paper on "Japan and Japanese Art," as illustrated in the Horniman Museum, before the Dulwich Scientific and Literary Association. The lecture was illustrated by lantern slides (photos), taken from specimens in the Museum, and a few actual objects (Quick 1896: 6).

Not only does this description verify that the museum gave lectures using objects and slides, as recommended by Greenwood and Goode, but that the topic of this lecture has clear relevance to the museum's mission. The museum's annual report from the following year recorded a similar event. In describing a lecture on bells delivered at the Dulwich Scientific and Literary Association on 16 March 1896, the report stated, 'the lecture was illustrated by limelight lantern slides (photos.) taken from specimens in the Museum, and from all the celebrated bells in the world. A collection of ancient and foreign bells from the Museum were on exhibition' (Quick 1897: 6). Additionally, an article in the *Forest Hill and Sydenham Examiner* dated 26 February 1897 noted that the museum held a lecture on Egyptian mummies that culminated in the unwrapping of a mummy from the museum's collection and the gift of small pieces of the mummy's wrapping to each audience member (Anon 1897). Again, this article notes that the museum used objects to illustrate information on other cultures and presented a memento of the lecture to each visitor. Like the lectures described above, and as Greenwood and Goode suggested in their recommendations, Quick advocated presenting educational information on foreign cultures from the museum through the use of slides and objects.

Conclusion

Frederick Horniman closed the Horniman Free Museum on 29 January 1898 and demolished it in May of the same year. When the museum reopened to the public in a new building on 29 June 1901, the collecting and exhibition methodology utilized by the museum changed dramatically. These changes included hiring a new curator, reorienting the museum's collections and exhibitions to focus more on displaying the perceived evolution of human culture and giving control of the museum to the city of London. After the London County Council took over the management of the museum, they instituted further changes. Foremost among these changes was the shift in the focus of the museum's approach to collecting and exhibitions. The council agreed with a report submitted by A.C. Haddon, who argued that the museum should rearrange and reclassify the objects in the museum. To this end, the council changed the focus of the museum's collecting and exhibitions to highlight the evolution of human ideas and civilization, similar to the practices utilized by the Pitt Rivers Museum and Liverpool Museum at the end of the nineteenth century, and appointed Haddon as Advisory Curator in 1902 (Levell 2001b).

Consequently, Frederick Horniman and the Horniman Free Museum present a model for understanding the policies and practices of late nineteenth-century museums. Both Horniman and the staff of the museum demonstrate an awareness of museums and cultural institutions (such as international exhibitions) through the creation of their exhibitions, policies, and educational materials and programming. The mission of the Horniman Free Museum emphasized the provision of information to the general public, focusing particularly on education regarding distant places. Additionally, the policies and practices the museum implemented demonstrate an awareness of and interactions with other museum practitioners and theorists of the time, including the Museums Association. Finally, the educational practices and programming of the museum further demonstrate that both Horniman and the museum reflected contemporary museum practices, including writing labels for the museum objects, writing and distributing guidebooks to the museum, and running public programming, which

fit within the museum's mission and late nineteenth-century practices. Consequently, by examining the Horniman Free Museum, this work presents new perspectives and a basis for understanding how late nineteenth-century museums modelled their practices while interpreting the world.

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Notes

- ¹ The Horniman Free Museum differs from the current iteration of the Horniman museum, currently named the Horniman Museum and Gardens. The former opened as a private museum in Horniman's home as early as 1884, then reopened to the public in 1890 and closed in 1898. An article from the Forest Hill News dated 22 November 1884 named the museum as the Surrey House Museum and provides evidence that Horniman organized the museum into themed rooms (Surrey House Museum c. 1883-1901: 2, item 002). The Horniman Museum and Gardens opened to the public in 1901. Furthermore, Horniman exerted more direct control over the former while he turned over the latter to the London County Council prior to its opening in 1901.
- ² Quick was likely aware of other sources of professional practice as he also delivered presentations to other academic groups during his tenure at the museum, including two presentations to the British Archeological Association in 1895 (Quick 1895).
- ³ Coombes notes that the museum was among the first in England to provide guidebooks to visitors (Coombes 1994).

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