

Model Lives:
The Changing Meanings of Miniature Ethnographic Models from
Acquisition to Interpretation at the Horniman Free Museum 1894-1898

Thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
at the University of Leicester

by

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June 2017

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Although many contemporary museums possess collections of miniature ethnographic models, few scholars have explored how these objects emphasize ideas of intellectual control. This thesis examines the use and interpretation of miniature ethnographic models in the late nineteenth century. I demonstrate how the interpretation of these objects reinforced British intellectual control over the peoples of India and Burma during this period by focusing on four sets of miniature ethnographic models purchased by Frederick Horniman in the mid-1890s and displayed in the Horniman Free Museum until it closed in January 1898.

Building on the theories of miniature objects developed by Susan Stewart and others, scholarship on the development of tourist art, late nineteenth-century museum education theories, and postcolonial theories the thesis examines the biography of these objects between 1894 and 1898. By drawing on archival documents from the museum, articles about Horniman and the museum from this period, and newspaper articles chronicling Horniman's journal of his travels between 1894 and 1896, this thesis traces the interpretation of these miniature models from their purchase through their display within the museum to the description of these models by visitors to the museum, and in each case shows how these models embodied notions of intellectual control over the peoples of India and Burma.

Where previous studies have focused on only one or two of these phases of objects' lives this thesis demonstrates that all three phases of these models' lives (collection, display, and visitor interpretations) within the period reveal aspects of colonial control. Consequently, this thesis provides a basis for further work on investigating how late nineteenth-century collectors and museums utilized objects to both construct knowledge and implicitly highlight aspects of colonial control.

Acknowledgements

I am extremely grateful to the staff of the University of Leicester's School of Museum Studies and Victorian Studies Centre as well as the staff of the Horniman Museum and Gardens for all of their help and guidance on this project. I would especially like to thank my supervisors Dr Dudley and Dr North, as well as Dr Unwin, Dr Sandell, Dr Watson, Prof. MacLeod, Prof. Pearce, Barbara Lloyd, Bob Ahluwalia, and Christine Cheesman at the University of Leicester. I would also like to thank Dr Kerlogue, Adrian Murphy, Katherine Doyle, Helen Williamson at the Horniman Museum and Gardens and the staff of the Lewisham Local History and Archives Centre for the assistance they provided to me over the course of this project.

I would also like to thank my family and friends for their support and for encouraging this project, including Bayard and Alice Haugen, Brian and Trudy Haugen and family, Brenda and Todd Nutting, John, Laura and Alissa Nutting, and Shelby, Joe, Petra, Gretta, Leo, and Marta Veliz. I also thank my friends including Dr Amy Barnes, Dr Will Buckingham, Irene Campolmi, Lauren Fensterstock and Aaron T. Stephen, Dr Petrina Foti, JT Framsted, Heather Hauptli, Dr Amy Hetherington, Dr Ching-Yueh Hsieh, Dr Elee Kirk, Dr Cintia Velazquez Marroni, Rachael and Enoch Marshall, Dr Gudrun Whitehead and, of course, Dr Stephanie Bowry, as well as numerous teachers and museum volunteers for all of their support and encouragement. Finally, I thank Viv, David and Tim for their kindness and hospitality.

Dedicated to everyone who helped me on this journey

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	3
Table of Contents.....	5
List of Figures	6
Chapter 1: Introduction	7
Chapter 2: Miniature Models as Curios.....	62
Chapter 3: Miniature Models as Educational Tools	112
Chapter 4: Decoding the Orient Through Miniature Models	152
Chapter 5: Conclusion.....	200

List of Figures

Figure 1.1 Set of twenty papier-mâché heads.....	18
Figure 1.2 Papier-mâché head depicting the Chhipa caste	20
Figure 1.3 Papier-mâché head depicting the Nai caste.....	21
Figure 1.4 Papier-mâché head depicting the Kanaujia caste.....	22
Figure 1.5 Clay figure depicting a shopkeeper	25
Figure 1.6 Clay figure of a man.....	26
Figure 1.7 Carved wooden painted figure of Shan Woman	28
Figure 1.8 Carved wooden painted figure of Shan Man	29
Figure 1.9 Carved wooden painted figure of Burmese Hboongee	30
Figure 2.1 The three page receipt Horniman received from F. Beato	88
Figure 3.1 The Horniman Free Museum Elizabethan Bed-Chamber c. 1890 ...	115
Figure 3.2 The exterior of the Horniman Free Museum c. 1896.....	119
Figure 3.3 Horniman Free Museum Reception Room c. 1896	130
Figure 4.1 The Horniman Free Museum Ethnographical Saloon c. 1892	168
Figure 4.2 Carved wooden painted figure of Old Burmese Woman	195
Figure 4.3 Carved wooden painted figure of Old Burmese Man	196

Chapter 1: Introduction

By his own admission, tea merchant and Member of Parliament Frederick Horniman (8 October 1835 - 5 March 1906) began collecting objects at an early age. The son of tea merchant John Horniman, Frederick began working for his father by 1852 and took over the company, with his older brother William, in 1868.¹ Although running W.H. and F.J. Horniman & Co., described as the largest tea company in the world in 1891, Horniman found time for his other passion: collecting.² An interview with him dated 7 May 1892 reinforced this idea when it stated, "Mr. Horniman has been a great traveller, has seen many men, and many lands; but his principal occupation and delight when taking a short holiday has been to perpetuate the result of his journeys by many interesting trophies."³ This description of Horniman's collecting activity only scratches the surface of the types of objects the Horniman Free Museum exhibited prior to its closure in 1898. This collection, ranging from ethnological materials, natural history specimens, live animals and insects, and geological materials showcased Horniman's desire to feature objects that interested him and objects that the museum could use educate the public. This thesis focuses on four sets of miniature ethnographic models Horniman purchased between 1894 and 1895 that the museum used for the latter purpose.

Whether they are toys, models, or replicas, the study of miniature objects receives relatively little attention from academic scholarship.⁴ Sheenagh Pietrobruno confirms the lack of scholarship on these objects by stating that "just a handful of American and European writers from a variety of fields have examined the connotations of the

¹ Michael Horniman, "Horniman, Frederick John (1835-1906), Tea Merchant and Founder of the Horniman Museum, London," Oxford Dictionary of National Biography 12 October 2016.

² Horniman

³ "Workers and Their Work- No. XXXV: Mr. Frederick Horniman and His Museum," Pearson's Weekly 7 May 1892: 663, Pearson's Weekly. Y/T LONDON 1892. 108'. MLD 119.

⁴ As I further describe below, this study focuses on miniature models and does not include other type of miniature objects including toys or miniature paintings.

miniature.”⁵ Here Pietrobruno notes that it is not just museum scholars, but rather a variety of academic disciplines which have ignored exploring the meaning behind miniaturization. Similarly, Christopher Evans acknowledges that the study of miniature models “has received scant attention” in the conclusion of his work on models by acknowledging the study of miniatures.⁶ Additionally, Claire Wintle states that the ubiquity of miniature models in museums demands further attention.⁷ This thesis addresses this gap in the scholarship by researching four sets of miniature models during the late Victorian period in order to understand how these objects represented the views of their collector, collecting institution, and museum visitors. Specifically, this work examines four sets of miniature ethnographic models purchased by Horniman in Asia and placed on exhibition in the Horniman Free Museum in the last half of the 1890s. These objects include a set of twenty papier-mâché heads from India, a set of eighty-one clay figures likely also from India, and two sets of models from Burma: a set of fourteen carved wooden painted figures and a set of eight ivory figures. This thesis demonstrates how the meanings associated with the objects changed during their ‘life cycle’ between 1894-1898 from their use as objects sold to tourists to their display and interpretation by the Horniman Free Museum as well as their interpretation by nineteenth-century visitors to the museum.⁸

Contrasting with previous scholarship, this thesis focuses on late nineteenth-century ethnographic models. Unlike Wintle, Nicky Levell, and Sadiah Qureshi who all

⁵ Sheenagh Pietrobruno, “The Stereoscope and the Miniature,” *Early Popular Visual Culture* 9.3 (2011): 175, *Taylor and Francis Online* 15 December 2014
http://www.tandfonline.com.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/doi/abs/10.1080/1746_0654.2011.601159.

⁶ Christopher Evans, “Small Devices, Memory and Model Architectures: Carrying Knowledge,” *Journal of Material Culture* 17.4 (2012): 381, *SAGE Journals* 15 December 2014.
<http://mcu.sagepub.com.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/content/17/4/369>.

⁷ Claire Wintle, “Models as Cross-Cultural Design: Ethnographic Ship Models at the National Maritime Museum,” *Journal of the History of Collections* 27.2 (2015): 242, *Oxford Journals* 15 March 2016.
<http://jhc.oxfordjournals.org.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/content/27/2/241.full.pdf+html>.

⁸ The Horniman Free Museum differs from the current iteration of the Horniman museum currently named the Horniman Museum and Gardens. As explored further below, 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. The latter opened to the public in 1901. Furthermore, Frederick 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. This thesis refers to the former as either the Horniman Free Museum or HFM and the latter as the Horniman Museum and Gardens or HMG.

discuss full-size ethnographic models in nineteenth-century exhibitions, I focus on sets of miniature models.⁹ Few works, address the employment and interpretation of miniature models, and specifically sets of miniature ethnographic models, in nineteenth-century museums. Sria Chatterjee discusses the display of a set of six figures from India in the early nineteenth century in a museum in the United States, Penelope Edmonds writes about the display of a set of miniature weapons in an Australian museum in the mid-nineteenth century, and Christopher Pinney discusses a set of model figures likely from India.¹⁰ However, none of these works address how the museum or visitors interpreted these objects.

This thesis focuses on the collecting conducted by Horniman for the museum during this period for two reasons. First, as Susan Pearce, Russell W. Belk, and Samuel J.M.M. Alberti point out, and as documents from the museum reveal, collections often divulge the interests or characteristics of their collector.¹¹ Museum collections, then, can tell us about the particular pursuits or biases of their creators. This is likely to be so for museums exhibitions too. Steven D. Lavine and Ivan Karp not dissimilarly claim that “every museum exhibition, whatever its overt subject, inevitably draws on the

⁹ Claire Wintle, “Model Subjects: Representations of the Andaman Islands at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, 1886,” *History Workshop Journal* 67.1 (2009): 195, *Oxford Journals* 10 May 2015 <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/pdf/40646219.pdf?acceptTC=true>, Nicky Levell, *Oriental Visions: Exhibitions, Travel, and Collecting in the Victorian Age* (London: Horniman Museum and Gardens, 2000) 80, Sadiya Qureshi, *Peoples on Parade: Exhibitions, Empire, and Anthropology in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011) 196.

¹⁰ Sria Chatterjee, “People of Clay: Portrait Objects in the Peabody Essex Museum,” *Museum History Journal* 6.2 (2013): 206, *Maney Online* 4 August 2015 <http://www.maneyonline.com.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/doi/pdfplus/10.1179/1936981613Z.0000000001>, Penelope Edmonds, “The Le Souëf Box: Reflections on Imperial Nostalgia, Material Culture and Exhibitionary Practice in Colonial Victoria,” *Australian Historical Studies* 37.127 (2006): 119, *Taylor and Francis Online*, 17 December 2014 <http://www.tandfonline.com.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/doi/abs/10.1080/10314610608601207#.VJFaR8Yk20>, Christopher Pinney, “Figures of Caste ‘Types’ Including a Sadhu, Musician, Government Employee, Muslims, Pandits, and a Coolie,” *The Raj: India and the British 1600-1947* ed. Bayly, C.A. (London: National Portrait Gallery, 1990) 288-289.

¹¹ Susan M. Pearce, *On Collecting: An Investigation Into Collecting in the European Tradition* (London: Routledge, 1995) 272, Russell W. Belk, “Possession and the Extended Self,” *Journal of Consumer Research* 15.2 (1988): 139, *JSTOR* 1 April 2016 www.jstor.org/stable/2489522, Samuel J.M.M. Alberti, “The Status of Museums: Authority, Identity, and Material Culture” *Geographies of Nineteenth-Century Science* ed. David N. Livingstone and Charles W.J. Withers (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011) 63.

cultural assumptions and resources of the people who make it".¹² As this thesis demonstrates, Horniman's purchases and vision for the museum directly influenced the museum activities and policy prior to its closure in 1898. However, his influence over the museum waned after the museum reopened in 1901, as from that point Horniman gave the institution to the London County Council. Consequently, he no longer exerted the same direct control over the museum's mission, collecting, or exhibition practices.

Additionally, I chose to examine the collecting done by Horniman for the Horniman Free Museum due to the existence of primary sources for all three of these phases of the miniature models' lives. Horniman's two sets of travel journals offer information on what Horniman collected and his rationale for collecting. Publications from the museum, including the museum's guidebooks, show how the museum displayed and interpreted these objects. Moreover, late nineteenth-century newspaper articles about the museum and museum's exhibitions detail how visitors to the museum reacted to and interpreted these objects.

This introductory chapter establishes the context for this thesis. I begin by defining the research aims. Next, I provide a definition of miniature models, prior to reviewing the four sets of ethnographic models at the centre of this thesis and demonstrating how they fit within my definition of miniature models. I then provide a description of the Horniman Free Museum, placing it in the context of other late nineteenth-century cultural institutions. The subsequent section reviews and defines the methodological approach I utilize in order to understand the changing function of these objects in the late nineteenth century. The chapter then examines related works on miniature models in order to distinguish this work from previous scholarship on this topic. The chapter concludes with a brief overview of the structure of this thesis.

¹² Steven D. Lavine and Ivan Karp, "Introduction: Museums and Multiculturalism," Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display ed. Karp, Ivan and Steven D. Lavine (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991) 1.

Research Aims and Objectives

This thesis stems from previous research I conducted in 2001 at Old York Historical Society in York, Maine, in which I examined collections of miniature Native American objects in museums along the coast of southern Maine. While conducting research on this project I discovered that Native Americans likely altered the shape and size of the objects they sold to tourists in order to accommodate the desires of tourists to Maine in the late nineteenth century. However, the tourists, and later museums where the objects ended up through donations, used and interpreted these objects to showcase Native American crafts and cultures, thereby stripping away any other meanings the objects held prior to their sale.

In contrast to this earlier project, this thesis explores the collection, museum interpretation of, and visitor reactions to four collections of miniature ethnographic models. The primary aim of this research is to understand how cultures were interpreted through the use of miniature models in the late Victorian period. The thesis examines how the interpretation of these objects changed depending upon the use and context of the objects, from objects manufactured for tourists, to educational tools, to objects interpreted by museum visitors as granting the feeling of intellectual control of the other by the viewer. The purchase of these objects by Horniman and their use within the Horniman Free Museum is furnishes this study's central case study on primary example the use of miniature objects, and is supplemented with information and scholarship on the use of miniature ethnographic models in other late Victorian cultural institutions.

In order to understand the uses of miniature objects as tools for understanding and describing other cultures this thesis has two objectives. First, it examines how the miniature size of these objects impacts the manner in which people perceive other cultures and how people view and interpret miniature objects. Additionally, since these objects were produced under a colonial regime and displayed to interpret colonized peoples this thesis seeks to understand how these relationships impacted the interpretation of these objects. Consequently, I shall

explore how market theories and nineteenth-century museum education theory influenced the creation and perception of these models both prior to and during their display in the museum and how the postcolonial theory of Orientalism provides a framework for understanding the interpretation of these models by both the museum and visitors to the museum in the nineteenth century.

Definition of Miniature Models

This thesis interprets miniature models as small representations of real or fictitious concepts used to primarily to identify or present provide information on that subject. When referring to the idea of a model, this thesis refers to a small, not-to-scale, representation of a real or imagined object. Max Black and James R. Greisemer both provide definitions for these kinds of objects, although neither refer to the size of the object. Black differentiates between scale and not-to-scale models, and stresses the use of models for educational purposes. He defines scale models as comprising “all likenesses of material objects, whether real or imaginary, that preserve relative proportions.”¹³ Thus he underscores the need for these objects to retain a congruity between themselves and the thing they represent. He also notes that scale models, in contrast with other types of models that he refers to as ‘analogue’ models, only seek to reproduce the relationships in the original.¹⁴ With this definition he highlights the requirement for analogue models to faithfully embody the characteristics of that which they represent, so that they can enable viewers to understand the connections between those characteristics as well as appreciate their individual details.¹⁵ Models of ships, airplanes, villages and insects, for example, can help people to understand objects and functions which are normally too large to comprehend or too small to see.¹⁶ Griesemer builds upon Black’s definitions of scale and analogue models, and goes on to list further applications. He writes that the function of models is to

¹³ Max Black, *Models and Metaphors* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1962) 220.

¹⁴ Black 222.

¹⁵ Black 222.

¹⁶ Black 219, 221.

“understand... something less familiar (the things modeled) in terms of something more familiar (the model thing).”¹⁷ His emphasis here is that models serve an educational purpose, facilitating their viewers to comprehend the world. He argues that a scale model, such as a model of a bridge or of a DNA sequence may help people understand how the particular represented thing works, while analogue models do not need to share all the properties of the original object or objects, as long as they bear enough properties that are similar to the original. Therefore, models of items such as molecules and atoms do not need to share the properties of the original in order for the viewer to understand the object represented through the model.¹⁸ Both Black and Greisemer highlight the idea that the function of these objects is to provide understanding of a concept, rather than to-scale proportions. This definition of analogue models compliments the use and description of the sets of objects described in this thesis, since these objects represent concepts but are not designed to fit the exact proportions of the objects they represent.

It is also important to note that the definition of models used in this thesis does not encompass related but different objects, such as toys. Scholars of miniature models differentiate these objects from other small objects, including toys, dolls’ house furniture, and even miniature portraits. Ruth B. Phillips documents how, although toys and miniature objects share many characteristics, such as the reduced size and representational nature of the object, their primary functions demonstrate their differences. She states that although seventeenth- and eighteenth-century traders in North America collected toys from Native Americans, miniature objects sold to tourists and traders assumed different forms by the early nineteenth century.¹⁹ Using examples of miniature Native American objects sold to traders in the

¹⁷ James R. Griesemer, “Modeling in the Museum: On the Role of Remnant Models in the Work of Joseph Grinnell,” *Biology and Philosophy* 5.1 (1990): 7, [SpringerLink](https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02423831) 21 December 2014. http://download.springer.com.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/static/pdf/555/art%253A10.1007%252FBF02423831.pdf?auth66=1419152918_8d547838fd890f1452185d9739017272&ext=.pdf. Furthermore, when using the word “model” this work will refer to reproductions of other objects rather than “analogizing, drawing inferences or diagrams, and formulating equations” as defined by Griesemer in the same article.

¹⁸ Griesemer 7-8.

¹⁹ Ruth B. Phillips, *Trading identities: The souvenir in Native North American Art from the Northeast, 1700-1900* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998) 88-89.

seventeenth and eighteenth centuries she argues that these objects possess characteristics such as complex and elaborate designs or sizes that make them impractical for everyday use.²⁰ Additionally, scholars such as John Mack, Vivian Greene, William L. Bird and Faith Bradford write that although toys such as Noah's Ark toy sets containing miniature representations of animals and dolls' houses also share the diminutive and representational qualities of miniature objects, they differ from miniature objects based upon their function as playthings or their history as scale models.²¹ Although all of these types of model fit the definition of smaller representations of a larger subject or idea, based upon their function as toys or form as paintings these objects do not possess the primary purpose of defining a concept or educating the viewer.

Having established my definition of a model as an object representing another object but not built to scale proportions, I next define the idea of the miniature within the context of this thesis. Differing from other definitions of this word this thesis defines the miniature as an object decreased in scale from its human-scaled counterpart as defined by Elizabeth Bartman and Susan Stewart. In her discussion of copies of ancient sculptures, Bartman defines the miniature as an object that simply reduces the size of the object from the original. She writes, "the term 'miniature' applies to any copy that reduces the height of the original statue to approximately one meter or less. No single ratio for proportional reduction prevailed in the making of a miniature copy in antiquity."²² Bartman contends that the miniature does not refer to a specific size of object, but implies that these copies needed to retain the same proportional dimensions to the original, thereby fitting Black's definition of a scale model. Stewart offers a slightly different definition when she refers to miniature objects. Like Bartman, Stewart does not refer to the specific size of an object when she refers to miniatures. Instead, Stewart cites the human body as the scale people

²⁰ Phillips 82, 91.

²¹ John Mack, *The Art of Small Things* (London: The British Museum, 2007) 149, Vivian Greene, *English Dolls' Houses of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd, 1955) 20, Bird, William L., and Bradford, Faith. *America's Doll House: The Miniature World of Faith Bradford*, (New York, NY, USA: Princeton Architectural Press, 2010) 33, *ProQuest ebrary* 17 December 2014 <http://site.ebrary.com/lib/leicester/detail.action?docID=10472766>.

²² Elizabeth Bartman, *Ancient Sculptural Copies in Miniature* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992) 9.

use to judge the scale of objects. When defining the size of miniature objects Stewart notes, “we are able to hold the miniature object within our hand, but our hand is no longer in proportion with its world; instead our hand becomes a form of undifferentiated landscape; the body is a kind of background.”²³ Consequently, like Bartman, Stewart makes clear that these objects are smaller than the scale the person viewing the object expects. She writes, “the body is our mode of perceiving scale and... becomes our antithetical mode of stating conventions of symmetry and balance on the one hand, and the grotesque and disproportionate on the other.”²⁴ Stewart thereby emphasizes that the human body is the measure by which we understand something to be out of proportion, including the gigantic as well as the miniature.

This definition differs from several other, more ambiguous, definitions of the miniature, which seem to match the definition of models provided by Black and Greisemer. This thesis does not utilize the word ‘miniature’ to refer to small paintings popularized in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as defined by anthropologist John Mack, for example²⁵ Additionally, this thesis will not refer to the definitions offered by James Roy King or Douglass W. Bailey which, like those of Black and Greisemer, stress that people design models to the scale of larger objects as accurate representations while miniature objects disregard scale and accuracy in order to simply represent another object.²⁶ Although these scholars provide definitions for miniatures in contrast to the model, they do not define the characteristics of a miniature object other than through this binary relationship to models.

This thesis also draws upon a distinction made by Stewart and Philip Kiernan regarding miniature objects. Stewart includes representations of events or representations of fiction within her definition of these objects.²⁷ Kiernan’s description of these objects also encompasses the definition provided by Stewart

²³ Susan Stewart, On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1993) 70.

²⁴ Stewart xii.

²⁵ Mack 20-24.

²⁶ James Roy King, Remaking the World: Modeling in Human Experience (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois, 1996) 19, Douglass W. Bailey, Prehistoric Figurines: Representation and Corporeality in the Neolithic (London: Routledge, 2005) 29.

²⁷ Stewart 60.

when he writes that the miniature weapons he examined in Roman gravesites did not match Roman prototypes of weapons and he concluded that many of these weapons primarily fulfilled a ritual function.²⁸

Using the definitions described above, this thesis refers to the objects of this study as miniature *models*, which denotes the relative size and function of these objects. As indicated by Bartman and Stewart, the word miniature refers to their size in reference to the object's usual size; however, this thesis will use the definition of these objects provided by Stewart and Kiernan since the objects studied in this work refer to representations concepts or groups of people rather than specific people. Although the objects at the centre of this study do not directly represent fictitious people or events, they do represent composites of Burmese and Indian occupations as well as social and racial affiliations. Consequently, in this thesis I refer to a miniature model as an object reduced in size from its human-scale counterpart and a model as a representation of another object or concept, but not built to scale.

In addition to labelling these objects as models based upon the definitions above, there exists another important reason for using this word to describe the objects: Horniman and other museum practitioners in the nineteenth century used this word to describe these types of objects. Griesemer states that in the nineteenth century the word model began to refer to a representation of another object. He writes, "in the nineteenth century, 'model' came to mean primarily, not a subject worthy of representation, but the representation itself."²⁹ When describing the objects within these sets, and other objects purchased by Horniman, the museum, Horniman, and others used the word 'model' to describe these objects.

²⁸ Philip Kiernan, Miniature Votive Offerings in the North-West Provinces of the Roman Empire (Mainz: Verlag Franz Philipp Rutzen, 2009) 104.

²⁹ James Griesemer, "Three-Dimensional Models in Philosophical Perspective," Models: The Third Dimension of Science ed. de Chadarevian Soraya and Nick Hopwood (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004) 437.

Set of Models Discussed in this Thesis

Both the size of each of these four sets of objects and the Horniman Free Museum's description of them indicates the use of these objects as miniature models as defined above. Here, I provide a brief description of the objects in each set, information on their provenance and descriptions of the objects from the museum written in 1898 by the Horniman Free Museum's curator Richard Quick, and demonstrate that each of these sets of objects fit the criteria of miniature models as defined above based upon their size, and their not-to-scale representations of concepts.

Set of Papier-mâché Heads

These objects were purchased by Horniman in December 1894 (Horniman Museum and Gardens object number 166). As seen in Figures 1.1-1.4, each one of these heads measures approximately between 160 and 195 mm tall. Each model in the set differs slightly from the others; consequently, the dimensions and the placement of the features on the models show that they were not created to scale.

The dimensions of these objects and nineteenth-century documentation from the museum's collections register indicate that these objects were meant to represent Indian peoples and specifically Indian castes. Figure 1.1 features all twenty of the papier-mâché models and shows that each one is different from the rest of the models in this group. Each is also coloured a shade of brown, which varies between the models. Additionally, each object originally possessed two characteristics which differentiate each model in this group: most of the models bear a different mark on their foreheads and each originally possessed a cotton *pagri* (turban) that sat on top of the object and which varied in shape between the heads. As seen in Figures 1.2, 1.3 and 1.4, each model also possesses a paper tag on its underside which shows that it originated at the Jeypore School of Art, in Jaipur, India, the number of the model in the



Figure 1.1

Set of twenty papier-mâché heads (Horniman Museum and Gardens #166). Image courtesy of the Horniman Museum and Gardens.

series, the caste the object represents, and the price of each object. Based upon the colouring, markings, turbans, and the labels identifying the caste of each figure it is clear these figures are meant to represent Indian castes.

Figures 1.2 through 1.4 illustrate the individuality of each model. These figures permit a closer examination of the two heads which appear in the top left of Figure 1.1. Figure 1.2 (Horniman Museum and Gardens object number 166.1- top left in Figure 1.1) shows a light brown-coloured head looking straight ahead and featuring a black moustache. The head is wearing a yellowed cotton turban at the top of its head. It also features a *tilaka* mark on its forehead, comprising numerous vertical yellow lines which increase in length as they get closer to the centre indicating the wearer's religious affiliation.³⁰ In the centre of its forehead the model features a vertical red loop extending from beneath the turban to slightly past the bridge of the nose and a small red dot between the head's black eyebrows. This mark, known as an *Urdhva Pundra* indicates the wearer is a Hindu who worships Vishnu. The paper tag affixed to the base of the model indicates that it originated from the Jeypore School of Art, is number 126 (likely this model's number in the series to which this model belongs), that it represents the Chhipa caste, and that it cost 1-5 Rupees.

Figure 1.3 (Horniman Museum and Gardens object number 166.10 - second from the left in the top row of Figure 1.1) also shows a light brown-coloured head looking straight ahead. This model wears a yellowed cotton turban, and features a painted black handlebar moustache connected to black sideburns that extend from underneath the figure's turban and a small beard upon the figure's chin. This model also features a *tilaka* mark on its forehead consisting of two yellow horizontal inverted semi-circles with a yellow dot in the middle of the lines. This *tilaka* is known as *Tripundra* and shows that wearer is also a Hindu, but one who worships Shiva.

³⁰ *Tilaka* (or *tilak*) marks indicate the wearer's allegiance to a particular Hindu deity. These marks may vary greatly from day to day, person to person, or between geographic region or castes, but incorporate a consistent set of elements. They can be worn every day or during Hindu holy days, events, or festivals. As described in later chapters, both the Horniman Free Museum and a visitor to the museum interpreted these marks to represent Indian castes. For more information on the wearing of *tilaka* please see *Tilaka: Hindu Marks on the Forehead* by Dr. Priyabala Shah.

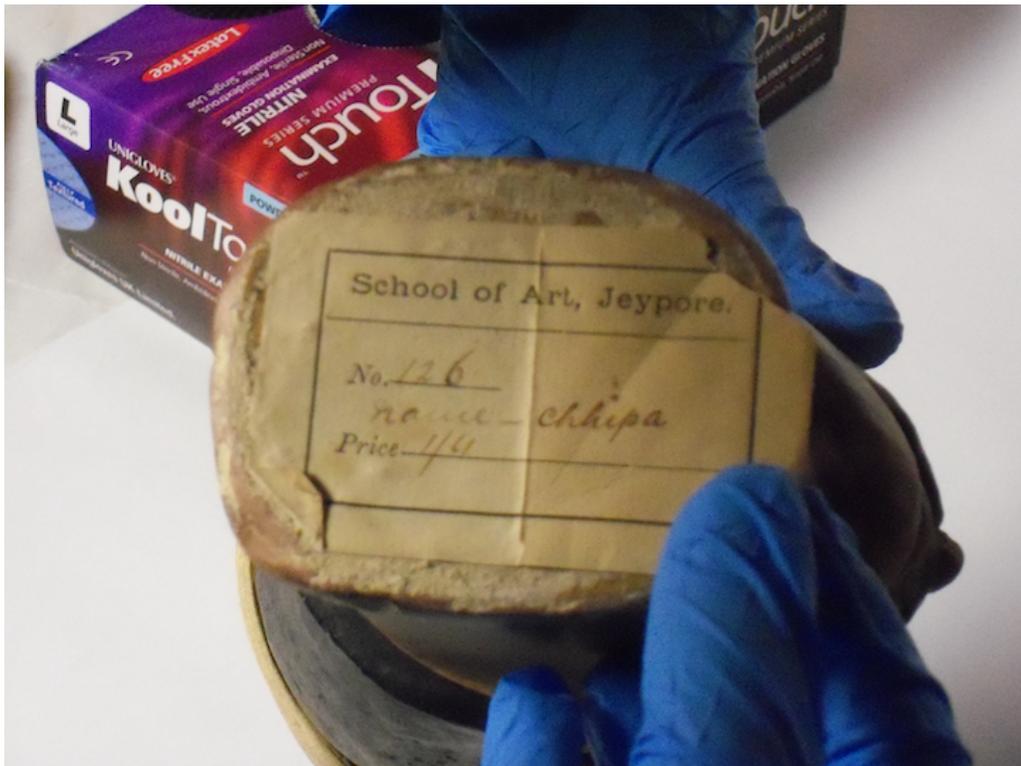


Figure 1.2

Papier-mâché head depicting the Chhipa caste (Horniman Museum and Gardens #166). Image courtesy of the Horniman Museum and Gardens.

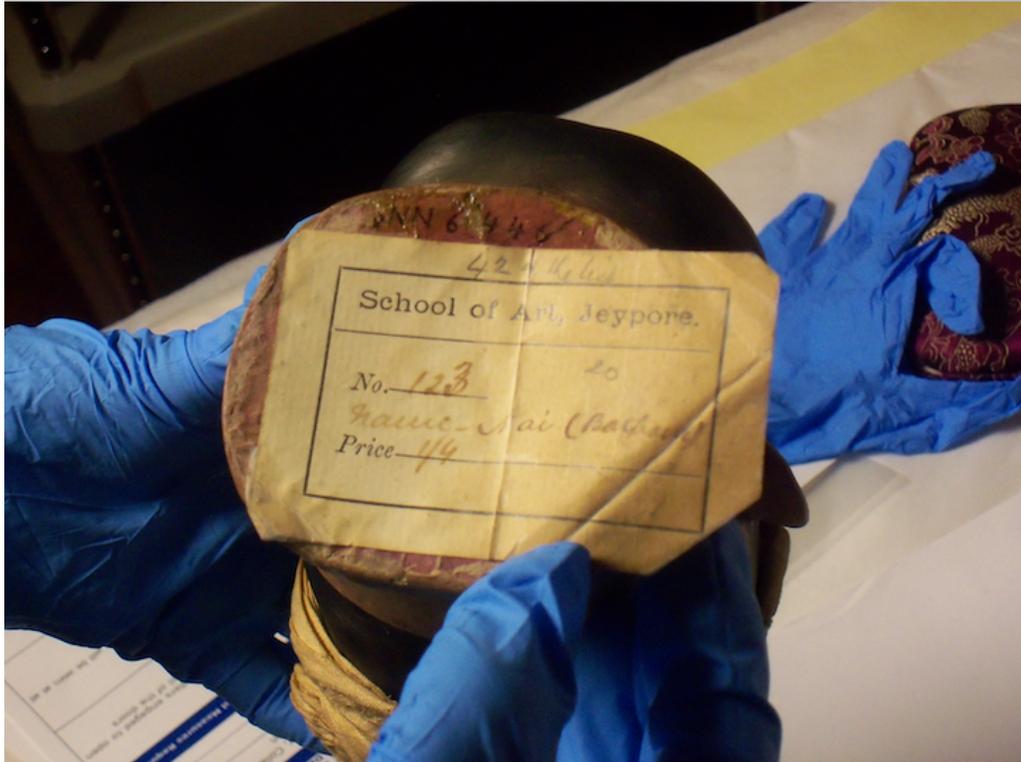


Figure 1.3

Papier-mâché head depicting the Nai caste (Horniman Museum and Gardens #166.10). Image courtesy of the Horniman Museum and Gardens.

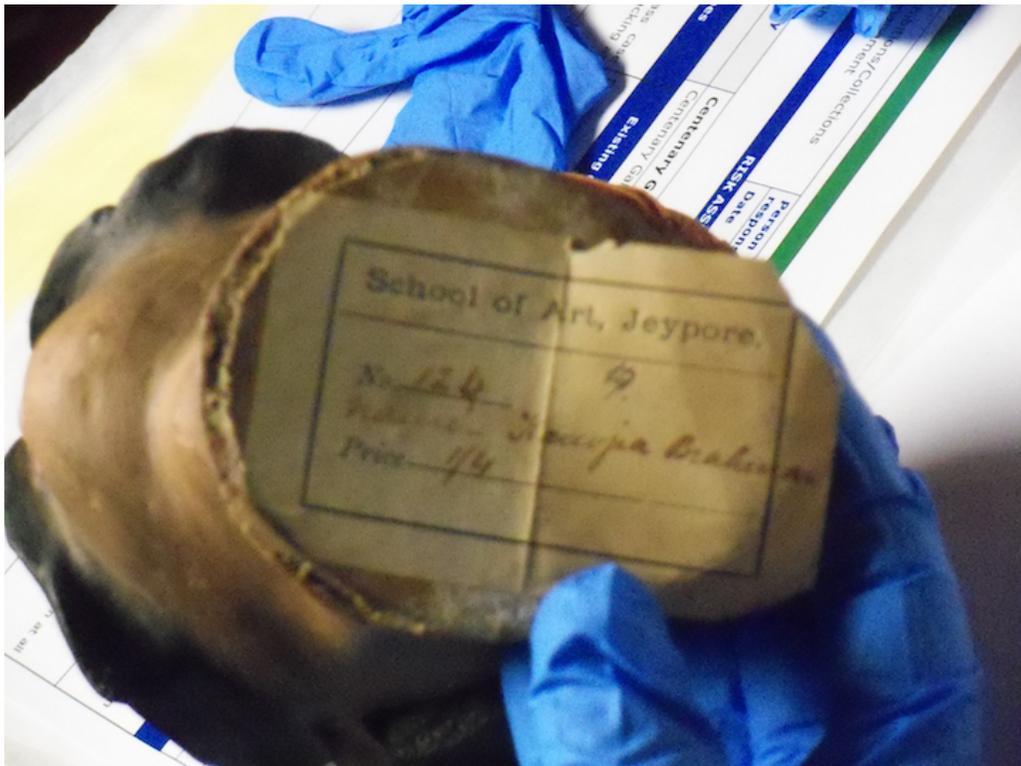


Figure 1.4

Papier-mâché head depicting the Kanaujia caste (Horniman Museum and Gardens #166.11).
Image courtesy of the Horniman Museum and Gardens.

This model's label also indicates that the model came from the Jeypore School of Art, is number 123, represents the Nai caste (known for their profession as barbers), and cost 1-4 Rupees.

Figure 1.4 (Horniman Museum and Gardens object number 166.11 - in the middle of the top row of Figure 1.1) also shows a light brown-coloured head looking straight ahead. This model wears an orange turban and features a black moustache connected to black sideburns that extend outwards from the face before tapering underneath the figure's turban. This model also features a *tilaka* mark on its forehead consisting of three yellow horizontal inverted semi-circles with a yellow dot in the middle and a red dot slightly above the model's black eyebrows. Although different from the *tilaka* mark on the model pictured in Figure 1.3, this *tilaka* is also a *Tripundra* which demonstrates that wearer's allegiance to Shiva.³¹ This object's label also indicates that the model originated from the Jeypore School of Art, that it is number 124, represents the Kanaujia Brahmin caste, and cost 1-4 Rupees.

Documentation from the museum indicates that it utilized these objects to represent information about India. The register of objects held by the museum, compiled by Quick in March 1898, described the set of twenty papier-mâché heads as "20 Hindu heads paper", listed their location in the museum as case 20, and described them as Indian.³²

Set of Indian Figures

Although the Horniman Museum and Gardens can currently locate only nine of the original eighty-one objects in this group, none of the objects in this small sample of

³¹ As mentioned above, *tilaka* can differ between people or castes, but also incorporate a consistent set of elements. In this case, both of the models pictured in Figures 1.3 and 1.4 feature horizontal semi-circles with a yellow dot in the middle.

³² Richard Quick, List and Description of Objects &c in The Horniman Museum Forest Hill London S.E. (1898) 5. Chapters Three and Four of this work will further discuss the interpretation of these objects in the museum. Neither Quick, in his descriptions of the objects in this volume, or Horniman, in his travel journals, provide insight on their reaction or interpretation on the materiality of the objects, although Quick did mention the material composition of these models. However, in Chapter Four I discuss how a visitor reacted to the objects based upon their colours.

this group exceed 266 mm in height. Figure 1.5 (Horniman Museum and Gardens number 321vi) measures approximately 152 mm tall and 10 mm wide at its base although it is missing its head. Figure 1.6 (Horniman and Museum Gardens number 321xiii) measures approximately 230 mm tall and 95 mm at its base. Based upon these measurements it is clear that these figures represent human figures, but, like the heads, are not constructed to scale.

Like the heads, these figures represent concepts instead of specific individuals. The model in Figure 1.5 is a light brown colour, represents a shopkeeper, and is constructed from clay and cloth with a black circular wooden base. It wears a white *angarkha* (long-sleeved coat) covering the torso. Around its waist and on its legs the figure wears a white *lungi* (waist-cloth - often stitched) with colouring below the knee which features two blue and one red stripe on the pant cuffs. The figure is wearing red sandals and a *chadar* (shawl) around its neck which features orange colouring on the figure's right side and a red and white floral pattern on the figure's left side. The museum does not ascribe an occupation for the model in Figure 1.6, although based upon the figure's stance and the position of the figure's hands, it is clear that the figure is engaged in manual labour and is missing a tool that it would have held between its hands. The figure is standing on an unpainted rough rectangular wooden block and is painted dark brown. It wears a white cotton turban and white cotton *dhoti* (a tied, folded, or draped waist-cloth) with a red piece of cloth tied around its neck. The figure is slightly hunched over with both of its arms bent in towards the middle of the figure and its hands curled. The left leg of the figure has worn away at the base, exposing the figure's wire superstructure.

Quick's description of these models demonstrates that they were intended by the museum to provide information on Indian culture. Quick described the figures as "Case of Clay Figures. 81".³³ Furthermore Quick described these objects as Indian and further wrote, "12 pl clay 41 coloured, 8 groups. 20 small. = 81" and that they

³³ Quick 10.



Figure 1.5

Clay figure depicting a shopkeeper (Horniman Museum and Gardens #321vi). Image courtesy of the Horniman Museum and Gardens.



Figure 1.6

Clay figure of a man (Horniman Museum and Gardens #321xiii). Image courtesy of the Horniman Museum and Gardens.

were housed in case 26 of the museum.³⁴ Through this description, Quick reveals that the objects were part of a larger group, likely indicating that they portrayed different facets of Indian society. Like the heads, the size and interpretation of these objects also shows that they are miniature models.

Sets of Burmese Models

Two sets of Burmese models are examined at in this thesis, one of which cannot currently be physically located by the museum. Figure 1.7 depicts object 606iv from the Horniman Museum and Gardens. It stands 10.25 inches tall and 3.75 inches wide at its base (approximately 267 by 95.25mm). Figure 1.8 features object 606vii from the HMG which measures 11 inches tall by 3.75 inches wide at the base (approximately 279 by 95 mm). Figure 1.9 shows object 606vi from the HMG. This object measures 10 inches tall by 3 inches wide at the base (approximately 254 by 76 mm). The museum does not possess measurements for the second set, which they currently cannot locate, but, based on late nineteenth-century descriptions of these models, they too are certainly smaller than human in scale. This set of carved and painted wooden figures, labelled 606 by the Horniman Museum and Gardens, depicts Burmese society including a soldier and an officer, workers including a woman at a well, a Burmese Gentleman, an old Burmese man and woman, and the ex-King and Queen of Burma with each figure possessing a description of itself on its white octagonal wooden base.

Figure 1.7, the Shan Woman, features a woman wearing a brown *gaung-baung* (head wrap or turban) with a white square pattern, white and red ornamentation around its neck, a brown breast cloth top, and a *htamein* (a flat rectangular piece of cloth tied into an ankle-length skirt) featuring green and black vertical stripes along the top half of the skirt, green and black horizontal stripes on the bottom half of the skirt with a white band along the bottom quarter of the skirt. The *htamein* is tied

³⁴ Quick 10.



Figure 1.7

Carved wooden painted figure of Shan Woman (Horniman Museum and Gardens Object Number 606iv). Image courtesy of the Horniman Museum and Gardens.



Figure 1.8

Carved wooden painted figure of Shan Man (Horniman Museum and Gardens Object Number 606vii). Image courtesy of the Horniman Museum and Gardens.



Figure 1.9

Carved wooden painted figure of Burmese Hboongee (Horniman Museum and Gardens Object Number 606vi). Image courtesy of the Horniman Museum and Gardens.

along the figure's left side revealing that the interior of the skirt is also white with brown trim along the bottom edge. The figure also wears a loose red strap on its left shoulder to its waist which is attached to what is likely a large white hat behind the figure. The figure also possesses bare feet. The handwriting on this figure's white-painted base states "Shan Woman".

Figure 1.8 depicts a man wearing a white *gaung-baung* on its head with green and red crosses. The figure possesses black earrings in the lobes of both ears and is wearing a white long-sleeved *eingyi* (a short, light-coloured tailored jacket) with buttons along the front centre. The figure also possesses a red band with a black vertical stripe on the figure's left shoulder indicating that the figure carries a bag.³⁵ This figure also wears a black *pahso* (also spelled *paso* - a rectangular piece of cloth folded into an ankle-length skirt worn by men) with a blue band running horizontally across the waist. The figure's waist features a white cloth with a red circular pattern protruding from the waist band and hanging about one third of the way down the figure's legs. A handwritten label on this figure's white painted base identifies this figure as "Shan Man". These two figures possess several similarities. Most notably, both the Shan man and woman wear *gaung-baung* and carry items over their left shoulders. Based upon their depiction of the costume of different ethnic, social and occupational groups, such as the Shan (a large and diverse ethnic group originating in Burma's Shan State), as well as the descriptions of the figures on the base of each model it is clear that these figures were intended to serve as representations of members of Burma's society. I compare these two models to other models representing a Burmese man and woman from this set of models in Chapter Four.

Figure 1.9 (object 606vi) features a model depicting a bald man with bare feet wearing an orange robe draped over the entirety of the figure revealing only the figure's head, hands, and feet. The figure's hands are outstretched with palms facing up at the figure's waist and hold a black bowl with a green rim (a monk's lacquered begging bowl). Handwriting on this figure's white-painted base states "Hboongee

³⁵ In his work on Burmese costumes R.A. Innes notes that both Shan men and women were known to carry shoulder bags [R.A. Innes, Costumes of Upper Burma and the Shan States (Halifax Museums, 1957) 11].

(Burmese Monk)” indicating that this model represents the costume worn by Burmese monks.

Both sets of Burmese objects mentioned above also appear in the Quick register from 1898, but are accompanied by less description than the models from India, and confirm that the museum interpreted these objects as representing Burma’s society. The register listed the fourteen wooden figures as object 106 (later renumbered 606) in case 55 and described them as “14 Clay Figures. Coloured... Burmese”.³⁶ The ivory figures are referred to as object 108 (later renumbered 608) and are also listed in case 55.³⁷ The register lists these objects as “9 Ivory Figures in wood case” and also described these objects as Burmese.³⁸

Based upon the size, details, and descriptions of all four sets of models, they all fit the definition of miniature model that I established earlier in this chapter. Each of these objects represents a larger concept, in these cases Indian castes and trades as well members of Burma’s society but these objects are reduced in size from their human counterparts. Like the Indian models above the three Burmese models do not represent individuals, but rather concepts and contain symbols used to represent and identify specific groups- in this case Burmese occupations or ethnic groups.

The Context of the Horniman Free Museum

Although neither Horniman nor the museum described the inspiration or basis for the museum it is clear the museum was influenced by other late nineteenth-century cultural institutions. Below I will describe three likely influences on Horniman and the museum, and demonstrate the manner in which these ideas manifest themselves in the museum. These include Horniman’s associates, and the influence of both international exhibitions, and nineteenth-century museum practice on the museum. This context helps to clarify where this Horniman and his museum fits within late nineteenth-century museum landscape.

³⁶ Quick 19.

³⁷ Quick 19.

³⁸ Quick 19.

Horniman's inspiration for the museum may have come from his numerous connections within other cultural institutions. 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.³⁹ Horniman would have met and interacted with people involved in museums through these societies. As Horniman's journal notes, for example, that he was introduced to the important Thomas Hendley in Jaipur, India by Sir Somers Vine and South Kensington Museum's Professor Clark.⁴⁰ Both men had strong museum connections, and Vine worked as 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 served as the Assistant Secretary to the Imperial Institute.⁴¹

In addition to these kinds of influential associations, Horniman also possessed an interest in international exhibitions. Hoffenberg notes that the Horniman's tea company participated in the International Health Exhibition of 1884.⁴² 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.⁴³ 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.

³⁹ Richard Quick, The Fourth Annual Report of the Horniman Museum, Forest Hill, S.E., London 1894. (London, 1894) 1, Richard Quick, Fifth Annual Report of the Horniman Museum, Forest Hill, S.E., London 1895 (London, 1896) 1. After Horniman's meeting with Howard Carter and other archaeologists in Egypt in early 1896 the museum added another item to this list- "Member of the Egypt Exploration Committee" [Richard Quick, The Sixth Annual Report of the Horniman Free Museum, Forest Hill, S.E., London 1896 (The Horniman Museum: London, 1897) 1].

⁴⁰ Horniman Museum Scrapbook of Press Cuttings and Other Items 1888 - 1901, Horniman Museum and Gardens page 27A, item 205. I will discuss this journal further later in this chapter and Horniman's trip to Jaipur in the next chapter ["Frederick John Horniman F.R.G.S." The Biographer 14:2 (August 1895) 242].

⁴¹ An article about Horniman from 1895 notes that he and Vine had known each other for many years and, as mentioned in Chapter Three, Vine reopened the museum in 1893 (Frederick John Horniman F.R.G.S." 22).

⁴² Peter H. Hoffenberg, An Empire on Display: English, Indian, and Australian Exhibitions from the Crystal Palace to the Great War (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001) 115.

⁴³ Quick, The Fourth Annual Report of the Horniman Museum, Forest Hill, S.E., London 1894 9.

Indeed, 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 1886.⁴⁴ 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.⁴⁵

Additionally, an early guide to the museum and a late nineteenth-century article on the museum note the influence of this exhibition on the museum. 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."⁴⁶ 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*, tells us that

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."⁴⁷

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

⁴⁴ Horniman Scrapbook G, Horniman Museum and Gardens, page 83.

⁴⁵ Horniman Scrapbook G, Horniman Museum and Gardens, page 84-85.

⁴⁶ Horniman Museum Scrapbook of Press Cuttings and Other Items 1888 – 1901 page 3, item 005.

⁴⁷ "Frederick John Horniman F.R.G.S." 24.

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 discuss below.

Horniman and the museum also possessed an awareness of museum theory in the 1890s, as is evident from the mission of the museum, articles about Horniman, and documents from the museum. As is argued in this thesis, the museum's publications and programming foregrounded education about foreign cultures and peoples as its primary goal, differing from other works on this museum which ascribed other motivations for the museum and only hinted at the museum's educational focus. Although the museum's educational focus, and the perceived eclecticism of the museum are not mutually exclusive, there are significant differences between my focus and that of other scholars. In contrast to my argument, Kerlogue contended that Horniman created the museum to impress his friends and colleagues, and others, including Coombes and Marion Duncan, focus on what they see as the museum's eclectic approach to collecting. Other authors, including Shelton, highlight Horniman's interest in craftsmanship, or argue that the museum engaged in salvage anthropology.⁴⁸ Levell, Teague, and Coombes, among others, acknowledge that the museum possessed educational goals and programming, but only speculate on the mission or programming goals of the museum in order to assert that the museum possessed a pedagogy based on an evolutionary paradigm. Alternatively, these authors place the museum in comparison to exhibitions such as the Colonial

⁴⁸ Fiona Kerlogue, "Theoretical Perspectives and Scholarly Networks: The Development of Collections from the Malay World at the Horniman Museum 1898 – 2008," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 36.106 (2008): 397, Taylor and Francis 26 January 2015 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13639810802521637>, Annie Coombes, "Museums and the Formation of National and Cultural Identities," *Oxford Art Journal* 11.2 (1988): 59-60, JSTOR 1 August 2014 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1360462>, Marion Duncan, "A Historical Study of the Ethnographic Collections in the Horniman Museum, London," diss., Museums Association, 1972, 10, Anthony Shelton, "Rational Passions: Frederick John Horniman and Institutional Collectors," *Collectors: Expressions of Self and Other*, ed. Shelton, Anthony (London: Horniman Museum Press, 2001) 208, Annie Coombes, "Ethnography and the Formation of National and Cultural Identities," *The Myth of Primitivism: Perspectives on Art*, ed. Hiller, Susan (Routledge: London, 1991) 194, Nicky Levell, "The Translation of Objects: R. and M. Davidson and the Friends' Foreign Mission Association, China, 1890-1894," *Collectors: Individuals and Institutions*, ed. Shelton, Anthony (London: The Horniman Museum and Gardens, 2001) 150, Annie Coombes, *Reinventing Africa: Museums, Material Culture and Popular Imagination* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994) 27.

and Indian Exhibition, or the Great Exhibition in Sydenham.⁴⁹ However, these authors rarely utilise 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.

My own 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 the opening of the Horniman Museum and Gardens 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. 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 summarising 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."⁵⁰ 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 also matches with the stated purpose of contemporary exhibitions such as the Colonial and Indian Exhibition. 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

⁴⁹ Nicky Levell *Oriental Visions: Exhibitions, Travel, and Collecting in the Victorian Age* 15-16, Annie Coombes *Reinventing Africa: Museums, Material Culture and Popular Imagination* 113-114, Marion Duncan 17, Ken Teague, "In the Shadow of the Palace: Frederick J. Horniman and His Collections," *Collectors: Expressions of Self and Other*, ed. Shelton, Anthony (London: Horniman Museum Press, 2001) 130, Kerlogue 397, Coombes *Reinventing Africa: Museums, Material Culture and Popular Imagination* 117.

⁵⁰ London County Council *First Annual Report of the Horniman Museum* (London, 1902) 5.

Colonies that constitute what has been well called Greater Britain.”⁵¹ Further expanding upon 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. It described the Indian section of the exhibition as “a collection of the natural history, ethnography, and social economy, administration, raw products, and primary manufactures of India.”⁵² Consequently, while noting the inclusion of the resources available in India this description added that the exhibition also included information on the social structure of India including information on Indian ethnography. 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.”⁵³ 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.

With its emphasis on providing education to peoples not willing or able to visit other places, the mission of the museum also fits within 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.”⁵⁴ 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 1896 also stressed this point when

⁵¹ Colonial and Indian Exhibition, 1886 Official Catalogue (London: William Clowes and Sons, Limited, 1886) 9.

⁵² Colonial and Indian Exhibition, 1886 Official Catalogue 9.

⁵³ George Augustus Sala, “The Colonial and Indian Exhibition,” Illustrated London News 8 May 1886: 472. Illustrated London News 10 December 2014 <http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/iln/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ILN&userGroup=leicester&tabID=T003&docPage=article&docId=HN3100124592&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0>. By showcasing peoples from other countries these exhibitions, including the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, helped to perpetuate late nineteenth century notions of anthropology and scientific discovery and served as examples for which the public could compare themselves and note their perceived cultural advancements. I will discuss this idea further in Chapter Four.

⁵⁴ Thomas Greenwood, Museums and Art Galleries (London: Simpkin, Marshall and Co., 1888) 4.

he noted that museums should “serve the needs of the general public”.⁵⁵ 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.”⁵⁶ Like Greenwood and Horniman, this description about museums also focuses on making education available to all peoples.

Two articles on the museum from the early 1890’s also emphasize 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.”⁵⁷ 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.⁵⁸

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.⁵⁹ 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”.⁶⁰

⁵⁵ George Brown Goode, The Principles of Museum Administration (York: Coultas & Volans, 1895) 9.

⁵⁶ David Murray, Museums Their History and Their Use volume 1 (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1904) 259.

⁵⁷ “The Horniman Museum,” Isle of Wight Observer 10 January 1891: 5 British Newspaper Archive 19 March 2017 <http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000170/18910110/011/0005>.

⁵⁸ “Workers and Their Work- No XXXV” 663. In 1890 Horniman opened the museum to the public two days a week. I will further expand upon the number of days per week Horniman opened the museum in Chapter Three.

⁵⁹ “Workers and Their Work- No XXXV” 663.

⁶⁰ “Free Phonograph Exhibition at Surrey Mount,” Forest Hill and Sydenham Examiner 21 January 1898 :5, FOREST HILL AND SYDENHAM EXAMINER LONDON 9TH AUG 1895 to 31ST DEC 1897 M64/303.

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

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 stated mentioned that Horniman planned to add a library and classrooms to the museum "for the convince of visitors who may wish to improve their minds and extend their knowledge."⁶¹ Although the idea of combining museums and libraries predated Horniman by centuries this is idea 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.⁶² 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.⁶³

Like Horniman, Goode stressed that the library should be available for the use by visitors. However, this idea was not just restricted to museums. An 1886 article about the Colonial and Indian Exhibition noted the inclusion of reading tables with books, papers, and photographic albums in the Indian Court.⁶⁴ The Horniman Free Museum's 1896 Annual Report notes that museum possessed a library and that it accessioned works relevant to the collection including books on musical instruments and the Kachin peoples.⁶⁵

Other museum reports also reveal an awareness of late nineteenth-century museum practices and a possible connection to Goode. The museum's annual reports

⁶¹ "The Horniman Museum" 5.

⁶² Murray 274-275.

⁶³ Goode 67.

⁶⁴ Peripatetic, "Thee Colonial and Indian Exhibition-1," *The British Architect* 14 May 1886: 511
ProQuest 21 April 2017

<https://search.proquest.com/docview/7133728/fulltext/E5AFA457D33341E3PQ/1?accountid=7420>.

⁶⁵ Quick *The Sixth Annual Report of the Horniman Free Museum, Forest Hill, S.E. London 1896* 13.

from 1895 and 1896 reveal that the museum loaned out objects to museums and exhibitions and even gave away objects. 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.⁶⁶

Furthermore, this report that the museum gave a collection of casts of pre-historic implements from the Smithsonian Institute (Goode's place of employment) to the United States National Museum as part of an exchange, although the report does not indicate what the Horniman Free Museum received in return.⁶⁷ This exchange demonstrates that the museum possessed a contact at the Smithsonian and knowledge of this practice of disposing of duplicate objects. Goode also recommended this museum procedure.⁶⁸ Goode devoted a section of *The Principles of Museum Administration* to the disposal of duplicate objects. Echoing the 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."⁶⁹

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."⁷⁰ This rearrangement 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

⁶⁶ Quick Fifth Annual Report of the Horniman Museum, Forest Hill, S.E., London 1895 7.

⁶⁷ Quick Fifth Annual Report of the Horniman Museum, Forest Hill, S.E., London 1895 10.

⁶⁸ Goode 14-15, 43.

⁶⁹ Goode 47.

⁷⁰ Quick The Sixth Annual Report of the Horniman Free Museum, Forest Hill, S.E. London 1896 9.

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.⁷¹

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 in its practice, including loan and disposing of objects and designing the background for the museum's cases in order to make the objects more visible.⁷²

Records also indicate that the museum and Richard Quick were involved in the museum professional 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 Museum Association.⁷³ The Museum's Association 1895 conference reports also listed the museum, Greenwood, and Flower as members along with Goode whose work "The Principles of Museum Administration" was presented at this conference.⁷⁴

Records from the Museum Association further indicate that Quick was an active member of this group. He wrote to the Museums Association in 1898 requesting they publish a weekly newspaper.⁷⁵ 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

⁷¹ Goode 41.

⁷² Quick also presented a paper on the colours used to line the cases at the Horniman Free Museum at the 1899 Museums Association Conference.

⁷³ Museums Association, Report of Proceeding with the Papers Read at the Fourth Annual General Meeting Held in London July 3 to 7, 1893 (York: Museum Association, 1893) 5-6.

⁷⁴ Museums Association, Report of Proceeding with the Papers Read at the Sixth Annual General Meeting Held in Newcastle-Upon-Tyne July 23rd to 26th, 1895 (London: Dulau and Co., 1895) iii, viii-ix. As noted above, the museum followed several practices outlined by Goode included the relining of the museum cases with different colours so visitors could better view the objects.

⁷⁵ Geoffrey Lewis, For Instruction and Recreation: A Centenary History of the Museum Association (London: Quiller Press, 1989) 12.

Horniman Museum listed in the association's 1898 conference report.⁷⁶ Based upon all this information, although neither Horniman or the museum identified the inspiration for the museum it is clear that both gathered and integrated information and influences from numerous sources into the museum.

Methodology

A wide variety of approaches exist to studying material culture. Julian Thomas, for example, recommends a phenomenological approach to understand how the sound, texture, and smell of an object elicit feelings and reactions from people.⁷⁷ Steven Hooper's approach focuses on the form, materials, and construction of objects,⁷⁸ while Bill Maurer recommends examining objects using a Marxist approach that examines the production and sale of objects.⁷⁹ However, based upon my professional experiences as a historian and curator and my understanding of how the meanings of objects change based upon their context or viewers in this thesis I utilize an object biographical approach in order to examine these four sets of miniature models between 1894 and 1898 as they shifted from being perceived as curios to educational objects on exhibition, to their interpretation by the museum and its visitors as symbols of colonized peoples whom they perceived as inferior. Material culture scholars such as Roger Cardinal, Susan Stewart, Susan Pearce, Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, Ian Hodder, Fred R. Myers, and Mieke Bal acknowledge that objects and

⁷⁶ Museums Association, Report of Proceeding with the Papers Read at the Tenth Annual General Meeting Held in Brighton July 3 to 6, 1899 (London: Dulau and Co., 1900) iii, Museums Association, Report of Proceeding with the Papers Read at the Eleventh Annual General Meeting Held in Canterbury July 9 to 12, 1900 (London: Dulau and Co., 1900) iii, 135-137. Quick was likely aware other sources of professional practice as he also delivered presented to other academic groups during his tenure at the museum including two presentations to the British Archeological Association in 1895 (Quick Fifth Annual Report of the Horniman Museum, Forest Hill, S.E., London 1895 8).

⁷⁷ Julian Thomas, "Phenomenology and Material Culture," Handbook of Material Culture ed. Tilley, Christopher, Webb Keane, Susanne Küchler, Mike Rowlands, and Patricia Spyer (Los Angeles: Sage, 2008) 57.

⁷⁸ Steven Hooper, "On Looking at a Tahitian God-house," Museum Objects: Experiencing the Properties of Things, ed. Dudley, Sandra (London: Routledge, 2012) 44.

⁷⁹ Bill Maurer, "In the Matter of Marxism," Handbook of Material Culture, ed. Tilley, Christopher, Webb Keane, Susanne Küchler, Mike Rowlands, and Patricia Spyer. (Los Angeles: Sage, 2008) 25.

collections of objects can have multiple meanings ascribed to them.⁸⁰ An object biographical approach is particularly useful in developing a clearer understanding of how to better understand how the museum's interpretation of these objects changed between 1894-1898 and how the size of the objects and colonial attitudes influenced these changes in meaning.

This work, however, explores how museums used and interpreted objects to reinforce late Victorian ideas of empire by utilizing the biographical approach, advocated by Janet Hoskins, Nicholas J. Saunders, and Arjun Appadurai, amongst others.⁸¹ Jody Joy defines this concept as "comprised of the sum of relationships that constitute it."⁸² Joy argues that the meanings of objects reflect the manner in which people interpret them. Nicholas Thomas applies this theory to collecting ethnographic materials during the late nineteenth century when he writes that museums placed emphasis on "the way that collected material attested to the fact of having visited remote places and observed novel phenomena."⁸³ As this thesis demonstrates, these four sets of ethnographic models reflect this idea since they were used to convey information about Burma and India. Furthermore, Christopher Tilley argues, "things change their meanings through their cycles and according to the way they are used and appropriated and in the manner in which individuals and groups

⁸⁰ Roger Cardinal, "The Eloquence of Objects," Collectors: Expressions of Self and Other, ed. Shelton, Anthony (London: Horniman Museum Press, 2001) 25, Stewart 136, Susan M. Pearce, Museums, Objects, and Collections: A Cultural Study (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992) 21, Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, Museums and Interpretation of Visual Culture (London: Routledge, 2000) 3, Ian Hodder, "The Contextual Analysis of Symbolic Meanings," Interpreting Objects and Collections, ed. Susan Pearce (Routledge: London, 1994) 12, Fred R. Myers, "Introduction: The Empire of Things," The Empire of Things: Regimes of Value and Material Culture, ed. Myers, Fred R. (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 2001) 18, Mieke Bal, "Telling Objects: A Narrative Perspective on Collecting," The Cultures of Collecting, ed. Elsner, John and Roger Cardinal (London: Reaktion Books, 1994) 111.

⁸¹ Janet Hoskins, Biographical Objects: How Things Tell the Stories of People's Lives (Routledge: New York, 1998) 21, Nicholas J. Saunders, "Bodies of Metal, Shells of Memory: 'Trench Art' and the Great War Re-cycled," The Material Culture Reader, ed. Buchli, Victor (Oxford: Berg, 2002) 200, Arjun Appadurai, "Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value," The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective, ed. Appadurai, Arjun (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) 56.

⁸² Jody Joy, "Reinvigorating Object Biography: Reproducing the Drama of Object Lives," World Archaeology 41.4 (2009): 552, Taylor and Francis Online 21 December 2014 <http://www.tandfonline.com.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/doi/pdf/10.1080/00438240903345530>.

⁸³ Nicholas Thomas, Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991) 141.

identify themselves with them.”⁸⁴ Like Nicholas Thomas, Tilley provides a useful perspective for this thesis since this work will demonstrate how these models possessed different meanings based upon who interpreted them. Additionally, Ivan Kopytoff advocates this approach to understand how ethnographic objects are redefined and put to use in a new context.⁸⁵ Chris Gosden and Yvonne Marshall also utilise this methodology in their interpretation of objects and argue that, “the central idea [of the biographical approach] is that, as people and objects gather time, movement, and change, they are constantly transformed, and these transformations of person and object are tied up with each other.”⁸⁶ Gosden and Marshall, like Thomas, Tilley, and Kopytoff, argue that objects can change their meaning depending upon who interprets the objects or the context in which the object appears.

As mentioned above, this thesis examines the changing meaning of these objects between 1894 and 1898. Museum scholars Alberti, Louise Tythacott, Suzanne MacLeod, Aldona Jonaitis, and Nicholas Thomas provide examples of using this approach to examine objects within a museum. Alberti follows the accession and display of different sets of objects, including moon rocks, and mummies during different time periods in the Manchester Museum in order to understand the museum’s motivation for collecting these objects.⁸⁷ Tythacott explores the use of five Chinese statues from the mid-fourteenth century to today, including their use at the Great Exhibition and in Liverpool Museum, and considers their production and acquisition as war trophies. Tythacott describes how objects possess the meaning constructed for them by culture, and how this meaning can change. She states, “objects do not have real, innate, or fixed identities. Rather, meaning is a cultural

⁸⁴ Christopher Tilley, “Objectification,” *Handbook of Material Culture*, ed. Tilley, Christopher, Webb Keane, Susanne Küchler, Mike Rowlands, and Patricia Spyer (Los Angeles: Sage, 2008) 71.

⁸⁵ Ivan Kopytoff, “The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process,” *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Appadurai, Arjun (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) 67.

⁸⁶ Chris Gosden and Yvonne Marshall, “The Cultural Biography of Objects,” *World Archaeology* 31.2 (1999): 169, *ISTOR* 21 July 2014 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/125055>.

⁸⁷ Samuel J.M. Alberti, “Molluscs, Mummies, and Moon Rock: The Manchester Museum and Manchester Science,” *Manchester Region History Review* 18 (2007) 131.

construction forged in relation to interpretative frameworks.”⁸⁸ This idea – that the meaning of objects changes based upon societal constructs – forms the underlying theoretical basis of this thesis, since I examine how the meanings of these four sets of miniature models changed between 1894-1898. Similarly, MacLeod discusses the use and display of the Sultanganj Buddha in the Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery. She writes that after the museum accessioned the Buddha in the mid-nineteenth century, the museum’s interpretation of the Buddha changed when the museum installed it in new exhibitions. Crucially, and similar to this work, MacLeod emphasizes that the meaning placed upon the object by the museum offers a method for understanding the values of both the museum and the era. She states, “[the Buddha’s] history of display would embody the very different values placed on the Buddha in the context of the socially elite networks of Victorian Birmingham, and, later, the professional and disciplinary networks of the BMAG”.⁸⁹ Furthermore, in his discussion of gifts and commodities, Nicholas Thomas writes that producers and users of objects assign different values and meanings to objects.⁹⁰ Additionally, Jonaitis describes how many miniature totem poles made for tourists in the late nineteenth century ended up in museums as objects for study.⁹¹ However, this thesis will differ from these works since I analyse the interpretation of these miniature models as tourist art before they entered the museum, their use by the museum within exhibitions, and the interpretation of these objects by the museum and visitors to the museum.

By examining these three phases of the lives of these objects I use an approach previously advocated by few scholars. Jonaitis discusses this approach when she writes about the collecting and exhibiting of Native American objects by anthropologists (such as Franz Boas, John Swanton, and Charles Edenshaw) at the end of the nineteenth century. For the third phase of the objects’ lives she constructs

⁸⁸ Louise Tythacott, *The Lives of Chinese Objects: Buddhism, Imperialism and Display* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011) 7.

⁸⁹ Suzanne MacLeod, “Out of Time and Place: The Recent History and Curious Double Life of the Sultangani Buddha,” *Sculpture and the Museum*, ed. Marshall, Christopher R. (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011) 153-154.

⁹⁰ Nicholas Thomas 16.

⁹¹ Aldona Jonaitis, “Traders of Tradition: The History of Haida Art,” *Robert Davidson: Eagle of the Dawn*, ed. Thom, Ian M. (London: Thames and Hudson, 1993) 12.

a composite fictional viewer that visits the museum at any time during a ten-year period in order to discuss the interpretation of these objects by the public.⁹² However, unlike this thesis, Jonaitis did not focus on specific objects all the way through her essay and she does not provide input from specific viewers at a specific time. Both of these factors, the specific attitudes of the viewer and specific time they visited, would have had a significant impact on impacted how the visitor interpreted the objects. Alberti also advocates approaching the biography of objects from these three points of view. However, like Jonaitis, Alberti does not follow a specific set of objects through each of these three phases. Instead, for each of these three points of view, he describes and provides information on how scholarship on collecting objects, the use of objects in museums, and visitor reactions to objects can be used to examine objects from these three perspectives. He writes, “objects channelled and enabled a series of relationships - between collectors, manufacturers, curators, scientists, conservators, and visitors and the museum object was inalienably connected to those in its trajectory.”⁹³ Consequently, although Alberti advocates and provides a framework for researching and understanding objects from these three frames of reference, he does not demonstrate this approach to understanding the lives of objects using specific objects as examples. Using these two works as a framework, this thesis also examines objects from these three viewpoints. However, unlike these two authors, I follow four specific sets of objects through each part of their lives - as curios, as objects in museum exhibitions, and visitor reactions to the objects.

I also utilize this approach, centred on understanding the biography of objects, in order to analyse a newspaper-clipping scrapbook containing articles on the Horniman Free Museum held by the contemporary Horniman Museum and Gardens as a primary source for this thesis. This scrapbook contains newspaper clippings, museum guidebooks, and other information regarding the Horniman Free Museum, in roughly chronological order, spanning approximately from 1888 to 1901. Many of

⁹² Aldona Jonaitis, “Franz Boas, John Swanton, and the New Haida Sculpture at the American Museum of Natural History,” *The Early Years of Native American Art History: The Politics of Scholarship and Collecting*, ed. Janet Catherine Berlo (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1992) 48.

⁹³ Samuel J.M.M. Alberti, “Objects and the Museum,” *Isis* 96.4 (2005): 571, [JSTOR 20 August 2014 www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/498593](https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/498593).

these articles shed light on the collecting practices and administration of the Horniman Free Museum. Some of the clippings possess the name and date of the newspaper in which individual clippings originated, and others do not. Former Horniman Museum and Gardens Archivist Katherine Doyle believes a librarian at the Horniman Free Museum created this scrapbook in the 1890s and that it entered into the possession of the Horniman Museum and Gardens in approximately 1901. Doyle's view is based upon a label affixed to the back cover of the book that states "Magazines, Newspapers, Notes and Cuttings on the Horniman Museum and of Mr. F. John Horniman from 1891."⁹⁴ By using the articles and other documents in this scrapbook I have access to materials not currently available through other archives.

Scholars disagree on the manner in which to use a scrapbook for research purposes. Alison Nordstrom notes that scrapbooks, such as the Horniman scrapbook, tell a story based upon their curation and argues that the act of assembling a scrapbook creates relationships between the objects within the book. When describing the Tupper scrapbooks of photographs, held by Boston Public Library, she writes that researchers should view the books as whole components and not as the sum of their parts. She writes, "the photographs that Tupper organised in this way thus have a much greater significance collectively than they do as individual things. Their meanings are constituted not simply as images but through the actions that surrounded them".⁹⁵ Harlan Greene and Jessica Lancia utilise a scrapbook of papers, correspondence, and financial records as a historical source to trace a family's history in one geographic area.⁹⁶ Similar to the Tupper scrapbooks, this book contains notations from the assemblers and tells the story of a family's history as a whole object which the Avery Research Center recognized when they removed objects from the scrapbook. However, these approaches to this scrapbook are less appropriate for this Horniman Museum scrapbook since the works mentioned above contain notes

⁹⁴ Katherine Doyle, e-mail to the author, 14 August 2014.

⁹⁵ Alison Nordstrom, "Making a Journey: The Tupper Scrapbooks and the Travel They Describe," *Photographs Objects Histories: On the Materiality of Images* ed. Edwards, Elizabeth and Janice Hart (London: Routledge, 2004) 95.

⁹⁶ Harlan Greene and Jessica Lancia, "The Holloway Scrapbook: The Legacy of a Charleston Family," *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* 111. 1/2 (2010): 5, *JSTOR* 2 February 2015 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23057377>.

from the curators of this object, while the Horniman newspaper scrapbook does not contain any notations and therefore does not tell one coherent story in this manner.

After ruling out the methodology advocated above I then examined other works which focus on the parts of a scrapbook instead of only analysing the whole. Juliana M. Kuipers warns that while scrapbooks can serve as a key source for historical research they often reveal how the person who created the scrapbook viewed the world. She compares the process of creating a scrapbook to creating a quilt and states that scrapbooks may only contain information and materials that the creator found relevant to the subject of the scrapbook and that the reader of the scrapbook may not understand the connections that the creator makes within the work.⁹⁷ Similarly, Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart describe a method for researching a box of uncatalogued photographs in the Pitt Rivers Museum, which applies to scrapbooks such as the newspaper-clipping scrapbook in the Horniman Museum and Gardens. Like Kuipers, they recommend studying the works assembled as an object and researching the biography of the object (including the individual components and the assemblage) of the whole collection as a means of understanding the intentions of the institution (in this case a museum) that created the object.⁹⁸

This strategy, of reviewing the individual pieces of the scrapbook advocated by Kuipers and Edwards and Hart, presents a more suitable approach for this research for the scrapbook owned by the Horniman Museum and Gardens than the approaches discussed by Nordstrom and Greene and Lancia. The former set of authors recommend reviewing both the individual components of the book as well as the book itself, while the latter recommend treating the book as whole. However, the objects analysed by Nordstrom and Greene and Lancia contain notes and an overarching narrative which the Horniman scrapbook does not possess. Additionally, both highlight the fact that this approach fosters a better understanding of the intentions of the creator(s) while also acknowledging each component of the book on

⁹⁷ Juliana M. Kuipers, "Scrapbooks: Intrinsic Value and Material Culture," *Journal of Archival Organization* 2.3 (2004): 89, *Taylor and Francis Online* 2 February 2015 http://dx.doi.org/10.1300/J201v02n03_07.

⁹⁸ Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart, "Mixed Box: The Cultural Biography of a Box of Ethnographic Objects," *Photographs Objects Histories: On the Materiality of Images*, ed. Edwards, Elizabeth and Janice Hart (London: Routledge, 2004) 59.

as an individual element. This approach allows this research project to review separate articles, clippings, and guidebooks in the work while also considering the entire scrapbook's assemblage.

Review of Existing Scholarship on Miniature Models

Based upon the work of Susan Stewart, my research framework analyses three uses of miniature objects: the use of these objects as tourist art, as educational tools, and as a means of discerning the differences between objects. Although other scholars have addressed each of these functions of miniature objects, none have shown how sets of objects can encompass all three. Below I will outline how previous scholars have addressed each of these three interpretations of miniature objects (as consumer product, educational tool, and symbol of imperial control) in order to situate the arguments within this work within the current debates regarding the interpretation of these objects. As I argue below, while some of these authors offered a framework for understanding one or two of these aspects of miniature models, this work differs since I am the first to focus on how the interpretation of these objects reflect three different interpretations from tourist art to inclusion in a museum exhibition to their interpretation by museum visitors. Below I review scholarship on each of these functions in order to evaluate and analyse previous works on miniature objects as consumer items, beginning with the emphasis on their portability, then moving on to their interpretation as objects of nostalgia, and finally as curios produced through market forces.

Numerous scholars including Wade, Pietrobruno, Amelia Scholtz, Phillips, and Wintle focus on the ease of portability of miniature objects. These authors mostly address the benefits of carrying and packing a miniature model as opposed to a full-

size object.⁹⁹ As an example, Wade, although he does not focus on ethnographic figures but instead examines the sale of ceramic jars by Native Americans in the late nineteenth century, argues that tourists preferred these objects over full-size objects due to the fact that the full-sized jars proved bulky to transport.¹⁰⁰ However, with their focus on the function of the object rather than its interpretation, these works fall outside of the framework of this thesis.

Instead, in order to shed light on the interpretation of these four sets of objects between 1894 and 1898 and how consumers drove the creation of this type of objects, this research draws upon works focusing on the production of tourist art by scholars including Nelson Graburn, Chatterjee, Jonaitis, and Bernadette van Haute who each highlight how market forces drove the production of miniature models for sale to tourists.¹⁰¹ Although numerous publications address the use of miniature models as consumer objects, similar to this work, only a few study the production of these objects. These studies range from focusing on the portability of miniature objects to their interpretation of objects reflecting nostalgia for an idyllic past to showing how consumer demand drove the production of these objects. While some of these authors provide a useful framework for this thesis by analysing the production

⁹⁹ Edwin L. Wade, "The Ethnic Art Market in the American Southwest 1880-1980," Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture, ed. Stocking, George W. Jr (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985) 169, Pietrobruno 172, Amelia Scholtz, "The Giant in the Curio Shop: Unpacking the Cabinet in Kipling's Letters from Japan," Pacific Coast Philology 42.2 (2007): 204, JSTOR 29 November 2015 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25474233>, Ruth B. Phillips 74-75, Wintle, "Models as Cross-Cultural Design: Ethnographic Ship Models at the National Maritime Museum" 242. Scholtz, Phillips, and Wintle do briefly discuss the interpretation of these objects which I will address later in this work.

¹⁰⁰ Wade 169.

¹⁰¹ Nelson H.H. Graburn, "The Evolution of Tourist Arts," Annals of Tourism Research 11.3 (1984) 398, ScienceDirect 16 December 2014 <http://www.sciencedirect.com.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/science/article/pii/016073838490029X>, Nelson Graburn, "Introduction: The Arts of the Fourth World," Ethnic and Tourist Arts: Critical Expression from the Fourth World, ed. Graburn, Nelson H.H. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976) 15, Jonaitis, "Traders of Tradition: The History of Haida Art" 8, Jonaitis, "Northwest Coast Totem Poles," Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds, ed. Phillips, Ruth B., and Christopher B. Steiner (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999) 107, Chatterjee 214, 219, Bernadette van Haute, "African Tourist Art as Tradition and Product of the Postcolonial Exotic," International Journal of African Renaissance Studies 3.2 (2008): 27, 30, Taylor and Francis Online 15 March 2016 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/18186870902840325>. Additionally, unlike the objects in works by Chatterjee (214) and Wintle ("Models as Cross-Cultural Design: Ethnographic Ship Models at the National Maritime Museum" 249), Horniman did not commission these objects specifically, as I will detail in the next chapter, but likely bought all four sets of objects off the shelf from vendors.

of miniature models through market forces, and some stress the importance of authenticity to the consumer, which this work also examines.

When documenting the production of miniature objects along the northwest coast of North America in the late nineteenth century, for example, Jonaitis discusses how market forces influenced the production of these objects. She wrote that the model totem poles proved so popular with tourists that production of these objects soon outpaced production of other miniature models as well as full-sized totem poles.¹⁰² This provides a strong idea that this thesis will build upon since, similar to this work, in the next chapter I demonstrate that market forces influenced the production of these four sets of miniature models in India and Burma in the late nineteenth century. Van Haute also argues that the manufacture of miniature objects produced for tourists relies upon market forces. In her work on contemporary African tourist objects, she shows that market forces drive the form of tourist objects, including miniature models, demonstrating that tourists seek objects that possess both aspects of familiarity and authenticity. She observes, “artworks are thus characterised by imitation or repetition of forms in response to market forces and as a result of the Western notion of authenticity”.¹⁰³ Like Jonaitis, van Haute offers analysis on how consumers (and particularly tourists) drive the production of miniature models as tourist art based upon their perceived ideas of the culture.

This thesis also analyses the interpretation of miniature objects as educational tools within cultural institutions and demonstrates how the museum interpreted and displayed these objects to demonstrate intellectual control. While other scholars who write about miniature objects focus on their use as objects deployed for the purposes of instruction in this setting, few approach the study of these objects in terms of

¹⁰² Jonaitis “Northwest Coast Totem Poles” 107.

¹⁰³ Van Haute 27.

collected sets, as the Horniman Free Museum displayed these objects.¹⁰⁴ Some works address the practice of museums interpreting miniature models to provide educational information, and others focus on the use of miniature objects in museum interpretation to create miniature worlds. Both Anthony Shelton and Levell, for example, highlight the use of miniature models in cultural institutions to portray other cultures; however both only discuss the interpretation of these models within the context of exhibitions.¹⁰⁵ For example, Levell notes the use of miniature models in the Great Exhibition: “these small portable figures... provided an ideal means of appropriating, scrutinizing, while simultaneously maintaining a comfortable distance from the objectified.”¹⁰⁶ For Levell, as for Shelton in his observation of the inclusion of miniature models in the Imperial Institute, there is the sense that these particular objects performed the same function as other display materials, by allowing viewers to see objects from other cultures.¹⁰⁷ Neither author discusses the differences between the use of these models and other models. Levell also discusses the use of the four sets of models at the centre of this work in the Horniman Free Museum, but again, does not acknowledge the differences between them and other objects in the museum. Regarding all four sets of models Levell notes that the museum used them in order to represent other cultures. When describing the Burmese figures she stated,

¹⁰⁴ Authors such as Christoph Meinel, Lynn K. Nyhart, Simon Schaffer, James A. Secord, Alberti, and Griesemer all address the use of models as instructional tools in cultural or educational institutions. However, since all of the above address topics related to science or natural history, while this work focuses on ethnographic models, and only some focus on the use of miniature models, I do not include them in this study. See Christoph Meinel, “Molecules and Croquet Balls,” Models: The Third Dimension of Science, ed. de Chadarevian Soraya and Nick Hopwood (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004) 242, Lynn K. Nyhart, “Science, Art, and Authenticity in Natural History Displays,” Models: The Third Dimension of Science, ed. de Chadarevian Soraya and Nick Hopwood (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004) 312, Simon Schaffer, “Fish and Ships: Models in the Age of Reason,” Models: The Third Dimension of Science, ed. de Chadarevian Soraya and Nick Hopwood (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004) 71, James A. Secord, “Monsters at the Crystal Palace,” Models: The Third Dimension of Science, ed. de Chadarevian Soraya and Nick Hopwood (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004) 138, Samuel J.M.M. Alberti, Morbid Curiosities: Medical Museums in Nineteenth-Century Britain (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011) 152, and James R. Griesemer, “Modeling in the Museum: On the Role of Remnant Models in the Work of Joseph Grinnell” 8.

¹⁰⁵ Anthony Alan Shelton, “Museum Ethnography: An Imperial Science,” Cultural Encounters: Representing ‘Otherness’, ed. Hallam, Elizabeth and Brian V. Street (London: Routledge, 2000) 179, Nicky Levell, “Reproducing India: International Exhibitions and Victorian Tourism,” Souvenirs: The Material Culture of Tourism, ed. Hitchcock, Michael and Ken Teague (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000) 46.

¹⁰⁶ Levell “Reproducing India: International Exhibitions and Victorian Tourism” 46.

¹⁰⁷ Levell “Reproducing India: International Exhibitions and Victorian Tourism” 46, Shelton “Museum Ethnography: An Imperial Science” 179.

“in the Burmese section, King Thibaw and Queen Supayalat were objectified in the series of fourteen small, painted wooden figures, and also depicted on the ‘large pieces of Burmese embroidery’”, and later adds that the museum used these objects, and other Burmese objects, to observe the exotic.¹⁰⁸ As above, Levell writes that these objects simply served as part of a larger group of objects the museum utilized to interpret Burma. She later describes the interpretation of the model heads and figures from India in the same manner. When recounting the heads she writes, “like the Lucknow figures, these life-like models presented a sanitized view of the oriental other, which enabled the western observer to scrutinise the colonised subject”.¹⁰⁹ Again, although Levell observes that the museum interpreted these objects in an Orientalist manner, which I shall discuss in Chapter Four, by stating that the museum displayed these objects to show the Other she does not differentiate the inclusion of these models in museum exhibitions from that of other objects in the museum used to portray Burma and India or discuss how the diminutive size of these objects affects their interpretation.

Unlike previous scholars, this thesis focuses on how the museum interpreted these objects as sets. Other scholarship on miniature objects argues that sets of miniature objects create miniature worlds which the collector ultimately controls. Writers such as Huw W.G. Lewis-Jones, Abigail McGowan, Pearce, John Elsner, Stewart, Phillips, Steven Millhauser, Gaston Bachelard, and Claude Lévi-Strauss

¹⁰⁸ Nicky Levell *Oriental Visions: Exhibitions, Travel, and Collecting in the Victorian Age* 270-271. It is worth noting that the spelling of several names in India and Burma has changed since the late nineteenth century. For example, nineteenth-century writers refer to Jaipur as “Jeypore” and Tibet as “Thibet”. Nineteenth-century scholars also used various spellings of the names of the late nineteenth-century Burmese monarchs King Thibaw and Queen Supayalat. When quoting these late nineteenth-century scholars, I retain the nineteenth-century spellings of these names. Otherwise, this work utilises modern spellings and place names.

¹⁰⁹ Levell *Oriental Visions: Exhibitions, Travel, and Collecting in the Victorian Age* 294. Although Levell also briefly references the purchase of sets of figures from India and Burma, she does not explore Horniman’s motivation for purchasing these objects except to note that Horniman likely purchased the set of Indian figures based upon the fact that they were portable and could represent the exotic (Levell *Oriental Visions: Exhibitions, Travel, and Collecting in the Victorian Age* 153).

provide theories that this thesis utilizes.¹¹⁰ Lévi-Strauss offers a summation of this idea when he states that with miniature objects people can assess the world more easily. He wrote, “being smaller, the object as a whole seems less formidable... [miniaturization] extends and diversifies our power over a homologue of the thing... [it] can be grasped, assessed and apprehended at a glance.”¹¹¹ Lévi-Strauss highlights that by exhibiting miniature objects, the exhibitor, in the case of this thesis the Horniman Free Museum, highlighted the totality and complete nature of the collection since visitors can take in the entire scene at one time. Phillips’ research is based on the work of Lévi-Strauss, and although it does not mention the display of objects in museums, it provides a basis for understanding the exhibition of miniature objects. In her discussion of the collecting of miniature objects, she describes the practice and connotations of their exhibition. She writes:

miniaturization permitted the artificial and controlled organization of a set of material objects constructed as signs of other socio-political or cultural groups in a manner that created the illusion of a complete analytical understanding of those groups.¹¹²

This thesis builds upon this idea described by Phillips in order to demonstrate that the Horniman Free Museum perpetuated the idea of a total understanding of Indian and Burmese societies through its interpretation and display of these four sets of miniature models. Both Pearce and Elsner also demonstrate how this idea applies to museums. When referencing a collection of dolls, Pearce argues that through sets of

¹¹⁰ Huw W.G. Lewis-Jones, “Displaying Nelson’ Navalism and ‘The Exhibition’ of 189,” *International Journal of Maritime History* 17.29 (2005): 47, *Sage Journals* 17 December 2014. <http://ijh.sagepub.com.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/content/17/1/29.full.pdf+html>, Abigail McGowan, *Crafting the Nation in Colonial India* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009) 60, *Palgrave Connect* 27 March 2016 <http://www.palgraveconnect.com.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/pc/doi/10.1057/9780230623231>, Susan M. Pearce *On Collecting: An Investigation into Collecting in the European Tradition* 188, John Elsner, “A Collector’s Model of Desire: The House and Museum of Sir John Soane,” *The Cultures of Collecting*, ed. Elsner, John and Roger Cardinal (London: Reaktion Books 1994) 176. Stewart 69, Steven Millhauser, “The Fascination of the Miniature,” *Grand Street* 2.4 (1981), 133, 135, *JSTOR* 15 December 2014 <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/25006539>, Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space* trans. Maria Jolas (Boston: Beacon Press, 1994) 150, Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966) 23.

¹¹¹ Lévi-Strauss 23.

¹¹² Phillips 102.

miniature objects the collector creates an idealized world that they control. She states, “the collection [of miniature objects] is clearly a manipulation of scale, the attempt to create a world in miniature in which the collector has ultimate control.”¹¹³ Like Lévi-Strauss, Pearce underscores the idea that people utilize miniature objects to apprehend and control entire worlds and concepts. Elsner points out how Sir John Soane also engaged in this practice when he placed a group of architectural models representing different eras together in the same room. He wrote:

The collection of models in Sir John Soane’s Museum evokes a world. Although each has its own referent, its own real building that it reflects... as a *group* the models abandon that direct reference altogether. Instead they imagine an ideal Neoclassical world, a model for the real world. They are a complete summary of the knowledge and the artefacts within the Soane Museum for they *are* the three-dimensional fullness that the fragments and the casts are merely part of, which the images and the books can only describe [emphasis original].¹¹⁴

Although not referencing ethnographic materials, this notion of collecting objects to display complete knowledge of a subject described by Elsner provides, I contend, a key to understanding the collection and display of sets of miniature models by Horniman and the museum. This thesis will further explore this idea in Chapter Three.

Although numerous scholars have addressed the interpretation of sets of miniature objects in museums only some of these works demonstrate relevance to this study which examines the display and interpretation of sets of miniature models within museums. While Shelton and Levell state that miniature objects merely provide another way to inform others about different cultures, authors such as Stewart, Pearce, and Elsner argue that sets of miniature models possess their own ability to convey knowledge, including highlighting how the collector wishes to portray a complete knowledge. Although some of these studies have addressed the use of ethnographic models, none of them have traced the interpretation of the

¹¹³ Pearce *On Collecting: An Investigation into Collecting in the European Tradition* 188.

¹¹⁴ Elsner 171.

objects from purchase to display in the museum to interpretation by a museum visitor.

Additionally, this thesis includes a third interpretation of importance: the interpretation of these sets of miniature objects by museum visitors. Few scholars who study miniature models address this. While some authors emphasize how viewers' interpretation of miniatures change after their purchase, others highlight postcolonial interpretations, including miniatures as symbols of imperial control and how these objects offer the ability to further understand the intricacies of other cultures. Below, I review each of these aspects of scholarship on miniature objects and analyse these arguments.

One set of authors highlights how the interpretation of miniature objects by Westerners can change after the purchase of these objects. Wintle argues that Westerners alter their interpretation of miniature objects in order to fit Western ideals since these objects usually function as decorative objects.¹¹⁵ Additionally, Stewart writes, "those qualities of the object which link it most closely to its function in native context are emptied and replaced by both display value and the symbolic system of the consumer."¹¹⁶ However, as Chapter Two will elaborate upon, since these four sets of models were constructed specifically as tourist art, this change in interpretation from tool or other type of functional object that Stewart and Wintle describe does not apply to this thesis.

Other scholars of miniature models argue that people interpret these objects as symbols of the inferiority of the cultures they represent. Phillips argues that in the nineteenth century miniature objects, from Australia and North America respectively, began to symbolize imperial control over native peoples.¹¹⁷ Aaron Glass and Jonaitis also highlight this point when writing about the interpretation of miniature models to represent Native Americans in the nineteenth century. They state, "[the totem poles] could be idols of heathen religion; signposts of primitive social structures; an index for cultural decimation; the markers of an aesthetically refined and romanticized

¹¹⁵ Wintle "Models as Cross-Cultural Design: Ethnographic Ship Models at the National Maritime Museum" 249.

¹¹⁶ Stewart 149.

¹¹⁷ Phillips 97.

noble savage.”¹¹⁸ Like Phillips, Glass and Jonaitis state that people began to use this miniature tourist art to impart their feelings of superiority over Native Americans. While this work will discuss this interpretation of these four sets of models, these works mainly focus on individual objects and do not show how people interpreted sets of objects. Additionally, these works focus on the interpretation of these objects outside cultural institutions.

However, other scholars have focused on the interpretation of sets of miniature objects by visitors. Stewart outlines how, when viewing sets of objects, including miniature objects, the viewer notices the differences between the objects more readily and adds that this phenomenon works well with miniatures based upon the level of detail incorporated into miniature models.¹¹⁹ Additionally, Chatterjee points out that when viewing a set of miniature models representing caste the differences between the figures stand out to the viewer. She states, “defined as figures by the markers of their trade, rather than resemblance to an individual, the figurines, in this case, function not only as portraits of a community but more specifically a professional class or occupational type.”¹²⁰ Chatterjee notes that it is the differences between the figures in this group that identify them as objects representing Indian trades, however, she does not provide any accounts from museum visitors to support her assertions.

Differing from the above Lara Kriegel used newspaper accounts from the Great Exhibition in order to understand how people read and reacted to a set of miniature models in the exhibition. Kriegel highlights how visitors to the exhibition reacted to this set of objects representing Indian trades as they noticed the differences between the bodies depicted in the figures and their own bodies. She notes that the visitor reactions to these objects included disgust, repulsion, and laughter as the visitors viewed the clothing and tools used by the models as crude and simple compared with

¹¹⁸ Aaron Glass and Aldona Jonaitis, “A Miniature History of Model Totem Poles,” Carvings and Commerce: Model Totem Poles 1880-2010, ed. Hall, Michael D. and Pat Glascock (Saskatoon: Mendel Art Gallery 2011) 12.

¹¹⁹ Stewart 155.

¹²⁰ Chatterjee 215.

British equivalents.¹²¹ By utilizing contemporary newspaper accounts of the exhibition and viewing these accounts through a postcolonial perspective, Kriegel demonstrates how to capture and analyse visitor reactions to objects and exhibitions in the nineteenth century.

Like Kriegel, in order to gauge public reactions to exhibitions and objects in the Horniman Free Museum this work will draw upon contemporary publications. In particular, I utilize a weekly twenty-one-part tour of the museum written between October 1896 and January 1897 by Harry Woolhouse. Described as a local journalist by Levell, Woolhouse admitted to writing these articles, which feature the by-line of 'A. Visitor', in an article in the *Forest Hill and Sydenham Examiner* dated 12 February 1897.¹²² Although complimentary of the museum on numerous occasions Woolhouse admitted, in his own series on Horniman titled "The Life & Philanthropic Work of a Merchant Prince, Mr. Fredk. John Horniman M.P.", that he did not know Horniman well, since Woolhouse compiled the information in this series from previously published accounts of Horniman rather than basing it on an interview.¹²³ Consequently, while it is clear that Woolhouse repeatedly praised Horniman and the museum, he likely did not do so based upon a personal relationship with Horniman.

As seen above, works that examine the interpretation of sets of miniature models within cultural institutions fall into three groups which note the change of interpretation of the object from its original purpose, the ability of these objects to signify other cultures and the perceived inferiority of these cultures, and the reactions of visitors to viewing sets of miniature models. Although the first set of the works examined in this section stress that objects change their meaning depending on the viewer, these works only examine single miniature models that likely

¹²¹ Lara Kriegel, "Narrating the Subcontinent in 1851: India at the Crystal Palace," *The Great Exhibition of 1851: New Interdisciplinary Essays*, ed. Purbrick, Louise (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001) 165-166, Lara Kriegel, *Grand Designs: Labor, Empire, and the Museum in Victorian Culture* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007) 116, 117.

¹²² Levell *Oriental Visions: Exhibitions, Travel, and Collecting in the Victorian Age* 233. H. Woolhouse, "The Life & Philanthropic Work of a Merchant Prince, Mr. Fredk. John Horniman M.P. No. III," *Forest Hill and Sydenham Examiner* 12 February 1897:3, FOREST HILL AND SYDENHAM EXAMINER LONDON 9TH AUG 1895 to 31ST DEC 1897 M64/303.

¹²³ Woolhouse "The Life & Philanthropic Work of a Merchant Prince, Mr. Fredk. John Horniman M.P. No. III," 3.

possessed an alternative function other than an object for display. Additionally, although works by Phillips and Glass and Jonaitis utilize postcolonial theories focusing on the idea of mimicry in order to analyse reactions to miniature models, again these works examine only single objects and do not focus on objects within cultural institutions.¹²⁴ Instead, Stewart, Chatterjee, and Kriegel provide a framework for capturing and reviewing reactions to sets of miniature models in the nineteenth century through their emphasis on how viewers of sets of objects notice the differences and details between miniature objects in sets and through Kriegel's use of contemporary accounts of the exhibition in publications to capture visitor reactions.

Outline of Thesis Chapters

Using the biography of objects methodology, each of the following three chapters will discuss how these objects fit both a use of miniature objects as described by twentieth- and twenty-first-century scholars as well as an aim of the Horniman Free Museum. Chapter Two examines these four sets of objects before they entered the museum. In this chapter I argue that these models embodied the late nineteenth-century idea of a curio and begin with definition of this word. I will then outline how these objects fit the three criteria of a curio by providing a description of Horniman's two trips to Asia between 1894 and 1896 with emphasis on the perceived authenticity of the objects he purchased. Following this, I explore the production of the objects as tourist art in both India and Burma and include information on how the size of the objects appealed to tourists. Finally, I showcase how these objects appealed to Horniman based not only on their size, but on how they represented and encapsulated the unfamiliar.

Chapter Three examines the interpretation of these objects by the Horniman Free Museum and how these objects fit within the museum's mission of providing education on foreign cultures. This chapter begins with a brief history of the museum and a definition of the museum's mission in order to demonstrate that Horniman

¹²⁴ Phillips 196, Glass and Jonaitis 15.

established this museum with the primary mission of educating its visitors, which contradicts previous scholarship on the museum, and places the museum within the context of other nineteenth-century cultural institutions. The chapter then shifts its focus to consider how the museum used these four sets of objects to fulfil its mission by conveying information on Indian and Burmese cultures through objects. I conclude this chapter by demonstrating how Horniman and the museum exercised intellectual control over Indian and Burmese cultures through the display of these four sets of models by creating the impression that the museum possessed total knowledge regarding India and Burma through its interpretation and display of these models.

The fourth chapter of this thesis explores how the interpretation of these objects by the museum and visitors to the Horniman Free Museum. Relying upon accounts of the museum's galleries from nineteenth-century publications and documents produced by the museum, this chapter demonstrates that the museum perpetuated ideas of British superiority over India and Burma and that museum visitors echoed this sense of control over these colonial subjects. By examining the interpretation of these four sets of models through theories of miniaturization and postcolonial theories, I argue the visitors gained an understanding that the objects themselves also reinforced colonial attitudes of British superiority towards India and Burma.

Conclusion

As demonstrated above, few scholars address the use of miniature objects. This thesis will examine the use of miniature ethnographic models within the Horniman Free Museum at the end of the nineteenth century. This museum focused on displaying anthropological, natural history, and entomological specimens and included four sets of miniature ethnographical models that Horniman collected in Asia in December 1894 and December 1895. Scholars of miniature objects and models also present a variety of definitions of these objects depending upon their use. This thesis uses the definitions provided above by Black and Stewart, among others,

in order to define these four sets of objects as miniature models. Utilising the biographical approach to objects, this work will examine and analyse the use of these models before Horniman's purchase of them, the use of the models by the museum, and the views of these models by museum visitors in order to understand how nineteenth-century museums and visitors perceived other cultures through miniature models.

Chapter 2: Miniature Models as Curios

This chapter addresses the beginning of the life cycle of these models between 1894 and 1898 through an examination of the changing uses and meanings of these sets of objects - their creation and function as tourist art and how British consumers viewed miniature models. Based upon the work of Susan Stewart, and exploring the types of objects Horniman purchased for the museum, in this chapter I argue that during his two trips to Asia Horniman wished to bring objects to the museum that encapsulated and depicted the peoples of the countries he visited. As I detail below, the nineteenth-century notion of the 'curio' describes the kind of object Horniman sought to purchase.

I begin this chapter by providing a definition of the word curio. I argue that in order for an object to be classified as a curio in the nineteenth century, it needed to fit three criteria: the person obtaining the object must view the object as authentic, that this word does not refer to the perceived rarity of the object and, finally, through its interpretation, the object must represent an unfamiliar concept.

The next section examines the idea of authenticity associated with curios and argues that Horniman valued authenticity, as he perceived it, in the objects he purchased for the museum. This part of the chapter begins with a brief definition of the idea of authenticity, before exploring Horniman's two trips to Asia in 1894 and 1895 with a focus on the types of objects he purchased. This discussion is based upon accounts of these two trips that appeared in local London newspapers in serialized form in 1895 and 1896, including analysis on how Horniman judged the authenticity of the objects he purchased. I will then examine the four sets of miniature models Horniman purchased during his trips, and demonstrate how they fit his three desired authenticity criteria - place, provenance, and prior knowledge.

Next, this chapter explores the notion of curios as mass-produced goods sold to tourists. This section highlights the production of these models, and other objects sold to tourists in late nineteenth-century India and Burma. It also further examines and analyses the locations where Horniman purchased the four sets of miniature

models, in order to understand the types of objects these places specialized in producing and selling (specifically, items for sale to tourists, including objects tourists viewed as authentic). Additionally, this section argues that market forces drove the creation of miniature models that travellers such as Horniman purchased in the nineteenth century.

In order to examine the third part of the definition of curios - their use to explain unfamiliar concepts and the difference in function between curios and souvenirs. This section explores how Horniman intended to use these objects. For this section I will again draw upon Horniman's travel journals, documents from the Horniman Free Museum, and other late nineteenth-century sources to show that he did not intend to use the objects purchased in Asia as souvenirs. Instead, he repeatedly highlighted that he obtained these objects, including the four sets of miniature models, to use them within the museum to provide information on foreign cultures.

The final section of this chapter will focus on how these four sets of miniature models condensed experience into a form primarily designated for display purposes. In this section, I utilise an example of another model Horniman purchased in India in late 1894 to demonstrate how, by purchasing miniature tourist art objects, Horniman sought to capture the experience of visiting India and how miniature objects accomplish this since, through miniaturization all of an object's functions, except for the use of the objects for display, are stripped away through the miniaturization of an object.

Definition of Curio

First appearing in the mid-nineteenth century as an abbreviation of the word 'curiosity', the word curio makes an appears in Herman Melville's 1851 novel, *Moby Dick*, with a similar definition. The landlord of the Spouter-Inn describes the objects sold by Queequeg, a harpooner who originating from a fictitious South Pacific Island, as, "a lot of 'balm'd New Zealand heads (great curios, you know)".¹²⁵ Within this

¹²⁵ Herman Melville, *Moby Dick* (London: Penguin, 1994) 37.

passage, Melville touched upon all aspects of the curio including the fact that there are many of them, indicating they are not rarities, and the fact that they represented the unfamiliar - in this case they represented New Zealand to people from the northeast United States. Similarly, I argue that a curio needs to be perceived as authentic, does not rely upon the rarity of the object, and is used to present information on the unfamiliar.

Regarding the first part of the definition of curio, I define authenticity as an individual's view of an object or place based upon the relationship between the object, the individual's knowledge and their experience of the object. However, the authentic nature of the objects is not tied solely to any of these three factors, but rather is constructed by the individual based upon the relationship of these three facets. This definition differs from more traditional ideas of authenticity which rely more on defining this term based solely upon the provenance or material of the work, the relationship to a place, or the view-holder's perception.¹²⁶ All of these approaches rely too much on linking the object to only one of these three factors rather than

¹²⁶ Pearce On Collecting: An Investigation into Collecting in the European Tradition 292, Appadurai 45, Mary Ann Littrell, Anderson, Luella F., and Brown, Pamela J., "What Makes a Craft Souvenir Authentic?" Annals of Tourism Research 20:1 (1993) 206, 210-211, ScienceDirect 10 February 2015 <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/016073839390118M#>, Chaim Noy, "Embodying Ideologies in Tourism: A Commemorative Visitor Book in Israel as a Site of Authenticity," Authenticity in Culture, Self, and Society, ed. Philip Vannini and J. Patrick Williams (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009) 225-226, Clare Fawcett and Cormack, Patricia, "Guarding Authenticity at Literary Tourism Sites," Annals of Tourism Research 28:3 (2001) 691 ScienceDirect 10 February 2015 <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0160738300000621>, Yaniv Belhassen, Caton, Kellee, and Stewart, William P., "The Search for Authenticity in the Pilgrim Experience," Annals of Tourism Research 35:3 (2008) 684- 685, ScienceDirect 10 February 2015 <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0160738308000583#>. Deepak Chhabra, Healy, Robert, and Sills, Erin, "Staged Authenticity and Heritage Tourism," Annals of Tourism Research 30:3 (2003) 717 ScienceDirect 10 February 2015 <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0160738303000446>, Kenneth Little, "On Safari: The Visual Politics of a Tourist Representation," The Varieties of Sensory Experience: A Sourcebook in the Anthropology of the Senses ed. Howes, David (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991)156-157, Jillian R. Cavanaugh and Shalini Shankar, "Producing Authenticity in Global Capitalism: Language, Materiality, and Value," American Anthropologist 116:1 (2014) 53 AnthroSource 19 April 2017 10.1111/aman.12075, Pooneh Torabian and Susan M. Arai, "Tourist Perceptions of Souvenir Authenticity: An Exploration of Selective Tourist Blogs," Current Issues in Tourism 19:7 (2013) 706 Taylor and Frances Online 19 April 2017 <http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/10.1080/13683500.2013.820259>, Christopher B. Steiner, "Authenticity, Repetition, and the Aesthetics of Seriality: The Work of Tourist Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," Unpacking Culture Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds, ed. Phillips, Ruth B. and Christopher B. Steiner (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999) 99.

highlighting how the authentic value of an object combines all three of these ideas to varying degrees. As Stewart states, “the authenticity of the exotic object arises not in the conditions authored by the primitive culture itself but from the analogy between the primitive/ exotic and the origin of the possessor”.¹²⁷ Stewart underscores the notion that the individual determines the authenticity of an object based upon the individual’s web of relationships to the objects including their prior history, knowledge, and expectations of the object as well as the provenance of the object. This notion of a web of relationships used to verify or define authentic experiences or objects can be composed of social constructs and still produce an object or experience that is authentic to the individual. Ning Wang also argues for this definition of authenticity when he states, “what tourists seek are their own authentic selves and intersubjective authenticity, and the issue of whether the toured objects are authentic is irrelevant or less relevant.”¹²⁸ Wang contends that people really only seek to confirm their own notions of authenticity and that whether or not the outside factors (such as place) are constructs do not matter as long as the factors of belief, action, and place all combine or reinforce the individual’s notion of authenticity. Other scholars have also confirmed this kind of understanding of authenticity, through case studies such as Belhassen et al.’s work on American evangelical tourists in Israel between 2004 and 2007, and Jones’s research into tourists’ and community members’ responses to the reconstruction of a cross-slab in the village of Hilton of Cadboll, in Easter Ross, Scotland.¹²⁹ As Jones pointed out, while one person may view an object as authentic based upon their knowledge and relationship to the object, another may view it as inauthentic based upon their own distinctive web of experience and knowledge.

¹²⁷ Stewart 146.

¹²⁸ Ning Wang, “Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience,” *Annals of Tourism Research* 26:2 (1999) 365-366, [ScienceDirect](http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0160738398001030) 11 February 2015 <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0160738398001030>.

¹²⁹ Belhassen, Caton, and Stewart 685, Sian Jones, “Negotiating Authentic Objects and Authentic Selves: Beyond the Deconstruction of Authenticity,” *Journal of Material Culture* 15:2 (2010) 196 [Sage Journals](http://mcu.sagepub.com.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/content/15/2/181.full.pdf+html) 11 February 2015 <http://mcu.sagepub.com.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/content/15/2/181.full.pdf+html>.

The second part of this definition argues that curio does not refer to rare objects, but can be mass produced. Unlike other definitions of this word that stress the rarity of these objects, or the unusual nature of the objects, Martha Chaiklin writes that the word particularly applied to objects made for export from the Far East during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹³⁰ She focuses on the production of these objects in Yokohama, and that travellers would seek out these objects in order to symbolize their notions of authentic Japanese experiences.¹³¹ Consequently, and similar to Melville's definition above, Chaiklin describes curios as mass-produced objects rather than rarities.

In his journals Horniman foreshadowed Chaiklin by identifying curios as mass-produced objects. In an article dated 13 December 1895, Horniman described seeing places that sold merchandise in Yokohama. He wrote, "in Yokohama here were numerous curio dealers with immense stocks of china, porcelain, lacquer ware, ivory carvings, etc., etc."¹³² In this passage Horniman noted the fact that these dealers possessed large quantities of these products, which he described as curios – indicating they were mass-produced and not rare objects. Later, when he described the places that sold these objects again he also emphasized that they possessed a lot of merchandise, which reinforces the mass-produced nature of these objects. Horniman wrote, "all of the stores all well stocked, and all very clean and neat."¹³³ Both of these descriptions highlight the mass-produced nature of these objects and that the shops he encountered possessed these objects in abundance. I will further

¹³⁰"Curio", *Oxford English Dictionary Online* 6 October 2015

<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/46033?redirectedFrom=curio#eid>, Thomas Holbein Hendley, "Indian Museums" *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry* 16:125 (1914) 34, Kate C. Duncan, *1001 Curious Things: Ye Olde Curiosity Shop and Native American Art* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000) 24, Barbara M. Benedict, *Curiosity: A Cultural History of Early Modern Inquiry* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2001) 3, Neil Kenny, "The Metaphorical Collecting of Curiosities in Early Modern France and Germany," *Curiosity and Wonder from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment*, ed. Evans, R.J.W. and Alexander Marr (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006) 43. Martha Chaiklin, *Ivory and the Aesthetics of Modernity in Meiji Japan* (New York: Macmillan, 2014) 22.

¹³¹ Chaiklin 22.

¹³² F. John Horniman, "To the Land of the Rising Sun," *Forest Hill and Sydenham Examiner* 13 December 1895: 3, *FOREST HILL AND SYDENHAM EXAMINER LONDON 9TH AUG 1895 to 31ST DEC 1897 M64/303*.

¹³³ F. John Horniman "To the Land of the Rising Sun".

explore the types of objects Horniman and the museum referred to as curios later in this chapter.

Third, although curios bear similarity to souvenirs in that both types of objects are mass produced and sold to tourists, I draw an important distinction between these two types of objects based upon the interpretation of the object. While both the souvenir and curio provide information on the unfamiliar, the souvenir refers to the biography of the purchaser while the curio does not. Stewart argues that souvenirs represent the biography of the owner since they function as reminders of prior experiences. She states, “we do not need or desire souvenirs of events that are repeatable. Rather we need and desire souvenirs of events that are reportable, events whose materiality escaped us, events, that thereby exist only through the invention of narrative.”¹³⁴ Emphasizing this idea that souvenirs refer to the biography of the purchaser, Lee adds to this definition of souvenirs when she writes that souvenirs provide tangible evidence of experience, but are only useful in this regard to the person who purchases them.¹³⁵ However, as I detail below, Horniman did not intend to utilize the objects he purchased for autobiographical purposes, but instead detailed how he planned to place many of his purchases in the museum.

While scholars interpret souvenirs to function as autobiographical objects, curios are not interpreted in the same manner. Instead the word curio also carries with it the idea of the unfamiliar. Marking a sharp contrast with previous early modern definitions of the word “curiosity”, by the nineteenth century the word curio began to refer to collected objects that reflected the unknown.¹³⁶ Phillips describes this term as word as deriving from the word curiosity used primarily by consumers to describe natural or unnatural objects. In her definition a curiosity is an object perceived as

¹³⁴ Stewart 135.

¹³⁵ Molly Lee, “Tourism and Taste: Cultures Collecting Native Art in Alaska at the Turn of the Twentieth Century,” *Unpacking Culture Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds*, ed. Phillips, Ruth B. and Christopher B. Steiner (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999) 270-271.

¹³⁶ See Kenny 52, Phillips 6, Anthony Alan Shelton, “Renaissance Collections and the New World,” *The Cultures of Collecting*, ed. Elsner, John and Roger Cardinal (London: Reaktion Books, 1994) 180, 187, George Rousseau, “Epilogue,” *Curiosity and Wonder from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment*, ed. Evans, R.J.W. and Alexander Marr (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006) 252, Krzysztof Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities: Paris and Venice, 1500-1800* (Cambridge, Polity Press, 1990) 57 for a history of the notion of curiosity including older definitions of this word which describe curiosities as odd, rare novelties, or investigations into the unknown. I will discuss latter of these definitions later in this thesis.

“extranatural and extra-Western”, and outside of one’s knowledge.¹³⁷ Both of these terms demonstrate that this word is a Western construct used to present information outside of traditional Western knowledge. Cohodas also focuses on this point when she writes that curios in Western parlours served as symbols of the premodern in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹³⁸ As I demonstrate below, these definitions, which underscored that a curio is used to fill in knowledge of an unknown subject, specifically an ethnographic subject, fit in well with how the Horniman Free Museum described its purpose and Horniman’s stated use of the objects he bought – to present information on foreign cultures.

Horniman’s Travels and Travel Journals

In the mid-1890s, Horniman took two extended trips – the first to India and Ceylon from late 1894 to early 1895 and the second around the world, including visits to the United States, China, Japan, India, Burma, and Egypt, beginning in autumn 1895 and ending with Horniman’s return to London in early 1896. During both of these periods Horniman kept a journal of his travels, excerpts of which appeared in serialized form in local London newspapers. The journals from the former trip were printed in *The Forest Hill, Sydenham, and Crystal Palace Times* from 19 April to 9 August 1895. These articles were edited and mostly referred to Horniman in the third person throughout the series. The latter set of journals appeared in the *Forest Hill and Sydenham Examiner* in thirteen instalments from 22 November 1895 to 28 February 1896. This series differs from the other since these articles seem to have been written by Horniman in the first person. Both sets of journals present descriptions of the places Horniman saw, including population figures for the cities he visited, the dimensions of landmarks he visited, transportation methods he used including in-depth descriptions of ships and trains he travelled on and objects he purchased.

¹³⁷ Phillips 6.

¹³⁸ Marvin Cohodas, “Elizabeth Hickox and Karuk Basketry: A Case Study in Debates on Innovation and Paradigms of Authenticity,” *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds*, ed. Phillips, Ruth B. and Christopher B. Steiner (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999) 148.

Additionally, these journals provided his views of the peoples and places he encountered, museum practices and the objects he purchased for the museum which shed light on his interpretation of the four sets of miniature objects which constitute the focus of this study, both before and after their inclusion in the Horniman Free Museum.

Detailing his time in India and Ceylon, Horniman visited places such as Puna, Jaipur, Delhi, Agra, Cawnpore, Lucknow, Benares, Calcutta, and Darjeeling, Colombo, Kandy, and Anuradapura, among other places. The *Forest Hill, Sydenham, and Crystal Palace Times* stressed that the publication of these articles allowed its readers to learn about the places Horniman travelled to. An article appearing between the publication of the first and second journal entries stated that the journal provided, “the interesting incidents that occurred... [and] recorded many of the visits to various places of attraction and gave graphic descriptions.”¹³⁹ Through this description, the newspaper advertised the journal as a travelogue detailing the places Horniman visited. Later the article advertised future instalments of the journal as well as describing these journal entries as affording an opportunity to vicariously travel alongside Horniman. It stated, “this series will... run into sixteen or eighteen chapters [and] will increase interest week by week, therefore, persons who are wishful of accompanying Mr. Horniman, as it were, in his travels should not fail to peruse his Diary which is appearing weekly in the CRYSTAL PALACE TIMES. [emphasis original]”¹⁴⁰ As above, this paper again highlighted that the readers could use this serialized journal to virtually travel along with Horniman through India and Ceylon.

These journal entries, for the most part, adhere to this plan highlighted above. For example, in the third part of this series the journal described a tramway station in Bombay that could hold 625 horses, possessed thirteen and one half miles of track and saw 13,133,000 users the previous year as well as recording the façade of the Secretarial, which housed the Bombay government offices, as 443 feet.¹⁴¹ However, this journal also provided glimpses of the views Horniman held of the peoples he

¹³⁹ Horniman Museum Scrapbook of Press Cuttings and Other Items 1888 – 1901 page 28, item 220.

¹⁴⁰ Horniman Museum Scrapbook of Press Cuttings and Other Items 1888 – 1901 page 28, item 220.

¹⁴¹ Horniman Museum Scrapbook of Press Cuttings and Other Items 1888 – 1901 page 26, item 202.

encountered. In the sixth entry the journal mentioned that his party needed to be aware of the native “hill people” of the area who were known to throw rocks and shoot arrows at Europeans and well as providing population figures for the city of Jaipur.¹⁴² Here, and in other journal entries, Horniman provided detailed accounts of the people and places he visited in order to provide a virtual tour of the locations he visited. I expand more on Horniman’s views of the people and places he visited in the next two chapters.

Beginning in late September 1895 Horniman began the second of these trips, a tour around the world, by travelling from London to New York City by steamer, then across the United States by train to San Francisco, then continuing onto Asia where he visited Japan, China, Burma, and India. Horniman then visited Egypt before returning to London in February 1896. Instead of presenting Horniman’s account of his travels in the third person, as in the *Forest Hill, Sydenham, and Crystal Palace Times*, these entries featured Horniman narrating his travels and describing objects, people, and the places he visited in the first person. Although these journal entries provide a more direct description of Horniman’s thoughts on his travels including places he visited, people he met, and objects he purchased they follow the form of the previous set since they tended to focus on details of places Horniman visited and transportation methods he used during his travels.

Additionally, similar to the previous journal entries, Horniman’s journals from this period indicated that he spent his time visiting tourist destinations, including temples, public gardens, and natural features. During his time in China, the journal focused on conveying information to his readers including the population, history, and descriptions of the nationalities he found in Hong Kong as well as descriptions of landmarks he visited and his travel methods.¹⁴³ For example, on Tuesday 26 November, after travelling around the Malay Peninsula, Horniman moored in Rangoon, Burma. He provided a thorough description of the houses he viewed when he wrote, “all the Malay houses are built on poles, which bring those on the coast

¹⁴² Horniman Museum Scrapbook of Press Cuttings and Other Items 1888 – 1901 page 27A, item 205.

¹⁴³ F. John Horniman, “Visit to China Chapter I,” *Forest Hill and Sydenham Examiner* 27 December 1895: 2, *FOREST HILL AND SYDENHAM EXAMINER LONDON 9TH AUG 1895 to 31ST DEC 1897* M64/303.

above high water, which those inland are almost 6 ft. above the surface of the ground. The roofs are made of palm branches and the sides of bamboo frames, filled in with mud.”¹⁴⁴ As with his trip to India and Ceylon the previous year Horniman provided similar detailed descriptions of the people and places he visited during this trip including providing specific dimensions of places he visited or population figures for the cities he saw. While in Egypt Horniman described some of places he saw in a very detailed manner for his readers. When he described the Great Pyramid of Cheops he provided the dimensions and compared the pyramid’s size to St Paul’s Cathedral and Lincoln’s Inn Fields.¹⁴⁵ Consequently, like the first set of journals, these journals also provided a virtual tour of the places Horniman visited and featured detailed descriptions with translated these places into terms or facts the readers could understand.¹⁴⁶

Horniman also provided detailed descriptions of the methods he used to travel in these journal entries. In the first entry of this series he described the steamer in which he crossed the Pacific. He wrote, “The *Gaelic* was built 15 years ago by Messrs’s Harland and Wolff, of Belfast. She is steel and 120 feet long, and 4,500 tonnage. This is her 51st voyage [emphasis original].”¹⁴⁷ Similar to his descriptions of the places he visited in this description, in this passage Horniman provided information defining this vessel including a brief history and description of the ship’s size.

Horniman’s Search for the Authentic

In addition to using the journals to describe places he visited and how he travelled in these journals Horniman also commented upon the objects he bought for the museum. Although the journals do not offer his specific comments on these four sets

¹⁴⁴ F. John Horniman, “The Malay Peninsula,” *Forest Hill and Sydenham Examiner* 3 January 1896: 3, FOREST HILL AND SYDENHAM EXAMINER LONDON 9TH AUG 1895 to 31ST DEC 1897 M64/303.

¹⁴⁵ F. John Horniman, “A Fortnight in Egypt,” *Forest Hill and Sydenham Examiner* 14 February 1896: 3, FOREST HILL AND SYDENHAM EXAMINER LONDON 9TH AUG 1895 to 31ST DEC 1897 M64/303.

¹⁴⁶ I will further address this idea of describing and translating the Orient in Chapter Four.

¹⁴⁷ F. John Horniman, “To the Land of the Rising Sun,” *Forest Hill and Sydenham Examiner* 22 November 1895: 3, FOREST HILL AND SYDENHAM EXAMINER LONDON 9TH AUG 1895 to 31ST DEC 1897 M64/303.

of miniature models, they provide a window into understanding the criteria Horniman used to purchase objects and to determine an object's authenticity. This section will next examine comments from Horniman on objects he purchased, and objects he didn't purchase, from the journals and other sources which stressed the importance of authenticity to him, as both sets of journals show, and demonstrate how these objects meet the first criterion of a curio as defined above. In this section I argue that these writings show that Horniman viewed the authenticity of objects through a web of relationships based on and including the composition and provenance of the object, the object's place of origin, and in some cases, the relationship Horniman or the museum possessed with the seller of the object or with someone with more knowledge of the object, and that the museum possessed similar criteria.

Years before these two trips, Horniman mentioned the importance of the authenticity of the objects he purchased for the museum. In an interview dated 7 May 1892 he discussed some leather bottles he bought for the museum. He stated that "rare and beautiful objects are found at obscure country sales, and they often have the further merit, of being far more genuine than much which is palmed off on the modern collectors by big dealers."¹⁴⁸ In this example Horniman combined his knowledge of the places he visited and combined it with his experiences of unscrupulous dealers he had previously encountered, in order to position the bottles as authentic.

Both sets of Horniman's travel journal entries also provide information on the types of objects Horniman purchased for the museum. The twelfth part of the first journal highlights the authenticity and rarity of the objects Horniman purchased in Darjeeling. It states:

He brought away a number of tea plants, orchids, and original curios from Thibet and surrounding districts. Many of the curios were unique in character and their like have not as yet reached the British Museum or any collection in Europe with the exception of the Horniman Free Museum at Forest Hill.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁸ "Workers and Their Work- No. XXXV. Mr. Frederick Horniman and His Museum" 663.

¹⁴⁹ Horniman Museum Scrapbook of Press Cuttings and Other Items 1888 - 1901 page 31, item 211.

While describing the objects he purchased as curios this journal entry conveys the authenticity of the objects Horniman purchased for the museum by relating the fact that they originated in Tibet. Additionally, regarding the word curio, this article highlighted the fact that curios contain information about an unfamiliar culture, as defined by Phillips and Thomas, since it underscores the notion that objects like this are not available in other museums or collections in Europe. Note that in this description of the objects he purchased Horniman emphasized the unique and original nature of the curios he purchased. This passage indicates that his definition of curios matches the definition given in the previous chapter (mass-produced objects from southeast Asia) since he stressed how these objects differ from ordinary curios twice in this passage with the use of the description of the objects as “original” and “unique”, the journal noted that these objects are not like other curios due to their rarity. If the word curio carried with it the connotation of unique or rare to Horniman he would not have needed to describe the objects in this manner.

During his time in India in 1894 Horniman provided further evidence that he interpreted the authenticity of objects using this web of relationships. The eleventh chapter of the journal records that Horniman purchased brass in Benares and preferred to buy this brass there as opposed to other locations where he knew he could find it. The journal states:

He then visited the factory where the world-renowned Benares brass work is prepared... Mr. Horniman made purchase of the genuine work... for presents and for his Museum. Many goods are sold at places outside Benares which are only copies and made in Birmingham by steam power.¹⁵⁰

In this section Horniman relied upon his web of knowledge to verify the authenticity of any object. He clearly knew that he could buy this material in many other places, but, in his view and as it was clearly important for him to state, the only place to find the authentic material (Benares brass ware) was at this factory. In both of these examples Horniman combined his knowledge with the provenance of the objects in

¹⁵⁰ Horniman Museum Scrapbook of Press Cuttings and Other Items 1888 – 1901 page 30, item 210.

order to determine their authenticity. He also underscored as with the definition of curio in the previous chapter, that mass-produced objects can be labelled as authentic since the authenticity of an object does not relate to its uniqueness. This notion of the mass-produced as authentic objects ties into another characteristic of curios described below.

Another entry from the first journal also details how Horniman relied upon all three of these factors when purchasing objects. Near the end of the fifteenth part of this series the journal details the time Horniman spent purchasing objects in Ceylon (now Sri Lanka). It states:

On Sunday, January 20th [1895], Mr. Horniman spent the day with a Mr. Gore, a cocoa nut planter who resided some two miles distant. He had a lovely walk there and as Mr. Gore had made it known that a gentleman was open to purchase specimens of native work etc. some scores of the villagers attended and they were occupied from 10 o'clock until 5 examining and bargaining. The specimens were very curious, most of them being personal ornaments; ancient relics and domestic utensils. Mr. Gore could speak all of their languages and knew most of the coolies, or workers. After having completed his purchases the articles were placed in a bullock cart and conveyed back to Kandy.¹⁵¹

Horniman satisfied all three of the characteristics described above in order to verify the authenticity of an object. First, he was with Mr. Gore who was from the area, knew the locals, and spoke their languages. Second, Horniman dealt with people who were from the area. Finally, the journal shows that he understood the provenance of the objects by citing the fact that these are personal, household or ancient objects, and as the word "curious" indicates, they were intriguing and likely unfamiliar to him.

During his time in Egypt Horniman stressed the importance of two criteria in order to determine the authenticity of his purchases. In an article written about his travels in Egypt dated 21 February 1896 he wrote, "I next, with my friend, who is an expert, visited the houses of several collectors, and secured some interesting and genuine Egyptian relics for the Museum at Forest Hill".¹⁵² Horniman lay emphasis

¹⁵¹ Horniman Museum Scrapbook of Press Cuttings and Other Items 1888 – 1901 page 32, item 214.

¹⁵² F. John Horniman, "A Fortnight in Egypt Chapter II," Forest Hill and Sydenham Examiner 21 February 1896: 3, FOREST HILL AND SYDENHAM EXAMINER LONDON 9TH AUG 1895 to 31ST DEC 1897 M64/303.

upon the genuineness of the objects he purchased for the museum based on the fact that he relied upon another person's expertise and the fact that he purchased the objects in Egypt.¹⁵³ These two factors combined to fulfil Horniman's idea of an authentic object. Later in this set of journal entries he described the former as he took time to meet with Howard Carter who toured him around Luxor and Thebes.¹⁵⁴ Horniman also purchased a number of objects for the museum while in Egypt which he noted as "interesting and genuine Egyptian".¹⁵⁵ This desire he expressed for the interesting and the genuine again provides a glimpse into the types of materials Horniman wanted for the museum.

However, Horniman did not use these journals to promote the authenticity of the objects he purchased for the museum simply as an advertisement for the institution. Horniman also noted the authenticity of objects he not did buy. Chapter seven of the first set of travel journals again highlights how Horniman used a web of information to determine the authenticity of objects. It states, "he also saw some jewellery of a celebrated merchant but did not make any purchases although his stock was very good and genuine."¹⁵⁶ Again here Horniman noted that he determined the authenticity of the jewellery based upon his knowledge of this individual's reputation while describing objects he did not purchase for the museum.

Similar to Horniman, in publications and articles about the collection the museum also highlighted the authenticity of its objects based upon these criteria. The museum highlighted the authenticity of the Benin-related objects it acquired in 1897 in the 1897-1898 Annual Report when it related how Mr. Rider, the man who sold Horniman these objects, smuggled these objects out of Benin before it fell.¹⁵⁷ Like Horniman the museum uses the seller's knowledge of the objects and the believed

¹⁵³ The third and fourth definitions of the word genuine in The Oxford English Dictionary define this word as a synonym for "authentic" and cite three examples from the late nineteenth century which demonstrate the use of this word in this manner. "Genuine" [Oxford English Dictionary Online](http://www.oed.com.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/view/Entry/77712?rskey=1yUf9&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid) 18 May 2016
<http://www.oed.com.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/view/Entry/77712?rskey=1yUf9&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid>.

¹⁵⁴ F. John Horniman "A Fortnight in Egypt Chapter II" 3.

¹⁵⁵ F. John Horniman "A Fortnight in Egypt Chapter II" 3.

¹⁵⁶ Horniman Museum Scrapbook of Press Cuttings and Other Items 1888 – 1901 page 28, item 206.

¹⁵⁷ Richard Quick, [The Seventh Annual Report of The Horniman Free Museum, Forest Hill, London, S.E. 1897, and January 1898](#) (The Horniman Free Museum, London 1898) 18.

provenance of the objects in labelling them as authentic. Additionally, in the museum's 1893 Annual Report, written shortly after the reopening of the museum by Sir Somers Vine, Quick emphasized Vine's comments regarding the objects in the museum. Quick reprinted portions of the newspaper article "Horniman's Free Museum at Forest Hill Re-Opened on Bank Holiday By Sir Somers Vine" stating that Vine had remarked on the authenticity of the objects in the museum.¹⁵⁸ Regarding the ethnological collections Quick wrote, "[Sir Somers Vine] referred to the genuineness of the exhibits, and said that... they might also be perfectly sure that the objects they saw before them came from the different parts of the world stated and had been used by the people described".¹⁵⁹ Similar to Horniman, in both of these cases the museum relied upon the knowledge of a third party to bolster their knowledge and verify the authenticity of these objects.

Production and Purchase of the Sets of Miniature Models

This section underscores the fact that Horniman's ideas of authenticity were affected by the places where he purchased these four sets of models. I begin this section with a review of each of three places in which Horniman bought objects and examine the reputation of these locations within contemporary publications and exhibitions. In each of these locations Horniman would have satisfied the notion of authenticity listed above. In addition to meeting the requirements for place and provenance, in both of the places where Horniman is known to have purchased these models he also likely relied upon experts in order to gain knowledge on where to find authentic objects, tying into the third criteria for authenticity listed above. Although, with the exception of Thomas Hendley and possibly Felice Beato, both of whom I will address below, it is not known if Horniman knew or met any of the people listed below. However, even if he did not meet with the individuals described it is likely he

¹⁵⁸ Richard Quick, The Third Annual Report of the Horniman Museum, Forest Hill, S.E. London 1893 (London, 1894) 10.

¹⁵⁹ Quick The Third Annual Report of the Horniman Museum, Forest Hill, S.E. London 1893 10.

received word of the reputation of these three places since, as this section points out, his contemporaries highlighted the authenticity of the objects sold in each of them.

Prior to the discussion of the places where Horniman purchased these objects it is necessary to provide some details regarding the record keeping at the Horniman Free Museum and Horniman Museum and Gardens. Although Horniman provided a tremendous amount of detail on some aspects of his trips, he provided little to no detail on others. Additionally, the Horniman Free Museum kept few records of their collection and began producing the first catalogue of the collection in March 1898 (after the closing of the museum). The museum did not include the exact provenance of each object in this catalogue, and in some cases information from the Horniman Museum and Gardens simply repeats information from the 1898 register. Consequently, as Nicky Levell noted, is not possible to provide an exact description of the objects or the quantity of objects Horniman purchased.¹⁶⁰

Although he did not explicitly mention purchasing any of these four sets of models in the journals of his travels, Horniman likely purchased the set of twenty papier-mâché Indian heads on 15 December 1894. An entry from the journal in the *Forest Hill, Sydenham, and Crystal Palace Times* dated 31 May 1895 describes his visit to the Jeypore School of Art and some of the objects he purchased there. The journal states, “on reaching Jeypore he paid a visit to the Art School and selected some specimens of metal work, pottery, and jewel work for which Jeypore is celebrated.”¹⁶¹ Although this passage notes that he visited the school and bought objects there it does specifically list the objects he purchased. However, as seen in the previous chapter, the objects explicitly state they came from the School on labels at the base of each object which read “School of Art, Jeypore” and list a number, the Indian caste or group the head represents, and the price of the object.

Opened in 1866, the Jeypore School of Art sought to train and provide education to Indian craftsmen, similar to the other schools of art opened by the British across India in the nineteenth century. Writing in 1909 Cecil L. Burns, the then Principal of the Bombay School of Art, described the function of these schools as

¹⁶⁰ Levell *Oriental Visions: Exhibitions, Travel, and Collecting in the Victorian Age* 184-185.

¹⁶¹ Horniman Museum Scrapbook of Press Cuttings and Other Items 1888 – 1901 page 28, item 206.

teaching Indian craftsman to catch up with the rest of the world. He described the craftsmen in Bombay as possessing a monopoly on design, but only employing few techniques and styles which merely met local tastes or building requirements.¹⁶² He added, “being without literary education, and therefore ignorant of what the rest of the world had done or was doing, being cut off from contact with workmen engaged in similar crafts in other parts of India, and being without ambition, the workmen stagnated.”¹⁶³ These statements by Burns clearly demonstrate a prevailing attitude the British held towards the Indian peoples – that they were culturally and technologically inferior to the British and needed to be instructed (by the British) on how to best fit into the world community.¹⁶⁴

Another account of the art schools in India, and specifically the Jeypore School of Art, appearing in the official catalogue of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition supported these statements by Burns. Regarding the schools of art in India it stated, “the influence of the Government School of Art at Bombay, Lahore, and Madras is being steadily exercised to restore and uphold the standard of pure colours and true Oriental designs.”¹⁶⁵ Here the author(s) of the catalogue argued that the schools of art demonstrate an improvement in the quality of the art produced under British tutelage. Additionally, when discussing works from the Jeypore School of Art this catalogue stated:

The city of Jeypore is in this, as in all matters of art, the most active of the Rajputana States. The local School of Art, under the patronage of the enlightened Raja has endeavoured to improve the indigenous art of the town by attending to details so as to correct the habit of merely repeating the designs which have been handed down from their forefathers, which in each

¹⁶² Cecil L. Burns, “The Functions of Schools of Art in India,” *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 57.2 (1909): 630, [JSTOR 8 February 2016 www.jstor.org/stable/41338695](https://www.jstor.org/stable/41338695).

¹⁶³ Burns 630.

¹⁶⁴ I will address this point further in this chapter when discussing the authentic objects produced for tourists in the late nineteenth century as well as in the next two chapters which describe how the museum and visitors to the museum interpreted the four sets of miniature models.

¹⁶⁵ *Colonial and Indian Exhibition, 1886 Official Catalogue* 18. While this work does not address the notion of the British views on the restoration and purity of Indian art, for more on this topic see Tina Young Choi, “The Late-Victorian Histories of Indian Art Objects: Politics and Aesthetics in Jaipur’s Albert Hall Museum” and Julie F. Codell “Indian Crafts and Imperial Policy: Hybridity, Purification, and Imperial Subjectivities”.

successive repetition have lost a great deal of the beauty and finish of the original work.¹⁶⁶

Similar to Burns, this account maintained that the production of art waned in Jaipur and stated that the school sought to raise the quality of the art (according to the British) produced in Jaipur. Additionally, both of these passages show clear examples of Orientalist attitudes towards India by noting the perceived primitive state of Indian arts and how British influence in this area improved Indian art that I will further explore in Chapter Four.

The curriculum of the Jeypore School of Art differed from those of the other schools of art across India in the late nineteenth century. Vibhuti Sachdev and Giles Tillotson highlight that this school focused more on industrial art than fine art.¹⁶⁷ H.L. Showers also noted this point when he described the school. He wrote:

Unlike the School of Arts in the Presidency towns the Durbar [a local chief or leader] wished to make it more a School of Industrial Arts than of the Fine Arts; hence all those branches of Industry, for which Jaipur is particularly noted, received special attention at the time of the organization of the School: but at the same time Drawing and other branches of the Fine Arts best calculated to refine and improve the taste of the people were not neglected. The course of instruction was to be altogether of a practical nature: In the terms of the Prospectus 'it was intended that the School should be supplied with Drawings, Models, Chemical and Philosophical Apparatus and Machinery.'¹⁶⁸

As described above, the Jeypore School of Art bore similarities to the other schools of art in India since it also sought to provide facilities and resources to improve Indian peoples by helping them meet Western cultural, technological, and intellectual standards, but it differed since it focused on teaching and producing industrial art. Writing in 1895 Colonel Thomas Holbein Hendley, organiser of the Jaipur Exhibition and Director of the Jeypore Museum from 1880 to 1898, emphasised this point when discussing the role of the school and other British-run educational institutions in

¹⁶⁶ Colonial and Indian Exhibition, 1886 Official Catalogue 21-22.

¹⁶⁷ Vibhuti Sachdev and Giles Tillotson, Building Jaipur: The Making of an Indian City (London: Reaktion Books, 2002) 100.

¹⁶⁸ H.L. Showers, Notes on Jaipur (Jaipur, 1916) 32-33.

Jaipur and throughout India.¹⁶⁹ He stated, “the more we can increase domestic knowledge by establishing really practical educational museums and technical, as well as the ordinary schools, etc., the more we shall elevate the people”.¹⁷⁰ Here Hendley, like the two descriptions above, expressed the sentiment that the British efforts to improve Indian education (to British standards) were for the benefit of Indian peoples in order to elevate and advance them culturally and that the art schools, including the Jeypore School of Art fulfilled this purpose. I will return to this idea of views towards improving the societies of their colonies, including more of Hendley’s thoughts on this topic, in the following chapters.

In addition to works by Hendley this thesis utilises numerous late nineteenth-century works in order to understand the art available to tourists in India during this period. Among these I will draw upon *Art Manufactures of India: Specially Compiled for the Glasgow International Exhibition, 1888* by T.N. Mukharji. Mukharji, an Indian who travelled around Europe after the Colonial and Indian Exhibition representing the Indian government and worked on and wrote several publications for international exhibitions, geared this publication toward European audiences looking to purchase Indian art. In the introduction to this work he wrote:

It is now said that not only in Great Britain, but also on the Continent of Europe, this taste [in Indian art] is creating a public opinion that no salon, however brilliant it may in other respects, can be considered fashionable or perfect unless it possesses at least a few decorative articles of Indian manufacture.¹⁷¹

Consequently, this although this work can serve as guide to Indian art, Mukharji clearly meant it as a sales vehicle when he stressed the popularity and appeal of Indian art to this guide’s readers.

¹⁶⁹ Hendley “Indian Museums” 50.

¹⁷⁰ T. Holbein Hendley, *A Medico-Topographical Account of Jeypore, Based on the Experience of Twenty Years’ Service as Residency Surgeon and Thirteen as Superintendent of Dispensaries at Jeypore, Rajputana* (Calcutta, 1895) 9-10.

¹⁷¹ T.N. Mukharji, *Art Manufactures of India: Specially Compiled for the Glasgow International Exhibition, 1888* (Calcutta, Printed by the Superintendent of Government Printing, India 1888) 7.

Descriptions of miniature models similar to the set Horniman purchased from the Jeypore School of Art appear in numerous nineteenth-century publications. When he described the papier-mâché heads sold by the Jeypore School Art Mukharji highlighted that they accurately portrayed Indian castes. He wrote:

These [heads] are made at Jaipur and are intended to illustrate the different Hindu castes found in Rajputana and the turbans they wear. The heads are copied from life models and are very characteristic. They have been painted in water-colours. The turbans made of pieces of cloth, are mostly coloured or printed, and are tied into exactly the same shape as they are done by the different tradesmen in Rajputana.¹⁷²

Consequently, in this statement Mukharji verified that the objects originated in Jaipur and that these heads represented accurate depictions of people from Rajputana as well as accurately depicting the methods Indians used to tie their turbans.

Horniman's visit to the Albert Hall Museum in Jaipur, administered by Colonel Thomas Holbein Hendley, may have also convinced him of the authenticity of these sets of miniature models. Writing in 1914 Hendley described the purpose of the museum. He wrote:

It was my wish to make the museum an educational institution, and to provide all classes, especially the poor and ignorant, with a new interest in the hope that some knowledge might be pleasantly conveyed to them. I also tried to bring together the best specimens of the many arts and industries for which Jaipur is famous, and to place side by side with them exhibits for other parts of India, and even from Europe, in order than local artisans might be able to see the masterpieces of their respective crafts and the way in which they had been treated in foreign countries and in other art centres. Such exhibits, in my opinion, would moreover serve as the best kind of show-room for visitors from abroad.¹⁷³

¹⁷² Mukharji 74-75. Interestingly, in this passage Mukharji does not mention that these heads possessed marks on their foreheads, which both the museum and Woolhouse included in their descriptions of the objects.

¹⁷³ Hendley, "Indian Museums" 50. Both Hendley and Kipling refer to this museum as the Jeypore Museum, while other writers, including Horniman in his first set of journal entries refer to this museum as the Albert Hall Museum. When describing this museum, or the contents within the museum, I shall remain consistent with the original writers' name for this institution.

In this passage Hendley described how he saw the purpose of his museum – to educate the masses and local craftsman as well as serve as a showcase in order to compare works of art from around the world and arts produced in Jaipur. Like the above descriptions of the Jeypore School of Art, Hendley emphasized the use of this museum as a place to learn more about and improve the artistic training of the locals. When Rudyard Kipling visited the museum in December 1887 he confirmed Hendley’s idea of the museum as a showcase for Indian art in his description of the museum exhibitions. He wrote, “at present there are some fifteen thousand objects of art, covering a complete exposition of the arts, from enamels to pottery and from brass-ware to stone-carving of the State of Jeypore. These are compared with similar arts of other lands.”¹⁷⁴ From both of these descriptions of the museum it is clear that Hendley collected and displayed art in this museum primarily focusing on the art of Jaipur and geared towards comparing the work produced locally to art from around the world.

The museum’s exhibitions included sets of models similar to the four sets of miniature models described in the previous chapter. Case 149 in the museum contained sets of papier-mâché heads from the Jeypore School of Art. Hendley’s description of the objects stated:

a series of small models in papier-mâché of the heads of men of the principle castes and occupations in Rajputana, and especially Jeypore... Collections of this kind have been supplied to several museums. They were first made at Jeypore for the author of this handbook.¹⁷⁵

Although Hendley did not provide images in this handbook, the description of these models, as well as their place of origin bear striking similarities to the set heads

¹⁷⁴ Rudyard Kipling, From Sea to Sea and Other Sketches: Letters of Travel volume 1 (London: MacMillan and Co., Limited, 1919) 35.

¹⁷⁵ Thomas Hendley, Handbook to the Jeypore Museum (Calcutta, 1895) 47. Like Mukharji, Hendley does not mention the marks on the foreheads of these objects in this description or in the museum’s catalogue [Thomas Hendley, Catalogue of the Collections of the Jeypore Museum Part I- Art Section, Etc. (Delhi: Imperial Medical Hall Press, 1896) 175]. I will discuss this point further in the fourth chapter.

Mukharji described above and the twenty heads Horniman later purchased from the Jeypore School of Art.¹⁷⁶

Horniman visited this museum during his first trip to India and described the objects he encountered as authentic, including objects similar to the sets of miniature models described previously based upon both expert opinion and the objects' composition. The sixth chapter of the first travel journal describes Horniman's visit and impression of the museum. The journal states that Horniman spent three hours touring the museum with Colonel Hendley and describes the museum, and objects in the museum, in the following manner: "the ground floor contains exhibits of the arts, manufacture and products of India, and especially those of Rajputana; also papiere machie [sic] models of the different casts [sic]."¹⁷⁷ The journal not only describes seeing a set of model heads in the museum, likely the set in case 149, similar to the objects he later purchased, but also emphasizes their authenticity since he describes how these objects, found on the ground floor of the museum, are among the objects that originate from India. Furthermore, writing in 1895, Hendley cited the production of papier-mâché heads as one of the principle art industries of Jaipur, giving further credence to Horniman's reliance on experts when purchasing merchandise.¹⁷⁸ Based upon this information and the fact that Horniman described seeing objects similar to the heads he purchased, it seems that, similar to his knowledge and desire to purchase jewellery from Benares, he would have been familiar with the reputation of these papier-mâché models from Jaipur as authentic.

Through the people he encountered and the places he travelled to in Jaipur, Horniman met all three criteria outlined above for verifying the authenticity of these objects. First, Horniman purchased these heads in their place of manufacture in Jaipur, India and constructed from a material linked with the area. Second, if he did not possess this knowledge prior to his visit, when he visited the Jeypore School of Art, Horniman would have seen that these were objects made by local artisans.

¹⁷⁶ Additionally, similar to the figures Horniman purchased in Lucknow and Mandalay the Handbook to the Jeypore Museum also described sets of clay figures from Lucknow and painted wooden carved Burmese figures both representing occupations from their respective countries. I will discuss this further below.

¹⁷⁷ Horniman Museum Scrapbook of Press Cuttings and Other Items 1888 – 1901 page 27, item 205.

¹⁷⁸ Hendley Handbook to the Jeypore Museum v.

Finally, when Horniman met Hendley he would have seen these models plus objects very similar to the models he later purchased.

Unlike the model heads, there are no surviving records that indicate exactly where Horniman purchased the set of eighty-one clay figures. However, late nineteenth-century descriptions of Lucknow and the records from Horniman's travels indicate that he likely purchased the figures in Lucknow. Both contemporary and nineteenth-century scholars cite Lucknow as source for a variety of art products including miniature figures. Maya Jasanoff describes Lucknow as "the art capital of India, a Rome of the East".¹⁷⁹ Writing in 1895, the sub-editor of the *Times of India*, James Furneaux, noted that Lucknow is well-known by Europeans for the production of figures. He stated, "of the various goods manufactured in Lucknow, the most famous to European residents, are the clay figures".¹⁸⁰ Based upon these descriptions it is clear that Lucknow possessed a reputation for producing art and figures similar to the figures Horniman purchased in the late nineteenth century. Mukharji also described figures from Lucknow and stated that they were included in a number of international exhibitions. He wrote, "small figures coloured in imitation of terra-cotta made at Lucknow are particularly good... the scenes sent from Lucknow to the Glasgow International Exhibition will give an idea of the kind of work that can be performed there".¹⁸¹ Like Furneaux, Mukharji recorded the production of these goods in Lucknow. Later in this work Mukharji extolled products from Lucknow shown at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, held in London in 1886. He stated, "a very good model of a village was made by the Lucknow artists for the Colonial and Indian Exhibition. This model represented very fully the village life in the North-Western Provinces in all its details."¹⁸² With both these references to models made in Lucknow is clear that Lucknow possessed a strong reputation for producing this type of object.

¹⁷⁹ Maya Jasanoff, "Chameleon Capital: The Allure of Lucknow," *The Yale Review* 93.3 (2005): 13, [Wiley Online Library](http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/doi/10.1111/j.0044-0124.2005.00920.x/abstract) 1 July 2015 <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/doi/10.1111/j.0044-0124.2005.00920.x/abstract>.

¹⁸⁰ J.H. Furneaux, *Glimpses of India: A Grand Photographic History of The Land of Antiquity, the Vast Empire of the East* (Bombay: C.B. Burrows 1895) 343.

¹⁸¹ Mukharji 69.

¹⁸² Mukharji 71.

Two catalogues from late nineteenth-century cultural institutions also describe figures produced in Lucknow. Writing in 1874, Henry Cole, an advocate for international exhibitions in Great Britain in the mid-nineteenth century and a superintendent at the South Kensington Museum, also noted the quality of model figures made in India. He wrote:

Models of natives made on a small scale are made in Bengal at Kishnugar and at Calcutta. At Poonah, in the Bombay Presidency, all kinds of models are made to illustrate the castes and trades of Western India, as, for instance, dyers, singers, and musicians, oil-sellers, dancing or nautch girls, weavers, jewellers, merchants, all classes of domestic and State servants, women grinding corn, corn dealers, carpenters, shoemakers, blacksmiths, butchers, barbers, tailors, potters, Parsees, native officials, water-carriers, sweepers, &c. At Lucknow models are also made of figures.¹⁸³

Here, Cole stressed the locations that produced these objects, including Lucknow, as well as the small size and variety of the objects available representing trades and other groups of people. A catalogue from the Colonial and Indian Exhibition also praised figures from Lucknow. It stated: “the best modelled dolls or clay figures appropriately dressed will be found respectively from Krishnagar and Calcutta in the Bengal, from Lucknow in the North-West Provinces, and from Poona in the Bombay Courts”.¹⁸⁴ In this passage not only does the catalogue note the high quality of the work from Lucknow, but states that these models are “appropriately dressed”- implying that the costumes worn by the figures are used to represent other concepts.

Additionally, in 1880, Indian art scholar and British administrator in the India Office George C.M. Birdwood described the figures produced in Lucknow. He wrote, “the clay figures of Lucknow are also most faithful and characteristic representations of the different races and tribes of Oudh; and highly creditable to the technical knowledge and taste of the artists.”¹⁸⁵ Like Furneaux, Mukharji, Cole, and the

¹⁸³ H.H. Cole, Catalogue of the Objects of Indian Art Exhibited in the South Kensington Museum (London, 1874) 109.

¹⁸⁴ Colonial and Indian Exhibition, 1886 Official Catalogue 21-22.

¹⁸⁵ George C.M. Birdwood, The Industrial Arts of India (London: Chapman and Hill, Limited, 1884) 302.

catalogue from the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, Birdwood underscored the quality and authenticity of figures produced in Lucknow.

Evidence from Horniman's time in Lucknow also points towards the purchase of these objects in Lucknow. The serialised journal of his travels during this period indicated that Horniman made purchases at two different locations in Lucknow and that he also viewed Lucknow as an ideal location for purchasing figures. The journal states, "[Lucknow] is also a great place for potter-goods, figure carving in terra cotta, stone, etc."¹⁸⁶ Scrapbook H held by the Horniman Museum and Gardens holds a receipt from Chadal Loloe and Gobiadass that proves Horniman purchased objects from a toy and figure maker while in Lucknow.¹⁸⁷ Finally, an article in the newspaper scrapbook held by the Horniman Museum and Gardens seems to verify the purchase of these objects. Although it does not identify the figures, this article mentions that Horniman bought figures in Lucknow stating, "Lucknow supplied curious toy figures in wood and pottery".¹⁸⁸ Consequently, although Horniman does not mention these objects in his journal, it is likely he purchased them in Lucknow in December 1894.

In addition to the above, and the fact that Horniman likely viewed similar figures from Lucknow in the Jeypore Museum, an object in the Horniman Museum and Gardens Library also supports the argument that Horniman knew about Lucknow's reputation for producing such figures. The museum owns an edition of Birdwood's book *The Industrial Arts of India*, published in 1880. This edition possesses a bookplate adhered to the inside cover stating, "Frederick John Horniman", indicating that he owned this copy of the book.¹⁸⁹ Helen Williamson, a librarian at the Horniman Museum and Gardens, has also confirmed that it is highly likely Horniman owned this book. In an email to the author of this thesis, she wrote, "when Mr Horniman gave his collections to London to be a free museum they consisted of around 10,000 objects and 2,000 books. The books formed the basis of the library collection and we still have the majority of them in the library now."¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁶ Horniman Museum Scrapbook of Press Cuttings and Other Items 1888 – 1901 page 30, item 209.

¹⁸⁷ Horniman Museum Scrapbook H, Horniman Museum and Gardens, page 36.

¹⁸⁸ Horniman Museum Scrapbook of Press Cuttings and Other Items 1888 – 1901 page 5, item 008.

¹⁸⁹ Helen Williamson, e-mail to the author, 22 June 2015.

¹⁹⁰ Helen Williamson, e-mail to the author, 22 June 2015.

Based upon the knowledge that the library received books from Horniman's own collection, it seems very probable that Horniman had prior knowledge of both the artistic expertise and particular objects to be found in Lucknow.

Based upon on this evidence, in purchasing the clay figures in Lucknow, Horniman met at least two of the three standards for authentic objects, as he had with the objects from Jaipur. First, he bought the artefacts in their place of production. Second, he met the provenance requirement by purchasing objects made by local artists. Additionally, as seen above, a number of contemporary authors and exhibitions cited Lucknow as an ideal place to purchase this type of object. Consequently, as with the jewellery he purchased in Benares and papier-mâché models in Jaipur, both the location in which he purchased the objects and the material of the models contributed to the idea of authenticity of the objects.

In contrast to the models Horniman purchased in India, records held by the Horniman Museum and Gardens provide the exact date and location of Horniman's purchase of these two sets of Burmese miniature models. A receipt dated 13 December 1895 from Felice Beato's shop, F. Beato Limited, in Mandalay on page 19 of the Horniman Museum and Garden's Scrapbook G indicates that Horniman bought seven sets of two painted figures for 5 Rupees per set (which comprise the group or fourteen painted carved wooden figures in this thesis discusses), four sets of two ivory figures for 24 Rupees per set (which make up the set of ivory figures included in this thesis), and another set of two ivory figures for 16 Rupees (see Figure 2.1).¹⁹¹ Writing in 1897, George W. Bird, described Beato's shop, on C Road in Mandalay, as a place where visitors could purchase any type of memento related to Burma as well as learn more about Mandalay and Burma. Bird wrote that Beato arrived in Burma in 1886 and soon afterwards established his shop, where he employed over 800 workers and ran a mail order business to Europe, America, and other parts of the world.¹⁹² Bird, who stated that he lived in Burma for twenty years prior to writing this book further detailed the objects Beato sold, including photographs of Burma and the surrounding countries, art constructed from wood, old and new objects in metal,

¹⁹¹ Horniman Scrapbook G, Horniman Museum and Gardens, page 19.

¹⁹² George W. Bird, Wanderings in Burma (Bournemouth: F.J. Bright & Son, 1897) 291.

Mandalay
13th December 1895

J. P. Horniman Esq
Forest Hill
London.
P^t of F Beato
Mandalay.

	Amount		Total	
	Rs.	P.	Rs.	P.
1 Price Figure Buddha	20	-	20	-
1 Price do do	20	-	20	-
1 Hibaw & Sopyahat Seren	10	-	10	-
2 Large Chicks	10	-	10	-
4 Medium do @ 1/8	6	-	6	-
1 Ho-pot Cover	8	-	8	-
1 Historical Album	40	-	40	-
1 do do	20	-	20	-
1 do do	20	-	20	-
12 Paper Paintings @ 1/2	60	-	60	-
1 Large Table Centre	20	-	20	-
1 Old Tali Bible	30	-	30	-
1 do do do	30	-	30	-
1 do do do	30	-	30	-
1 Palt hat do	8	-	8	-
13 Cloth Paintings	26	-	26	-
1 Old Lacquer Buddha	35	-	35	-
2 Gilt Hoorings @ 1/2	10	-	10	-
1 Old Ivory Carving	30	-	30	-
1 Ivory Buddha	10	-	10	-
3 Gilt Paintings @ 1/2	30	-	30	-
2 Deer Herub Beelu	10	-	10	-
1 Marionette	20	-	20	-
1 Chau Crow Sword	16	-	16	-
1 do do do	12	-	12	-
			531	-
			Rs. 531	-

	Amount		Total			Amount		Total		
	Rs.	P.	Rs.	P.		Rs.	P.	Rs.	P.	
Brought forward			51	-	531	Brought forward			1433	-
2 figures fighting @ 35/	70	-	70	-		1 Small Bell	15	-	15	-
2 Gilt Hoorings @ 1/2	70	-	70	-		1 Gautama on stand	120	-	120	-
1 Old Dagger	15	-	15	-		1 Old Hoorings	20	-	20	-
1 Flying Manth Buddha	25	-	25	-		11 Pair Bely Stands	90	-	90	-
1 Gilt Lg Stand	25	-	25	-		11 Round Tong	40	-	40	-
1 Gautama food box	30	-	30	-		1 Prusse Figure	300	-	300	-
1 do	25	-	25	-		1 Packing	25	-	25	-
2 Painted figures @ 2/8	5	-	5	-					710	-
2 do	5	-	5	-					Rs. 2103	-
2 do	5	-	5	-						
2 do	5	-	5	-						
2 do	5	-	5	-						
12 do	5	-	5	-						
12 do	5	-	5	-						
1 Ivory Buddha	40	-	40	-						
1 Serpent do	45	-	45	-						
4 Large Photos @ 1/2	4	-	4	-						
2 Ivory figures @ 1/2	24	-	24	-						
2 do	24	-	24	-						
2 do	24	-	24	-						
2 do	24	-	24	-						
1 Large Malaga @ 1/2	60	-	60	-						
1 do	70	-	70	-						
1 do	70	-	70	-						
1 Musical Stand	20	-	20	-						
2 Gilt Bracket	70	-	70	-						
1 Large Bell	120	-	120	-						
			512	-						
			Rs. 1433	-						

Received payment
F Beato

Figure 2.1

The three page receipt Horniman received from F. Beato in Mandalay, Burma 13 December 1895. The wooden figures Horniman purchased are the seven sets of two painted figures on the second page and the ivory figures are the four sets of two ivory figures also on page two. Additionally, page three of this receipt bears a signature from "F Beato". Image courtesy of the Horniman Museum and Gardens.

ivory, embroidered and printed silk, costumes, arms of indigenous peoples, and other curios related to Burma.¹⁹³ While in Burma, Horniman purchased eighty-nine groups of objects from Beato's shops in both Mandalay and Rangoon, including Burmese musical instruments, figures, photographs, costumes, and bells.¹⁹⁴

The objects sold by Beato in Mandalay received similar praise from George W. Bird as authentic. He wrote:

Employing as he does a large number of workers (over 800 in number) in the different art industries, he is able to command the best specimens, and hence those who patronize his studio, may rest assured that they will get the real article, at a reasonable price, and of the very best workmanship. Most of the articles hawked about the streets, and offered for sale at the doors of hotels and private bungalows, are articles rejected by him as being of inferior workmanship, or having flaws or blemishes.¹⁹⁵

Comparable to the nineteenth-century descriptions cited above regarding the Jeypore School of Art and Lucknow, here Bird draws attention to the authenticity of the objects sold by Beato. However, instead of highlighting how the objects accurately represented the peoples of Burma, as Mukharji did with India, Bird argued that Beato commissioned and sold the best tourist art in Mandalay based upon the manufacturers he employed who produced the work at the highest quality available. Both of these claims of authenticity also rely upon the web of relationships described earlier since both base their claims of access to authentic tourist art on the location and knowledge of the retailer.

Bird also described the types of articles travelers could purchase in Burma and specifically noted the production of materials in wood and ivory. He wrote, "the Art industries followed by the Burmese are chiefly Wood carving (principally in teak), Silver and Goldsmith's work, Carving in ivory, Brass work, Lacquer work, and Silk

¹⁹³ George W. Bird Preface, 292. Although Bird does not directly note that Beato sold miniature figures, a catalogue from this shop, that I will address below stated that he sold these objects.

¹⁹⁴ Levell *Oriental Visions: Exhibitions, Travel, and Collecting in the Victorian Age* Appendix VIII.

¹⁹⁵ George W. Bird 291-292.

weaving.”¹⁹⁶ Later, when elaborating on the types of objects produced in Burma, Bird identified Mandalay as a good place to purchase objects made in wood. When he described the small objects in wood for purchase he wrote, “of smaller articles, Brackets, Gong-stands, Picture and Mirror Frames, and diminutive figures of the Races indigenous to the country are the commonest articles met with.”¹⁹⁷ Furthermore, when he described the articles in ivory Bird also noted that Mandalay was a centre for production of these objects and noted *dah* handles, figures of Men and Animals, Chess-men, Cups, Paper knives, and Card cases as the most common articles produced.¹⁹⁸

Based on the receipt Horniman received from Beato’s shop it is likely the materiality of the objects was important to Horniman. Horniman purchased a number of objects that fit the Bird’s descriptions of materials available in Burma, including silk, gilt, lacquered, wood, and ivory objects. Additionally, although Horniman did not specify why he purchased specific materials, he clearly favoured wooden and ivory materials. Of the sixty lots he purchased from Beato in Mandalay, the material composition of eighteen of the objects are described. Within this group ten are made from wood or ivory.¹⁹⁹ Consequently, like the objects he purchased in Benares, Jaipur, and Lucknow, it is clear that the materiality of the objects was important to Horniman since he purchased objects and types well-known to those places.

In addition to the fact that Horniman likely saw similar figures in Jaipur when he visited with Hendley in December 1894, the receipt Horniman received from Beato’s shop also indicates that Horniman likely met with an expert on Burmese objects, resembling the description of his meetings with experts described above. The third page of the receipt bears a signature stating “F. Beato” (see Figure 2.1), possibly

¹⁹⁶ George W. Bird 45.

¹⁹⁷ George W. Bird 45.

¹⁹⁸ George W. Bird 47.

¹⁹⁹ Horniman Scrapbook G, Horniman Museum and Gardens, page 19. This count does include the ivory figures discussed in this thesis but does not include eleven lots of figures on the inventory list including the seven lots of painted wooden figures featured in this work since their composition is not identified on this list.

written by Beato himself, who George W. Bird described as an expert on Burmese culture and objects.²⁰⁰ Bird wrote:

a visit to the studio [Beato's shop], therefore, and an interesting chat with its genial and courteous proprietor will put the traveler on the right road to obtaining all he wants in the way of curios, and getting information and 'tips as to the sights of the city.²⁰¹

Tellingly, in this passage, Bird both referred to Beato as an expert and labelled the merchandise Beato sold as "curios". Therefore, akin to his experiences with Hendley, Carter, and Gore described above, by purchasing from, or even meeting with Beato, Horniman would have encountered someone with expertise who could direct him to authentic objects.

Similar to the heads and figures from India, by purchasing these objects from Beato, Horniman met the notions of authenticity mentioned above. Although Horniman did not explicitly spell out the criteria he used to judge the authenticity of an object, these Burmese figures fulfilled the characteristics of authentic objects he described above. He purchased these objects in Burma, thereby meeting the first part of the web of relationships described above. In his journal, Horniman referenced the fact that he deliberately purchased Burmese objects in Mandalay, which satisfies the provenance portion of this relationship.²⁰² Second, as mentioned by George W. Bird above, and like the objects he purchased in Jaipur, he purchased these objects at a place described as having a reputation for selling "authentic" objects. Additionally, based on the receipt Horniman received, it is likely that Horniman met with Beato and therefore gained additional knowledge on the authenticity of these models.

Weighing all of these factors, these four sets of models can be seen as possessing authenticity according to the definition listed above and following Horniman's criteria. He could have verified the authenticity of these objects as genuine Indian and Burmese items based upon the locations where he purchased

²⁰⁰ Horniman Scrapbook G, Horniman Museum and Gardens, page 19.

²⁰¹ George W. Bird 292.

²⁰² F. John Horniman, "Visit to Upper Burma," Forest Hill and Sydenham Examiner 31 January 1896: 3, FOREST HILL AND SYDENHAM EXAMINER LONDON 9TH AUG 1895 to 31ST DEC 1897 M64/303.

these objects (Jeypore and Lucknow, India, and Mandalay, Burma).²⁰³ Next, similar to the objects he purchased in Benares, Horniman purchased the objects from shops and locations in India and Burma with a reputation for selling authentic objects as mentioned by Birdwood, Mukharji, and George W. Bird. Although Horniman may not have read these works, it is likely he knew of the reputations of these shops, especially given the exposure of the Jeypore School of Art and Lucknow in numerous publications and at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886. Additionally, as he did in Egypt and in Ceylon, he likely consulted with experts in Jeypore, such as Hendley, during his visit to the Albert Hall Museum, as well as possibly encountering Beato himself, based upon the signature on the receipt in the possession of the Horniman Museum and Gardens. Finally, Horniman could have verified the authenticity of these objects at their locations of origin based upon that fact that each location employed local workers and artisans to create these objects. Consequently, through the provenance and materials of these objects, the knowledge he possibly possessed before these purchases or the knowledge he likely gained from experts he encountered, these models all fit within the web of relationships, described above, Horniman likely used in order to determine an object's authenticity.

Mass-produced Objects Made for Export

Similar to scholars who study tourist art from other regions of the world in the nineteenth century, I argue that the types of artefacts made for European consumers changed during this period based upon European tastes. A number of theories provide rationales for the reasons objects change when two or more cultures meet and interact. However, I do not rely upon postcolonial theories regarding hybridity or

²⁰³ Horniman's journals explicitly mention that he bought objects from the Jeypore School of Art (as seen above) and that he purchased Burmese curios in Mandalay.

mimicry, which perpetuate the myth of uniform voices of the colonized peoples.²⁰⁴ Palmié points out how this theory of the hybrid dictates how identifiable pure forms or concepts meet to create a new form, but that in reality new forms or concepts, such as languages, are constantly being created.²⁰⁵ Nicholas Thomas also discusses the inadequacy of hybrid theories when he states, “hybridity and similar concepts are too general and reactive to contribute to either the understanding or the political critique or cultural forms.”²⁰⁶ Thomas points out how these theories oversimplify relationships and do not seek or explore more nuanced explanations for changes shapes or forms. Silliman also emphasizes this point when he states, “hybridity [focuses]... largely in the prioritization of production over consumption.”²⁰⁷ Like Thomas, Silliman argues that this theory oversimplifies relationships and does not capture subtleties within these roles. Below I will outline how the goods that Indian and Burmese people sold to tourists differed from objects designed for everyday use, and how the production of these tourist goods changed to fit the desires of the consumers. Instead of utilizing theories of hybridity to understand the production of tourist art I argue that market forces influenced the production of these figures by first showing how scholars address this issue in locations across the world. I next provide firsthand accounts from the three locations in which Horniman purchased objects, in order to demonstrate that the objects he purchased were made for export.

Scholarship on contemporary African and Asian tourist markets provides a framework for understanding this theory on how tourists determine the composition of art made for export. Van Haute argues that tourist objects, such as miniature models, possess aspects of both familiarity and authenticity which make them ideal for tourists. She states, “artworks are thus characterised by imitation or repetition of

²⁰⁴ Stephen W. Silliman, “A Requiem for Hybridity? The Problem with Frankensteins, Purées, and Mules,” *Journal of Social Archaeology* 15.3 (2015): 281, SAGE 5 July 2016 <http://jsa.sagepub.com.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/content/15/3/277>, Nicholas Thomas, “Cold Fusion,” *American Anthropologist* 98:1 (1996) 9 JSTOR 10 July 2016 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/682949>, Anjali Prabhu, *Hybridity: Limits, Transformations, Prospects* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007) xiv.

²⁰⁵ Stephan Palmié, “Mixed Blessings and Sorrowful Mysteries Second Thoughts about ‘Hybridity,’” *Current Anthropology* 54:4 (2013) 468-469 JSTOR 6 April 2017 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/671196>.

²⁰⁶ Nicholas Thomas “Cold Fusion” 9.

²⁰⁷ Silliman 290.

forms in response to market forces and as a result of the Western notion of authenticity".²⁰⁸ Similar to Phillips, van Haute writes that tourist arts, such as miniature figures, serve as symbols and reinforce the otherness and exoticism of contemporary Africa, and in fact, African shop managers capitalize on this notion by stocking objects that highlight tourist assumptions concerning primitive and authentic materials.²⁰⁹ Van Haute underscores the idea that travellers often wish to purchase objects that possess characteristics they associate with that area and that possess a form that is familiar to them. Additionally, by drawing attention to the fact that artists make these objects for export, van Haute argues that the objects people use as part of their everyday lives are not for sale in these markets.²¹⁰ Brian Spooner also points out how consumers affect the design of tourist art. When discussing contemporary Turkmen rugs, Spooner highlights how the Western desire for the authentic moulds the composition of the rugs. He writes, "the definition of the authenticity of a Turkmen rug is a product of choice and negotiation within our society, based on supply from theirs, but it is inspired by an interest in the Other and its products".²¹¹ Like van Haute, Spooner contends that the consumers influence the types of materials and designs of rugs. This idea that consumers influence the shape of tourist art forms the basis for understanding the miniature form of the models discussed in this work.

In addition to these arguments regarding contemporary markets, there is strong evidence to suggest that tourists also affected the design of tourist art in the late nineteenth century. Graburn argues that Hopi Kachina figures emerged as goods for sale to tourists after Indians saw icons of saints in Catholic churches and began to use these forms to portray their gods.²¹² He adds that five reasons emerged for why Native Americans and Australian Aboriginals produced and sold tourist goods such as miniature bark paintings, including portability, producers being affected by economic

²⁰⁸ Van Haute 27.

²⁰⁹ Van Haute 30.

²¹⁰ Van Haute 30.

²¹¹ Brian Spooner, "Weavers and Dealers: The Authenticity of an Oriental Carpet," *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* ed. Appadurai Arjun (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) 231.

²¹² Graburn "The Evolution of Tourist Arts" 398.

factors to move away from traditional forms, other artists entering the souvenir production market, the use of different and/ or cheaper materials, and a mass audience that did not seek traditional forms of souvenir.²¹³ Like van Haute, here Graburn stresses that consumers drove the shape of tourist art based upon their purchases when he argues that market forces dictated the size and shape of these objects and that tourist art must be cheap, portable, and understandable for the consumer.²¹⁴ He applies this theory to miniature tourist art when he argues that Native Americans saw other miniature objects and began to create miniaturized objects based upon these forms.

Other studies apply this theory to the northwest coast of North America and to China at the end of the nineteenth century. Like Graburn, Jonaitis describes the sale of miniature totem poles to tourists on the northwest coast of North America in the nineteenth century. She writes that the production of miniature objects for tourists started in the mid-nineteenth century and, by the late nineteenth century, shifted from incorporating Western imagery to the production of only Native American-related objects and imagery.²¹⁵ Like Graburn, she contends that consumers drove the production of these miniaturized objects when she notes that by the end of the nineteenth century miniature totem poles had become the most popular object made in argillite among the Haida, and that the carving of miniature totem poles grew while the carving of full-size totem poles declined.²¹⁶ Jonaitis also indicates that the Haida made these objects for tourists and rarely used these objects themselves.²¹⁷ Consequently, these miniature totem poles, like the miniature objects Graburn and van Haute describe above, fit the second part of the definition of a curio since local artisans made these objects primarily for tourists and not for use in their communities. Pagani also points out how arts in China in the nineteenth century changed to fit the tastes of the export market. She states, “in order to ensure the saleability of goods in England, the exporters found it necessary to dictate the shape

²¹³ Graburn “The Evolution of Tourist Arts” 400.

²¹⁴ Graburn “Introduction: The Arts of the Fourth World” 15.

²¹⁵ Jonaitis “Traders of Tradition: The History of Haida Art” 8, Jonaitis, “Northwest Coast Totem Poles” 107.

²¹⁶ Jonaitis, “Northwest Coast Totem Poles” 107.

²¹⁷ Jonaitis, “Northwest Coast Totem Poles” 107, 109.

and decoration of the goods. The results were... according to what the British felt was 'Chinese style'."²¹⁸ Akin to Graburn, Jonaitis, and van Haute, Pagani also highlighted how the shape and design of objects change depending upon the dictates and desires of the customer.

This phenomenon of consumers altering the forms of materials made for export also reached India in the late nineteenth century. Abigail McGowan discusses how consumers drove the creation of tourist art during this period. She writes, "By the end of the 19th century... the types of goods being made [in India] were changing, often dramatically... this reflected not just new conditions of production, but also new consumer demands."²¹⁹ Although she does not focus directly on tourist art, McGowan addresses how European consumers drove the market for Indian materials. Similarly, the official catalogue of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition supports the view that the English changed the production of the arts in India in the late nineteenth century. It states, "the necessary influence of Europeans, and mainly of English commerce, must doubtless affect with change, not only the products of Indian looms, but other branches of native art."²²⁰ While again reflecting the Orientalist notion that the English needed to intervene in India in order to improve it, this passage also demonstrates how the English saw themselves changing the materials produced in India. Like the authors listed above, the catalogue highlights how the English would utilize market forces to influence and change Indian art to suit the types of products the English sought to purchase.

Late nineteenth-century accounts provide evidence of the construction of miniature models made solely for tourists. In a work dated 1888, Mukharji described how the manufacturing of miniature models for tourists evolved during the nineteenth century. He wrote:

²¹⁸ Catherine Pagani, "Chinese Material Culture and British Perceptions of China in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture, and the Museum* ed. Barringer, Tom and Tom Flynn (London: Routledge, 1998) 33.

²¹⁹ Abigail McGowan, "'All That is Rare, Characteristic or Beautiful': Design and the Defense of Tradition in Colonial India, 1851-1903," *Journal of Material Culture* 10.3 (2005): 271, *SAGE Publications* 3 July 2016 <http://mcs.sagepub.com.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/content/10/3/263.full.pdf+html>

²²⁰ *Colonial and Indian Exhibition, 1886 Official Catalogue* 18.

[The] Krishnagar modelling industry originated from the making of idols for worship. Gradually the gods and goddesses came to be furnished with attendants, and in public worships got up by subscription, more for amusement than for religious obligation, life-size mythological scenes, scenes from daily life, portrait figures of athletes and other celebrities, caricatures, comical subjects, and figures representing any scandal current at the time, were gradually introduced. The manufacture of toys and miniature figures is a natural growth from this stage of the industry.²²¹

Like the scholars mentioned above, Mukharji described how the production of miniature models grew out of previously existing artistic endeavours. Later in the same section Mukharji cited the fact that international exhibitions including the Amsterdam International Exhibition of 1882, the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, and the Calcutta International Exhibition (1883-1884) included models from Krishnagar, thereby exposing these models to a wide international audience and influencing European tastes towards Indian art as well as opinions on Indians.²²² In addition to the models from Krishnagar, Mukharji wrote that models depicting other ethnic groups were sent to the Glasgow International Exhibition, the Indian Museum at Calcutta, the Imperial Institute, numerous European museums and were available for purchase through the Indian Revenue and Agriculture Department in Calcutta.²²³ Consequently, as Mukharji described, European consumers helped to drive the production of these objects that were available to view at numerous exhibitions and museums and were sold through the Indian government.

Each of the three locations at which Horniman purchased these sets of models, sold items similar to those described by Mukharji, primarily to tourists. Mukharji repeatedly described and extolled art sold in India, including the quality of objects sold at the Jeypore School of Art. In addition, he described models identical to the heads Horniman purchased. He wrote that “a very curious collection of heads, modelled in *papier-maché*, has been set to the Glasgow International Exhibition. These are made at Jaipur, and are intended to illustrate the different Hindu castes

²²¹ Mukharji 62.

²²² Mukharji 62-63.

²²³ Mukharji 67.

found in Rajputana, and the turbans they wear [emphasis original].”²²⁴ By emphasizing that these works illustrated Indian peoples, like the models described above, Mukharji highlighted the fact that these model heads, available at a cost of 1-5 Rupees each or a set of 144 for 195 Rupees, were made for audiences outside of India.²²⁵ In this same work Mukharji detailed other tourist goods made and sold in Jaipur. He stated, “arms are made at Jaipur, chiefly small articles for sale to European tourists. There is a great demand for old weapons among the visitors, and these are consequently manufactured for them”.²²⁶ In this passage not only does Mukharji describe how artisans made objects specifically for tourists, but also specifically catered to the tourists’ desire for authentic and old objects by making these objects fit the characteristics that the tourists wanted. Consequently, like Graburn, van Haute, and Jonaitis, here Mukharji notes the creation and sale of tourist art specifically to European tourists.

Other contemporary sources also highlight the creation of art for export at the Jeypore School of Art. Originally writing in 1909, Showers described how to view and order works from the School of Art. He wrote:

attached to the school there are Workshops, where practical instruction is given to the students and where works of various kinds are executed for the general public. The Museum in the Albert Hall contains much that can be useful in this way, and visitors can have reproductions made of many of the articles if they wish it. There is a show-room attached to the School for the sale of the various articles manufactured.²²⁷

Here, Showers observes that visitors to the school and the Albert Hall Museum directly influenced the objects produced there since the visitors could watch objects being made, buy items from the showroom attached to the school, or order things they saw within the Albert Hall Museum.

²²⁴ Mukharji 74.

²²⁵ Mukharji 75. Page 5 of this work provides a key stating that one Rupee is approximately 1 Shilling and 4 Pence as of June 1888.

²²⁶ Mukharji 219.

²²⁷ Showers 33.

Based upon these sources, it is clear that the models Horniman purchased at the Jeyapore School of Art meet the second criteria of a curio mentioned earlier - a mass-produced item made for export. Mukharji emphasized the fact that the school produced models, such as the ones Horniman purchased, as well as producing objects for sale to tourists. Additionally, both Mukharji and Showers highlighted that consumer demand from tourists drove the production of these objects. As mentioned above, Horniman fits this pattern of viewing the models before he purchased them since the first edition of the journal described the fact that he viewed papier-mâché models in the museum which portrayed the castes found in India.

Next, although the exact place Horniman purchased the figures in Lucknow cannot be determined, two nineteenth-century sources point to these objects also being made primarily for European tourists. Mukharji, like Furneaux listed above, pointed out that artisans in Lucknow made miniature figures and praised these figures as being cheaper than the figures sold in Krishnagar and stated that they would be featured at the Glasgow International Exhibition.²²⁸ By stating that these figures were cheap and available for viewing to a European audience, Mukharji confirmed the notion that these objects were created primarily for tourists. He then goes on to describe the sets of figures and scenes available, including a scene of thugs robbing a man, a woman performing a ritual burning of herself on her husband's funeral pyre, a cremation, a marriage procession, scenes featuring irrigation, and a scene representing village life in the North-Western provinces shown at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition.²²⁹ Finally, Mukharji provided the prices of these figures at 30 to 40 Rupees per set, 9 to 24 Rupees per dozen, or individual small figures depicting trades and characters such as a washerwoman, water-carrier, or old man ranging from 2 to 5 Rupees each.²³⁰ Again, like the heads from Jaipur, by listing the prices of both individual objects and sets in a work created for the Glasgow International Exhibition, Mukharji noted that these objects were for sale to European tourists.

²²⁸ Mukharji 69.

²²⁹ Mukharji 69-71.

²³⁰ Mukharji 71-72.

Another contemporary of Horniman's also addressed the sale of these figures to tourists. When discussing figures made in India, Birdwood wrote, "they only attempt a literal transcript of the human form, and of the form of animals, for the purpose of making toys and curiosities, almost exclusively for sale to English people."²³¹ Similar to Jonaitis, Birdwood relates that the figures Indians made were sold primarily to tourists. Additionally, Birdwood uses the word "curiosities" in this passage and groups them with toys when he discusses objects made for the English - strongly implying, as mentioned in my definition of this word, that these objects were not rarities but instead were mass-produced. Based upon the works of Mukharji and Birdwood, the figures Horniman bought in Lucknow also fit this second aspect of the definition of curio since they are also objects mainly created for sale to tourists.

Finally, the two sets of figures Horniman purchased in Burma also fit this description of tourist art made for export. Although George W. Bird and Beato do not provide an exact description of the two sets of figures Horniman purchased, these figures bear a strong resemblance to two other sets advertised by Beato in one of his mail order catalogues, including possessing similar dimensions and containing the same types of figures. Entry number 154 in this catalogue describes a set of figures and provides a photograph with ten figures. The catalogue entry describes the figures as nine inches tall and representing Burmese society.²³² The description of these objects states, "wooden carved and painted figures of Burmans, Shans, Kachins, Hpoongies [sic] [Buddhist monks], Nun, Burmese Officer, Soldier and King Theebaw, and Soopayalat 9 inches high" and lists the price of these objects as 3 Rupees each.²³³ Based upon their height, the groups of objects in this set, and their price (Horniman paid 5 Rupees each for seven sets of two figures) these mass-produced objects which Beato sold through his catalogue seem to match the sets of figures Horniman purchased. The photograph and description of object 153 in the catalogue also matches the figures Horniman purchased. The description states, "ivory carved

²³¹ Birdwood 222.

²³² Catalogue of Photographs of Burmese Works of Art Offered by F. Beato Limited item 154.

²³³ Catalogue of Photographs of Burmese Works of Art Offered by F. Beato Limited item 154.

figures 5 inches high” and lists their prices as 12 Rupees each.²³⁴ The photograph shows eight figures each wearing a different costume and representing different facets of Burmese society.²³⁵ Although the museum’s description of these objects does not list the height or the occupations of the figures that Horniman purchased, other contemporary descriptions of these ivory figures describe them as portraying Burmese occupations and being shorter than the wooden figures. Additionally, the prices of these objects described in the catalogue and the objects Horniman purchased are similar. While the catalogue lists the figures at 12 Rupees each Horniman bought four sets of two figures for the price of 20 Rupees per set. Consequently, although neither set of figures purchased by Horniman exactly match the figures listed in the Beato catalogue, both sets of figures include a soldier, nun, officer, Hboongee (monk) along with the figures of the ex-king and queen and they bear enough resemblance to show that the set he purchased were made for tourists.

Another contemporary of Horniman’s discussed the types of materials Beato sold at his shop. George W. Bird made an interesting observation in his description of Beato and the store which demonstrates that Beato catered to tourists. Bird wrote, “as Signor Beato has been connected with Mandalay for a number of years, he is naturally in a position to render willing help to the tourist.”²³⁶ This statement underscores that Beato’s shop specialized in dealing with tourists and possessed experience working within a customer-driven market. Furthermore, by combining the fact that Beato sold merchandise through a mail order catalogue, and that Bird described the types of materials Beato sold as “curios”, one can infer that Beato, through his over 800 employees, mass produced these objects for tourists. Although the two sets of figures Horniman purchased from Beato do not exactly match the figures Beato advertised in the catalogue they fit the second portion of the definition of curio from the previous chapter – mass-produced objects sold primarily to tourists.

²³⁴ Catalogue of Photographs of Burmese Works of Art Offered by F. Beato Limited item 153.

²³⁵ Catalogue of Photographs of Burmese Works of Art Offered by F. Beato Limited item 153.

²³⁶ George W. Bird 292.

Horniman's Intended Use of the Sets of Miniature Models

As mentioned above, the third part of the definition of a curio necessitates that the purchaser does not use the object as a souvenir, but instead uses it as a means to describe the unfamiliar. As defined earlier in this chapter, the difference between a souvenir and a curio depends on how the purchaser of the object utilizes the object. While a souvenir is used to describe the owner's biography and defines or alludes to an experience, a curio is an object used to provide information on an unfamiliar subject. In Horniman's case, since he described how he would use the objects he purchased to provide information on the people and places he had encountered to the museum's visitors, he eschewed the notion of souvenir. Using his journals and museum publications I argue that he did not intend the museum to use them to provide information about himself, but instead to describe materials, peoples or cultures he believed were unfamiliar to the museum's visitors. This section will highlight the museum's stated purpose and how Horniman intended to use the objects he purchased in order to fulfil the museum's mission.

As detailed in the previous chapter and expanded upon in the next chapter, this thesis differs from previous scholarship on the Horniman Free Museum since I argue that the museum primarily focused on providing education to the museum's visitors. Two museum documents provide evidence for this claim. In addition to the report mentioned in the previous chapter a work titled *An Account of The Horniman Free Museum and Recreation Grounds Forest Hill* published in 1901, emphasized the importance of this idea. 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 building, 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.”²³⁷ Laying 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.²³⁸ A museum document from the late nineteenth century also confirms this idea. This document, an invitation to the museum dated 23 December 1889, states, “this vast collection of fine Natural History and Art Specimens should be visited by those who wish to be instructed”.²³⁹ Although this invitation does not provide information on the specific objects beyond the broad categories of art and nature Horniman and the museum collected, or even the information visitors will receive, it also privileges the educational benefit the museum wanted to provide to its visitors.

As mentioned above, the third portion of my definition of the word *curio* fits well within this stated mission of the museum. Nicholas Thomas offers a similar definition of the word *curio* as coming directly from the European idea of curiosity. He states:

‘*curio*’ is... pervaded by the idea of curiosity, that the nature of curiosity is not fixed but morally slippery, that the legitimacy of curious inquiry is uncertain, and that this area of semantic conflict is directly associated with responses to ethnographic specimens, since ‘*curiosities*’ were frequently characterized as being ‘*curious*’ and as arousing the ‘*curiosity*’ of people for whom they were exotic.²⁴⁰

Like Phillips and Cohodas, Thomas relates that a *curio* here refers to the unknown and the exotic. With his definition Thomas takes this notion one step further through specifically referencing ethnographic materials as examples of objects that could arouse curiosity. Below I demonstrate how Horniman’s collecting and the mission of the museum also fit within this idea.

²³⁷ *An Account of the Horniman Free Museum and Recreation Grounds Forest Hill* (London, 1901) 11.

²³⁸ *An Account of the Horniman Free Museum and Recreation Grounds Forest Hill* 11.

²³⁹ Horniman Museum Scrapbook of Press Cuttings and Other Items 1888 –1901 page 4, item 7.

²⁴⁰ Nicholas Thomas, “Licensed Curiosity: Cook’s Pacific Voyages,” *The Cultures of Collecting* ed. Elsner, John and Roger Cardinal (London: Reaktion Books 1994) 122.

In the late nineteenth century, scholars identified India and Burma as the unknown to Westerners. Writing in 1874 H.H. Cole stated:

it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that India is to the people of England an unknown land. The empire we have founded there is known in its true light only to the few, while the many pass by all that relates to it but with the vague idea of a distant and barbaric splendor."²⁴¹

In addition to noting the British impression of Indians as savages, which I will discuss further in the fourth chapter, Cole emphasizes that little is known about India twenty years before Horniman first visited. Laura Start provided a similar description of Burma. Writing in 1917, Start described the collecting of Shan and Kachin costumes at the end of the nineteenth century. When describing the peoples of Burma she then added, "Belonging to a race of people with whom the world at large has little contact, the skill and craftsmanship displayed in the weaving, dyeing and decoration of these cloths should prove of general interest."²⁴² Like Cole, here Start also described the peoples of Burma as relatively unknown to Westerners and how this work would appeal to her readers since it described practices of these unknown peoples.

The types of objects Horniman collected during his time in Asia conformed well with the museum's stated focus on providing instruction, specifically about foreign peoples and cultures and within the idea of a curio. Although he does not specifically mention purchasing the four sets of miniature models or their intended use in either set of journal articles, and therefore does not provide comment on how he personally interpreted these objects or viewed their materiality, it is possible to infer how Horniman intended these objects to be utilized and interpreted by the museum based upon his descriptions of how the museum would use other objects he purchased during his time in Asia. In the journal entry dated 24 January 1896 he stated:

²⁴¹ Cole 1.

²⁴² Laura E. Start, Burmese Textiles, From the Shan and Kachin Districts (Halifax, F. King & Sons, Ltd., 1917) 1.

Reaching Bhamo early in the afternoon, I landed, and was driven in the gig of a Chinese to the Bazaar Market, and made several purchases for the Museum, which, with those I have already acquired, will make an interesting illustrated collection exhibiting the dress and customs of the Burmese, Shan, and Kochin peoples.²⁴³

Here, the journal clearly described Horniman's rationale for collecting- that he purchased these objects to display in the museum not to describe himself, but in order to relate information on other unfamiliar cultures, as indicated in the museum's mission described above.

This type of collecting is indicative of how Horniman intended to use objects to represent other cultures (which I address further in the next chapter). Both Pearce and Stewart address collecting and displaying objects in this manner. Pearce refers to collecting both anthropological and biological materials when she writes, "the collection is genuinely of real Indian Ocean fish or Yoruba artefacts and so it retains its intrinsic or metonymic character, but the process of selection has given it also a metaphorical relationship to the material from which it came."²⁴⁴ Pearce argues that an individual object serves as a symbol for a larger concept. Although discussing souvenirs, Stewart describes the same process. She states, "the souvenir must be removed from its context in order to serve as a trace of it, but it must also be restored through narrative and/ or reverie."²⁴⁵ Consequently, both authors emphasise how objects are used as symbols interpreted to represent cultures or concepts from which they originated.

While numerous wealthy Britons amassed private collections during the late nineteenth century and opened their own museums, Horniman differed from his

²⁴³ F. John Horniman "Visit to Upper Burma" 3.

²⁴⁴ Pearce *Museums, Objects, and Collections: A Cultural Study* 38.

²⁴⁵ Stewart 150. In this passage, Stewart also highlights the difference between souvenirs and my definition of curios since Stewart adds that the narrative of the object must consist of an imagined context that projects the possessor's childhood.

contemporaries based upon the nature and scope of his collecting.²⁴⁶ Contrasting with these collectors, Horniman focused on collecting and interpreting objects along anthropological lines like another well-known private collector- Pitt Rivers. However, while both Pitt Rivers and Horniman shared an anthropological focus, Pitt Rivers differed from Horniman since he collected copies of objects as well as “ordinary and typical” objects.²⁴⁷ Furthermore, Pitt Rivers focused more detailing his views on the evolution of technology or human culture through objects rather than providing information other specific cultures and peoples as Horniman did in his museum.

Horniman’s Collecting

In his journals Horniman detailed how he planned to interpret some of the objects he purchased in Asia. A model he bought in Agra in 1894 demonstrates how an object he purchased fits all of the criteria above as well as showing Horniman’s collecting criteria and how he planned to utilise the sets of miniature ethnographic models in the museum in order to condense the Orient for the museum’s visitors. In this section I briefly detail one of Horniman’s experiences in Agra, describe the purchase of another miniature model and how it fits the three criteria of a curio outlined above. This section concludes with a discussion of how the museum showcased this model in order to describe the Orient to visitors and how miniature objects condense experiences or ideas into symbols.

Part nine of the first set of Horniman’s travel journals details the time he spent in Agra, India, in December 1894. While there, the journal notes that he visited the Taj

²⁴⁶ Greenwood 145-149, 152-153, Arthur MacGregor, “Collectors, Connoisseurs and Curators of the Victorian Age,” *A.W. Franks: Nineteenth-Century Collecting and the British Museum* ed. Caygill, Marjorie and John Cherry (London: British Museum Press, 1997) 12-16, J.R. Mortimer, *Forty Years’ Researches British and Saxon Burial Mounds East Yorkshire* (London: A. Brown and Sons, 1905) xvii, Charles Roach Smith, *Catalogue of the Museum of London Antiquities Collected by, and the Property of, Charles Roach Smith* (1854) iii-v.

²⁴⁷ T.K. Penniman and B.M. Blackwood, ed. *The Origin and Development of the Pitt Rivers Museum* 1970 Occasional Papers on Technology 11. Reprint. (Oxford: The Pitt Rivers Museum, 1991) 2, McGregor 16-17.

Mahal and provides a description of the building and its surroundings. Regarding the Taj Mahal, the journal recorded that:

He [Horniman]states that this is the most lovely building he has ever had the pleasure of seeing, and further adds that it is all white marble and in a perfect state of preservation. Its situation at the side of a river, and surrounded by fine trees adds greatly to its charm, and visitors to this part of India should not fail to visit and revisit this most delightful spot.²⁴⁸

Through this journal entry, Horniman confirmed that he visited the Taj Mahal, described it for journal readers, and praised it through a glowing description and by encouraging people to visit.²⁴⁹

Shortly after seeing the Taj Mahal, Horniman visited a marble works where he purchased objects. The journal stated:

Mr. Horniman then visited a celebrated manufactory of inlaid marble work. He says they copy the pattern from the walls of the various tombs and are very clever at this kind of work; also pierced marble to the best pattern, and elegant work in soapstone. Here he observed exquisite models of the Taj Mahal and made a selection for the Museum and for presents.²⁵⁰

Although not described as curios, this passage notes that Horniman purchased objects for the museum, including a miniature model of the Taj Mahal, and reveals how these fit the three requirements above. The authenticity of the object can be verified through its creation by a “celebrated” and “clever” workshop. Next, based upon the fact that the passage describes multiple models of the Taj Mahal, this object cannot be seen as a rarity, but was likely mass-produced for tourists. Additionally, the journal notes that Horniman bought the objects specifically for the museum *and* for others, indicating that he would not keep these models in order to use them for biographical purposes. Instead, he planned for them to explain or define the Taj Mahal.

²⁴⁸ Horniman Museum Scrapbook of Press Cuttings and Other Items 1888 –1901 page 30, item 208.

²⁴⁹ The next chapter will further explore how Horniman described the Taj Mahal and other places he visited in his journals.

²⁵⁰ Horniman Museum Scrapbook of Press Cuttings and Other Items 1888 –1901 page 30, item 208.

Additionally, with the purchase of these objects Horniman defined himself as being knowledgeable about India. Although discussing souvenirs, Stewart writes about the interpretation of objects meant to represent a place or ideas. She states, “the souvenir domesticates the grotesque on the level of content...external experience is internalized; the beast is taken home.”²⁵¹ In Horniman’s case, through these objects he captured and encapsulated his knowledge of India and the Taj Mahal into these objects and this model.

The above passages from Horniman’s journal and the museum also draw attention to the use of miniature objects as tourist art. Miniature tourist art, such as models, strips away all functions of the object with the exception of its use as an object for display. Stewart discusses how miniature tourist art, such as baskets possess only one purpose: to be displayed. She states, “those qualities of the object which link its function in native context are emptied and replaced by both display value and the symbolic system of the consumer.”²⁵² Stewart points to the intended use of objects such as the Taj Mahal model above as described by Horniman and the museum. Horniman mentioned that he planned to give this object to the museum, thereby removing the prior function and knowledge of this object and replacing them with the use of this object as a part of an exhibition to provide information on India. Consequently, although the four sets of miniature ethnographic models are not directly mentioned in his travel journals, so it is not possible to tell if they relate to specific experiences, as seen above these four sets also shrink and encapsulate information and concepts about India and Burma that I will discuss further in the next two chapters.

An article from Horniman’s time in Burma provides another example of Horniman purchasing objects with the intention of displaying them in the museum. At the end of the article he wrote, “I occupied the rest of my time in Rangoon in collecting other good specimens of the Burmese manufactures, which, with the photographs and native-coloured pictures drawn by first rate artists, will complete

²⁵¹ Stewart 134.

²⁵² Stewart 149.

the collection for the Museum.”²⁵³ In this passage he again noted the authenticity of the objects he selected, by citing the fact that they were of high quality and of Burmese craftsmanship, and that he intended for these objects to join the Burmese collection in the museum. While Horniman did not provide specific details on how these objects were to be used in the museum, beyond their display alongside photographs and drawings and that this would present a completion of this particular collection/exhibit, he clearly stated that these objects would not enter his home or be used as souvenirs.

Nevertheless, Horniman’s journal does make an indirect reference to how he planned to use the sets of models he purchased in Burma and confirms that he purchased these objects in Mandalay. In an article dated 31 January 1896, he wrote, “at Mandalay I acquired for the Museum a good collection of ancient and modern Burmese curios which, when arranged, will make a handsome and interesting exhibition.”²⁵⁴ In this description, Horniman is likely referring to the objects he purchased from Beato since he identifies Mandalay as the point of purchase and dates the journal entry 14 December, the day after he visited Beato’s store.²⁵⁵ Furthermore, in this section not only does Horniman refer to the objects he purchased as “curios”, but, like the Taj Mahal model, references the fact that he planned to use these objects within an exhibition in the museum, although he did not note how the museum would interpret these objects.

The museum also utilized the word curio to describe extra-Western materials. In a section of the museum’s 1897 annual report titled “Presentations of Curios, &c.”, the museum noted its acquisitions for the year which did not originate from Horniman, including objects from Japan, China, and Burma.²⁵⁶ This report also features a section that described the objects the museum obtained from Benin which

²⁵³ F. John Horniman, “Visit to Upper Burma,” Forest Hill and Sydenham Examiner 24 January 1896: 3, FOREST HILL AND SYDENHAM EXAMINER LONDON 9TH AUG 1895 to 31ST DEC 1897 M64/303. Here, Horniman also mentions the idea of creating complete collections, which I will discuss further in the next chapter.

²⁵⁴ F. John Horniman “Visit to Upper Burma” 3.

²⁵⁵ F. John Horniman “Visit to Upper Burma” 3.

²⁵⁶ Richard Quick, The Seventh Annual Report of the Horniman Free Museum, Forest Hill, London S.E. (London: 1898) 14-15.

begins with the statement “the Curios which came from the city of Benin”.²⁵⁷ In both of these instances the museum used the word curio to describe an unfamiliar object that originated from outside Western experiences.

Although not written in his own voice, Horniman’s first travel journal also describes purchasing objects with the same motivation during his first trip to Asia. The ninth edition of this journal detailed objects he purchased in India in late 1894. While in Agra, the journal states that Horniman bought a number of objects for the museum. It notes:

Both at Agra and Delhi the industries in gold, silver and wire embroidery flourish. In the latter department they turn out splendid patterns and designs and travellers generally secure embroidery which is greatly admired in Europe. In this kind of goods Mr. Horniman also made a choice selection for his museum.²⁵⁸

As this passage indicates, Horniman again purchased mass-produced objects based upon his knowledge of the objects since he noted how Europeans interpret this type of embroidery. Additionally, like the journal entries above, this description also states how he intended to use these objects: to place them in the museum.

Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted how the four sets of miniature models Horniman purchased in 1894 and 1895 fit a specific definition of nineteenth-century tourist art: the curio. As mentioned in the previous chapter, curios must be composed of three parts - they must be perceived as authentic, they are designed to be sold to tourists and they are used to describe the unfamiliar. Through his journals and museum publications both Horniman and the museum indicated that all three of these components were integral to the objects they purchased and displayed. Although Horniman did not list his criteria for defining an object as authentic based on his journals it is clear that he factored in the provenance, place of origin and prior

²⁵⁷ Quick [The Seventh Annual Report of the Horniman Free Museum, Forest Hill, London S.E.](#) 18.

²⁵⁸ Horniman Museum Scrapbook of Press Cuttings and Other Items 1888 –1901 page 30, item 208.

knowledge of potential acquisitions when describing an object this way. Second, late nineteenth-century sources such as Birdwood, Furneaux, George W. Bird, and Mukharji indicated that the types of objects Horniman purchased, such as miniature models, were mass-produced and made primarily for tourists therefore showing that the word curio does not refer to the rarity of an object. I next argued that a curio is defined by the intent of the owner and is primarily used to showcase the unknown and unfamiliar and that the display of these miniature models, sold to tourists condenses information and concepts which the museum used to further the goal of the museum- to provide information on foreign peoples and cultures. Through these descriptions both Horniman and the museum expressed their interpretation of these objects and highlight the role and function of miniature objects: as display pieces to describe the culture from which they originated and therefore fulfil the stated mission of the museum to provide information on distant peoples and cultures. For example, when he described objects he purchased, such as a model of the Taj Mahal, or the objects he likely purchased from Beato, Horniman also detailed how he intended to place these objects in the museum and even stated that the costumes would be used to provide information on Burmese peoples.

Chapter 3: Miniature Models as Educational Tools

This chapter explores how the Horniman Free Museum displayed and interpreted the four sets of miniature ethnographic models Horniman purchased in Asia in 1894 and 1895. In this chapter I argue that the museum was not merely a random collection of objects favoured by Horniman, as argued by previous scholars of the museum. Instead, I show how the museum possessed a mission dedicated to providing education on foreign cultures and peoples and how Horniman's writings as well as the museum's actions, publications, and programming demonstrate this mission. As part of this mission the museum displayed and interpreted these four sets of miniature ethnographic models. However, the museum's interpretation and display of these objects led visitors to believe that the museum possessed a complete knowledge of Indian and Burmese societies through the interpretation and display these models.

This chapter starts with a brief history of the museum. Through this history I demonstrate how the museum changed drastically between 1884, when it operated as a private museum and its closure in 1898, with an emphasis on the museum's development between 1895 and 1898.²⁵⁹ In this section I argue that the museum continuously changed by adding objects and exhibitions with a focus on the museum's mission of providing information on foreign cultures and peoples. I maintain that the museum possessed clear educational goals as demonstrated through museum publications and programming. I show how Horniman stressed the importance of educating his readers about the places he visited during his two trips to Asia. Additionally, I discuss how the production of materials for the museum, including the guidebooks the museum distributed free to visitors, fit within this goal. Furthermore, I argue that the use of labels in the museum, and the information Horniman wanted them to portray as well as the museum's programming also support this argument.

²⁵⁹ 1895 is the year in which the museum placed the two Indian sets of miniature models on display and when Horniman acquired the two sets of Burmese miniature models. The two sets of Burmese models went on display in the museum the following year.

Additionally, in order to fulfil this mission, I argue that Horniman and the museum focused on collecting and displaying complete collections. I begin this section by defining the idea of a complete collection and discuss how it relates to the idea of projecting authority over a subject. Next, I demonstrate how Horniman lauded the idea of complete sets of objects both in museums he visited as well as regarding objects he purchased for the museum. This section will conclude by discussing how museum publications highlighted complete collections within the museum and contemporaries of the museum also described this type of collecting in the museum.

The final three sections of this chapter focus on how the museum interpreted these sets of miniature models beginning with the set of heads and figures from India then moving on to the two sets of Burmese figures. In these sections I first draw upon museum publications in order to argue that the museum's exhibition of these objects fits within the museum's mission of providing information about foreign cultures as well as collecting complete sets of objects. I also argue that through the museum's portrayal of these two cultures the museum accentuated its authority over both Indian and Burmese cultures in two distinct ways: by emphasizing the complete nature of the collection, and through the manner in which miniature models allow the viewer the illusion of control over ideas by grasping the entirety of the concept at once.

History of the Horniman Free Museum, 1884-1898

In order to understand how the museum displayed and interpreted these four sets of models I provide a brief sketch of the museum from 1884 to 1898. Prior to reopening in mid-1895 the museum went through three distinct iterations. The museum did not remain static as it continuously grew and was updated through the addition of new objects and exhibitions. Before 1890, the museum existed as a private institution. Although scholars do not know precisely when Frederick Horniman first opened his house as a museum, a newspaper article from 1884 provides evidence that Horniman organised the museum into themed rooms. This article, from the *Forest Hill News* and

dated 22 November 1884, named the museum as the Surrey House Museum and stated that the museum was open by appointment only.²⁶⁰ The article also mentioned a theme that will arise repeatedly during this examination of the Horniman museums prior to 1898: the museum's interest in educating the public by stating that approximately 200 guests had visited the museum recently and that the museum was open "to those who are interested in works of nature and art" as well as natural science classes.²⁶¹ In 1888, Greenwood noted that the museum opened to the general public two days a year (on Easter and Whitsuntide) to schools, societies, clubs, and other organisations and that on Whit Monday and Tuesday of 1888 5,207 people visited the museum.²⁶² Additionally, Greenwood wrote that Horniman built a house on another part of his property for himself and his family to live in, while the museum occupied his former home.²⁶³ Some accounts from this period indicate that the museum contained seven rooms while others describe eight rooms in the museum.²⁶⁴ However, demonstrating that the museum changed frequently, a guide to the museum shows that it grew to include fifteen sections by January 1890 including four Old English or Elizabethan- themed rooms, an African and Japanese Room, Bible Room, Antiquities Room, China and Porcelain Room, and two rooms featuring collections of insects.²⁶⁵

²⁶⁰ Horniman Museum Scrapbook of Press Cuttings and Other Items 1888 – 1901 page 2 item 002.

²⁶¹ Horniman Museum Scrapbook of Press Cuttings and Other Items 1888 – 1901 page 2 item 002.

²⁶² Greenwood 149-150.

²⁶³ Greenwood 149.

²⁶⁴ Greenwood 150-151, Horniman Museum Scrapbook of Press Cuttings and Other Items 1888 – 1901 page 2 item 002, page 3 item 005. These accounts differ on the themes of the rooms, but these include a Japanese section on manuscripts including a Biblical library, a room focusing on ancient cultures (including Roman, Greek, and Egyptian objects), an insect room, an armoury, a room focusing on non-Western cultures, and a room including ancient and modern china and an Elizabethan chamber. Additionally, these descriptions of the museum only note one room (Section VI) dedicated to foreign cultures.

²⁶⁵ Horniman Museum Scrapbook of Press Cuttings and Other Items 1888 – 1901 page 5, item 013.



Figure 3.1

The Horniman Free Museum Elizabethan Bed-Chamber c. 1890. Image courtesy of the Horniman Museum and Gardens.

The museum went through other changes in 1890. On 24 December 1890 Frederick Horniman, with special guest Sir Morrell Mackenzie, reopened the museum.²⁶⁶ The museum was now referred to as the “Surrey House Museum” or “The Horniman Museum” in museum publications and as “The Horniman Museum” in newspaper articles about the museum by curator Richard Quick.²⁶⁷ The third edition of the museum’s guidebook, dated Christmas 1890, stated that the museum now possessed twenty-three sections including rooms similar to the Surrey House

²⁶⁶ Horniman Museum Scrapbook of Press Cuttings and Other Items 1888 – 1901 page 9, item 020.

²⁶⁷ This work will refer to the museum during this period as the Horniman Museum in order to avoid confusion with the previous version of the museum. Guide for the Use of Visitors When Inspecting the Contents of Surrey House Museum Third Edition (London: Surrey House Museum, 1890) 2, 16, Guide to the Museum Mr. and Mrs. Horniman ‘At Home’ Wednesday, February 11th, 1891 (London, 1891) 4, 16, Horniman Museum Scrapbook of Press Cuttings and Other Items 1888 – 1901 page 11, item 039, page 14, item 063.

Museum, two rooms described as Old English, two Elizabethan rooms, four rooms described as Oriental, the orchestral organ room, two porcelain and glass rooms, a zoological section, and a section outside containing two live bears and a monkey.²⁶⁸

In 1891 the museum continued to change. *The Illustrated London News* described the museum as possessing twenty-four rooms including the two live Russian bears and monkey.²⁶⁹ This publication featured illustrations of the galleries in its 3 January 1891 edition and mentioned that Horniman had been collecting objects over the course of thirty years.²⁷⁰ However, by the next month the museum had changed again. A museum publication titled "Guide to the Museum Mr. and Mrs. Horniman 'At Home' Wednesday, February 11th 1891" offers a further insight into the museum during this period and showcases an exhibition layout significantly different from that of the Surrey House Museum. Although this guidebook is dated approximately only a month and half later than the previous guidebook, this updated version makes no mention of the bears and monkey described in the guide from December 1890 and shows that museum had changed several rooms including moving the section on antiquities, and the ethnological room.²⁷¹ A newspaper article dated 7 May 1892 described some of these rooms, and noted that in the long gallery, "drawer after drawer is pulled open and reveals, it would seem, every beetle, butterfly, and moth which flies and crawls over the earth's surface."²⁷²

Horniman's focus on bringing education to the public is also apparent during this period. An article dated 10 January 1891 notes that Horniman spoke about giving the museum to public entity as well as adding a library and a hall which could hold up

²⁶⁸ *Guide for the Use of Visitors When Inspecting the Contents of Surrey House Museum* 1, 16.

²⁶⁹ "Mr. F. Horniman's Museum, Forest Hill," *Illustrated London News* 3 January 1891: 7 *The London Illustrated News Historical Archive* 8 February 2015 <http://find.galegroup.com/iln/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ILN&userGroupName=leicester&tabID=T003&docPage=article&docId=HN3100460068&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0>.

²⁷⁰ "Mr. F. Horniman's Museum, Forest Hill" 7.

²⁷¹ *Guide to the Museum Mr. and Mrs. Horniman 'At Home' Wednesday, February 11th, 1891* (London, 1891) 4.

²⁷² "Workers and Their Work- No. XXXV: Mr. Frederick Horniman and His Museum" 663. I will further address this idea of the museum containing complete collections later in this chapter.

to 1000 people.²⁷³ Furthermore, another article from early 1891 notes Horniman's benevolence since he made to museum available to all people.²⁷⁴

The museum expanded and changed again 1893. On 26 December 1893, Sir Somers Vine helped to reopen the museum again. An undated newspaper article found in the Horniman Museum and Gardens newspaper scrapbook, and titled "Horniman's Free Museum at Forest Hill Re-Opened on Bank Holiday By Sir Somers Vine", provides details on this version of the museum and the opening ceremony. Still referred to as the "Horniman Museum", the article also states that the museum possessed twenty-four rooms.²⁷⁵ This article describes the speech Sir Somers Vine gave at the opening ceremony which praised the genuineness of the exhibitions in the museum and how the museum now contained many objects donated by Vine himself.²⁷⁶ Additionally, the article mentions that the museum was open to the public three days a week (Mondays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays) and provides a short tour through the museum highlighting objects in the Reception Room, the Horse Armoury, Elizabethan Room, Orchestral Organ room, Pantry, Oriental Armour and Figure Room, Gallery of Antiquities, the new Model room, rooms devoted to Indian and Japanese art, the Insectarium with live insects in various stages of development, the Long

²⁷³ "The Horniman Museum" Isle of Wight Observer 5.

²⁷⁴ "The Horniman Museum," The Ladies Treasure: A Household Magazine 1 March 1891: 186, 19th Century UK Periodicals 28 May 2017
http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/ukpc/retrieve.do?sgHitCountType=None&sort=DateAscend&prodId=NCUK&tabID=T012&subjectParam=Locale%2528en%252C%2529%253AFQE%253D%2528ke%252CNone%252C8%2529horniman%253AAnd%253ALQE%253D%2528da%252CNone%252C10%252903%252F01%252F1891%2524&resultListType=RESULT_LIST&searchId=R1&displaySubject=&searchType=AdvancedSearchForm¤tPosition=1&qrySerId=Locale%28en%2C%2C%29%3AFQE%3D%28ke%2CNone%2C8%29horniman%3AAnd%3ALQE%3D%28da%2CNone%2C10%2903%2F01%2F1891%3AAnd%3ALQE%3D%28MB%2CNone%2C16%29NCUK-1+OR+NCUK-2%24&retrieveFormat=MULTIPAGE_DOCUMENT&subjectAction=DISPLAY_SUBJECTS&inPS=true&userGroupName=leicester&sgCurrentPosition=0&contentSet=LTO&&docId=&docLevel=FASCIMILE&worldId=&relevancePageBatch=DX1901999226&contentSet=NCUP&callistoContentSet=NCUP&docPage=a rticle&hilit=y.

²⁷⁵ Horniman Museum Scrapbook of Press Cuttings and Other Items 1888 - 1901 page 19, item 127.

²⁷⁶ Horniman Museum Scrapbook of Press Cuttings and Other Items 1888 - 1901 page 19, item 127. Through this description of Vine's speech this unknown publication also took note of the museum's focus on exhibiting authentic objects. Woolhouse also referenced the authenticity of the objects in the museum when, in the second entry in his tour of the museum he wrote "THERE IS NO IMITATION: All is Real." A. Visitor, "Through 'The Horniman Museum,'" Forest Hill and Sydenham Examiner 11 September 1896: 3, FOREST HILL AND SYDENHAM EXAMINER LONDON 9TH AUG 1895 to 31ST DEC 1897 M64/303.

Gallery, Ethnographical Saloon, and Zoological Saloon.²⁷⁷ An article in the *Literary and Debating Societies Review* from mid-1895 provided a more detailed overview of the museum's exhibitions when it stated that the museum constantly added objects to the collection, which it claimed was approximately twice the size as it had been when the museum opened to the public in December 1890, and noted that the museum possessed excellent labels written by curator Richard Quick.²⁷⁸

Following a short period of closure for refurbishment the museum reopened for its fourth and final time, prior to January 1898, on 1 June 1895. On this occasion, Lord Battersea reopened the museum and the gardens adjacent to the museum to the public. Now known as the Horniman Free Museum (or Horniman Free Museum and Gardens) this version of the museum existed until Frederick Horniman closed the museum in January 1898. The undated twelfth edition of the Horniman Free Museum and Gardens, guidebooks published by the museum during this period, as well as a series of newspaper articles appearing in the *Forest Hill and Sydenham Examiner* in 1896 and 1897, demonstrate that the layout of the museum had changed little from its previous incarnation.²⁷⁹ This guidebook described the museum as containing twenty-three rooms still broadly divided between the categories of art and

²⁷⁷ Horniman Museum Scrapbook of Press Cuttings and Other Items 1888 – 1901 page 19, item 127.

²⁷⁸ "England's Museums and Institutions" *Literary and Debating Societies Review* May 1895: 9-11.

²⁷⁹ Guide for Use of Visitors When Inspecting the Horniman Free Museum and Gardens Twelfth Edition (The Horniman Museum: London) 16. Although there is not a date listed on this document, this guidebook is likely dated between June 1895 and May 1896. The guidebook describes the museum as being open on Sundays, Mondays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays. As I discuss in the next chapter, the four open days described by this guidebook indicate that it was published by the museum between June 1895 and January 1898. However, this guidebook does not include any mention of the New Oriental Saloon which the Sixth Annual Report records as opening on 25 May 1896 and featuring objects Horniman purchased in Burma and Egypt.



Figure 3.2

The exterior of the Horniman Free Museum c. 1896. Image courtesy of the Horniman Museum and Gardens.

nature.²⁸⁰ The museum mostly divided the art rooms, which contained rooms focused on history and ethnography, by geographic region and featured sections titled the Elizabethan Bed-Room, Old English Chamber, Old English Chamber, Old English Parlour, Old English Pantry, Oriental Armoury, Egyptian Mummy Room, First, Second, and Third Indian Room, First and Second Indian and Ceylon Room in addition to the Ancient Urn Room, the Orchestral Organ and Musical Room, the Horse Armoury, Collection of Models, Locomotives, and the Porcelain and Glass Room.²⁸¹ During this period the museum also featured a nature section, which included the

²⁸⁰ [Guide for Use of Visitors When Inspecting the Horniman Free Museum and Gardens 2.](#)

²⁸¹ [Guide for Use of Visitors When Inspecting the Horniman Free Museum and Gardens 2.](#)

Long Natural History Gallery, the Ethnographical Saloon, and the First and Second Zoological Saloons.²⁸²

However, as noted above, Horniman and the staff of the museum continually added objects to the museum. The fourteenth edition of the Horniman Free Museum and Gardens guidebook (dated April 1897) and as well as a twenty-one-part series in the *Forest Hill and Sydenham Examiner* on the Horniman Free Museum written from 4 September 1896 to 22 January 1897 by Harry Woolhouse (writing as “A. Visitor”) agreed with the above layout of the Horniman Free Museum as each lists twenty-four sections in the museum with the addition of the New Oriental Saloon.²⁸³ In the museum’s 1896 Annual Report, Quick stated that the museum’s Oriental Saloon opened on 25 May 1896 and featured objects from Frederick Horniman’s most recent trip to Asia.²⁸⁴ The museum also highlighted the addition of the objects from Benin in its seventh annual report.²⁸⁵ After holding a party in honour of the museum, Horniman closed the museum on 29 January 1898 and demolished the building in May 1898 in order to build a bigger museum: the museum now known as the Horniman Museum and Gardens.

Education about Foreign Cultures Through Horniman’s Journals

Throughout the two journals which documented his travels between 1894 and 1896, Horniman repeatedly fulfilled this mission by providing information to his readers about the people he encountered and the places he visited. Many of these descriptions provide facts and figures about the places Horniman visited. For example, in the fifteenth chapter of the first journal, the journal states that on 18 January 1895 Horniman travelled to Kandy, Ceylon, by rail. The journal describes seeing the jungle

²⁸² Guide for Use of Visitors When Inspecting the Horniman Free Museum and Gardens 2.

²⁸³ As detailed further below, this room contained the two sets of Burmese models Horniman purchased from Beato in December 1895.

²⁸⁴ Quick The Sixth Annual Report of the Horniman Free Museum, Forest Hill, S.E. London 1896 6.

²⁸⁵ Quick The Seventh Annual Report of the Horniman Free Museum, Forest Hill, London, S.E. 1897, and January 1898 8.

and reaching an elevation of 1,680 feet during this trip.²⁸⁶ Additionally, it describes Kandy based upon its population. The journal states, “Kandy contains 20,725 inhabitants, half Cingalese [sic], and the remainder made up of some half dozen other nationalities.”²⁸⁷ As mentioned in the previous chapter here, the journal provides information and details about the city to its readers. In the second journal, Horniman provides similar information about the places he saw, such as Tokyo. He wrote, “Tokyo... the ancient capital of Japan... contains 1,350,000 inhabitants, and is the place of manufacture of all classes of products, and as the houses are of one story [sic] only, it occupies an immense district.”²⁸⁸ As above, Horniman painted a picture of Tokyo which provided information on the city to his readers including the population, the size of the city, and an idea of the city’s domestic architecture.²⁸⁹

Horniman also provided similar details when he visited tourist attractions in Asia. For example, when he visited the Taj Mahal the ninth chapter of first journal stated:

He then visited the world-renowned Taj Mahal, on the banks of the Jumna, which river finds its way into the “Holy” Ganges. The Taj Mahal is known as the “Crown of Lady’s Tomb,” and was erected in 1640 by the Emperor Shah Jahan as a tomb on his favourite Queen, and cost 31,748,026 rupees. It is approached by a gate which has been well described as “a worthy pendant to the Taj itself,” and is built of red sandstone, inlaid with marble inscriptions from the Koran, and surmounted with 26 white marble cupolas. Having passed the gateway, Mr. Horniman found himself in a most beautiful garden, through the centre of which water runs the whole length, and has 23 fountains in its course, and all around are the choicest of trees and plants. From here he observed the mausoleum which in itself is an object of glory. It stands on a platform 313 feet square and is faced with white marble and at each corner there is a white minaret 133 feet high. The principal dome of this exquisite structure is 58 feet in diameter and 80 feet high. The inlaid word and carving

²⁸⁶ Horniman Museum Scrapbook of Press Cuttings and Other Items 1888 – 1901 page 32, item 214.

²⁸⁷ Horniman Museum Scrapbook of Press Cuttings and Other Items 1888 – 1901 page 32, item 214.

²⁸⁸ F. John Horniman, “To the Land of the Rising Sun Chapter III,” Forest Hill and Sydenham Examiner 20 December 1895: 3, FOREST HILL AND SYDENHAM EXAMINER LONDON 9TH AUG 1895 to 31ST DEC 1897 M64/303.

²⁸⁹ In addition to presenting basic facts about the places he visited, by providing figures such as these on populations Horniman also quantified these places for his readers and therefore presented in a manner easily understood.

is beyond description, and as one goes round and round and in and out, he is lost in admiration and wonder.²⁹⁰

Although he praises the beauty of the Taj Mahal, here Horniman also offers some facts and figures concerning the Taj Mahal, in this case the dimensions and material composition of the building, echoing his descriptions of Kandy and Tokyo cited above. Horniman also provides a brief history of the building, including its date of construction and the cost as well as situating the building within space by naming the river next to the Taj Mahal and describing the surrounding area in terms of the fountains and vegetation. These passages are typical of Horniman's journal entries describing cities and tourist attractions.

Horniman and the Use of Models

In his journals Horniman also noted different examples of the use of models by museums to provide information on foreign cultures during his two trips to Asia. During his first trip to India, Horniman visited two museums and remarked upon their use of models. While visiting the Jeypore Museum the journal noted, "the ground floor contains exhibits of the arts, manufactures, and products of India, and especially those of Rajputana; also papiere machie [sic] models of the different casts [sic]. All are well arranged with a view of educating the natives."²⁹¹ Horniman echoed the mission statement of the Jeypore Museum, mentioned in the previous chapter, which sought to spread knowledge about arts and industry from around the world, while pointing out how the ethnographic models provided an educational benefit to the museum's visitors. Later during this same trip, while at a museum in Calcutta, Horniman was impressed by the use of models in the museum. Although the journal refers to these objects as full-size models, the description of the use of these objects indicates that they possessed the same educational purposes as the miniature models: to provide information on various races. The journal stated, "there are also vast collections of ancient remains and figures, life size, of all of the races, showing

²⁹⁰ Horniman Museum Scrapbook of Press Cuttings and Other Items 1888 – 1901 page 30, item 208.

²⁹¹ Horniman Museum Scrapbook of Press Cuttings and Other Items 1888 – 1901 page 27A, item 205.

their dresses, implements, and modes by which the work is accomplished.”²⁹² Like the models in at the Jeypore Museum, and the sets of miniature models purchased by Horniman, the journal noted that these museums conveyed information about foreign peoples through the use of models and, specifically, ethnographic information since Horniman viewed these models as depicting ideas such as caste and the costumes worn by different groups of peoples.

Through his observations on the use of models in museums he visited, Horniman echoed the views of Goode who described how museums should incorporate models in exhibitions. Goode explained how museums could advance their educational goals through the use of models since, as he wrote, models allowed museums to display and discuss ideas not ordinarily available.²⁹³ For example, Goode added that models proved especially useful when displaying a set of materials, including different species of animals and the perceived races of man.²⁹⁴ I discuss this point of how the museum used models to exhibit different ethnic groups further in the third and fourth chapters of this work when I demonstrate how the museum interpreted the miniature models Horniman purchased in India and Burma.

The Museum’s Educational Materials and Programming

Additionally, the museum provided information to visitors through a number of means including the printing and distribution of guidebooks to the museum’s visitors. In addition to numerous museum scholars recommending guidebooks for museum visitors the Colonial and Indian Exhibition also featured printed guides.²⁹⁵ 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.”²⁹⁶ Here Goode stressed that the guidebook should provide visitors with a layout of the museum and description of its

²⁹² Horniman Museum Scrapbook of Press Cuttings and Other Items 1888 – 1901 page 31, item 212.

²⁹³ Goode 45.

²⁹⁴ Goode 45.

²⁹⁵ The Colonial and Indian Exhibition-1” 511.

²⁹⁶ Goode 65.

contents. Flower wrote that guidebooks proved a good supplement to labels and that visitors should be encouraged to take them home.²⁹⁷ 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.²⁹⁸

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 public museum the Horniman Free Museum provided guidebooks to its visitors.²⁹⁹ 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.³⁰⁰ 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]"³⁰¹ 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

²⁹⁷ William Henry Flower, "Museum Organisation- Presidential Address to the British Association for the Advancement of Science. Newcastle-on-Tyne Meeting 11th September 1889," Essays on Museums and Other Subjects Connected with Natural History ed. Flower, William Henry (London: Macmillan and Co., 1898) 19.

²⁹⁸ Murray 264.

²⁹⁹ Coombes notes that the museum was among the first in England to provide guidebooks to visitors. Coombes Reinventing Africa: Museums: Material Culture and Popular Imagination 115.

³⁰⁰ Horniman Museum Scrapbook of Press Cuttings and Other Items 1888 - 1901 page 20, item 127.

³⁰¹ Guide for Use of Visitors When Inspecting the Horniman Free Museum and Gardens 3.

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."³⁰² 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 by displaying 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.³⁰³ 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 description of specific contents in the rooms.

As this thesis investigates the museum between 1895 and 1898 (from the addition of the Indian miniature models to the closing of the museum), this research draws upon the guidebooks dating from this period in order to demonstrate how the museum interpreted the collection. As seen above, the fourteenth edition of the guidebook, dated April 1897, detailed the twenty-four rooms in the museum and provided a description of each room ranging from a single paragraph to over a page in length. Additionally, the guidebook provided descriptions of the rooms which demonstrate that the museum followed the mission outlined above of educating visitors about distant lands. For example, the start of the description for Room 17 (The First Indian & Ceylon Room) states, "the wall cases contain specimens of ivory, horn, and metal trays from India and Ceylon. In the centre case are Indian and Burmese articles in silver, brass, and copper; and a small case contains specimens of

³⁰² Guide for the Use of Visitors When Inspecting the Contents of Surrey House Museum (London: Surrey House Museum, 1890) 1.

³⁰³ Guide for the Use of Visitors When Inspecting the Contents of Surrey House Museum 1, Gratis Hand-Guide for Use of Visitors to The Horniman Free Museum and Pleasure Garden (London: Horniman Free Museum and Pleasure Gardens, 1897) 1.

cocoanut [sic] fibre from Colombo”.³⁰⁴ As seen from the description of these objects, the museum interpreted these items to represent natural materials and metal work from non-Western regions of the world. The guidebook also 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.³⁰⁵

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. Notably, the guidebook also uses the word “curio” to describe some of these objects, highlighting the foreignness of these objects to the visitors.

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 within the museum.³⁰⁶ 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.”³⁰⁷ 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

³⁰⁴ Gratis Hand-Guide for Use of Visitors to The Horniman Free Museum and Pleasure Gardens 10.

³⁰⁵ Gratis Hand-Guide for Use of Visitors to The Horniman Free Museum and Pleasure Gardens 11.

³⁰⁶ Goode 41, 56.

³⁰⁷ Goode 57.

as indispensable scholastic aids.”³⁰⁸ 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”.³⁰⁹ 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 of and prevalence of labels in the museum. When describing the Jeyapore 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.”³¹⁰ 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.”³¹¹ 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

³⁰⁸ Greenwood 28-29.

³⁰⁹ William T. Stearn, The Natural History Museum at South Kensington: A History of the British Museum (Natural History) 1753-1980 (London: Heinemann, 1981) 76.

³¹⁰ Hendley “Indian Museums” 51.

³¹¹ F. John Horniman “A Fortnight in Egypt Chapter II” 3.

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 explanatory data supplied by the highest authorities and experts.”³¹² 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. Through this description of the purpose of labels in this manner 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.”³¹³ 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.”³¹⁴ 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 dated between 1890 and 1893 based on the fact that the article recorded the museum is 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.”³¹⁵ Like the two articles above, this article ties

³¹² F. John Horniman, “A Fortnight in Egypt Chapter III,” *Forest Hill and Sydenham Examiner* 28 February 1896: 2, *FOREST HILL AND SYDENHAM EXAMINER LONDON 9TH AUG 1895 to 31ST DEC 1897* M64/303.

³¹³ Horniman Museum Scrapbook of Press Cuttings and Other Items 1888 –1901 page 20, item 127.

³¹⁴ Horniman Museum Scrapbook of Press Cuttings and Other Items 1888 –1901 page 14, item 63. Here again the museum also noted the fact that it continuously changed and updated the objects it displayed.

³¹⁵ Horniman Museum Scrapbook of Press Cuttings and Other Items 1888 –1901 page 20, item 157.

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”.³¹⁶ 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 and in the twenty-four rooms of the museum, 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. Figures 3.1 (the Elizabethan Bed-Chamber) and 3.3 (the Reception Room) both 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.³¹⁷ 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.³¹⁸ 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

³¹⁶ Greenwood 150-151.

³¹⁷ Report of Proceeding with the Papers Read at the Tenth Annual General Meeting Held in Brighton July 3 to 6, 1899 136-137.

³¹⁸ Report of Proceeding with the Papers Read at the Tenth Annual General Meeting Held in Brighton July 3 to 6, 1899 76-77.



Figure 3.3

Horniman Free Museum Reception Room c. 1896. Most of the objects, likely the museum's collection Japanese deity figures mentioned in the museum's guidebooks, in the case in the centre of the image possess labels. Image courtesy of the Horniman Museum and Gardens.

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 school teachers) provided better educational value.³¹⁹ 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 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.”³²⁰ Greenwood later explained that the objective of these lectures would be to increase the educational benefit of the

³¹⁹ Goode 64.

³²⁰ Greenwood 210.

museum and encourage the general public to engage in “continuous study.”³²¹ 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.³²²

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. Although the miniature models do not appear to have been included in any lectures, the museum’s lectures 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.³²³

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.”³²⁴ Additionally, an article in the *Forest Hill and Sydenham Examiner* dated 26 February 1897 noted that the museum held a lecture on Egyptian mummies which culminated in the unwrapping of mummy from the museum’s collection and the gift of small pieces of the mummy’s

³²¹ Greenwood 210.

³²² Greenwood 212-215.

³²³ Quick *Fifth Annual Report of the Horniman Museum, Forest Hill, S.E., London 1895* 6.

³²⁴ Quick *The Sixth Annual Report &c. of The Horniman Free Museum Forest Hill, London, S.E., 1896* 6.

wrapping to each audience member.³²⁵ Like above this article notes that the museum used objects to illustrate information on other cultures and presented a memento of the lecture to each visitor, which also served the museum's purpose to provide education on foreign cultures, and also, as Stewart mentioned in the previous chapter, tamed and domesticated the idea ancient Egypt to the lecture's attendees since each carried away a small piece of the mummy. 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.

Creating Complete Collections

In addition to the four practices described above, Horniman and the museum advocated another practice emphasizing the educational mission of the museum which refutes later interpretations of the museum as a random collection of materials. In an interview he gave in 1892 in the publication *Pearson's Weekly*, Horniman detailed how he located some of the objects for his collection. He pointed out that he used missionaries to help him complete his collection by detailing how he provided them with drawings of rare insects and asked them to find these creatures for him.³²⁶ He stated:

I possess two butterflies which were only discovered after years of waiting. I found the best way of making the people who are collecting for me understand what I wanted, was to send simple water-coloured drawings of the rarer butterflies and beetles and bid them hunt till they found them.³²⁷

In this quotation, Horniman not only describes the fact that he did not merely collect at random, but he also provides another rationale for the museum's collecting

³²⁵ "Mummies and Their History: A Unique Illustration," *Forest Hill and Sydenham Examiner* 26 February 1897: 3, FOREST HILL AND SYDENHAM EXAMINER LONDON 9TH AUG 1895 to 31ST DEC 1897 M64/303.

³²⁶ "Workers and Their Work- No. XXXV: Mr. Frederick Horniman and His Museum" 663.

³²⁷ "Workers and Their Work- No. XXXV: Mr. Frederick Horniman and His Museum" 663.

practice: the idea of identifying and filling perceived gaps in the collection and striving to complete collections. This section defines how Horniman and the museum, similar to exhibitions of the late nineteenth century such as the Colonial and Indian Exhibition and the Glasgow International Exhibition, privileged the idea of complete collections in order to educate visitors.³²⁸ Prior to this discussion I first define the idea of completing a collection and how completing a collection defines the collector's authority over the subject represented.

This thesis argues that by stressing the complete nature of the collections in the museum Horniman and the museum sought to serve its educational goals while also demonstrating authority over the knowledge and subjects it represented. Pearce addresses how collecting in order to complete a collection manifests an aspect of control. She writes, "[creating a complete collection] is achieved by defining set limits which apparently arise from the material. This kind of collecting is a positive intellectual act designed to demonstrate a point.... Intended to convince or impose".³²⁹ Pearce emphasizes the idea that defining a collection as complete gives the collector a voice of authority over the collection since the collection contains everything relevant to the idea it represents. Stewart adds to this point when discussing the idea of the collection. She states, "the collection is often about containment on the level of its content and on the level of the series, but it is also about containment in a more abstract sense... the museum, seek[s] to represent experience within a mode of control and confinement."³³⁰ Like Pearce, Stewart argues that through the *complete* collection the collector manifests intellectual control over the subject matter that the objects signify.

Horniman, the museum, and observers of the museum all highlighted complete collections within museums. During both of his trips to Asia in the 1890s, Horniman complimented museums by praising their "complete" collections. In an article he wrote for the *Forest Hill and Sydenham Examiner* dated 22 November 1895 Horniman

³²⁸ Mukharji 67, Edward Buck, "The Utility of Exhibitions to India," *Asiatic Quarterly* 2 (1886): 311-312.

³²⁹ Pearce *On Collecting: An Investigation into Collecting in the European Tradition* 269. The notion of complete collections also ties into the Orientalist views held by Horniman and the museum that I will discuss in the next chapter.

³³⁰ Stewart 161.

mentioned that he had visited two museums in San Francisco. He wrote, "I visited the Natural History Museum, which is very good, and also the Mining Museum, which is, perhaps, the most complete collection in the States, it being very rich in fine specimens."³³¹ Note that Horniman praised both museums but specifically singled out the latter museum for its complete collection. Additionally, in part six of the series on Horniman's visit to Asia in 1894-1895 he described the Jeypore Museum. The journal stated, "this [museum] is the most educational institution of its kind in the world, having, as it has, the most complete arrangements gleaned from Europe and America."³³² Horniman again praised a museum by drawing attention to the complete nature of the collection and added that the educational benefits of the museum were enhanced by its completeness. Additionally, while in Bombay, during his first visit to India he visited the Natural History Museum. Regarding this museum, the journal stated, "the Natural History Museum is also very extensive and complete, and well worthy of repeated visits."³³³ Comparable to the museums he visited listed above, Horniman also praised this museum due to the completeness of its collection and recommended that visitors see this museum multiple times. By highlighting the complete nature of these collections, Horniman also underscored the authority the museums held over the subjects they represented, as Pearce and Stewart emphasize, by pointing out the fine specimens in San Francisco and the educational nature of the Jeypore Museum.

When he purchased objects for the museum, Horniman also noted the completion of collections. As mentioned at the end of the previous chapter when he ended his description of his visit to Burma, Horniman mentioned the purchases he had made for the museum would complete the Burmese collection in the museum. Consequently, with the purchase of these objects Horniman highlighted how he had completed his collecting for a section of the museum and thereby implied that the

³³¹ F. John Horniman, "To the Land of the Rising Sun" 3. Kipling also described the collecting of this museum as complete when he wrote, "the system of the Museum is complete in intention, as are its appointments in design. At present there are some fifteen thousand objects of art, covering a complete exposition of the arts from enamels to pottery and from brass-ware to stone-carving, of the state of Jeypore." Kipling 35.

³³² Horniman Museum Scrapbook of Press Cuttings and Other Items 1888 -1901 page 27A, item 205.

³³³ Horniman Museum Scrapbook of Press Cuttings and Other Items 1888 -1901 page 26, item 202.

museum possessed intellectual authority over Burma through the objects the museum used to represent Burmese culture.

Like Horniman, the museum also highlighted the completeness of its collections in the guidebooks. The guidebook titled "Guide to the Museum Mr. and Mrs. Horniman 'At Home' Wednesday, February 11th 1891" noted that the Horse Armoury room contained "a complete mounted figure of a knight, equipped for the tournament, both horse and man clad in fluted plate mail, about the period of Henry VII."³³⁴ Here again the museum underscored its knowledge of this subject by drawing attention to the complete set of armour, the type of armour, and the period from which the armour dated. The fourteenth edition of the guidebook also pointed out a collection display that it described as complete. It stated, "in a case on the left will be seen a complete costume of a Kachin woman; silver tubes which hang from their ears, dress rings, and silver bracelets, and a variety of Burmese sandals, all brought over by Mr. Horniman himself."³³⁵ Here, the museum displayed its intellectual authority over this subject matter in a number of ways, including describing collections as complete. Similar the process Pearce and Stewart described here the museum defined these costumes through the parts of the set and stated that it possessed all the components in this group. Furthermore, the museum highlighted the provenance of these objects by stating that they came from Burma by way of Horniman himself, who, as the visitor would know, had visited Burma, purchased the objects, and brought back these Burmese objects, and was therefore an expert on Burmese culture.

Late nineteenth-century descriptions of the museum also highlight the complete nature of the museum's collections. Greenwood provides a description of the museum detailing the collection. He stated, "among the private museums of the country there is scarcely one more complete and better arranged than that of Mr. F.J. Horniman at Forest Hill, London S.E."³³⁶ In this description Greenwood emphasizes both the arrangement and complete nature of museum itself. Both of these characteristics speak to the museum's authority over the subjects it represented since

³³⁴ Guide to the Museum Mr. and Mrs. Horniman at Home Wednesday, February 11th, 1891 6.

³³⁵ Gratis Hand-Guide for Use of Visitors to The Horniman Free Museum and Pleasure Gardens 9.

³³⁶ Greenwood 149.

both relate to how the museum presented information in an intelligible manner. Articles about the museum from the same period pay particular attention to the complete nature of the museum's entomological collection. An article written about the museum in 1896 spotlighted the insect collection, and stated that the museum contained "the complete specimens of British butterflies, a number of which were bred in the Museum."³³⁷ Here, the author stresses the authority of the museum over this subject by not only pointing out the complete nature of the collection, but, as above, mentioning its provenance, in this case the museum, which he complimented throughout this article as containing a large and wide-ranging insect collection.³³⁸ Furthermore, another article about the museum dated 3 January 1891 identified the completeness of another of the museum's collections. It states, "Surrey House Museum can boast... next to the British Museum...[it] is certainly the most complete, the most interesting, and the most varied natural history museum not only in England, but also in the world."³³⁹ Like the articles and descriptions of the museum above, this article also lauds the intellectual prowess of the museum by stating that its natural history collection is world-class and second only to the British Museum, which the article describes as "the national collection".³⁴⁰ Building on this review of how Horniman, the museum, and Horniman's contemporaries highlighted the intellectual control the museum possessed over the topics it presented, I will now focus on how this idea of control manifested itself through the display of the four sets of miniature objects.

Display of the Set of Papier-mâché Heads

The display and interpretation of the papier-mâché heads fits within the educational parameters of both Horniman and the museum described above. I argue that through

³³⁷ A Visitor, "Through 'The Horniman Museum' No. XVII" *Forest Hill and Sydenham Examiner* 25 December 1896: 3, FOREST HILL AND SYDENHAM EXAMINER LONDON 9TH AUG 1895 to 31ST DEC 1897 M64/303.

³³⁸ Visitor "Through 'The Horniman Museum' No. XVII" 3.

³³⁹ "The Horniman Museum," *St. Stephens Review* 3 January 1891 16.

³⁴⁰ "The Horniman Museum" *St. Stephens Review* 16.

the display and interpretation of this set of objects, the museum asserted intellectual control over them, and by extension their cultures of origin, by both defining this set of objects as “complete” and by encouraging visitors to see and understand the totality Indian culture in a single glance. This section begins by examining how the museum first displayed and interpreted these objects and how this interpretation underscored the museum’s goal of providing education about foreign cultures. Next, I consider how the museum described these objects within its guidebooks and how this interpretation corresponded with the idea of complete collecting. Finally, I analyse how the museum’s interpretation of these models was designed to showcase the museum’s authority over this subject.

According to reports and guidebooks from the Horniman Free Museum, the set of miniature model heads appeared in the museum during the spring of 1895. The museum’s fifth annual report offers a brief description of the kinds of objects Frederick Horniman purchased in India and how the museum used these objects. In this report Richard Quick states:

A large collection of objects from India and Ceylon, purchased by Mr. Horniman during his recent travels in those countries were arranged and placed on display at Easter. It consisted of art products in great variety... Idols of various kinds, made of marble, stone, brass, bronze, wood, and *papier maché*, musical instruments, pipes, palm-leaf books, prayer blocks and wheels, devil-masks, etc. [emphasis original].³⁴¹

Although the report does not directly mention the miniature heads, or the interpretation of these objects, it does reference papier-mâché objects in this group of acquisitions, indicating that the museum included these miniature models within this exhibition.

Though the museum did not explicitly state that it had created themed rooms or themed areas based upon geography, museum documents offer a clue as to the museum’s rationale for where it chose to display these objects. The twelfth edition of the guidebook explains why the museum placed objects from India and Ceylon in the same rooms (Rooms 17 and 17A). It states, “This [room] is principally occupied by

³⁴¹ Quick *The Fifth Annual Report of the Horniman Museum, Forest Hill, London S.E.* 10.

Indian and Ceylon exhibits, forming, with the next room, the collection recently made by Mr. Horniman during his travels in these countries.”³⁴² Here, the museum clearly states that it created these rooms not for the sake of constructing exhibitions based upon geography, but instead created these geographically-themed rooms to showcase the places Horniman recently visited.

Other accounts of these objects, from the museum and from late nineteenth-century sources, provide further information on how the museum interpreted these objects. A newspaper article, likely dating from the early spring of 1895 (since it references the fact that the museum would later place the objects Horniman purchased in India on display), furnishes evidence for how the museum planned to use the objects Horniman purchased. It states, “the Horniman Museum is a welcome sign of the times. It is a proof the people in England are taking a greater interest in India, and at the same time it will assist in spreading knowledge of the Empire, of its actual state and possibilities of development.”³⁴³ This article not only confirms the mission of the museum, to provide information about foreign cultures, but also the mirrors the descriptions of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition since both used the objects collected to convey information about Indian culture and potential advancement as well as the reach of the British Empire.

An article appearing in the newspaper clipping scrapbook also confirms the presence and interpretation of these objects in the museum. This article, likely dating from early 1895, describes this collection of heads and how the museum used them to represent Indian peoples.³⁴⁴ It stated, “close to the terrible Kali will be found papier-mâché heads, which are useful in showing the distinguishing marks of the various

³⁴² Guide for the Use of Visitors When Inspecting the Horniman Free Museum and Gardens 10.

³⁴³ Horniman Museum Scrapbook of Press Cuttings and Other Items 1888 –1901 page 5, item 8. In this text, the word after ‘actual’ is slightly illegible due to the manner in which the cutting was placed in the scrapbook. I believe this word is ‘state’.

³⁴⁴ Horniman Museum Scrapbook of Press Cuttings and Other Items 1888 –1901 page 25, “The Horniman Museum at Forest Hill: The New Indian Curios”. The article references the fact that Horniman recently returned from India and that the museum has recently published its fourth annual report, which appeared in early 1895. Additionally, the title of this article also refers to the objects Horniman collected in India as curios, again highlighting that these objects were used to portray the unfamiliar, since they are described as being from India and the article notes several times that the museum intended to use these objects to provide information about India.

castes in India.”³⁴⁵ Here, the article suggests that the museum would interpret these objects to help its visitor differentiate and understand the marks on the heads that the museum believed represented caste affiliation.³⁴⁶ However, other than noting the inclusion of these objects in the museum, and stating that they are near the sculpture of Kali, the article does not provide the location of the objects within the museum.

The heads also appear in two editions of the museum’s guidebooks. A detailed description of these models is included in the twelfth edition of the guidebook. The guidebook describes the location of the heads as room 17A: The Second Indian and Ceylon Room.³⁴⁷ In describing the heads it states, “the next two wall cases contain specimens of Indian pottery, and heads in papier-mâché, representing the different Hindu caste marks”.³⁴⁸ Similar to the description above, this account of the display of the model heads fits perfectly within the mission of the museum by illustrating how the museum used these to objects to portray a segment of Indian culture: the outward depiction of caste. The fourteenth edition of the museum’s free guidebook, dated April 1897, also describes both sets of objects. Like the twelfth edition, this edition of the guidebook focuses on how the museum interpreted the heads in order to represent different castes and again records both sets of objects as exhibited in Room 17A and provides the same description for these models as the twelfth edition of the guidebook.³⁴⁹ Showing that the interpretation of these objects did not change between the editions of the museum’s guidebook the fact the museum here underscored its interpretation of these models as providing information of Indian culture and again demonstrated how it fulfilled the museum’s mission.

³⁴⁵ Horniman Museum Scrapbook of Press Cuttings and Other Items 1888 –1901 page 25, “The Horniman Museum at Forest Hill: The New Indian Curios”.

³⁴⁶ I will discuss the museum’s interpretation of the markings further in the next chapter.

³⁴⁷ Guide for Use of Visitors When Inspecting the Horniman Free Museum and Gardens 11. Accounts from the museum also indicate that the museum placed the Taj Mahal model Horniman purchased (mentioned in the previous chapter) on display in the Second Indian and Ceylon Room. The twelfth edition of the museum’s guidebook describes this model. It states, “in the next case will be noticed a fine marble model of the world-wide celebrated and beautiful Taj-Mahal, at Agra, built in memory of the wife of Emperor Begum Muntaz Mahal.” (Guide for Use of Visitors When Inspecting the Horniman Free Museum and Gardens 11). Through this description in the guidebook the museum clearly indicated that it interpreted the object to present information on India, and the Taj Mahal specifically, and ignored other information about the object including where Horniman purchased this model.

³⁴⁸ Guide for Use of Visitors When Inspecting the Horniman Free Museum and Gardens 12.

³⁴⁹ Gratis Hand-Guide for Use of Visitors to The Horniman Free Museum and Pleasure Gardens 11-12.

However, in addition to highlighting that the museum displayed and interpreted these objects to provide visitors with information on Indian culture, these two descriptions also imply that the models represented a complete set of these objects. Both guidebooks state that these models represent “*the* different Hindu caste marks” (my emphasis), rather than stating that they represented only some or a selection of the caste marks. By using such language to define these objects, the museum demonstrated that it possessed authority over this subject, as Pearce and Stewart have suggested since the museum here defined the boundaries of this collection and met its own self-defined the criteria of possessing a complete set of these objects.

A description of these objects in the Horniman Free Museum, printed in 1896, also emphasized the complete nature of this collection. Through an account of the museum’s display of the papier-mâché heads in the *Forest Hill and Sydenham Examiner*, the article’s author, Woolhouse, describes how the museum used these objects to fulfil its educational mission, but also implied that the museum possessed a complete set. He described the heads as, “a series of small models in papier-mâché of the heads of men of the principal casts [sic] and occupations in Rajputana. These are careful studies from life, and on each is placed a turban... usually worn by the persons represented.”³⁵⁰ Akin to the descriptions furnished by the guidebooks, Woolhouse noted that these objects represented the principle castes of India, rather than a selection of them, and thereby highlighted the museum’s authority over this topic. Although this description implies that other castes and representations existed outside of this set, Woolhouse noted the museum’s intellectual authority over Indian castes and occupations, implying that anything outside of this set was does not represent this region of India.

Woolhouse’s and the museum’s description of these models also echoes the description of the model heads Hendley displayed in Jaipur. *The Handbook to the Jeypore Museum*, written by Hendley, describes the objects in case 149 as “a series of

³⁵⁰ A. Visitor, “Through ‘The Horniman Museum’ No. XV,” *Forest Hill and Sydenham Examiner* 11 December 1896: 3, FOREST HILL AND SYDENHAM EXAMINER LONDON 9TH AUG 1895 to 31ST DEC 1897 M64/303.

small models in papier-mache of the heads of men of the principle castes and occupations in Rajputana... They are careful studies from life, and on each is placed the turban... usually worn by the person represented.”³⁵¹ Notice that this passage from Hendley is identical to the quote from Woolhouse above implying that Woolhouse, and possibly Horniman as well, possessed familiarity with how Hendley interpreted these objects since passage predates Woolhouse’s article by at least one year. Additionally, similar to the Horniman Free Museum, this museum, described as containing complete collections by both Horniman and Kipling, noted that these models represented “the principle castes and occupations” instead of stating that they referred only to a sample of Indian castes.

In addition to the description of these objects highlighting how the museum communicated its knowledge and exerted authority over this topic by implying that these objects formed a complete set, through the use of miniature objects, the viewer is able to stand over these objects and feel as if they survey the entirety of a subject and, therefore, possess complete knowledge over the subject the miniature objects represent. Writing in 1911, Frederic A. Lucas described the phenomenon of standing over sets of objects. He wrote:

It is a curious fact that models of scenes illustrating the occupations of savage or little-known races of men apparently arouse greater interest when in miniature, attracting more attention than full-size reproductions. This is true partly because in the small group the whole scene can be grasped at once in a picture.³⁵²

Here, Lucas describes how, through the creation of miniature worlds, like the one the Horniman museum constructed through the display of the miniature heads, the viewer feels as if they are seeing the entire width and breadth of the subject depicted, as the museum implied through its description of these objects in the guidebooks. Stewart also highlights how the display of miniature objects creates a sense of

³⁵¹ Hendley Handbook to the Jeypore Museum 47.

³⁵² Frederic A. Lucas, “A Note Regarding Human Interest in Museum Exhibits,” The American Museum Journal 11.6 (October 1911): 188.

complete worlds to the viewer. Like Lucas, Stewart contends that this is a closed space which accentuates the themes or signs represented. She states:

The miniature always tends toward tableau rather than toward narrative, toward silence and spatial boundaries rather than toward expository closure. Whereas speech unfolds in time, the miniature unfolds in space. The observer is offered a transcendent and simultaneous view of the miniature, yet is trapped outside the possibility of a lived reality of the miniature.³⁵³

Comparable to Lucas above, here Stewart also emphasizes how sets of miniature objects create scenes that imply the complete nature of the collection based upon the fact that these tableaux provide a view of all of the objects in the collection. This in turn is rooted in the idea that miniature objects offer the viewer a finite space in which to understand a moment frozen in time that represents other similar instances.³⁵⁴

Although referencing architectural models, Altick also emphasizes this idea. When describing models owned by Tradescant and displayed in exhibitions in London, he noted the usefulness and benefit of these models. He states, “incorporating great detail... [these models] compressed much into a small space, permitting one to envision large buildings or whole topographical areas more comprehensively than did pictures.”³⁵⁵ Like Stewart and Lucas, Altick emphasizes how miniature objects provide the viewer the illusion of comprehending the entirety of the subject.

As seen above, this is the practice the Horniman Free Museum utilised. By allowing the visitors to view these representations of caste at one time, the museum offered a closed, and seemingly complete, space through which to comprehend this concept. Through the display of these miniature heads the museum projected the impression that it possessed complete knowledge and authority over the Orient. In

³⁵³ Stewart 66. The next chapter will further discuss the idea of how miniature objects draw attention to the specific ideas the objects represent.

³⁵⁴ I shall discuss the idea of representing cultures as static more in the next chapter. Wintle, “Model Subjects: Representations of the Andaman Islands at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, 1886” 201, Chatterjee 215.

³⁵⁵ Richard D. Altick, *The Shows of London* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1978) 114.

addition, through the explanatory text in the museum's guidebooks, the museum implied that it featured a complete set of these objects, and thus held complete authority over the knowledge of Indian caste. In his description of these objects Woolhouse echoed the museum's interpretation of them by noting that they represented the principle castes of Rajputana, and therefore implying that castes outside of this group were insignificant.

Display of the Indian Figures

Similar to the model heads, the museum began to display the Indian figures in the Second Indian and Ceylon Room shortly after Horniman returned from his first trip in early 1895. The museum likely first placed these objects on display during Easter 1895, as it did with the heads. The 1895 Annual Report described the additional objects the museum displayed at this time when it listed, "*repoussé* silver and lacquered ware, personal ornaments, brass and copper work, enamelled ware, jewellery, embroidery in gold thread, silver thread, and silk, pottery, weapons of many kinds, clay modelling, wood and ivory carving, inlaid work on marble and wood [emphasis original].³⁵⁶ As in the case of the heads, the report does not directly mention the Indian figures, but the inclusion of clay modelling in this group likely refers to these objects.

The figures also appear in the same article as the heads cited in the previous section which likely dates from early 1895. Regarding the figures and the article notes that "peculiarly valuable, from an educational point of view, are the coloured clay figures, arranged in a large case, and representing different castes, professions, and trades in India. Mr. Horniman has obtained many characteristic exhibits from Northern India and Indo-China."³⁵⁷ This article not only claimed that the museum interpreted these objects to represent Indian peoples, castes and trades, as it had also suggested regarding the heads, but also indicated that these objects were displayed in

³⁵⁶ Quick [The Fifth Annual Report of the Horniman Museum, Forest Hill, London S.E.](#) 10.

³⁵⁷ Horniman Museum Scrapbook of Press Cuttings and Other Items 1888 -1901 page 25, "The Horniman Museum at Forest Hill: The New Indian Curios".

a manner similar to the Japanese objects pictured in Figure 3.3. Additionally, the article noted that these objects, and the other items Horniman brought back from India, constituted accurate representations of this country. Also, similar to the description of the model heads, the article did not provide the location of the objects within the museum.

The twelfth and fourteenth editions of the guidebook also refer to these objects and indicate how the museum used them to further its mission. The guidebook states that the museum placed these objects in the Second Indian and Ceylon Room, a room specifically designed to showcase the objects Horniman brought back from his first trip to Asia, including the heads. Both the twelfth and fourteenth editions of the guidebook describe the manner in which the museum displayed and interpreted these objects. The twelfth edition states, “the next wall case contains a very interesting collection of coloured clay models of figures (singly and in groups) of the different Hindu castes, trades, &c., from Lucknow.”³⁵⁸ This description clearly shows that the museum intended for these objects to portray different cultures, thereby fulfilling its mission of educating visitors about foreign people, since the description of these objects highlights that they provide information on Indian religion, social structure, and occupations. The fourteenth edition of the museum’s free guidebook to visitors, dated April 1897, also provides descriptions of these objects and demonstrates how the museum used them. Like the description of the model heads, the guidebook indicates that the museum continued to display the clay figures from Lucknow using the language to describe these objects in the twelfth edition.³⁵⁹ Consequently showing that the display and interpretation of these models did not change during this period.

These descriptions of the objects also imply that this set of figures was meant to show the museum portrayed and held total knowledge of Indian culture. Both descriptions of this set of figures state that these figures represented *the* different Hindu castes and trades of Lucknow rather than a selection of representations of caste and trades. An article likely originating in Spring 1895 confirms this notion. It

³⁵⁸ Guide for Use of Visitors When Inspecting the Horniman Free Museum and Gardens 11.

³⁵⁹ Gratis Hand-Guide for Use of Visitors to The Horniman Free Museum and Pleasure Gardens 11.

stated that the museum intended to open an exhibition at Easter with objects from Frederick Horniman's recent travels to India and Ceylon.³⁶⁰ This article provides more detail on the objects and specific information on how the staff of the museum utilised them. Regarding this set of figures, the article described them as, "a large collection of coloured clay figures representing the different castes, professions, trades, &c. [which] are from Lucknow. These will be found very interesting and instructive, as giving the costume and dress of different country folks."³⁶¹ Comparable to the descriptions from the museum, this article stated that these figures represented *the* different castes and trades as well as *the* costume and dress. In both cases the article implied that this collection represented all there was to know on this topic.

As well as underscoring the purpose of these objects, this article also highlights how the museum expressed control over Indian culture from both a colonial point of view and through the display of these miniature models. In its display of these objects the Horniman Free Museum also emphasized authority over this topic through its use of miniature models. As demonstrated by the observations of Lucas and Stewart in the previous section, through the display of this set of miniature objects the museum provided the viewer with the ability to stand over and survey these objects, thereby granting the viewer the feeling of authority and also superiority over the concepts these models represented. Bachelard expanded upon this idea when he contended that "the cleverer I am at miniaturizing the world, the better I possess it."³⁶² Bachelard illuminates how, through the miniaturization of objects, the viewer gains a greater sense of control over the topic. Pomian also highlights this function of miniature objects. When describing cabinets of curiosity in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries he observes how these collections created microcosms of the world when he states, "there seems to have been a desire to miniaturize the constituent parts of the world in such a way as to allow the eye to

³⁶⁰ Horniman Museum Scrapbook of Press Cuttings and Other Items 1888 –1901 page 25, item 185.

³⁶¹ Horniman Museum Scrapbook of Press Cuttings and Other Items 1888 –1901 page 25, item 185. I will discuss this notion of comparing cultures in the next chapter.

³⁶² Bachelard 150.

take them all in at the same time”.³⁶³ Like Stewart, Lucas, and Bachelard, Pomian draws attention to the ability of groups of miniature objects to allow the beholder to view a representation of the entire world at one time.

Through the display of this set of miniature figures the museum once again highlighted its authority over Indian culture. Although the descriptions of these models demonstrate that the museum desired to use these objects to give the viewers information on a foreign culture, these same descriptions, as well as the account of the models which appeared in the newspaper article from 1895, show that the museum also used them to assert its authority over India. Through the display of a seemingly complete set of these figures detailing different aspects of Indian culture the museum’s visitors could stand over the objects and see the entirety of these concepts laid out before them.

Sets of Burmese Figures

Similar to the two sets of Indian miniature models discussed above, contemporary newspaper reports and museum publications furnish information on the museum’s interpretation of the two sets of Burmese miniature ethnographic models Horniman purchased from Beato in December 1895. Following the structure of the two sections above, this section begins by determining when the objects entered the museum’s exhibitions. Next, I review and analyse how the museum and contemporary accounts of these objects described the figures, by highlighting both the educational goals of the museum as well as emphasizing the complete nature of this collection. This section also demonstrates how the museum exerted control over Burmese culture through both the display of these miniature models and by deploying a colonial lens.

The museum’s sixth annual report indicated that the museum placed these objects on exhibition on 25 May 1896 in the new Oriental Saloon and that the museum exhibited them to provide information on Burma to the museum’s visitors. The report stated that “on May the 25th (Whit Monday) the new Oriental Saloon was

³⁶³ Pomian 49.

opened, containing the antiquities, &c., collected by Mr Horniman during his Tour last year in Burma and Egypt.”³⁶⁴ As with the model heads and figures from India, the museum placed these objects in a newly-designed room in order to showcase the objects Horniman had purchased during his second trip to Asia and, as this passage indicates, used the objects to provide information to visitors information on a foreign culture.

The fourteenth edition of the free guidebook to the museum confirms the presence of these two sets of objects in the museum as well as articulating the museum’s interpretation of the objects. Regarding the display of these objects the guidebook records “a large case containing models of the various Burmese characters, from the ex-King and Queen to the peasants, soldiers, priests, etc. In addition to the models are dolls and toys, and below a number of native Kachin utensils.”³⁶⁵ Comparable to the annual report, this passage from the guidebook clearly indicates that the museum intended to use these models to detail Burmese society through the use of the models that portray different social classes and trades. The passage also demonstrates that the museum placed multiple objects from Burma, including toys and utensils, in this case in order to expose visitors more fully to Burmese culture.

However, this passage also demonstrates that the museum claimed intellectual authority over the objects. As with the heads and figures from India the guidebook described this collection of models as showing “*the various Burmese characters*”, instead of a sample or collection of characters,³⁶⁶ thereby implying that the museum possessed a complete set of these figures. This description contrasts sharply with the description of the other objects in this case which the guidebook describes as “*a number of native Kachin utensils*” implying that there are other utensils that exist outside of this set.

³⁶⁴ Quick The Sixth Annual Report &c. of The Horniman Free Museum Forest Hill, London, S.E., 1896 6.

³⁶⁵ Gratis Hand-Guide for Use of Visitors to The Horniman Free Museum and Pleasure Gardens 9.

³⁶⁶ Case 189 in the Jeypore Museum also contained a set of Burmese models. However, Hendley described these objects as, “thirty carved and painted wooden figures representing most of the Burmese occupations and professions.” Hendley The Handbook to the Jeypore Museum 68.

Additionally, an article in the *Forest Hill and Sydenham Examiner* dated 1896 provides further information on the museum's display and interpretation of these models. The article titled "The Oriental Gallery at the Horniman Museum: A Valuable Addition", dated 17 July 1896, describes how the objects appeared in the gallery. It records, "not the least fascinating part of this imposing gallery is the large case containing models of various Burmese characters from the ex-King and Queen, to the peasants, soldiers, priests, marionettes, and every conceivable character".³⁶⁷ Similar to the description of these objects in the museum's guidebook this passage highlights the notion that this case contained a complete set of figures by stating that it held "every conceivable character". Through these two descriptions of these sets of objects the museum emphasized that it contained a complete set of Burmese figures and therefore complete authority over this subject.

This article also demonstrates how these sets of models complemented the museum's mission. The article states, "what in reality Mr. Horniman has seen in the East he has brought back in models for the edification of those who are not in the position to see them in real life."³⁶⁸ Akin to the museum's mission statement described earlier in this chapter, this passage notes the idea that the museum used objects to represent peoples and cultures. Additionally, since the museum interpreted these objects to represent Burmese society, this article also highlights how the museum featured objects from other cultures, as also accentuated in the museum's mission statement.

Like the models described above, the manner in which the museum displayed these miniature objects provided the viewers with a sense of control over Burmese culture since, through these objects, they could grasp the entirety of the culture at one time. Two articles from 1896 show that visitors reacted to the display in this manner. An article dated 17 July 1896 speculated that these models provided a simulation of a Burmese crowd. It stated, "what an imposing sight it must be to see a Burmese

³⁶⁷ "The Oriental Gallery at the Horniman Museum: A Valuable Addition," *Forest Hill and Sydenham Examiner* 17 July 1896: 3, FOREST HILL AND SYDENHAM EXAMINER LONDON 9TH AUG 1895 to 31ST DEC 1897 M64/303.

³⁶⁸ "The Oriental Gallery at the Horniman Museum: A Valuable Addition" 3.

crowd.”³⁶⁹ While this passage foregrounds the educational value of the museum regarding Burmese culture, the author also notes that when he viewed these objects he imagined a Burmese crowd, thereby creating a miniature version of Burmese society in his mind. Additionally, in the article titled “Through ‘The Horniman Museum’ No. XII”, after Woolhouse describes the objects he writes, “Mr. Horniman, who has seen the crowd in reality, has secured these interesting figures in order to give visitors to his Museum some idea as to the dress and custom of the Burmese”.³⁷⁰ While Woolhouse confirmed that the purpose of displaying these models in the museum was to support the museum’s aim to provide education on the Burmese and identify Burmese costumes, he also makes an allusion to the idea that this scene represented a Burmese crowd.

This idea of using miniature objects in order to establish a fictitious representation also demonstrates an aspect of intellectual control over a subject. Both Stewart and Elsner discuss the idea of using miniature objects to create a fictitious world the collector controls. Stewart wrote, “the miniature, linked to nostalgic versions of childhood and history, presents diminutive and thereby manipulatable versions of experience, a version which is domesticated and protected from contamination.”³⁷¹ Here, Stewart highlights how the collector can use miniature objects in order to create any version of an experience, comparable to the museum’s use of the Burmese figures in order to represent a Burmese crowd. Elsner also describes how another seminal nineteenth-century collector used miniature models to create a fictitious world when he details how Sir John Soane placed many of his architectural models together in the same room. Elsner contends:

all [the models] are jumbled in the Neoclassical interior of a dominating, ordered space... a space organized in relation to the architect himself. Like the imaginary world created by the Soane collection as a whole, the models and this drawing of models, while constantly parading their formal and

³⁶⁹ “The Oriental Gallery at the Horniman Museum: A Valuable Addition” 3.

³⁷⁰ A. Visitor, “Through ‘The Horniman Museum’ No. XII,” Forest Hill and Sydenham Examiner 20 November 1896: 3, FOREST HILL AND SYDENHAM EXAMINER LONDON 9TH AUG 1895 to 31ST DEC 1897 M4/303.

³⁷¹ Stewart 69. The next chapter of this thesis will further address the notion of miniature worlds and frozen time.

stylistic reference to the past, ignore real chronology.³⁷²

Elsner emphasizes how, using miniature models, the collector, in this case Soane, arranges objects into a fictitious representation which ultimately demonstrates their control over the collection and the ideas the collection represents. Similarly, the Horniman Free Museum arranged this set of miniature models into a fictitious world that showed people from a number of different occupations, such as a monk and a soldier, a king and a queen, all grouped together in order to represent the ideas the museum wished to represent, such as the totality of its knowledge on Burmese culture.

Comparable to the model heads and figures Horniman purchased in India, the museum also interpreted the two sets of Burmese models in order to represent Burmese culture. However, through this representation the museum demonstrated its intellectual authority over Burma in two ways. First, in a museum publication which described these figures, the museum implied that these models represented the entirety of Burmese culture: an assertion with which descriptions of the figures in contemporary newspapers concur. Finally, through the creation of a simulated Burmese crowd in the museum's display of these miniature models, the museum also demonstrated authority and control over this topic since it used these objects in order to present a fictitious ideal of Burmese society and culture in order to showcase the museum's authority.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined how the museum interpreted the four sets of miniature models Horniman purchased in Asia between 1894 and 1895. I began this chapter by arguing that, contrary to previous scholarship on the museum, the Horniman Free Museum possessed a mission of collecting and displaying objects that provided information about foreign cultures. I then detailed how the museum changed

³⁷² Elsner 175.

between 1884 and 1898 in accordance with this mission and how Horniman's museum publications, the use of interpretive labels in the museum, and the museum's programming all exemplified this mission. I next demonstrated that with each set of these models, the museum displayed and interpreted these objects to provide information about Indian and Burmese peoples and culture. However, the museum also demonstrated its authority over Indian and Burmese culture in two other ways. First, for each of these sets of models, museum literature and local newspapers emphasized the idea that the museum possessed a complete set of these models and that, therefore, the museum held complete knowledge on the subjects of Indian and Burmese culture. Second, through the use and display of these four sets of miniature models, the museum offered its visitors the ability to stand above them and gain the illusion of a complete intellectual grasp of the entirety of Indian and Burmese cultures.

Chapter 4: Decoding the Orient Through Miniature Models

Building upon the previous chapter's discussion of the Horniman Free Museum's emphasis on the educational role of its objects, this chapter focuses on the interpretation of Indian and Burmese cultures as cultivated through the four sets of miniature models by both the museum and its visitors. I explore the attitudes towards Indian and Burmese peoples and cultures embodied in and reinforced by the museum's interpretation of these objects. The first section of this chapter draws particularly on Said's on Orientalism in order to provide a postcolonial lens through which to understand these attitudes, and examines their relationship to Horniman's writings and his personal attitudes towards Indian and Burmese cultures. I next focus on the museum and show the manner in which the museum compared the peoples these miniature objects represented to other cultures was hierarchical, and reinforced the perception of Indians and Burmese as inferior to the British. I argue that the museum created an Orientalist context in its exhibitions which represented Indian and Burmese cultures as technologically inferior. Consequently, through the objects the museum included in these exhibitions, the visitor would draw the conclusion that Indian and Burmese societies did not measure up to their own.

I then focus on the four sets of miniature models to show how both the museum's and visitors' interpretation of these models, as well as the miniature scale of the objects, further reinforced these notions of superiority to the viewers. Based on theories of miniature objects developed by Stewart and others, I argue that the size of these objects forced viewers to examine them more closely than they would human-scale objects. Consequently, through this closer examination of the objects, the viewers noticed the differences not only between the artefacts within these sets of objects, but also the differences between themselves and the objects – primarily the details such as the *tilaka* marks and the clothing worn by the figures. Through their interpretation of the figures' clothing in particular, the visitors gained a sense of superiority over the peoples these miniature models represented.

Viewing the World Through a Postcolonial Lens

Numerous scholars offer different approaches to understanding interactions with and between groups and peoples representing coloniser and colonised peoples. However, theories which focus on the interactions between coloniser and colonised or understanding this colonial dynamic also fail to accurately describe this relationship between Horniman and the cultures he encountered or how the museum represented these cultures.³⁷³ Orientalist theory, in contrast, captures some ways in which Horniman and the museum depicted their cultures, but fails to grasp some ways in which Horniman felt and described these cultures.³⁷⁴ First defined by Edward Said, Orientalism describes the idea of creating a dichotomy between cultures, emphasizing the differences between one culture and another, and thereby frames the other culture as inferior. However, critical to understanding this concept is the

³⁷³ Numerous scholars address interactions between groups, how traditionally underrepresented groups make their voices known within a colonial discourse, or the creation and use of stereotypes within a colonial discourse. This list represents only a small sample of these works. Phillips 196, Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994) 86, 114, Matthew Liebmann, "The Mickey Mouse Kachina and Other 'Double Objects': Hybridity in the Material Culture of Colonial Encounters," *Journal of Social Archaeology* 15:3 (2015) 337: [SAGE 5 July 2016](http://jsa.sagepub.com.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/content/15/3/319) <http://jsa.sagepub.com.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/content/15/3/319>, Diana DiPaolo Loren, "Seeing Hybridity in the Anthropology Museum: Practices of Longing and Fetishization," *Journal of Social Archaeology* 15:3 (2015) 313-314: [SAGE 5 July](http://journals.sagepub.com.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/doi/pdf/10.1177/1469605315574789) <http://journals.sagepub.com.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/doi/pdf/10.1177/1469605315574789>, This list represents only a small sample of these works. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader* ed. Williams, Patrick and Laura Chrisman (Harlow: Longman, 1993) 84, Gyan Prakash, "Introduction: After Colonialism," *After Colonialism: Imperial Histories and Postcolonial Displacements*, ed. Prakash, Gyan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995) 10, Wanning Sun, *Subaltern China: Rural Migrants, Media, and Cultural Practices* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014) 29, [MyLibrary 28 September 2014](http://lib.myilibrary.com.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/Open.aspx?id=643849) <http://lib.myilibrary.com.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/Open.aspx?id=643849>, Bhabha 82-84, Bart Moore-Gilbert, *Postcolonial Theory: Contexts, Practices, Politics* (London: Verso, 1997) 117-118, Andrew D. Evans, "Capturing Race: Anthropology and Photography in German and Austrian Prisoner-of-War Camps During World War I," *Colonialist Photography: Imag(in)ing Race and Place* ed. Hight, Eleanor M. and Gary D. Sampson. (London: Routledge, 2002) 227, Ayshe Erdogdu, "Picturing Alterity: Representational Strategies in Victorian Type Photographs of Ottoman Men," *Colonialist Photography: Imag(in)ing Race and Place*, ed. Hight, Eleanor M. and Gary D. Johnson (London: Routledge, 2002) 118-119.

³⁷⁴ Joan DelPlato, "Collecting/Painting Harem/Clothing," *Material Cultures, 1740-1920: The Meanings and Pleasures of Collecting*, ed. Potvin, John and Alla Myzelev (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009) 104, John M. MacKenzie, *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995) 67, John Falconer, "'A Pure Labor of Love': A Publishing History of *The People of India*," *Colonialist Photography: Imag(in)ing Race and Place*, ed. Hight, Eleanor M. and Gary D. Sampson. (London: Routledge, 2002) 51, Erdogdu 122.

fact that these divisions and ideas of the Other are created by and reflective of the individual's biases. Said elaborated upon the nature of this division when he described how Westerners viewed people and cultures different from theirs. He writes, "along with all other peoples variously designated as backward, degenerate, uncivilized, and retarded, the Orientals were viewed in a framework constructed out of biological determinism and moral-political admonishment."³⁷⁵ Here Said underscores the idea that Westerners viewed other cultures as primitive and culturally stagnant compared to their own, based upon the perceived biological and/or societal inferiority of the other. Said later describes how, to the Westerner, the Orient also appeared to be static and, indeed, needed to remain static in order to fit within an all-encompassing world view. He contends:

a vision, therefore, is static, just as the scientific categories informing late-nineteenth-century Orientalism are static: there is no recourse beyond 'the Semites' or 'the Oriental mind': these are final terminals holding every variety of Oriental behaviour within a general view of the whole field... I have called vision because it presumes that the whole Orient can be seen panoptically...if any Oriental detail can be shown to move, or to develop, diachrony is introduced into the system. What seemed stable- and the Orient is synonymous with stability and unchanging eternity- now appears unstable.³⁷⁶

In addition to observing how Orientalism minimizes the Other as inferior, here Said notes that the Orientalist places two additional criteria on the Orient, or the other. First, they must feel as if they are able to see the entirety of the other. As detailed in the previous chapter, Horniman and the museum drew attention to the complete nature of some of the sets of objects they collected and displayed, including the four sets of miniature models, therefore demonstrating one facet of an Orientalist worldview. Second, the Orientalist sees the other as static and unchanging as, if the other were to change, the viewer would no longer be able to completely see and understand the other. I use the term Other here instead of "Orient" since, as Said argues, Orientalism does not exclusively apply to Westerners' views of the Orient, but

³⁷⁵ Edward Said, Orientalism (Routledge: London, 1978) 165.

³⁷⁶ Said 190.

instead relates to the idea of splitting the world into the superior and inferior, the viewer and the viewed, the changing and the static.

Critics of Orientalism argue that Said's approach is too simple as it divides the world into two monolithic ideas.³⁷⁷ James Clifford, for example, writes, "if Orientalism, as Said describes it, has a structure, this resides in its tendency to *dichotomize* the human continuum into we-they contrasts and *essentialize* the resultant 'other' [emphasis original]".³⁷⁸ Similarly, Homi Bhabha expands upon this point when he writes:

Subjects are always disproportionally placed in opposition or domination through the symbolic decentring of multiple power relations which play the role of support as well as target or adversary. It becomes difficult, then, to conceive of the *historical* enunciations of colonial discourse without them being either functionally overdetermined or strategically elaborated or displaced by the *unconscious* scene of latent Orientalism [emphasis original].³⁷⁹

Both Clifford's and Bhabha's arguments rest upon the belief that Orientalism is too simplistic, and therefore inadequate to describe the multiple and varied interactions between colonizer and colonized. Through Horniman's writings, the exhibitions in the museum, and the interpretation of these models, both Horniman and the museum emphasized and established relationships with the cultures represented in the museum which stressed the inferiority of one culture to another due to their perception of British culture and other societies. Additionally, both Horniman and the

³⁷⁷ This criticism of Orientalism is repeated by numerous scholars. This list represents only a small sample of the critics who argue that Said relies too much on a binary dichotomy and that colonial relations vary depending on the viewer, geographic location, or gender identity. Robert J.C. Young, *White Mythologies: Writing History and the West* second edition. (London: Routledge, 2004) 182, Bhabha 101, Moore-Gilbert 53, Ali Bhehad, "Orientalism Matters," *Modern Fiction Studies* 56.4 (2010): 710, *ProQuest Literature Online* 6 August 2016 <http://literature.proquest.com/pageImage.do?ftnum=2278587171&fmt=page&area=criticism&journalid=00267724&articleid=R04608389&pubdate=2010/2011&queryid=2940790656367>, Michelle L. Woodward, "Between Orientalist Clichés and Images of Modernization," *History of Photography* 27.4 (2003): 363, *Taylor and Francis Online* 16 October 2016 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/03087298.2003.10441271>, MacKenzie 21, Eleanor M. Hight, "The Many Lives of Beato's 'Beauties,'" *Colonialist Photography: Imag(in)ing Race and Place* ed. Hight, Eleanor M. and Gary D. Sampson. (London: Routledge, 2002) 128.

³⁷⁸ James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988) 258.

³⁷⁹ Bhabha 103.

museum privileged the idea of being able to decode, categorize, and understand other peoples and ethnic groups based upon physical characteristics, such as clothing. However, as I will detail below, Horniman, the museum, and museum visitors did not strictly depict and judge other culture through this dichotomy but also expressed admiration and wonder about other cultures, particularly Indian and Burmese societies on numerous occasions.

Horniman's Views of Other Cultures

Echoing his contemporaries, and Said, throughout his travels Horniman often disparaged cultures he encountered as lesser than British society based upon his perception of their technological advancement. However, Horniman did not uniformly judge these groups upon this basis as he also heaped praise upon groups and societies he encountered. Below I will show how Horniman's writings do not present a strictly Orientalist view towards other cultures, but rather demonstrate how he saw these societies in a more nuanced hierarchical manner beginning with a definition of the word primitive- a word Horniman often used to describe practices he saw.

In his journal Horniman often used the word "primitive" to describe societies and peoples he saw. Although the word primitive bore many meanings in the late nineteenth century, Horniman's use of this word to describe industrial practices or architecture indicates that he indicated this word to mean non or pre-industrial or crude rather than referring to the stages of development or the fundamental base of a concept.³⁸⁰ Consequently, similar to other nineteenth-century figures, Horniman judged these societies based upon his perception of their level of technology or while also praising other aspects of societies including architecture.³⁸¹

³⁸⁰ "Primitive," *Oxford English Dictionary Online* 2 April 2017
<http://www.oed.com.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/view/Entry/151351?redirectedFrom=primitive#eid>.

³⁸¹ Qureshi 68, Michael Adas, *Machines as the Measure of Men: Science, Technology, and Ideologies of Western Dominance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989) 176. I will discuss this point further in the next section when I detail how the museum presented similar information.

In the first set of travel journals Horniman noted that he viewed Indian trades and industrial practices as undeveloped. Chapter three of the journal stated, “Mr. Horniman then goes on to say... oxen... [were used] as beasts of burden and were brought together, yoked [sic] together in a most primitive fashion... To an Englishman it looked strange”.³⁸² In this passage, Horniman emphasized how he felt the Indians engaged in pre- or non-industrial practices with their animals. The fifth chapter also provided a description of Horniman’s activities and views of the people he saw. It states:

on his arrival at the latter place [Abu Road] Mr. Horniman lost no time, but at once passed through the native village where he saw the inhabitants engaged in their various industries, some preparing metal work and baskets whilst others were grinding seed for oil and a couple of females were to be observed working the corn mill in similar fashion to what one reads of in the Bible.³⁸³

Like the above passage Horniman again stressed that the work practices and tools used by Indians are crude compared to that of the British.

The journal also recorded Horniman’s feelings towards the architecture and design he saw. It states, “we... drove though the native part of Poona, which is very extensive, and the buildings very old and primitive.”³⁸⁴ Through this statement he infers that the peoples of India are undeveloped through architecture. Additionally, chapter fourteen of this journal provides an insight into how Horniman viewed the people he saw. The journal stated, “from the river Mr. Horniman had excellent views of the country. The native boats that trade on the banks are, he states, of a very primitive build”.³⁸⁵ Like the passages available about Indian technology and tools these passages Horniman viewed both these peoples as crude compared with the English based upon the construction of buildings and watercraft.

³⁸² Horniman Museum Scrapbook of Press Cuttings and Other Items 1888 –1901 page 26, item 202.

³⁸³ Horniman Museum Scrapbook of Press Cuttings and Other Items 1888 –1901 page 27A, item 204.

³⁸⁴ Horniman Museum Scrapbook of Press Cuttings and Other Items 1888 –1901 page 27, item 203.

³⁸⁵ Horniman Museum Scrapbook of Press Cuttings and Other Items 1888 –1901 page 31, item 213.

Horniman also echoed other contemporary attitudes towards Indians. In the eleventh chapter of his first travel journal Horniman noted the improvements which had taken place in Benares under British rule. He wrote:

The natives at Benares, as well as throughout India generally, reap the full benefit of European civilization in the form of water supply, roads, lighting and drainage. The railways are also a great blessing to them and every train seems crowded both day and night as they consider travelling by rail to be one of the greatest treats it is possible to obtain.³⁸⁶

Horniman expressed notions that the British were superior to and improved Indian society. Horniman's contemporaries including Monier Williams, Furneaux, and Cole expressed a similar attitude towards India.³⁸⁷ In 1878 Williams wrote:

The English in India, must, of course, be conscious of their superiority in civilization and scientific knowledge, but they bring discredit on Christianity and hinder the missionary cause when they take no pains to conceal their contempt for Hindus and Muhammadans; and, forgetting that India was given to us to elevate rather than humiliate, make them feel their own inferiority too keenly.³⁸⁸

Similar to Horniman, Williams highlighted perceived British superiority and felt it was their duty to help raise the level of Indian civilization and science. Based upon these passages it is clear that Horniman held views similar to those described above regarding the inferiority of Indian society.

However, Horniman did not judge the Indians solely upon these practices and architecture. He also expressed mixed feelings, including derision and admiration, for things he saw in India. When he visited Bejapour during his second trip to India he described Indian architecture. He wrote:

there are no less than 30 notable buildings in this ancient city...They are deeply interesting, and impress one with what a grand capital it must have been in ancient times- now the people are in mere huts, and not a decent

³⁸⁶ Horniman Museum Scrapbook of Press Cuttings and Other Items 1888 –1901 page 30, item 210.

³⁸⁷ Monier Williams, Modern India and the Indians: Being a Series of Impressions, Notes, and Essays (London: Trüber and Co., Ludgate Hill, 1878) 189, Furneaux 34, Cole 1.

³⁸⁸ Williams 189.

house in the place, except the adapted ancient buildings which are used by Europeans for public offices. *Sic transit gloria mundi* [emphasis original].³⁸⁹

In expressing his admiration for the older buildings in Bejapour Horniman noted that this society changed quite a bit as now the former city now features people living in rudimentary buildings. Horniman further expressed his veneration of Indian architecture when he wrote:

[the] Ibrahim Rosa is really magnificent... How the roof is supported is a mystery which can only be understood by those who are familiar with the use the Indians make of masses of concrete, which, with good mortar, seem capable of infinite applications unknown in Europe.³⁹⁰

Although also serving as an advertisement for the museum, since the museum featured a photograph of this building in an exhibition, as with the Taj Mahal, Horniman praised the architecture he found in India.

Similarly, the first series of travel journals also details Horniman's visit to the Elephanta Caves and his praise of the carvings therein. He described the caves as "a most wonderful display of stone carvings".³⁹¹ Through these descriptions of architecture and carvings Horniman showed that he did not possess one uniform idea of India and Indian culture, but rather was astounded by parts of Indian society and found other aspects inferior to British society.

Horniman's time in Japan and Burma also demonstrate multifaceted views of the cultures he visited and show that he did not see the world in a purely Orientalist view, but rather noticed differences between and within cultures. When he visited Japan in November 1895 Horniman described the architecture as less advanced than that of the British. He stated, "Toyko [sic] is strongly fortified, according to the old method of warfare, but doubtless the old moats will be shortly drained, and the walls removed, as they are utterly useless for defence against modern warfare and

³⁸⁹ F. John Horniman, "Visit to Southern India," Forest Hill and Sydenham Examiner 7 February 1896 :3 FOREST HILL AND SYDENHAM EXAMINER LONDON 9TH AUG 1895 to 31ST DEC 1897 M64/303.

Loosely translated from Latin this phrase means "thus passes the glory of the world" a sentiment Horniman expresses here the emphasize the how societies change and how glory can fade.

³⁹⁰ F. John Horniman, "Visit to Southern India" 3.

³⁹¹ F. John Horniman, "To the Land of the Rising Sun Chapter III" 3.

weapons.”³⁹² As he did during his time in India Horniman noted the inferiority of Japanese architecture, this time through the lens of how Tokyo would fare in a modern ware. Horniman made a similar observation regarding the production of art in Japan. He wrote, “[I] saw many fine specimens of lacquer, bronze and porcelain ware, and also the processes of manufacturers, which are very interesting, both from their primitiveness and their artistic point of view.”³⁹³ Again, like his descriptions of India, Horniman both praised the artworks as interesting while noting the perceived low level of technology utilized by the artisans.

Through this description of Indian tools Horniman mirror the reaction others who saw Indian artists. In the work *A Visit to Europe*, first published in 1889, Mukharji summarised how a similar reaction by British audiences to Indian artisans at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition. He stated:

Another place of considerable interest to the natives of England was the Indian Bazar where Hindu and Muhammadam artisans carried on their avocations, to witness which men, women and children flocked from all parts of the kingdom. A dense crowd always stood there, looking at our men as they wove the gold brocade, sang the patterns of the carpet and printed calico with the hand. They were... much astonished to see the Indians produce works of art with the aid of rude apparatus they themselves had discarded long ago.³⁹⁴

As with Horniman, Mukharji observed that British audiences thought of Indians and Indian culture as less developed and therefore inferior to Europeans based upon the outdated technology the Indians used, but were surprised by the artworks created and showing that, as above, Horniman possessed attitudes regarding the perceived inferiority of other cultures that were similar to those of his contemporaries.

³⁹² F. John Horniman, “To the Land of the Rising Sun Chapter III” 3.

³⁹³ F. John Horniman, “To the Land of the Rising Sun Chapter III” 3.

³⁹⁴ T.N. Mukharji, *A Visit to Europe* (Calcutta: W. Newman & Co., 1889) 99, [British Library](http://access.bl.uk/item/pdf/lsidyv359244a0) 21 October 2015 <http://access.bl.uk/item/pdf/lsidyv359244a0>. Stocking details how nineteenth-century scholars viewed other less technologically advanced societies through the lens of human development compared societies to ancestors of the European societies based upon their technological development. [George W. Stocking Jr. *Race, Culture, and Evolution: Essays in the History of Anthropology* (New York: The Free Press, 1968) 84]. I will describe this idea further in this next section.

Horniman also compared cultures when he visited Burma, revealing how he viewed cultures in a hierarchical manner. Although authors such as Furneaux, George W. Bird, and even George Orwell (through a satirical character describing colonial Burma) all described how the British improved Burmese society in a fashion similar to the perceived improvements to Indian society, Horniman does not mention this idea during his time in Burma.³⁹⁵ Instead of contrasting the Burmese based on their technology, he analysed their culture on another factor. He wrote:

the Burmese are kind and hospitable, fond of dress, personal ornaments, and of amusements, and believe in enjoying the good things of this world. The absence of caste and the entire freedom of women form a very striking contrast to the state of things in India.³⁹⁶

Although he included a well-known late nineteenth-century observation of Burmese peoples, as fond of personal ornamentation, and did not elaborate further on this hierarchy in this description, Horniman again provided a comparison between cultures and described the superiority of Burmese society to Indian society based upon the structure he perceived, including the role of women.³⁹⁷ Nicholas Thomas notes that gender was a factor in creating hierarchies and ranking societies (similar to the perceived technological advancement) of a society by Europeans.³⁹⁸ Therefore, through this example, Horniman possessed similar ideas regarding the perception of other cultures as his contemporaries, although he does not add further details or elaborate upon this hierarchical view and ranking of India and Burma.

However, as with Indians, Horniman did not simply judge the Burmese through this assessment of the peoples. Horniman also noted the architecture of the pagodas, and was impressed not only by the technology he saw utilized within these

³⁹⁵ Furneaux 505, 521, 523, Bird Appendix to Introduction, George Orwell, *Burmese Days* (London: Penguin, 2001) 39-40.

³⁹⁶ F. John Horniman, "Visit to Upper & Lower Burma," *Forest Hill and Sydenham Examiner* 10 January 1896: 3, *FOREST HILL AND SYDENHAM EXAMINER LONDON 9TH AUG 1895 to 31ST DEC 1897* M64/303.

³⁹⁷ George W. Bird 46, Helen G. Trager, *Burma Through Alien Eyes: Missionary Views of the Burmese in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Asia Publishing House, 1966) 116.

³⁹⁸ Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific* 132, Nicholas Thomas, *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government* (Cambridge, Polity Press, 1994) 101-102.

structures when he noted that glass was used at the peaks of the older pagodas, likely as an electricity deterrent.³⁹⁹ Furthermore, Horniman paid a compliment to the peoples and architecture of Burma when he decided to extend his stay in Burma. He wrote, "I am so impressed with the Burmese, the splendid scenery, and the wonderful ancient buildings, that I have resolved to devote several weeks to going a thousand miles into the interior of Upper Burma".⁴⁰⁰ Consequently, although Horniman perpetuated negative stereotypes of the Burmese peoples he noted several positives about the peoples and culture as well; thus he cannot be seen as applying a strict Orientalist lens to the Burmese, but instead placed them on a hierarchy compared to other cultures.

Depictions of Cultures in the Horniman Free Museum

As noted earlier, Horniman and the museum collected objects they could interpret to compare and catalogue other cultures. This section will provide examples of Orientalist practices in the museum's exhibitionary practice. However, as with Horniman, the museum did not apply a strict dichotomy to the world as described by Said, but rather applied this dichotomy to some cultures while placing others within a hierarchy. In this section I will demonstrate how the museum, similar to Horniman, presented information about other cultures through this lens by focusing on two galleries in the museum. I then consider both the museum's and visitors' interpretations of the Indian and Burmese sections in the museum, and argue that the museum encouraged visitors to compare and contrast the cultures it interpreted.

The museum divided much of its space along geographic lines, thus encouraging visitors to compare and contrast cultures. Of the twenty-four rooms listed in the fourteenth edition of the guidebook, the descriptions of sixteen of the rooms refer to specific geographic locations such as featuring objects from Japan in the Entrance Hall (Room 1), and objects from China and Japan in the Reception Room

³⁹⁹ F. John Horniman, "Visit to Upper & Lower Burma" 3.

⁴⁰⁰ F. John Horniman, "Visit to Upper & Lower Burma" 3.

(Room 2). Alternatively, the title of the room references a specific place, as do the rooms listed above, as well as The Old English Parlour (Room 7) and the Egyptian Mummy Room (Room 13).⁴⁰¹ The museum also divided sections of the museum not directly related to a people or country along geographic lines; for example, by separating species of birds based upon their places of origin in the Second Zoological Saloon (Room 22).⁴⁰²

Differing from the evolutionary exhibition methodology, or the linear exhibition methodology, the Horniman Free Museum was comparable to these two methodologies in one respect.⁴⁰³ It too stressed a lesson: to compare societies from around the world and implicitly foreground the superiority of British society over that of others. Both Bennett and Hinsley point out how the layout of the World's Fairs and other international exhibitions in the nineteenth century encouraged visitors to compare and contrast cultures and view colonized cultures as the other.⁴⁰⁴ Bennett expands upon this point when he writes:

Reduced to displays of 'primitive' handicrafts and the like, they were represented as cultures without momentum except for that benignly bestowed on them from without through the improving mission of the imperialist powers. Oriental civilizations were allotted an intermediate position in being represented either as having at one time been subject to development but subsequently degenerating into stasis or as embodying achievements of civilization which, while developed by their own lights, were judged inferior to the standards set by Europe.⁴⁰⁵

This attitude of superiority expressed through the objects displayed in the world's fairs and exhibitions of the nineteenth century not only encapsulates Horniman's

⁴⁰¹ Gratis Hand-Guide for Use of Visitors to The Horniman Free Museum and Pleasure Gardens 3, 6, 8.

⁴⁰² Gratis Hand-Guide for Use of Visitors to The Horniman Free Museum and Pleasure Gardens 15.

⁴⁰³ Allison Petch, "Assembling and Arranging: The Pitt Rivers' Collections, 1850-2001," Collectors: Individuals and Institutions, ed. Shelton, Anthony (London: The Horniman Museum and Gardens, 2001) 249, T.K. Penniman and B.M. Blackwood 2, George E. Hein, Learning in the Museum (London: Routledge, 1998) 39, Greenwood 181, Henry Balfour, "Introduction," The Evolution of Culture and Other Essays by Augustus Lane-Fox Pitt-Rivers, ed. Myres, J.L. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906) vi-vii.

⁴⁰⁴ Curtis M. Hinsley, "The World as Marketplace: Commodification of the Exotic at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893," Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display, ed. Karp, Ivan and Steven D. Lavine (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991) 345, Tony Bennett, The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics (London: Routledge. 1995) 79.

⁴⁰⁵ Bennett 82.

views of India and Burma as inferior requiring assistance from the British to develop their societies, as seen above, but also the attitudes towards cultures, including Indian and Burmese cultures, represented in the Horniman Free Museum and reflects anthropological ideas of late nineteenth century which contrasted cultures based upon their perceived development and used scientific theory to reinforce ideas of cultural superiority among British viewers.⁴⁰⁶

Two rooms in the museum demonstrate this idea of comparing cultures and underscore the superiority of the British society: the Locomotion Model Room and the Ethnographical Saloon. The former of these galleries appears in the museums by the end of 1893. The 1893 Annual Report described this room (Room 11A in the museum) in the following manner:

The chief event of the year was the addition of a new Room No. 11A, to be devoted to Models of Conveyance, such as models of Indian Canoes and Surf Boats, Katamarangs, and all other kinds of craft, from all parts of the world, showing the evolution of transit both on land and water.⁴⁰⁷

Like Horniman in his travel journals, this gallery also emphasized viewing technology as a means to understand and rate cultures on a hierarchy and not necessarily through strict Orientalist dichotomies, based on the fact that the museum, as seen in the above descriptions, included information on the provenance of the objects and indicated the groups or cultures the objects represented.

Museum guidebooks from both 1895 and 1897 confirm the both the presence and role of gallery in the museum. Regarding this gallery, the twelfth edition of the museum guide which, as mentioned in the previous chapter, included the two sets of miniature models Horniman obtained in India in late 1894, describes it as:

[containing] specimens of **Models of Various Means of Conveyance** adopted

⁴⁰⁶ Altick 268, Qureshi 186, Kate Hill, *Culture and Class in English Public Museums, 1850-1914* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005) 115, Janet Owen, "Collecting Artefacts, Acquiring Empire: Exploring the Relationship Between Enlightenment and Darwinist Collecting and Late Nineteenth-Century British Imperialism," *Journal of History of Collections* 18:1 (2006) 21: 30 May 2017 *Oxford Academic* <https://doi-org.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/10.1093/jhc/fhi042>.

⁴⁰⁷ Quick *The Third Annual Report of the Horniman Museum, Forest Hill, S.E. London 1893* 11.

in different parts of the world, showing the evolution of the means of transit from the primitive surf-boat and canoe of the Indians. Here will be seen models of Katamarans, War Canoes, River Boats, Luggage Boats, &c. [emphasis original].⁴⁰⁸

The fourteenth edition of the museum's guidebook reprinted the same description which, like the report from 1893, focused how the display of objects in this gallery meant to convey information on the evolution of technology across cultures.

This gallery possessed similarities between the display of objects at the Pitt Rivers Museum which also highlighted the evolution of technology through technology. Henry Balfour, the first Curator of the Pitt Rivers Museum, summarised the use of this methodology at the Pitt Rivers Museum when he stated:

The primary object of this method of classification by series was to demonstrate, either actually or hypothetically, the origin, development, and continuity of the material arts, and to illustrate the variations whereby the more complex and specialized forms belonging to the higher conditions of culture have been evolved by successive slight improvements from the simple, rudimentary, and generalized forms of a primitive culture.⁴⁰⁹

By comparing these descriptions from the Horniman Free Museum and the Pitt Rivers Museum, it is evident that both used this exhibition methodology in order to demonstrate their notions of the evolution of culture through objects. Furthermore, Pitt Rivers delivered a talk in 1874 which he highlighted the application of this methodology to methods of navigation which placed solid vessels, such as dug-out canoes, at the bottom of this hierarchy, due to their similarity to natural materials and craft with sails or rudders at the top.⁴¹⁰ Therefore, through this exhibition methodology both museums emphasized the differences, and perceived superiority, of cultures who made advances in their seafaring capabilities.

Quick's inventory of the museum's collection from 1898 highlights how this gallery within the Horniman Free Museum echoed the methodology described by Pitt

⁴⁰⁸ Guide for Use of Visitors When Inspecting the Horniman Free Museum and Gardens Twelfth Edition 8.

⁴⁰⁹ Balfour vi-vii.

⁴¹⁰ Augustus Henry Lane Fox Pitt-Rivers, "Early Modes of Navigation," The Evolution of Culture and Other Essays by Augustus Lane-Fox Pitt-Rivers, ed. Myres, J.L. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906) 186, 188-189.

Rivers and placed the British on top of this evolutionary schema. Although he does not note the exact layout objects in this gallery, Quick's description of some of the models in this room effectively emphasize British technological superiority. Pages 59 and 60 of this list note the inclusion of models of English boats in this gallery. These descriptions included two models listed as "Yacht modern" and both of these models are described as English "Model Ships Rigged Small".⁴¹¹ Unlike some of the other models in this room these objects would have conformed with the highest echelons of the evolution of watercraft since they would have possessed both sails and rudders. Also, contrasting with other models in this room, Quick's description of the two yacht models as "modern" highlights English ingenuity and advancement.

Echoing Horniman and Quick, during his tour of the museum Woolhouse noted the quality of the objects, but confirmed that this hierarchy meant to reinforce the idea of British superiority in his description of the gallery. Woolhouse noted that all of the models were included in one case and that they were too many to describe in detail. He referred to objects as both "finely executed" and "beautifully carved".⁴¹² However, Woolhouse also stated that the objects in this gallery led to a perception of British superiority based upon the technological advancements. He wrote:

Here I saw models of canoes and other ancient boats, and when I contrasted them with our modern' floating cities,' I marvelled at the advancement made. Here I could see the foundation stones, a little further along I observed the building enlarged until the corner stones came into view, and then my mind wandered to our great shipping centres where, in imagination, I could see the completed structures which are the backbone our commercial prosperity, and which have gained for us the proud position of 'mistress of the seas.'⁴¹³

Through this analogy of a building, and despite admiring the craftsmanship of the works on display, like Horniman Woolhouse interprets the objects in this gallery to reinforce the idea of British superiority, although not in a strict Orientalist dichotomy.

⁴¹¹ Quick List and Description of Objects &c in The Horniman Museum Forest Hill London S.E. (1898) 59, 60.

⁴¹² A. Visitor, "Through "The Horniman Museum No. VI," Forest Hill and Sydenham Examiner 9 October 1896: 3 FOREST HILL AND SYDENHAM EXAMINER LONDON 9TH AUG 1895 to 31ST DEC 1897 M64/303.

⁴¹³ Visitor "Through "The Horniman Museum No. VI" 3.

Unlike the Locomotion Model Room, the Ethnographical Saloon (Figure 4.1) did present a binary Orientalist interpretation of the world. This gallery is described in museum guidebooks dating from 1890, 1891, and the spring of 1895 to the spring of 1896, and briefly in the guidebook dated 1897. The first three of these guidebooks each detailed how the museum designated a section in this room, which also featured part of the museum's insect collection, which it called the Department of Ethnography of Savage Races. The guidebook dated 11 February 1891 provides the following description:

The wall cases around the saloon contain Exhibits of the Department of Ethnography of Savage Races. Beginning on the left hand side, the first wall-case contains North American, Peravian [sic] and New Zealand specimens, beneath are a pair of Esquimaux snow-shoes and a harpoon. The next two cases are appropriated to the South Sea Islands and New Guinea respectively.⁴¹⁴

By placing all of these objects within the same area of the museum and describing this collection as representing "savage" races, the museum created a clear Orientalist dichotomy, as described above, that presented Westerners as superior to these groups of peoples all of which the museum differentiated from the British based solely upon the perception of their societies as primitive.⁴¹⁵

The twelfth edition of the guidebook indicates that the arrangement of objects in this room had changed slightly, but this section of the room still carried the same title. The guidebook stated:

⁴¹⁴ Guide to the Museum. Mr. and Mrs. Horniman 'At Home,' Wednesday, February 11th, 1891 12. In addition to describing materials from these places, the guidebook also recorded that the room contained objects from a number of regions in Africa and Madagascar.

⁴¹⁵ The Oxford English Dictionary points out that in the late nineteenth century the word "savage" meant wild or untamed, therefore the museum through this exhibition the museum referred to these peoples as uncivilized, as compared to themselves ("Savage" Oxford English Dictionary Online 11 December 2016 <http://www.oed.com.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/view/Entry/171433?rskey=PpVwZU&result=2&isAdvanced=false#eid>). Although this room contained insects and objects from cultures the museum viewed as primitive my research turned up no reason for displaying these disparate groups of objects together.



Figure 4.1

The Horniman Free Museum Ethnographical Saloon c. 1892. Note the case of African objects behind the group of people as well as the labels in this image. The Hornimans stand on the left side of the group and include Rebekah (Frederick's first wife) on the far left, Frederick second from the left, and their son Emslie third from the left. Photograph courtesy of the Horniman Museum and Gardens.

The Wall Cases around the saloon contain exhibits of the Department of Ethnography of Savage Races. The first four Wall Cases on the left side of the room are allotted to South Africa, and contain a Trophy of Zulu, Fingoes, and Masai Weapons, and Kaffir Shields and Bead Work. Below are specimens of Kaffir Beer Strainers, &c.... Shields and War Clubs, Poisoned Spears and Arrows, besides several Maori Grass Mats or Cloaks, from New Zealand. The next Wall Case contains North American Bead Work, notably the complete suit of a Chief, with Pipes, Clubs, &c. The next two Cases exhibit Malay Fishing Apparatus, and Models of Boats, Houses, &c., from the Straits Settlements Court of the Colonial Exhibition, together with fine specimens of Pottery and Models of Fruit. The remaining two Wall Cases contain West African exhibits,

notably an Ashantee Chief's Seat, and numerous Weapons, Grass Loin-Cloths, and Mats from the Camaroons."⁴¹⁶

Like the previous description of the Ethnographical Saloon the museum again created a division between what were perceived to be the civilized and savage areas of the world. This section of the museum also contained objects from numerous parts of the world, including North America, Africa, and South East Asia, which foregrounded the primitive nature of these cultures including another set of clothing the museum described as complete.

Through the construction and interpretation of this section of the museum, the visitors encountered objects interpreted to show differences between themselves and the peoples the museum described as savage. In his account of the museum printed in the *Forest Hill and Sydenham Examiner*, Woolhouse described how he reacted to these objects and their interpretation. He wrote:

my attention is turned to the wall cases in which are placed the curios from the interior of Africa and other countries... [these objects] are attractive to use because they portray the vast differences that exists between the civilized and uncivilized races of the world. The dress, the weapons used, the domestic utensils and other articles seem so peculiar to the western eye that it is almost impossible for us to imagine that at one time in the annals of Great Britain a similar state of affairs existed.⁴¹⁷

In this passage, Woolhouse encapsulates Said's idea of an Orientalist view of the world. Not only does Woolhouse divide the world into "civilized" and "uncivilized" based on the presentation of the objects in this section of the museum, but he also suggests that those objects which represented the perceived uncivilized regions of the world demonstrated what Britain was like at an earlier time, thereby declaring these cultures to be static and implying the superiority of British culture over these

⁴¹⁶ Guide for Use of Visitors When Inspecting the Horniman Free Museum and Gardens 14.

⁴¹⁷ A. Visitor "Through 'The Horniman Museum'" No. XIX *Forest Hill and Sydenham Examiner* 8 January 1897: 3, FOREST HILL AND SYDENHAM EXAMINER LONDON 9TH AUG 1895 to 31ST DEC 1897 M64/303. Note here that Woolhouse uses the word "curio" in order to describe these objects which suggests their unfamiliarity to him. He also uses the word "race" to describe the peoples these objects represented, indicating that he believed in the racial theories of the nineteenth century which detailed how humans existed as separate races and ranked them according to these perceptions.

cultures. Coombes also notes that this room reinforced popular conceptions about African peoples as savages.⁴¹⁸ Based upon museum documentation and interpretation of these rooms by a museum visitor the museum can be seen as constructing knowledge about the world which placed the British above all others based upon the tools and technology used by other cultures compared to British technology. Furthermore, like Horniman, the museum stressed British superiority through both hierarchical rankings and through the creation of binary Orientalist world views which grouped other cultures together and pointed out their perceived inferiority.

Indian and Burmese Objects in the Museum

Throughout this section I argue that the museum interpreted Indian and Burmese culture in an Orientalist fashion by including them in exhibitions in which the museum created Orientalist paradigms, similar to the manner in which Horniman described these cultures in his journals. In this section I examine the rooms which contained Indian and Burmese objects including the four sets of miniature models to establish how the museum's interpretation of Indian and Burmese cultures demonstrated and elicited partial Orientalist views and reactions from a visitor. When analysing both galleries I utilize documents from the museum, including an account of the museum written by the institution between 1896 and 1897 in order to analyse the museum's interpretation methods and a visitor's reactions to the exhibitions and objects. Beginning with the museum's interpretation of the Indian and Burmese objects, then moving on to consider Woolhouse's interpretation of the same rooms, I will examine how both the museum's interpretation and Woolhouse's reaction to the exhibitions encapsulated some of the Orientalist attitudes towards India and Burma as described by Said.

The museum, akin to early ethnographers, emphasized the idea that cultures could be broken down and understood through objects, which they interpreted as signs and symbols of these cultures. When describing ethnography in the early

⁴¹⁸ Coombes "Ethnography and the Formation of National and Cultural Identities" 194.

twentieth century, Clifford also argues that these scholars thought cultures could be understood in a semiotic sense by “reading” costumes, markings (such as tilaka marks) and other accessories worn on the body in order as key to identifying an individual’s religion, caste, occupation, or even their ethnic background. He argues, “their conception of culture can be called, without undue anachronism, semiotic. Cultural reality was composed of artificial codes, ideological identities, and objects susceptible to inventive recombination and juxtaposition”.⁴¹⁹ Clifford provides a framework for understanding how the Horniman Free Museum exhibited cultures: through a series of objects which, they believed, all contained signs to be interpreted which would then provide the museum and visitors with a method to comprehend other cultures. Below I demonstrate how the museum engaged in portraying the perceived inferiority of Indian and Burmese cultures while also praising these two cultures.

As mentioned previously, the twelfth and fourteenth editions of the guidebook stated that the museum placed both sets of miniature ethnographic figures Horniman purchased in India in room 17A: The Second Indian and Ceylon Room. The twelfth edition of the guidebook illuminates the rationale the museum used when it placed objects in this room in its description of Room 17 (The First Indian & Ceylon Room). The guidebook records “this [room] is principally occupied by Indian and Ceylon exhibits, forming, with the next room, the collection recently made by Mr. Horniman during his travels in those countries.”⁴²⁰ Conforming with the museum’s mission, as outlined in the previous chapter, the museum clearly indicated that it placed objects in these rooms to provide information on India and Ceylon using the object’s Horniman collected.

However, this guidebook also describes some of the objects displayed in this room, and therefore the cultures these objects represented, as inferior. In a description of other materials from India in the First Indian and Ceylon Room,) the guidebook states, “on the wall are hung fine Indian draperies, beautifully worked by

⁴¹⁹ Clifford 132. I will discuss this point further later in this chapter during the sections relating to how visitors to the museum interpreted these four sets of models.

⁴²⁰ Guide for Use of Visitors When Inspecting the Horniman Free Museum and Gardens 10.

hand, and woven in primitive native looms".⁴²¹ Note again, though, like Horniman, although here the museum praised these objects as beautiful, it interpreted the people who created them as undeveloped and placed them within an Orientalist dichotomy. Below I will argue that based upon this description, the museum presented Indian culture through an Orientalist lens since the objects in this room and the next - including the two sets of miniature models - were placed here to represent India and Indian culture as stated by the guidebook.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the fourteenth edition of the guidebook described the new gallery that the museum had created in order to exhibit the objects Horniman purchased in Burma and Egypt during his trip from late 1895 to early 1896. However, this guidebook presented Burmese culture in an Orientalist manner. The second of the guidebook's five paragraphs devoted to the Burmese objects in the museum provides an example of this interpretation. It notes the presence of

An ancient carved marble 'Buddha' from Minyan, Upper Burma; above an elaborate panel. In the end wall case are a number of carved and gilt objects, a looking glass stand, which was actually used by the ex-Queen of Burma, a gilt figure of Buddha from the temple in Ava, and some Burmese musical instruments, etc. The table cases contain smaller arms, old Pali bibles written on palm-leaves, about 800 years old, and other religious works.⁴²²

In this description of the objects in the Oriental Gallery, the museum not only describes the variety of materials it possessed from Burma, but also the various ages of some of these objects. While all the other cases or sections of this room contained themed sets of objects, such as gongs or costumes, this case emphasized various aspects of Burmese society across a number of different time periods.⁴²³ Here the museum again showed that it admired the craftsmanship of Burmese works, but depicted Burma through a partial Orientalist lens by placing objects from different time periods within the same area or even the same display cases. As mentioned above, Said identifies this notion of seeing the other as fixed in time as a major tenet

⁴²¹ [Guide for Use of Visitors When Inspecting the Horniman Free Museum and Gardens](#) 10.

⁴²² [Gratis Hand-Guide for Use of Visitors to The Horniman Free Museum and Pleasure Gardens](#) 9.

⁴²³ [Gratis Hand-Guide for Use of Visitors to The Horniman Free Museum and Pleasure Gardens](#) 9-10.

of Orientalism. Said expanded upon this point when wrote that “Orientalism... views the Orient as something whose existence is not only displayed but has remained fixed in time and place.”⁴²⁴ As Said describes, the museum conflated the idea of Burma as a stagnant society that had not recently advanced culturally or technologically.

By describing these objects as primitive in the guidebooks the museum set the context to visitors reading these works for describing the cultures the museum represented as inferior. Both Conal McCarthy and Carol A. Breckenridge argue that labels influence the construction of ethnographic materials by visitors.⁴²⁵ Breckenridge writes, “objects on display do *not* provide their own narrative. Displayed objects must be textualized... in the form of signs, guides, and catalogues- if they are to be anything other than a mere accumulation of disoriented curios and wondrous artifacts.”⁴²⁶ Here, Breckenridge contends labels that provide the context for the objects within an ethnographic display as seen with Department of Ethnography of Savage Races above.

Other museum scholars argue that the objects displayed within an exhibition also set the context for other objects in the same gallery. In addition to arguing in favour of labels establishing context, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett describes how museums place objects in context in exhibitions through their grouping or arrangement with other objects, as demonstrated by the ethnographic rooms at the Horniman Free Museum. She writes, “objects are also set in context by means of other objects, often in relation to a classification or schematic arrangement of some kind”.⁴²⁷ Drawing upon this argument, since the museum arranged objects roughly based upon geographic location (such as in the Indian and Ceylon rooms), if the visitor reads that one object from this culture is primitive compared to their culture,

⁴²⁴ Said 91.

⁴²⁵ Conal McCarthy, *Exhibiting Maori: A History of Colonial Cultures of Display* (Oxford: Berg, 2007) 9, Carol A. Breckenridge, “The Aesthetics and Politics of Colonial Collecting: India at World Fairs,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31.2 (1989): 205, [JSTOR 15 July 2014 www.jstor.org/stable/178806](https://www.jstor.org/stable/178806).

⁴²⁶ Breckenridge 205.

⁴²⁷ Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998) 21.

they may assume that the entire culture also shares this trait. Writing in 1911 Henry C. Shelley described this phenomenon in ethnographic exhibitions. He stated:

Finding, as he wanders from case to case, everything so alien to what he is accustomed to, the thoughtless visitor preens himself upon the superiority of his own environments and concludes that the grotesque idols, the rude clothing, the primitive weapons and implements, and the vulgar ornaments of savage man, are fit subjects for ridicule and merriment.⁴²⁸

Here, Shelley, similar to the Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, presents the argument for objects providing context for other objects within the same gallery and provides a rationale for how others, including Woolhouse, interpreted objects presented in ethnographic exhibitions.

In his articles on the Horniman Free Museum, Woolhouse employed a similar Orientalist lens when he described Indian and Burmese cultures. Although, like Horniman, the museum, and his descriptions of the Locomotion Model Room above Woolhouse highlighted the imperial control Britain exerted over India and Burma. In his description of the First Indian Room Woolhouse referred to the fact that India was under British control at the time. He wrote, "I now leave the visitors and by means of the winding staircase journey from Egypt and the Holy Land to India, that vast empire over which our beloved Queen holds sway."⁴²⁹ By describing India as part of the British Empire, Woolhouse again fulfils one of the characteristics Said identified as Orientalist. Said states, "[the Orientalist] delineated the relationship between Britain and the Orient in terms of possession, in terms of a large geographic space wholly owned by an efficient colonial master."⁴³⁰ This statement matches well with Woolhouse's description of India above, since both highlighted colonial control over this geographic area. Later in his description of Indian people, Woolhouse also further

⁴²⁸ Henry C. Shelley, The British Museum: Its History and Treasures A View of the Origins of that Great Institution, Sketches of Its Early Benefactors and Principle Officers, and a Survey of the Priceless Objects Preserved Within its Walls (Boston: L.C. Page & Company, 1911) 300.

⁴²⁹ A. Visitor, "Through 'The Horniman Museum' No. IX" Forest Hill and Sydenham Examiner 30 October 1896: 3, FOREST HILL AND SYDENHAM EXAMINER LONDON 9TH AUG 1895 to 31ST DEC 1897 M64/303.

⁴³⁰ Said 170.

emphasized this notion of British control over India as well as their primitive state compared to the British. In his description of the first Indian room Woolhouse wrote:

the Indian exhibits give an insight into the arts and manufacture of the inhabitants of this land of many resources. It is not so much the past history of this, the most extensive of our possessions that we are interested in, as its present welfare, therefore what delights us most with regard to India, is to observe the results of the industries at present carried on.⁴³¹

Through this passage foregrounding colonial control over India and remarking upon the art and industry of India, Woolhouse again demonstrated an Orientalist reaction to the Indian objects in the museum. Said emphasizes how this parent-like description of the colonized reveals an Orientalist viewpoint when he articulates late nineteenth-century attitudes towards colonies as “the commonly held view of the Orient as a geographic space to be cultivated, harvested, and guarded.”⁴³² In his portrayal of the objects in the First Indian Room, Woolhouse touches upon these points described by Said when he characterizes India as a land of many resources that the British could watch grow. In a manner like that described by Shelley and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett above, through his description of the objects in this room Woolhouse established a context for the Indian and Ceylonese peoples as inferior to the British.

In addition to underscoring control over India, like he did earlier, Woolhouse also stressed the technological inferiority of other peoples while praising their high level of craftsmanship. He stated:

That we owe much of our prosperity to our implements no one would be bold enough to deny, and if visitors would only realise this they would ponder over those which man first introduced. It is quite in keeping, therefore, with the nature of things, that in “the Gallery of Antiquities” at the Museum the implements should be the first objects for inspection, and they should be immediately followed by the Locomotive Models. You have previously seen the implements used by the Indians and when you come to the Indian Canoes and other results of their labours, you can see what these implements are capable

⁴³¹ A. Visitor “Through ‘The Horniman Museum’ No. IX” 3.

⁴³² Said 174.

of accomplishing when used by their originators. If you merely beheld the implements your verdict would doubtless be that they could be of no earthly use, simply because the implements you have been accustomed to are so much superior in every way, but when, directly afterwards, you view the models of articles constructed by means of these, you are compelled to banish from your mind the idea of their being useless, and to occupy its place with wonder and amazement, and to GIVE THE INDIAN CREDIT for having done such marvellous work with the primitive implements at his command, that is, of course, if you take the trouble to bring your reasoning faculties into full play [emphasis original].⁴³³

Like Mukharji and Horniman, Woolhouse noted that although other the British possessed superior technology, anyone could see that these peoples produce astounding works using their tools, which crude compared to the British. When he described the objects in the Second Indian and Ceylon Room, Woolhouse also drew attention to another set of objects in this room and expanded upon this idea. He wrote:

When dealing with the Indian rooms which have gone before I commented at some length upon the ingenuity displayed by the natives in the manufacture of certain classes of goods, but my latest visit has impressed me more and more. The embroidery with which the walls in the room are covered, is some something, once seen, never to be forgotten, whilst the metal work and wood carvings are marvellously executed.⁴³⁴

Again Woolhouse highlights that even though he thought of Indians and less advanced than the British he greatly admired the objects they produced. Furthermore, in his next entry of his tour through the museum Woolhouse noted the “brilliant examples” woodwork and inlay work from Bombay showing that he did not reserve his praise for only one type of object, but admired numerous examples of Indian crafts.⁴³⁵ So despite viewing India as less advanced and a possession of the

⁴³³ Visitor “Through ‘The Horniman Museum’ No. VI” 3.

⁴³⁴ A. Visitor, “Through ‘The Horniman Museum’ No. XIII,” Forest Hill and Sydenham Examiner 27 November 1896: 3, FOREST HILL AND SYDENHAM EXAMINER LONDON 9TH AUG 1895 to 31ST DEC 1897 M64/303.

⁴³⁵ A. Visitor, “Through ‘The Horniman Museum’ No. XIV,” Forest Hill and Sydenham Examiner 4 December 1896: 3, FOREST HILL AND SYDENHAM EXAMINER LONDON 9TH AUG 1895 to 31ST DEC 1897 M4/303.

British Woolhouse tempered his Orientalist views through this admiration of materials produced by Indians.

In his descriptions of the Oriental Gallery, Woolhouse exhibits similar Orientalist readings mixed with admiration of these peoples. As with the Indian peoples he described above Woolhouse also drew attention to the perceived inferiority of the Burmese in two ways. First, when he described the Oriental Gallery Woolhouse wrote, “the room under notice is practically divided into two sections, and includes, in addition to the Egyptian portion, an admirable collection of BURMESE EXHIBITS, secured by Mr. Horniman whilst travelling through that vast Asiatic Empire [emphasis original].”⁴³⁶ As with the Indian galleries, Woolhouse noted that Burma was a colony of the British and thus demonstrates that he viewed them as inferior, and through an Orientalist gaze since these objects represent the culture of a conquered, and primitive people now under the rule of the British Empire.

In the same article Woolhouse also describes some of the objects in the gallery as primitive. He writes, “on the walls are placed Burmese swords, Shan Crow swords, spears, cross bows and arrows, whilst in a table case are to be seen Burmese pillows, ear-rings, ear-tubes, cowry waist belt, fire instrument used by the wild tribes of Burma for making fire”.⁴³⁷ Through his description of the objects in these cases Woolhouse again labels the Burmese as inferior to the British. By using the term wild to describe some of the peoples of Burma, Woolhouse infers a lack of refinement and civilization in the eyes of the British. As with the Ceylonese objects Woolhouse described, his interpretation of these objects created a context for understanding the Burmese as inferior to the British.

However, like above, Woolhouse described the objects, and thus the artisans, he saw with high praise. When describing the entrance to the Oriental Gallery he wrote:

The natives of that vast Eastern Empire might learn many valuable lessons

⁴³⁶ A. Visitor, “Through ‘The Horniman Museum,’ No. XI” Forest Hill and Sydenham Examiner 13 November 1896: 3, FOREST HILL AND SYDENHAM EXAMINER LONDON 9TH AUG 1895 to 31ST DEC 1897 M64/303.

⁴³⁷ Visitor, “Through ‘The Horniman Museum,’ No. XI”3.

from the advanced civilization of the west, but on the other hand they can, in other ways, instruct us in certain arts and industries. They have not at command such wonderfully constructed implements with which to perform their different tasks as have we, but one thing can be said of them, namely, that they use the primitive implements of which they are possessed in such a manner that we can but marvel at the proficiency attained by them, in an art so interesting as wood carving.⁴³⁸

Like Horniman and Mukharji, in this passage Woolhouse highlighted the perception of superiority over the Burmese, but also lavished praise upon them based upon his idea of the crude tools they used in order to create this work. Therefore, Woolhouse, like Horniman and the crowd Mukharji described, fits in this idea of holding a loose Orientalist view of these peoples since he simultaneously labels them as backwards and a possession of the British Empire, but praises their skill and the objects they made.

Interpretation of the Miniature Models within the Museum's Exhibitions

In the final section of this chapter I focus on how the museum, through the guidebooks it published, and how Woolhouse, through his tour of the museum, interpreted the four sets of miniature models. I begin by defining another aspect of Orientalism and showing how the museum's exhibitions correspond with this idea. Next, I argue that miniature objects possess a particular quality that encourages the viewer to examine these objects closely and to identify the differences between them. I then consider how and to what extent both of these interpretations of these four sets of miniature models by the museum and museum visitors, demonstrated an Orientalist world view and sought to exert British intellectual control over India and Burma.

I contend that through the museum's galleries' focus on providing information on foreign cultures, and the interpretation of these objects as foreign, the museum fulfilled another aspect of Orientalism as defined by Said. Said notes:

⁴³⁸ Visitor "Through 'The Horniman Museum' No. XII" 3.

the Orient can return as something one writes about in a disciplined way. Its foreignness can be translated, its meanings decoded, its hostility tamed; yet the *generality* assigned to the Orient, the disenchantment that one feels after encountering it, the unresolved eccentricity it displays, are all redistributed in what is said or written about it [emphasis original].⁴³⁹

This description corresponds exactly to what Horniman, through his journals, and the museum, through its display and interpretation, sought to do with the information it conveyed about different cultures. As seen in the previous chapters, through his numerous descriptions of places he visited Horniman provided facts and figures – including population figures for cities and dimensions of structures such as the Taj Mahal and the Great Pyramid – to seemingly tame the wildness of these far-off locations. The sixth entry of the first travel journal provides an example, in its description of Jaipur:

Jeypore seems modern to a westerner, although in reality it is most ancient. All the houses are purely oriental; in fact it is the first entirely oriental city from a buildings point of view, that I have seen so far during my extended travels. The streets, or bazaars are wide, whilst the houses resemble palaces with small openings, lattice work windows, beautifully painted fronts, and the ground floors are used as shops with matting awnings in front. The traders appear most primitive, the goods being local with the exception of a few imported from Birmingham. The carriages are very ancient except those few belonging to Europeans. The population of Jeypore is 195,000, consisting of about 140,000 Hindoos, [sic] 40,000 Musselmans, [sic] and numerous other sects. The main street are 40 yards wide and the centre in a market square.⁴⁴⁰

In this passage Horniman not only refers to India as stagnant and less advanced than Britain, but by referring to the city and the carriages as ancient, he also shows the contradiction at the heart of this Orientalist thinking. While he denigrates Indian culture as static yet he praises the domestic architecture for its design and its decoration, consequently admitting, at least to himself, that not all aspects of Indian culture are inferior and uniform. Additionally, in this section his journal translates the

⁴³⁹ Said 87.

⁴⁴⁰ Horniman Museum Scrapbook of Press Cuttings and Other Items 1888 – 1901 page 27A, item 205.

foreignness of Jaipur into something his readers could understand, providing population figures and describing the city's features, including the streets.

In a similar sense, Westerners also thought they could decode foreign peoples (including Indians and Burmese peoples) based upon their clothing or markings on their bodies (such as tilaka marks), in order to identify information about the wearer's caste, religion, or ethnicity. Dirks argues that "costume served as the key sign and focus of ethnographic difference. Markers of hierarchy and difference in Europe as well as India, clothes were also highlighted as part of the preoccupation with... Indian social order."⁴⁴¹ Dirks details how, to Europeans, costume highlighted Indian ethnographic groups, caste, and occupational differences. Bayly too highlights how nineteenth-century scholars sought to define Indian culture by dividing it into classes or castes marked by differences in dress and appearance, adding that early nineteenth-century European accounts of caste emphasized how different castes each possessed a unique costume and physical appearance.⁴⁴² Cohn also describes how Europeans began to identify different Indian communities through their clothing, "to discern great variation, based on region, caste, and wealth, in Indian dress."⁴⁴³ Pinney stresses how Europeans used markings and clothing to portray the stratified nature of Indian culture: "[these markings] were one set of signs, together with occupation, *varna*, *jati*, physique and costume, through which British observers sought to order India into a fully legible hierarchy."⁴⁴⁴ Costumes thus became, Pinney explains, codes for hierarchy - codes which European travellers or scholars could share with European audiences such as museum visitors.

Nineteenth-century writers provide vivid examples of using clothing to identify Indian groups. Furneaux, for example, detailed how Parsees differed from other Indian ethnic or religious groups based upon their costume. He wrote, "the Parsees have, so to speak, Anglicized their dress... the principal distinguishing mark

⁴⁴¹ Nicholas B. Dirks, *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001) 92.

⁴⁴² Susan Bayly, "Caste and 'Race' in the Colonial Ethnography of India," *The Concept of Race in South Asia* ed. Robb, Peter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995) 173.

⁴⁴³ Bernard S. Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1996) 130.

⁴⁴⁴ Pinney 289.

that is still worn being the turban, which is now gradually being displaced by hats, which are a sort of compromise between English and native head-dress.”⁴⁴⁵ He later adds that Parsee women now followed European fashion as well and wore diamonds and pearls instead of Hindu-style jewellery.⁴⁴⁶ The implication was that, based upon his description, his readers would be able to identify Parsees due to the components of their costume and how it differed from those worn by other groups by incorporating European elements. Similarly, according to Captain Falcon writing in 1896, a Sikh could be identified by the manner in which they wore their *pagri* (turban). He wrote:

the Sikhs too used to have a national and characteristic way of wearing the *paggri* [sic], now only seen on the oldest greybeards, and one of two may be occasionally met with in villages. This they called the Sidha pag. It is said to have been invented by Govind Singh as a protection to the head from sword cuts. The present way of wearing the *paggri* [sic] is an imitation of the Muhammadan way, and has been, I suppose, adopted partly for convenience as an easy way to tie and partly from the old way having been given up amongst other signs when the Sikhs were first conquered by us, to conceal the fact of their nationality.⁴⁴⁷

Falcon not only refers to the notion that Sikhs and Muslims could be identified through the manner in which they wore their turbans, but also “others” the Sikhs by stating that they were “conquered” and placed under the control of the British Empire, and that they gave up portions of their identity in an effort to blend into society.

The Horniman Free Museum also demonstrated and compared cultural identities, through the display and interpretation of ethnographic materials. Museum guidebooks from 1890 and 1891 demonstrate this practice. These guidebooks describe room ten in the museum as the Oriental Figure Room. A guidebook from late 1890 records the function of this room, stating “[the room] contains numerous life-size and other figures clad in picturesque Oriental dresses, illustrative of Chinese,

⁴⁴⁵ Furneaux 130.

⁴⁴⁶ Furneaux 130.

⁴⁴⁷ Robert Worgan Falcon, Handbook on Sikhs For the Use of Regimental Officers (Billabad: Pioneer Press, 1896) 112.

Japanese, and Indian garb... Round the walls are some fine specimens of Japanese 'Kakimonos,' and some hideous Japanese Masks."⁴⁴⁸ What is important is that the museum specifically identifies these costumes with, and as representative of, particular peoples; the associated inference is that the ethnic identity of a person can be deduced based upon their clothing. The guidebook dated February 1891, repeats this approach, again demonstrating that the museum used these, and other objects in this room, to represent the costumes of other cultures.⁴⁴⁹ The museum's descriptions, including the use of the word picturesque, indicate a desire to translate, frame, and tame these cultures through these dressed figures.

It is an idea that was also manifested by visitors to the museum, such as Woolhouse, when describing objects in the museum. In part eleven of his tour through the museum, Woolhouse briefly describes the differences between the Jain and Buddhist faiths after examining a set of Burmese objects in the Oriental Gallery. Following his discussion of these objects, he writes:

as it is my object to induce visitors when examining these exhibits to endeavour to penetrate a little below the surface, I give the above brief particulars so that they might more readily discern the vast difference there is between the many and various Beliefs."⁴⁵⁰

Not dissimilarly, an anonymous visitor to the museum writing in early 1895, describing the objects with which Horniman had recently returned from his first trip,

⁴⁴⁸ Guide for the Use of Visitors When Inspecting the Contents of Surrey House Museum 6. Additionally, the use of the word "picturesque" further indicates the intended use of these objects to provide information on these cultures. Stephen L. Keck traces the origin of this word to eighteenth-century England. He writes that travellers used this word to describe places they visited and soon this word was also applied to gardens and landscapes since it described an object or scene similar to a painting (Stephen L. Keck, "Picturesque Burma: British Travel Writing 1890-1914" Journal of Southeast Asian Studies 35.3 (2004): 393, JSTOR 14 September 2015 http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/20072606?pqorigsite=summon&seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents). Tapati Guha-Thakurta also points out how this word appears in nineteenth-century travelogues of India referring to Indian landscapes and helped to "civilize" India for English travellers. She writes, "the 'picturesque' clearly served as a potent tool of translation and appropriation." [Tapati Guha-Thakurta, Monuments, Objects, Histories: Institutions of Art in Colonial and Postcolonial India (New York City: Columbia University Press, 2004) 8]. Furthermore, Stewart notes that word indicates the "transformation of nature into art" thereby fixing a scene or an idea into a frame (Stewart 75).

⁴⁴⁹ Guide for the Use of Visitors When Inspecting the Contents of Surrey House Museum 8.

⁴⁵⁰ A. Visitor, "Through 'The Horniman Museum' No. XI," 3.

tells us that the “[Tibetan] clothing closely resembles that of the Chinese, and those who are familiar with the garb of John Chinaman will be interested in making comparisons with the Tibetan hats and boots which are on view.”⁴⁵¹ Encountering the actual objects and reading very brief, essentialised descriptions, then, for these writers as for the museum, are deemed enough for visitors to attain a deeper understanding of the differences between different groups – be it between ethnicities or religions. These examples all illustrate how the foreign was translated into terms the viewer can understand as they essentialise, reduce and reframe the Other through objects, in keeping with Said’s notion of Orientalism.

Viewing and Interpreting Miniature Objects

I argue that sets of miniature models emphasize this capacity of utilising and describing objects in order to identify and distinguish between kinds of people. In particular, with each of the four sets of miniature models discussed in this thesis, I argue that the miniature size of these objects accentuated the differences between British society and the cultures depicted. Miniature objects accomplish this feat since their smaller size tends to draw attention to the details depicted on individual objects. In addition, Stewart observes that the “reduction of physical dimensions results in a multiplication of ideological properties. The minute depiction of the object in painting... reduces the tactile and olfactory dimensions of the object and at the same time increases the significance of the object within the system of signs.”⁴⁵² So, Stewart claims, by reducing the size of an object, its importance as a symbolic representation increases. In accordance with Bachelard, Stewart contends that through miniaturization objects draw the beholder’s focus towards their contextual details and depiction rather than other information they may convey such as

⁴⁵¹ Horniman Museum Scrapbook of Press Cuttings and Other Items 1888 –1901 page 25, “The Horniman Museum at Forest Hill: The New Indian Curios”.

⁴⁵² Stewart 47-48.

narrative information or hierarchical relationships.⁴⁵³ Importantly, she also draws our attention to the effect of miniature objects when they are placed in sets:

Thus the miniature is suitable as an item of collection because it is sized for individual consumption at the same time that its surplus of detail connotes infinity and distance. While we can 'see' the entire collection, we cannot possibly 'see' each of its elements. We thereby also find at work here the play between identity and difference which characterizes the collection organized in accordance with qualities of the objects themselves. To group objects in a series because they are 'the same' is to simultaneously signify their difference.⁴⁵⁴

Miniature objects not only invite the viewer to examine these objects more closely, then, but also, when groups of them are placed in a set because of their perceived similarities – as with the Horniman Free Museum's four sets of miniature models – their membership of the assemblage actually reinforces the distinctions between the objects.

An example from the sixteenth century highlights how miniature objects can convey the differences between the objects (and the concepts they represent) within a set. In the 1565 neo-Latin work *Inscriptiones Vel Tituli Theatri Amplissimi* (*The Inscriptions or Titles of the Most Complete Theatre*), librarian and custodian of collections Samuel Quiccheberg discussed how European royalty used dolls and miniature figures in order to examine the clothing and customs of foreign cultures. According to the 2014 Leonardis and Bowry translation of this work, he wrote:

It happens that in domestic dress, among the daughters of princes, it is usual too for they themselves in memory of time long ago, it is usual for these customs with miniature designs to be observed... so that inspecting each one individually, every chamber of a certain queen, and the processional and customs of the lesser halls are seen 'to the nail/ claw'.⁴⁵⁵

⁴⁵³ Bachelard 160, Stewart 47-48.

⁴⁵⁴ Stewart 155.

⁴⁵⁵ Samuel Quiccheberg, *Inscriptiones Vel Tituli Theatri Amplissimi* trans. Antonio Leonardis and Stephanie Bowry in Stephanie Bowry, "Re-Thinking the Curiosity Cabinet in Early & Post Modernity" diss. University of Leicester, 2014, 368-369.

Quiccheberg, like Stewart, observes how sets of miniature objects emphasize the fine detail of the subject represented, and hence, the differences between the objects. He later expanded upon this idea. In the Hochstrasser and Psoinos translation of his work, used by Pearce and Arnold, Quiccheberg noted that miniature objects can be used to distinguish between clothing styles and social status. When discussing the usefulness of collecting examples of clothing, he specifically advocated collecting miniature examples. He stated, “likewise miniature clothing of foreign nations as if for dolls, for distinguishing the clothing worn by unmarried girls, widows, women who are engaged, et cetera.”⁴⁵⁶ Here again then, Quiccheberg argued that sets of miniature objects draw the viewer’s attention to the differences between each object in the group – and by extension, to the differences between the groups they apparently represent.

Centuries later, Woolhouse alluded to this phenomenon when viewing miniature models in the First Indian Room. When describing a series of miniature models of animals, he wrote:

Here in this case you have a marvellous combination of articles from that glorious Empire of India. It was with considerable reluctance that I turned my attention in another direction, for I must confess that I was deeply fascinated with this unique assortment which has been most tastefully arranged by the Curator; arranged in such a way that you can almost see the whole of the objects at a glance. Do not be satisfied to do this, however, but examine each minutely in order to ascertain the amount of clever work displayed.⁴⁵⁷

In this passage Woolhouse describes three ways to interpret these objects. First, as described in the previous chapter, Woolhouse highlights how groups of miniature objects provide the illusion of control since the viewer feels they see the entirety of the concept represented. Next, Woolhouse points out how, as Quiccheberg and Stewart argue, groups of miniatures draw the attention of the viewer towards the

⁴⁵⁶ Samuel Quiccheberg, “Samuel A Quiccheberg’s Third and Fourth Classes,” trans. Hochstrasser, Julie in *The Collector’s Voice: Critical Readings in the Practice of Collecting* vol. 2 ed. Pearce, Susan and Ken Arnold (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000) 10.

⁴⁵⁷ A. Visitor, “Through ‘The Horniman Museum’ No. X” *Forest Hill and Sydenham Examiner* 6 November 1896: 3, *FOREST HILL AND SYDENHAM EXAMINER LONDON 9TH AUG 1895 to 31ST DEC 1897 M64/303*.

details and differences between the objects. Finally, as I contend above, Woolhouse also notes that these objects were produced by an imperial subject, therefore seeing the objects through an Orientalist lens.

Examples from the nineteenth century further demonstrate how sets of miniature objects encouraged the viewer to notice the details of - and differences between - the objects. Chatterjee argues that the creation of miniature models for tourists in early nineteenth-century India tended to favour the representation of specific trades rather than specific people by describing the lack of detail on certain elements of the figures including the representation of a horse and groomsman. She states, “defined as figures by markers of their trade, rather than resemblance to an individual, the figurines, in this case, function not only as portraits of a community but more specifically a professional class of occupation type.”⁴⁵⁸ Miniature models constructed in the nineteenth century highlight characteristics of the subjects the models represent, and the details in the individual models define their differences between other models in the group, each representing an Indian trade.

An article from *The Illustrated Examiner*, dated 4 October 1851, discussing miniature objects displayed in the Great Exhibition, records that “[the visitor] sees a profusion of carvings in ivory, comprising several sets of chessmen, in which it will be interesting to compare the Hindoo [sic] and Burmese (here displayed) with the Chinese.”⁴⁵⁹ Once again, sets of miniature objects are seen as a means by which the viewer can notice the differences between the objects and the people they represent. The article also shows how miniature models fulfilled this function. In it the author recorded how a set of miniature models drew his attention and alluded to the ideas the artefacts were intended to represent by stating they were “exceedingly curious and characteristic”.⁴⁶⁰ The set of objects, which included a satirical representation of a European, provided the viewer, it was said, with the ability to understand India. The author wrote, “The figures are almost one hundred and fifty in number, and constitute an exhibition in themselves, enabling the visitor to form a better idea than

⁴⁵⁸ Chatterjee 215.

⁴⁵⁹ “India and Indian Contributions to the Industrial Bazaar,” *The Illustrated Examiner* 18 (4 October 1851): 321.

⁴⁶⁰ “India and Indian Contributions to the Industrial Bazaar” 321.

he otherwise could of Indian character and costume, and of the castes and occupations of society.”⁴⁶¹ By focussing on how people could use these objects in order to better understand India based solely upon their costumes, this article encouraged and expected the viewing of India through an Orientalist lens as described above.

William Gaspey’s work on the Great Exhibition also highlights the use of miniature models for this purpose. When describing the models from India in the Great Exhibition, Gaspey detailed the models he found most educational. He writes, “the best executed and most instructive models, however, were those of clay... representing the various castes and professions of the Hindoos... comprised of upwards of sixty illustrations, some consisting of several figures.”⁴⁶² Like the description of these objects in *The Illustrated Examiner*, Gaspey clearly highlights how these miniature models portraying Indian castes and professions aided the viewer to understand divisions within and decode the symbols they found within Indian culture.

The Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886 also provides an excellent example of the display and use of models, including miniature models, to decode and represent Asian cultures. The official catalogue of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition noted the use of these figures within the exhibition and ranked them based upon their accuracy in depicting Indian cultures. The catalogue detailed that visitors could find collections of turbans and full-size figures representing different Indian groups at the exhibition. It stated, “the collection of turbans sent by the Bombay Committee is doubly interesting from the representation of the various head-dresses and distinguishing the different divisions of the inhabitants of Bombay.”⁴⁶³ Here the catalogue draws the reader’s attention to the idea that by recognising the differences in the turbans, one might learn to tell different Indian groups apart. Additionally, the catalogue cited the use of miniature clay models in the exhibition for this same purpose. It stated, “some

⁴⁶¹ “India and Indian Contributions to the Industrial Bazaar” 321.

⁴⁶² William Gaspey, History and Description of the Great Exhibition of the World’s Industry Held in London in 1851; Illustrated by Beautiful Steel Engravings from Daguerreotypes from Beard, Mayall Etc. Etc. Etc. volume 3 (London: The London Printing and Publishing Company, 1852) 268.

⁴⁶³ Official Catalogue Colonial and Indian Exhibition, 1886 34.

of the most interesting specimens of modelling [sic] human figures must be looked for in the Court devoted to the economic products, where they illustrate the habits and customs of everyday life in Northern India and Bengal.”⁴⁶⁴ As with the models featured in the Great Exhibition, this catalogue emphasized how, by viewing the turbans and the models, one could see the differences between the objects and therefore gain knowledge on identifying different Indian groups based solely upon their clothing.

Miniature Ethnographic Models in the Horniman Free Museum

Akin to the Great Exhibition and the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, both the Horniman Free Museum’s catalogues and Woolhouse also conveyed the idea that these four sets miniature models in the museum could be used to gain information on and differentiate between groups of Indian and Burmese peoples. The twelfth edition of the museum’s guidebook referenced the fact that the museum interpreted these objects to highlight the differences between Indian groups. It stated, “the next wall case contains a very interesting collection of coloured clay models of figures (singly and in groups) of the different Hindu castes, trades, &c., from Lucknow”.⁴⁶⁵ The use of the word “different” here underscores the museum’s intention to deploy these objects as a means of representing the variety of the different ethnic or religious groups in India. Said summarised this behaviour when he observed that “Orientalism organized itself systematically as the acquisition of Oriental material and its regulated dissemination as a form of specialized knowledge.”⁴⁶⁶ The Orientalist, in other words, accumulates and utilizes objects in order to share their knowledge of the other to a wider audience, as Horniman did with these models.

Similarly, Woolhouse, in his description of these objects, identified not only the differences between the objects in this set, but also, as articulated by Stewart and Quiccheberg, that visitors should pay extra attention to this group of miniature

⁴⁶⁴ Official Catalogue Colonial and Indian Exhibition, 1886 15-16.

⁴⁶⁵ Guide for Use of Visitors When Inspecting the Horniman Free Museum and Gardens 11.

⁴⁶⁶ Said 165.

models. In his description he maintained that “the case of coloured clay models of figures, singly and in groups of the different Hindu castes, trades, etc., from Lucknow is also very interesting, and deserves more than a passing glance.”⁴⁶⁷ Highlighting the core attributes of sets of miniature objects, and like the museum, Woolhouse differentiates between the objects in this set and observes how miniature objects draw the viewers’ attention. suggesting that visitors to the museum should not simply pass them by but instead give them the time needed to view and understand them properly.

Both of these descriptions also touch upon reactions to the materiality of the objects. As defined by Sandra Dudley and others, this concept refers to the reactions to the object by the viewer.⁴⁶⁸ Dudley states:

the sensible, physical characteristics of the thing trigger and thus contribute to the viewer’s sensory perceptions, which in turn trigger emotional and cognitive associations which *together* with the physical characteristics could be said to constitute the object’s materiality. Materiality, then, is not solely meaning nor simply physical form, but the dynamic interaction of both with our sensory experience [emphasis original].⁴⁶⁹

Dudley’s definition of materiality sums up how the viewer interprets the object accounting for both the form of the objects as defined by the viewer’s senses and the meaning they ascribe to the object. Later in this work Dudley continues with this definition when she adds that the colour and texture of the object cannot be separated from the visitors’ reaction to the object and ultimately also contribute to

⁴⁶⁷ Visitor “Through ‘The Horniman Museum’ No. XIV” 3.

⁴⁶⁸ Sandra H. Dudley, “Museum Materialities: Objects, Senses, and Feeling,” Museum Materialities: Objects, Engagements, Interpretations ed. Dudley, Sandra H. (London: Routledge, 2010) 7, Chris Gosden, “What Do Objects Want?” Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory 12:3 (2005) 194 JSTOR 26 May 2017 <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/20177516>, Glenn Willumson, “Making Meaning: Displaced Materiality in the Library and Art Museum,” Photographs Objects Histories: On the Materiality of Images ed. Edwards, Elizabeth and Janice Hart (London: Routledge, 2004) 62, Lambros Malafouris, “Beads for a Plastic Mind: The ‘Blind Man’s Stick’ (BMS) Hypothesis and the Active Nature of Material Culture,” Cambridge Archaeological Journal 18:3 (2008) 401 Cambridge Archaeological Journal 26 May 2017 <https://doi-org.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/10.1017/S0959774308000449>.

⁴⁶⁹ Dudley 7-8.

the viewer's interpretation of the object.⁴⁷⁰ Additionally, Kristen Wehner and Martha Sear, Jeremy Coote, and Diana Young also argue that colours contribute to viewers' differentiating between and interpreting objects.⁴⁷¹

Both the museum's and Woolhouse's interpretation of these models take the materiality of the objects into account in their interpretation. As mentioned above, these figures were placed within a case, so visitors would need to rely upon their sight in order to take in the materiality of these model. Both descriptions of this set of figures highlight the fact that these models are coloured. Although neither Woolhouse or the museum mention the specific colours of the models or what part of the models are coloured (i.e. the hair, skin, clothing, etc.) it is clear from these descriptions that the colours of each model differentiate them from the others and assist the viewer in understanding the depictions of castes or trades depicted by these models.

The museum's use of miniature models to portray other cultures also points to another Orientalist practice by the museum: presenting these cultures as static and unchanging. Both Wintle and Chatterjee point out how models present a static interpretation of subject, which remains the same during every viewing.⁴⁷² The museum, through its display and interpretation of these models, also presented these cultures as unchanging as seen through the museum's guidebooks. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the descriptions of these figures, along with the description of the model heads, did not change between the twelfth and fourteenth editions of guidebook. This lack of change in the guidebook's description for these sets of models indicates that the museum did not add or subtract any objects from these sets, although the museum itself changed around these models during this period. Therefore, the museum presented Indian society within an Orientalist paradigm as

⁴⁷⁰ Dudley 9.

⁴⁷¹ Kirsten Wehner and Martha Sear, "Engaging the Material World: Object Knowledge and Australian Journey," *Museum Materialities: Objects, Engagements, Interpretations* ed. Dudley, Sandra H. (London: Routledge, 2010) 151, Jeremy Coote, "Marvels of Everyday Vision: The Anthropology of Aesthetics and the Cattle-Keeping Nilotes," *Museum Objects: Experiencing the Properties of Things*, ed. Dudley, Sandra (London: Routledge, 2012) 219, Diana Young, "The Colours of Things," *Handbook of Material Culture* ed. Tilley, Christopher, Webb Keane, Susanne Küchler, Mike Rowlands, and Patricia Spyer (Los Angeles: Sage, 2008) 180.

⁴⁷² Wintle "Model Subjects: Representations of the Andaman Islands at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, 1886" 201, Chatterjee 215.

unchanging, and therefore inferior to British society, as discussed with reference to Said, earlier in this chapter.

The descriptions and display of the model heads also demonstrate this trait within the museum of perpetuating Orientalist ideas about India. The fourteenth edition of the museum's guidebook provides a description of this set of objects, which it recorded as "heads in papier-maché, representing the different Hindu caste marks."⁴⁷³ Through this statement, as with the figures, the museum emphasised that the objects in this set each represented a different Indian group, in this case caste groups, and encouraged visitors to examine these objects closely by mentioning the differences in detail between the objects.⁴⁷⁴ Additionally, as with the Indian figures, the fact that the museum's description of these models did not change in the approximately two years between the twelfth and fourteenth edition of the guidebooks also shows that museum's display of these objects did not change in that time. Once again, therefore, there is the sense of India and the Indian peoples being presented in an Orientalist light, as static.

Woolhouse's description of this set goes further in its interpretation of these objects and also encourages the visitor to examine them closely in order to identify their differences. After describing how each of these objects represents a caste or occupation, Woolhouse noted that "[The heads] are careful studies from life, and on each is placed a turban, or Pagri of cotton which is usually worn by the persons represented."⁴⁷⁵ In this statement, Woolhouse, like the museum's guidebook points out that each of the models wears a different turban based upon their caste or occupation; consequently, pointing the attention of the visitors to examine each of these objects closely in order to observe such details, and note the differences

⁴⁷³ Gratis Hand-Guide for Use of Visitors to The Horniman Free Museum and Pleasure Gardens 12.

⁴⁷⁴ As mentioned earlier, the museum presented incorrect information when it described these figures, which Woolhouse and others seemingly repeated. As mentioned in the introduction to this work, the marks do not represent caste, but rather are known as *tilak* or *tilaka* and represent a person's allegiance to a deity in the Hindu pantheon. Although referred to as caste marks in the museum's descriptions of these objects, Pinney notes that visitors to India during the colonial period mistakenly believed that the coloured forehead markings on Indians indicated caste distinctions [Christopher Pinney, "Caste Marks," The Raj: India and the British 1600-1947, ed. Bayly, C.A. (London: National Portrait Gallery, 1990) 289].

⁴⁷⁵ Visitor, "Through 'The Horniman Museum' no. XV" 3.

between these objects- thereby encouraging the viewers to decode these figures and gain intellectual control over India.

Like the figures mentioned above, the materiality of these model heads also contributed to the interpretation of each object. Like the figures, were also in a case, both the museum's and Woolhouse's description of the object are composed of what they can observe about the models. Although neither of the museum or Woolhouse mention the colour of the objects, both highlight the colours in their descriptions since both detail how the viewer can tell the objects apart based upon the markings on the objects. Woolhouse adds more to his description of these models than the museum since he hints at the fact that each model wore a different style turban.

The descriptions of the two sets of Burmese figures also highlight how, in the fulfilment of its educational mission, the museum encouraged visitors to view these objects through an Orientalist gaze. As with the heads and figures from Lucknow, these figures invited viewers to identify Burmese trades and occupations through their attire; however, unlike the other two sets of figures, these figures also included labels at their base identifying each figure. Although Europeans (including Horniman) did not identify a caste system in Burma as they did in India, they also sought to identify Burmese ethnicities using symbols they perceived within their costume.⁴⁷⁶ Dudley offers a useful explanation for this when she states, "from colonial times onwards, a large proportion of anthropological and other work on Burma has been preoccupied with defining ethnic categories... focused on... fixed categories clearly associated with different forms of textiles and dress."⁴⁷⁷ Although these figures did not serve to decode caste for European audiences, they offered beholders static models for the purpose of identifying Burmese ethnic groups based upon their costume.

Nineteenth-century documents also reveal that Europeans identified Burmese ethnic groups through their costume. In their work *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States*, originally published in 1900, J. George Scott, a British administrator in

⁴⁷⁶ F. John Horniman "Visit to Upper & Lower Burma" 3.

⁴⁷⁷ Sandra Dudley, "Whose Textiles and Whose Meanings?" *Textiles from Burma: Featuring the James Henry Green Collection*, ed. Dell, Elizabeth and Sandra Dudley (Brighton: Philip Wilson Publishers, 2003) 39.

Burma, and John Percy Hardiman, a member of the Indian Civil Service, address the history and ethnic composition of Burma by focusing on the history and peoples they encountered in different Burmese geographical locations. When discussing the people residing in the Kachin Hills, for example, Scott and Hardiman note the differences in dress between ethnicities and how to identify ethnic groups through their costume. They write, “The dress of the Yawyin and Lihsaw of the Kachin country is at any rate very different from that of the Kachins.”⁴⁷⁸ Here they imply that different ethnic groups can be identified *solely* by observing their costume. Later, they describe how Chingpaw costumes differ from those of other groups. They write, “the general character of the Chingpaw dress is the same among all of the tribes, and it is only a very observant or a very practiced eye, which immediately detects the clan peculiarities which exist.”⁴⁷⁹ Here again they contend that, with practice, peoples from different Burmese ethnic groups can be differentiated based solely on their costume. Horniman himself referred to this notion when he mentioned purchasing clothing representing the Burmese, Shan, and Kachin in a journal entry dated 24 January 1896.⁴⁸⁰ Consequently, like the models from India described above, Europeans sought to use these costumes in order to understand Burmese culture through the identification of peoples via their costumes.

The fourteenth edition of the museum’s guidebook shows that the museum emphasized the use of these models for identifying aspects of Burmese society through costumes. It described these models as “various Burmese characters, from the ex-King and Queen to the peasants, soldiers, priests, etc.”⁴⁸¹ Through this description, the museum indicated that it presented these figures as a means of identifying members of Burmese society.

Additionally, like the model heads, these figures bear descriptions of the groups they represent on the base of each figure. Consequently, the descriptions on the bases of the figures themselves, which, unlike the heads are visible without

⁴⁷⁸ J. George Scott and J.P. Hardiman, Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States Part 1 Vol. 1 (Rangoon: Government Printing, 1900) 388.

⁴⁷⁹ Scott and Hardiman, 397.

⁴⁸⁰ F. John Horniman “Visit to Upper Burma” 3.

⁴⁸¹ Gratis Hand-Guide for Use of Visitors to The Horniman Free Museum and Pleasure Gardens 9.

handling the object granted the viewer the ability to view and related costumes to Burmese ethnic groups. Figures 4.2 and 4.3, similar to Figures 1.7 and 1.8, highlight the differences in costume between ethnic groups and genders. Figure 4.2 (Horniman Museum and Gardens object number 606x), representing an old Burmese woman, is 9.5 inches tall by 3.25 inches across at the base (approximately 235 by 89 mm).

The figure is painted a light shade of brown and features the woman's right arm dropped to the waist with her left arm bent at the elbow and extending forward. The model appears to have black hair closely shaved to the scalp, is slightly hunched over and wears a white long-sleeved vest with a black dotted pattern along the edges. The seams of the vest are slightly opened with a black breast cloth visible and a white *pawa* (shawl) with a yellow floral pattern draped over her left shoulder, crossing her torso and extending to her waist. The woman is also wearing a *htamein*, slightly open near her bare feet, with red and white horizontal stripes of varied thickness. The handwritten text on the white octagonal base of the figure states "Old Burmese Woman".

Figure 4.3 bears many similarities to Figure 4.2. This figure (Horniman Museum and Gardens number 606xiii) is also painted a light shade of brown and represents an old Burmese man. It measures 10 inches high by 3.75 inches wide at its base (approximately 254 by 89 mm). Like Figure 4.2 this figure possesses very short black hair and is slightly hunched over. Additionally, this figure also wears a slightly open white long-sleeved vest with black dots along the edges and seams. This figure also wears a white undergarment and its right arm is depicted as dropped to the waist with the left arm bent at the elbow and pointing forward with a closed fist (possibly indicating that it once held an object). The figure also features bare feet and wears a red and white *pahso* with vertical stripes on the front of the skirt and horizontal stripes visible along the figure's sides. Horizontal stripes are displayed on the bottom third on the figure's right side, which features a pink and red floral pattern on the white stripes. The handwritten text on the white octagonal base states "Old Burmese Man".



Figure 4.2

Carved wooden painted figure of Old Burmese Woman (Horniman Museum and Gardens Object Number 606x). Image courtesy of the Horniman Museum and Gardens.



Figure 4.3

Carved wooden painted figure of Old Burmese Man (Horniman Museum and Gardens Object Number 606xiii). Image courtesy of the Horniman Museum and Gardens.

Like the Shan models referenced in the first chapter of this thesis, these objects also represent the costumes of the different sexes within the same ethnic group. However, unlike those models, these models wear remarkably similar costumes. Both wear a long-sleeved white vest with a black dotted pattern along the edges and seams and both wear skirts with red and white stripes. Additionally, both figures feature shaved heads with black hair. Consequently, given the similarities between the two models representing Burmese costume and the two models representing Shan costume it is likely these figures were created and used to identify the costumes of different ethnic groups within Burma.

In his description of these two sets of models, Woolhouse drew attention to the notion that each of these models represented a different aspect of Burmese society. He stated:

these are painted different colours identified with the different classes and give an effect that must be seen to be realised... there is a whole row of finely carved ivory figures including Hypoongee or Priest, Burmese girl, Burman, Burmese gentleman, Shan girl, Shan statesman, Chinaman, etc. These are remarkably well coloured, and with the larger wooden figures behind them, form a unique collection which proves a great attraction to visitors.⁴⁸²

As with the model animals cited earlier in this chapter, in this passage, Woolhouse points out how sets of miniature objects highlight the differences between the objects by noting the different colours of the objects and the different groups these models represented as well as the difference in size between these objects and the wooden models in the same case. Consequently, as with the Indian figures and heads Woolhouse engaged with the materiality of the objects and noted the difference between the objects based upon the colours on each object. Additionally, by listing the objects in this set, Woolhouse confirms that they were similar to the set of models listed as group 153 in the Beato catalogue, and thus constituted objects which were mass-produced for sale to tourists.

Woolhouse describes the wooden figures in much the same manner. He states:

⁴⁸² Visitor "Through 'The Horniman Museum' No. XII" 3.

the wooden figures represent the Ex-King, Queen, Priests, Officers, Soldiers, Coolies, Marionettes etc. Models of each class placed side by side make an imposing and picturesque scene... Mr. Horniman... has secured these interesting figures in order to give visitors to his Museum some idea as to the dress and customs of the Burmese".⁴⁸³

Although he did not mention the colours of the objects, comparable to the museum's description of these objects, Woolhouse emphasizes that these figures represented different groups - for the most part trades within Burmese society - with the exception of the figures representing the ex-king and queen. His use of the word "picturesque" in describing these objects indicates the figures' colonial context and function as taming and framing Burmese society for the Western visitor to consume. Also, as with the ivory models, Woolhouse listed the differences between the models by describing how this grouping of miniature objects helps the viewer differentiate Burmese groups based upon costume. The groups, trades, or individuals the models represent and also demonstrating the similarity between the figures in this group and these models and the set of figures described as item 154 in the Beato catalogue, which were mass-produced for tourists. Although neither of these sets of models exactly match the objects described in the catalogue it is likely Beato also mass-produced these two sets of models.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored how both Horniman and the museum viewed and interpreted Indian and Burmese cultures partially through an Orientalist view of these cultures using these four sets of miniature models; a view that a visitor to the museum echoed. I began this chapter by defining Orientalism and demonstrated that Horniman viewed other cultures, including India and Burma, in part through this colonial lens as inferior to British society, but also with great admiration for the craftsmanship from these peoples and through his hierarchical rankings of cultures. I

⁴⁸³ Visitor "Through 'The Horniman Museum' No. XII" 3.

next examined the museum and demonstrated that it also portrayed non-Western cultures through an Orientalist and hierarchical lens, based upon technology, and therefore as inferior to the British. Additionally, this section demonstrated that a visitor to the museum repeatedly echoed the museum's interpretation and Orientalist attitudes by also highlighting the superiority of British culture to other ethnic groups in his description of the galleries including Indian and Burmese society. I argued that the museum again portrayed these peoples partially through an Orientalist paradigm and examined how Woolhouse, through his tour of the museum, also described Indian and Burmese cultures in this manner. I concluded by highlighting the specific way in which nineteenth-century museum visitors viewed these four sets miniature models. I argued by spending time over and noticing the details between these objects, as the miniature draws the attention of the viewer to components of the object and the differences between miniature objects displayed in sets. I stated in the way the museum how the museum these objects to decode Indian and Burmese body markings and costumes as semiotic tools for understanding these cultures. Furthermore, I detailed how museum visitor, Woolhouse, echoed the museum when he encouraged visitors to look closer at these sets of objects in order to decode these cultures and therefore gain a sense of intellectual control over these societies.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

This thesis has offered an in-depth examination of the interpretation of miniature models – a subject often ignored by scholars - in one late nineteenth-century museum. Through an investigation of their display and interpretation by the institution and the perspectives of a contemporary visitor, Henry Woolhouse, it has highlighted both the intellectual/conceptual complexity of these objects and the tensions between the multiple meanings they were ascribed during a four-year period by focusing on the interpretations of miniature models from tourist art to their display and interpretation in one late nineteenth-century museum by both the museum and a visitor to the museum. Throughout this thesis I have argued that people view and interpret miniature objects in a manner that foregrounds the idea of intellectual control over a subject, and to demonstrate this I have tracked the ‘lives’ of these four sets of miniature models from their purchase in India and Burma, where they were sold as tourist art, to their exhibition within the Horniman Free Museum where these objects were used to emphasize the totality of knowledge over Indian and Burmese peoples and Orientalist views of how to “read” and decode these cultures based upon their body adornments.

In this chapter I first provide a postscript on the Horniman Free Museum and examine how it changed after it re-opened in 1901. Demonstrating why I stopped my analysis of these models in 1898 this section describes the museum’s exhibitionary and collections policies after 1901 and how these differed from those of the Horniman Free Museum, including how the new incarnation of the museum utilised the four sets of models. Next, I present a summary of the principal argument presented by this work, demonstrating that these four sets of miniature ethnographic models shifted from being perceived as curios to educational tools at the Horniman Free Museum, and subsequently to objects that reinforced notions of British superiority and intellectual control over India and Burma. This is followed by an examination of the research findings and contribution to knowledge made by this thesis. This chapter ends with recommendations for further areas of study on these

models and others sets of miniature ethnographic models both at the Horniman Museum and Gardens and other museums to understand how museums utilize miniature models to portray and construct knowledge.

The Horniman Museum After 1901

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 exhibitionary methodology utilised 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 in order to decrease the entertainment value of the institution, and emphasize education.⁴⁸⁴ To this end, the council changed the focus of the museum's exhibitions to highlight the evolution of human ideas and civilization, similar to the practices utilised by the Pitt Rivers Museum and Liverpool Museum at the end of the nineteenth century and appointed Haddon as Advisory Curator in 1902.⁴⁸⁵

This new methodology focused on collecting objects that highlighted the progress of ideas and civilization and focused on filling perceived gaps in the collection in order to demonstrate the evolution of technology. Haddon moved away from the loosely geographical exhibition methodology previously used by the Horniman Free Museum and instead drew upon the Pitt Rivers Museum as a model

⁴⁸⁴ Nicky Levell, "Illustrating Evolution: Alfred Cort Haddon and the Horniman Museum, 1901-1905" *Collectors, Individuals and Institutions*, ed. Shelton, Anthony (London: The Horniman Museum and Gardens, 254, 258.

⁴⁸⁵ Levell "Illustrating Evolution: Alfred Cort Haddon and the Horniman Museum, 1901-1905," 258.

to group similar types of objects together in order to highlight the evolution and development of ideas and cultures.⁴⁸⁶ Kerlogue describes this change in the museum's exhibitionary focus and methodology when she observes that "the museum was in any case not attempting to introduce visitors to the cultures of particular groups but to convey an overall sense of the development of technology."⁴⁸⁷ Here, Kerlogue highlights the new typological approach in the museum and stresses its similarities with the Pitt Rivers Museum, which also focused on showing the development of ideas through evolutionary paradigms.⁴⁸⁸ A book on the new museum printed in 1901 also noted this approach when it highlighted and described the arrangement of objects in one of the new exhibitions. It stated:

The most interesting feature in the south hall is perhaps the anthropological collection, the various objects in which relate to man, and particularly the products of his handiwork in pre-historic, ancient, and modern times. The collection commences with the implements of the Stone Age, by the side of which are placed, for comparison, some modern stone implements from the South Sea Islands.⁴⁸⁹

This passage highlights how, instead of focusing on ethnography and grouping different cultures, objects, and peoples together based primarily on geographic region, the museum after 1901 showcased the evolution of technology by grouping together objects of similar types, regardless of their place or time of origin in order to compare cultures across multiple time periods. Furthermore, by 1907 the museum featured ethnological materials, arranged in five categories: Weapons of War and Chase, The Domestic Arts, Decorative Art, Magic and Religion, and Travel and Transportation.⁴⁹⁰ Coombes writes that by 1907 the museum added a new exhibition called "African Art" and by 1912 the museum advocated the juxtaposition of

⁴⁸⁶ Numerous scholars address the use of this exhibition methodology in the museum after 1901 including Levell "Illustrating Evolution: Alfred Cort Haddon and the Horniman Museum, 1901-1905," 262, Marion Duncan 19, Shelton "Rational Passions: Frederick John Horniman and Institutional Collectors" 211, Shelton "Museum Ethnography: An Imperial Science" 171, Coombes Reinventing Africa: Museums: Material Culture and Popular Imagination 151.

⁴⁸⁷ Kerlogue 408.

⁴⁸⁸ An Account of the Horniman Free Museum and Recreation Grounds Forest Hill 11.

⁴⁸⁹ An Account of the Horniman Free Museum and Recreation Grounds Forest Hill 28-30.

⁴⁹⁰ Levell "Illustrating Evolution: Alfred Cort Haddon and the Horniman Museum, 1901-1905," 262.

decorative arts from modern culture with those produced by races it viewed as “backward”.⁴⁹¹

With this new focus, the collecting priorities at the museum also changed after 1901. The museum began to focus on collecting African and Inuit objects in order to acquire objects illustrating cultures deemed less developed according to evolutionary paradigms.⁴⁹² Kerlogue notes that Haddon relied upon a network of anthropologists in order to obtain objects for the museum, including people who had previously been involved with anthropological expeditions led by Haddon.⁴⁹³ Additionally, Levell states that Haddon spent his first two years at the museum reclassifying and relabelling objects to fit this ideology.⁴⁹⁴

After the museum reopened in 1901, the interpretation of these four sets of miniature models changed as well. The 1904 Horniman Museum guidebook indicates that the new museum displayed the four sets of ethnographic models examined in this work slightly differently to the Horniman Free Museum. This book stated that the museum displayed all four sets of objects in the Figure Room, located in the South Hall of the museum.⁴⁹⁵ Levell notes that Haddon used this area of the museum to display decorative art, primarily organised by geographic location, which accentuated the primitive nature of the objects’ countries of origin.⁴⁹⁶ According to the guidebook, this room contained, “life-size and miniature **Models** representing various physical types and styles of **National costume**” [emphasis original].⁴⁹⁷ Although this guidebook mentions the costumes worn by these models, unlike the Horniman Free Museum it also emphasized the different types of bodies the models represented. Referencing the figures from India the guidebook recorded these as “papier-maché models of human heads, showing the different Hindu caste marks. Coloured clay

⁴⁹¹ Coombes *Reinventing Africa: Museums: Material Culture and Popular Imagination* 153-154.

⁴⁹² Shelton “Rational Passions: Frederick John Horniman and Institutional Collectors,” 211, Levell “Illustrating Evolution: Alfred Cort Haddon and the Horniman Museum, 1901-1905” 261, 265.

⁴⁹³ Kerlogue 409-410.

⁴⁹⁴ Levell “Illustrating Evolution: Alfred Cort Haddon and the Horniman Museum, 1901-1905” 259.

⁴⁹⁵ London County Council, *Guide for Use of Visitors to The Horniman Museum and Library* (London, 1904) 24.

⁴⁹⁶ Levell “Illustrating Evolution: Alfred Cort Haddon and the Horniman Museum, 1901-1905,” 264, 267.

⁴⁹⁷ London County Council *Guide for Use of Visitors to The Horniman Museum and Library* 24.

models of figures from Lucknow, single, and in groups, illustrating the different Hindu castes and occupations.”⁴⁹⁸ Regarding these models, the interpretation had therefore changed little from the time of the Horniman Free Museum including the fact that the museum continued to note and misidentify the marks on the foreheads of the model heads. The guidebook described the Burmese models in a similar fashion to the Horniman Free Museum, although it incorrectly identifies the objects as from Rangoon instead of Mandalay, when it states, “similar figures, in carved and coloured ivory and wood, from Rangoon.”⁴⁹⁹ Thus, although descriptions of these four sets of objects in the 1904 guidebook varied little from the Horniman Free Museum, based upon their inclusion in this room the museum used to highlight other cultures. However, tellingly, these descriptions of the models do not emphasize the differences between the objects or demonstrating complete knowledge over a subject.

The 1912 guide to the museum shows that these objects were still housed in the same room they had been in 1904; however, the museum changed the interpretation of these objects in the intervening eight years. The 1912 guide stated that the figure room showcased the evolution of clothing, and included these models. The guide states, “[this room] contains models of figures and heads, as well as the collection of clothing. The latter begins with the simple girdles and aprons of backwards peoples, and ends with a few models dressed in the clothes of civilised people.”⁵⁰⁰ This description highlights the evolutionary exhibition methodology at the museum since the guide described this room as depicting clothing from uncivilized and civilized peoples. The guide infers that the museum included the four sets of miniature ethnographic models in the group representing civilised people, as compared with other peoples since the guide describes these objects after a category titled “Primitive Costumes” which included objects from Africa and Oceania.⁵⁰¹

⁴⁹⁸ London County Council Guide for Use of Visitors to The Horniman Museum and Library 24. Note here that the museum continued to emphasize the marks on the foreheads of these models and indicated that these marks denoted caste.

⁴⁹⁹ London County Council Guide for Use of Visitors to The Horniman Museum and Library 24.

⁵⁰⁰ London County Council Guide for the Use of Visitors to The Horniman Museum and Library, Forest Hill, London, S.E. second edition rewritten 1912 (London, 1912) 57.

⁵⁰¹ London County Council Guide for the Use of Visitors to The Horniman Museum and Library, Forest Hill, London, S.E. 57.

However, the guide also stated that the museum now displayed these objects with similar objects from other places which further de-emphasized their geographic place of origin and highlighted their use within an evolutionary exhibition approach. When describing the sets of figures from India and Burma the guide records these as “**Miniature models:** coloured clay models of figures and groups, illustrating Hindu castes and occupations, from Lucknow; models in wood, ivory, etc., from Burma and Japan” [emphasis original].⁵⁰² Similar to the model heads discussed above, the guide demonstrates that the museum still interpreted these objects as representing different castes and occupations. The guide also mentions how the museum used the papier-maché heads in this exhibition scheme. It states, “**Models of heads and faces:** papier-maché models of heads, showing Hindu caste marks; models of faces with caricatured expressions, Japan” [emphasis original].⁵⁰³ Although the museum still interpreted the marks on the foreheads of the models as denoting caste, the inclusion of these objects with models from Japan indicates that the museum no longer displayed and interpreted these objects with other Indian objects, but instead used them to highlight the facial features of peoples from different areas of the world. The description of these objects in both the 1904 and 1912 guides demonstrated that after 1901, the museum changed its collecting and exhibition methods. No longer focused on using these objects to depict peoples from India or Burma, instead, after 1901, the museum interpreted these four sets of models to portray different types of clothing from around the world, to emphasize Indian and Burmese superiority over African and Oceanic cultures along a racial hierarchy, and display the facial features of peoples from different parts of the world.

⁵⁰² London County Council, Guide for the Use of Visitors to The Horniman Museum and Library, Forest Hill, London, S.E. 58.

⁵⁰³ London County Council, Guide for the Use of Visitors to The Horniman Museum and Library, Forest Hill, London, S.E. 58.

Summary of Methodology

This thesis used an object biographical approach to detail the interpretation of four sets of miniature objects within a museum in late Victorian Britain. This methodology, which argues that the meanings and interpretation of objects change depending upon the viewer, provided an appropriate framework for understanding the shifting interpretation of these miniature models between 1884 and 1898. This research also applied theories of miniature objects by Stewart, Bachelard, Lévi-Strauss and others to each of the three phases of these objects' lives during this period in order to demonstrate how these objects encapsulated British colonial views of the peoples of India and Burma as inferior. This section will discuss the strengths of the methodological approach and provide an overview of each of my chapters two through four of this thesis, which each focus on a different period and a different interpretation of these objects' lives.

The study of these complex objects benefited greatly from the methodological approach, since object biographies take into account the manner in which the interpretation of objects change over time and allows for multiple readings of the same object(s) as described by scholars such as Kopytoff and Tythacott who detail how objects can possess multiple meanings depending upon their owner or use.⁵⁰⁴ Additionally, Edwards and Hart contend that the meaning of an object depends upon the values placed upon it by outside agencies, including museums.⁵⁰⁵ Throughout this work I also demonstrated how the meanings of objects change based upon their interpretation in order to understand the utilization of sets of miniature objects during the late Victorian period.

I utilized a similar approach when reviewing the primary sources on which I drew in order to track the history of these objects. Over the course my research I realized the importance of the Horniman Museum newspaper scrapbook since it contains articles not otherwise available. By reviewing these clippings I gained information about the museum not available through other sources. Although many

⁵⁰⁴ Kopytoff 67, Tythacott 7.

⁵⁰⁵ Edwards and Hart 49.

of the clippings in this scrapbook do not contain information on their provenance (such as the date of the article or the publication from which they originated) nonetheless this book provides tremendous detail on the Horniman and the museum prior to 1901 including clippings of Horniman's first set of travel journal, which I did not find available in any other archival facility, articles and museum documents about the museum before the museum opened to the public and information on when objects entered the museum and the changing exhibitions.

Similarly, although described at the time as a travelogue Horniman's travel journals also proved essential in understanding Horniman's views. Even though Horniman did not mention purchasing these four sets of models in his two sets of journals, these works, nonetheless, these works contain information valuable to understanding how Horniman planned to utilize objects he purchased. Both sets of journal mention Horniman purchasing objects and describing how he planned to use them. Furthermore, at numerous points in the journals described Horniman's visits to museum and included his thoughts on good and bad museum practices his thoughts on the peoples and cultures he saw including his impressions of India and Burma.

Summary of Thesis Argument

In order to understand the use of miniature models in the late nineteenth century I began the examination of these models in Chapter Two where I focused on the first of the three phases of these objects' lives. This chapter argued that these objects satisfied the three criteria of a curio as understood during the late nineteenth century; namely that the object is perceived as "authentic", that the object can be - and often is - mass-produced, and that the object represented unfamiliar knowledge, as indicated by the origin of this word, which stems from the word curiosity.

Although Horniman did not specifically refer to his understanding of the meaning of authenticity in his writings, he strongly implied that the objects he purchased were authentic on several occasions, based upon their provenance, his knowledge of the object, or outside expertise. With all three sets of these objects

Horniman likely possessed knowledge of the objects or their place of origin for them to qualify as authentic. In addition, I contend that although the word “curio” can sometimes refer to the perceived rarity of an object, as confirmed by Murray when he stated in 1904 that “although the word ‘curiosity’ in its older sense had a broader meaning than at present and as it still has in France, there was generally implied in it the idea of strangeness or rarity.”⁵⁰⁶ Horniman himself stated that rarity was not part of his definition of this word when searching for acquisitions and noted curios for sale in large quantities several times in his journals. Finally, Horniman also noted that curios embodied new and unfamiliar knowledge and referred to the fact that he would place such objects in the museum, including the group of curios he likely purchased in Mandalay from Beato in December 1895.

In addition to these objects representing the authentic and the unknown, this chapter argued that these four sets of miniature models demonstrated that Horniman encapsulated knowledge of India and Burma. This argument is based upon the idea that British tourists directly created and shaped the demand for miniature models. Authors including van Haute and Spooner argue that merchandise produced for tourists changes to fit tourist demand, including the production of miniature models. Furthermore, both Graburn and Jonaitis demonstrate that these forms included miniature models produced for tourists in the late nineteenth century in both North America and Australia. While McGowan has also noted that tourist goods created in India in the late nineteenth century changed to fit the desires of tourists, contemporaries of Horniman specifically confirm this theory when, for example, Mukharji discussed how the making of tourist art in India during the late nineteenth century changed to include the production of miniature models based upon tourist demand, while George W. Bird also noted the production of miniature models in Burma at the end of the nineteenth century.

These objects also encapsulated the idea of the unknown. Stewart writes that tourist art, and specifically miniature objects bought by tourists, serve to condense an idea into a small form which, based upon its small size, only possesses one function:

⁵⁰⁶ Murray 187-188.

that of a display object. Though his travel journals do not specifically mention the four sets of miniature models at the centre of this work, Horniman himself substantiated this idea of using miniature models to encapsulate knowledge of foreign cultures when he visited the Taj Mahal in late 1894. Shortly after he viewed the Taj Mahal, he went to a workshop that produced objects for tourists based upon Indian designs, including copies of carvings and miniature models of the Taj Mahal. The size of these object denotes their function. As Pearce points out when writing about miniature objects, “small size and mode of manufacture means that the objects are useless for all utilitarian purposes, and can only serve as collection items”.⁵⁰⁷ Horniman’s journal noted that he purchased a selection of these models both as gifts and for the museum, demonstrating that he intended these latter objects to be used for the purpose of display only, thereby stripping away all but one function of these objects.

The next chapter showed how the Horniman Free Museum interpreted these objects in order to locate these within its mission, defined here as providing educational information about foreign cultures. Horniman and the museum underscored the importance of educating its visitors through a wide variety of means, including the development of the museum between 1884 and 1895 to focus more on ethnography, the descriptions of travel and landmarks in Horniman’s journals, the printing of labels for the museum’s objects and the provision of free guidebooks as well as conducting public lectures highlighting the museum’s collection. Next, I discussed how, through collecting complete sets of objects the museum emphasized that it possessed total knowledge of these cultures and how Horniman, the museum, and late nineteenth-century accounts of the museum stressed the importance of the complete collections the museum held, similar to late nineteenth-century international exhibitions.

I then applied these theories to show how the museum portrayed intellectual control over India and Burma through its interpretation and display of these objects. Although the museum did not use the word “complete” to describe the collections in the descriptions of these four sets of models in the museum’s guidebooks, it noted

⁵⁰⁷ Pearce Museums, Objects, and Collections: A Cultural Study 58.

how these models portrayed *the* castes or occupations of India and Burma, rather than describing the objects as a selection of castes or occupations. I argued that the museum, through the display of these models, created miniature fictitious worlds to provide information on these cultures. Although he did not comment on the complete nature of these sets of models, Woolhouse noted that a similar set of miniature objects provided a complete view of a distant land, and that the museum's display of the Burmese models created the simulation and feeling of a Burmese crowd, underscoring how the museum reinforced its intellectual authority.

The fourth chapter of this thesis further explored the interpretation of these objects by the museum and by its visitors. This chapter began by defining the idea of Orientalism and how it may be applied to the collection and interpretation of these four sets of models with some amendments. I argued that both Horniman, through his description of other cultures in his journals, and the museum, through its focus on collecting and presenting information on foreign cultures and highlighting the differences between British and non-Western societies, presented these cultures in manner that emphasized the superiority of British culture both within binary and hierarchical paradigms. I next demonstrated how this idea of superiority was echoed by one visitor's reaction to the exhibits. Woolhouse noted the beauty of the objects in this room but also how they told the story of the perceived primitive state of Indian and Burmese societies.

I argue that both the museum and Woolhouse engaged in this practice throughout the museum's galleries dedicated to other countries, and in particular, with these four sets of miniature models. Based upon the grouping these models together visitors were encouraged to engage in a practice defined by Stewart and Quiccheberg, as both discussed how these four sets of miniature objects revealed information on both India and Burma. Both the museum and Woolhouse encouraged museum visitors to linger over these objects and notice the differences between them, therefore showing how one could gain intellectual control over Indian and Burmese societies through knowledge of the costumes from these peoples.

Research Findings

Through the tracing of the interpretation of four sets of miniature models from their purchase in 1894 to their display and interpretation in the Horniman Free Museum until January 1898, this thesis has one key research finding; namely that the size of these models significantly affected the way in which people interpreted them.

Utilizing rarely consulted primary sources and examining an institution that previously received little scholarly attention I showed how the meanings of these object changed between 1894 and 1898 and how the size of these models affected their interpretation within each of the three phases of these objects' lives I examined.

Although Horniman did not directly address purchasing these four sets of models in his journal, the model of the Taj Mahal he bought, plus the objects he brought back from Asia for the museum indicate that he intended to utilize these models to encapsulate ideas. Horniman touched upon this notion in his journals during both of his trips to Asia in the mid-nineteenth century. Regarding the Taj Mahal model he stated that he purchased this object for the museum after visiting this monument. Additionally, during his visits to Burma and Egypt he stated that he bought objects he believed genuinely represented the places he visited. In this way, as Stewart argues, the miniature and souvenir capture experience.

From their inception as tourist art, the meaning of the objects changed once they entered the museum. Documents created by the museum during this period indicate that the museum interpreted these objects as wholly representative of these cultures. As evidenced by contemporary newspaper accounts of the museum, visitors to the museum, including Woolhouse, described these objects as presenting information on Indian and Burmese peoples and cultures including depicting Indian castes and occupations and Burmese societal groups.

However, through the interpretation and display of these models the museum conveyed the sense that it possessed total knowledge of and hence authority over these cultures. By using language to underscore the idea that the museum displayed *the* castes or *the* trades of India, for example, the museum's guidebooks indicated that

the institution presented total knowledge on the subjects of Indian and Burmese society by defining the parameters of the knowledge and collection. Additionally, as theorized by scholars such as Stewart and Lucas, when viewing sets of miniature objects, the beholder receives the impression that they see the entirety of the subject. Woolhouse demonstrated this phenomenon when he described viewing the miniature models of animals in the museum and how they provided the impression of complete knowledge.

Finally, the museum and its visitors also encouraged another reading of these models. Based upon the context in which the museum displayed and interpreted objects from India and Burma, these models also came to represent contemporary British attitudes towards these two colonies. Although not directly referencing these objects, both the museum and Woolhouse, in their descriptions of the galleries that contained these models, pointed out that the other objects displayed in these rooms represented primitive peoples that were under British colonial rule.

To this end, when visitors to the museum viewed the models in this context, the interpretation of these models changed again. As theorized by Stewart, Quiccheberg, and others, when people view miniature works they tend to notice the differences between the objects. While these objects also represented information about colonial India and Burma during this phase of their lives, the meanings associated with the models changed. They were now made to perform as keys to understanding Indian and Burmese society. The museum's guidebooks, Woolhouse, and other newspaper articles about the museum maintained that visitors could "read" these models in order to discern the differences between them, and therefore between different Indian and Burmese groups, including how to identify between members of different castes and occupations in India and how to tell different ethnic groups in Burma apart based solely upon their costumes.

Consequently, this research has also demonstrated that the arrangement of these objects influenced how people interpreted them. In each phase of these objects' lives between 1894 and 1898, the size of the object granted the viewer a sense of control. First, when Horniman purchased the miniature objects, these objects represented the unknown. Next, by exhibiting these models in groups, the museum

influenced how people viewed the models, and through the museum's guidebooks, provided the illusion of complete knowledge. Additionally, Woolhouse related how both sets of miniature objects in the museum's exhibitions conveyed to him both a sense of seeing a complete set of objects as well as noticing the details and differences between the objects, and through these differences, created the impression that these objects could be used to gain knowledge of and decode Indian and Burmese society through their markings and costumes.

Contribution to Knowledge

Ultimately this thesis makes several contributions to research which impact scholarly understanding of late nineteenth-century museums and cultural institutions as well as museums today. First, and contrary to previous scholarship on the Horniman Free Museum, this thesis has demonstrated that the museum was not an eclectic collection, but rather it collected and displayed objects with a specific purpose, which is clearly articulated in primary source documents published by the museum and authored by Horniman himself. Next, this thesis reveals how an object's meaning can be traced over time, and how this meaning changes from the purchase of the object, to the exhibition and interpretation of an object in a museum, to the interpretation of the object by museum visitors. Additionally, this research has combined theories on the function of miniature objects with the postcolonial theory of Orientalism to show how the interpretation of such objects leads the viewer to feel a sense of intellectual control over the subject the object represents. Finally, this research has demonstrated how the size of an object changes how the viewer interprets it and provides a new way of understanding how cultural institutions constructed knowledge in the late nineteenth century.

Unlike previous scholars of this museum, prior to its reopening in 1901 I argue that both Horniman and the museum focused on providing educational content, with a specific focus on educating visitors about foreign cultures. The museum engaged in activities advocated by late nineteenth-century museum scholars to foster learning, including the printing and distribution of museum guidebooks, obtaining "complete"

collections, the labelling of the objects in the museum, and the running of programming, including public lectures, which raised awareness and conveyed information about the museum's collection. Additionally, drawing upon museum documents, including annual reports and publications about the museum and articles about Horniman, including his travel journals, this thesis has argued that both Horniman and the museum stressed the value of providing information about foreign cultures.

Next, although previous scholars of miniature objects have tended to focus on interpreting sets of objects or how the interpretation of these objects change over time, this research has examined a combination of three specific phases in these objects' lives not previously brought together. While other studies of miniature objects have tracked these objects across two or more of these phases in the objects' lives, including purchase and interpretation by the museum, or interpretation by the museum and visitors, few studies have addressed the interpretation and meaning of objects in three or more phases. Of those that have, none have addressed the purchase of off-the-shelf objects and their interpretation by a museum and museum visitors. Within each of these phases I have also addressed how the attributes and reactions to miniature objects led to feelings of intellectual control over the subjects the models represented, including how miniature objects condense experience into an object with only one function, how sets of miniature objects provide the perception of complete knowledge, and how the viewer of these sets of objects is drawn to notice the differences between the objects.

This thesis has also combined two theories to show how both postcolonial theory and theories on miniature objects emphasize intellectual control over a subject. While other scholars such as Phillips advocate the use of postcolonial theories advocated by Bhabha in order to discuss the manufacturing of miniature tourist art, I applied the theory of Orientalism to the interpretation of India and Burma by both Horniman and the museum as well as the four sets of miniature models by the museum and a museum visitor in order to demonstrate how the act of viewing these miniature objects highlighted the details and, hence, the differences between the objects. The museum also noted the differences between the objects so

that visitors could read and decode these objects to gain better comprehension over the Other.

Consequently, this research provides a framework for understanding the construction of knowledge within exhibitions only hinted at by scholars such as Lucas, Bachelard, Stewart, and Quiccheberg. Through the display of sets of miniature models in cultural institutions, including the use of miniature models at international exhibitions, such as the Great Exhibition of 1851 and the Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886, the institutions implicitly reinforced ideas of intellectual dominion over a subject or idea through their display of miniature objects.

Additionally, when displaying miniature ethnographic models in order to provide information on foreign cultures, these models reinforced Orientalist attitudes in ways different from other mediums. Unlike the use of photographs in the nineteenth century, which were used to document the differences between ethnic groups within books and exhibitions, miniature models allowed people to compare the details between the models.⁵⁰⁸ However, differing from photographs, miniature objects focus the viewer's attention on the objects and engage the viewers so that they scrutinize the differences between the objects. Therefore, by utilizing miniature ethnographic models, nineteenth-century cultural institutions inferred that visitors could decode these objects, therefore creating an Orientalist paradigm through which the viewer believed they better read and understood other cultures based upon the differences between the models.

This thesis also has a practical application since this research conducted for this work will impact an exhibition that the Horniman Museum will open in 2018. This exhibition, tentatively titled *Horniman's Vision*, will feature objects Horniman collected prior to 1901 as well as his views on these objects.⁵⁰⁹ The exhibition will

⁵⁰⁸ Falconer 79, Erdogdu 117, Ira Jacknis, "In Search of the Iimagemaker: James Mooney as an Ethnographic Photographer," *Visual Anthropology* 3.2-3 (1990): 199, Christopher Pinney, "Classification and Fantasy in the Photographic Construction of Caste and Tribe," *Visual Anthropology* 3.2-3 (1990): 266, Christopher Pinney, "Underneath the Banyan Tree: William Crooke and Photographic Depictions of Caste," *Anthropology and Photography 1860-1920*, ed. Elizabeth Edwards (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992) 166, Elizabeth Edwards, "Science Visualized: E.H. Man in the Andaman Islands," *Anthropology and Photography 1860-1920*, ed. Elizabeth Edwards (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992) 110.

⁵⁰⁹ Fiona Kerlogue, "RE: Frederick Horniman" E-mail to Ryan Nutting 11 November 2015.

include objects he purchased from the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, objects he featured in Surrey House, and objects he purchased while travelling around the world, possibly including objects he bought in Egypt, India, Burma, and Japan as well as his thoughts on or descriptions of these objects.⁵¹⁰ Based upon my conversations with the museum staff, the exhibition may include the set of wooden painted sculptures Horniman purchased from Felice Beato on 13 December 1895.

By examining the history of these four sets of miniature models between 1894 and 1898 this thesis has explored how people and cultural institutions interpreted miniature objects in the late nineteenth century. Shifting from a mass-produced object specifically designed for tourists these objects were interpreted in three ways in the mid-1890s. First, valued as authentic representations of India and Burma these objects conveyed information about a section of the world unfamiliar to Horniman and English audiences. Next, displayed and interpreted with the Horniman Free Museum these models encapsulated the mission of the museum: to provide information about distant cultures and peoples. Finally, in the interpretation offered by the museum's guidebooks and the reactions of visitors, these objects served as representations of colonized peoples and cultures perceived through an Orientalist lens as inferior to British society by the visiting public.

Although this research focuses on a historical museum, I believe it also bears relevance and challenges for understanding how museums display and interpret miniature models. Numerous contemporary museums, including the Horniman Museum and Gardens display sets of miniature models. Based upon this research museums constructing exhibitions utilizing miniature models can intentionally, or unintentionally, create miniature worlds and thereby provide the viewers with a sense of the totality over the subject portrayed in the models or encourage visitors to notice the differences between the objects although they are only viewing a fragment of the idea represented. Taking these notions into account museums will be better able to consider ways to construct and portray knowledge to their visitors in order to

⁵¹⁰ Kerlogue, "RE: Frederick Horniman".

convey information and how displays of miniature models convey the idea of intellectual control.

Suggestions for Further Research

The study of these four sets of models raises a number of potential future research avenues- in particular I will address tourist art, such as miniature models, as a subject for scholarly attention objects, since, as this thesis demonstrates, this subject area constitutes a rich area for further research. I discuss how this project has uncovered additional sets of miniature objects, at the Horniman Museum and other museums, which nineteenth-century collectors possibly used in the same manner as Frederick Horniman, which could also provide subjects for further research.

As discussed earlier, models such as the ones described by Pinney and Kerlogue, were likely purchased as tourist art. Consequently, based upon the research I conducted for this thesis, I recommend that scholars begin to consider tourist art, and specifically mass-produced objects made for sale, as a viable subject for further study for what they can reveal about the collector and how museums use them to construct knowledge. Kasfir, Poulter, and Phillips note that this type of object receives little scholarly attention, since these objects are considered by scholars to be too crude, or too commercial to study.⁵¹¹ Furthermore, such objects are frequently ignored within museum collections for the same reasons, and, as Nicholas Thomas argues, while many museums contain models and figures obtained by tourists, they tend to hold little information on the origin or meaning of these complex objects. He states, "given that many models are exhibited without their specific and innovative nature being acknowledged or explained on labels, this suggests a need to redefine

⁵¹¹ Sidney Littlefield Kasfir, "African Art and Authenticity: A Text with a Shadow," *African Arts* 25.2 (1992): 48, [JSTOR](http://www.jstor.org/stable/3337059) 19 October 2016 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3337059>, Emma K. Poulter, "The Real Thing? Souvenir Objects in the West African Collections at the Manchester Museum," *Journal of Material Culture* 16.3 (2011): 272, [SAGE](http://mcu.sagepub.com.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/content/16/3/265.full.pdf+html) 4 February 2016 <http://mcu.sagepub.com.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/content/16/3/265.full.pdf+html> Ruth B. Phillips, "Why Not Tourist Art? Significant Silences in Native American Museum Representations," *After Colonialism: Imperial Histories and Postcolonial Displacements*, ed. Prakash, Gyan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995) 102.

and literally re-caption many of the objects in collections.”⁵¹² As this thesis showed, with some research museums can interpret miniature models in a number of ways.

Similar to this recommendation, contemporary museums need to rethink and research the tourist art in their collections in order to better understand these objects, I also urge museums and scholars to re-examine tourist art. Research conducted for this thesis has uncovered additional sets of miniature figures held by museums which deserve study. In addition, Pinney writes that museums in Jaipur, Bombay, and Calcutta hold similar sets of objects. Furthermore, during this research, Dr Kerlogue and I discussed two more sets of figures held by the Horniman Museum and Gardens which were likely purchased in the late nineteenth century. The first is a group of twelve clay figures with museum numbers nn15911 to nn15922. These figures represent Indian servants working in European households in India, and were purchased by Fred Mynett who served in India as a missionary and departed in 1914.⁵¹³ These figures all measure under 154 mm (approximately six inches) in height and include figures representing a tailor, butler, washer-man, road-sweeper, gardener, and water-carrier.⁵¹⁴ Due to the quantity of figures in this group and the occupations they represent, it is likely that Furneaux described figures similar to these in *Glimpses of India*. He detailed that baskets containing twelve clay figures of household servants could be purchased for one rupee.⁵¹⁵

Kerlogue also located another set of miniature figures held by the museum likely purchased in India in the late nineteenth century. The museum identified this group as object number 1982.372, which includes eighteen sets of two figures mounted on small stands purchased by Captain Gabriel Burrell Geach, a member of the Fourth Dragoon Guards stationed in India, who died at Murree in 1899.⁵¹⁶ The museum acquired these objects from the National Museum of Wales and noted that

⁵¹² Nicholas Thomas, “Epilogue,” *Hunting the Gatherers: Ethnographic Collectors, Agents, and Agency in Melanesia, 1870s-1930s*, ed. O’Hanlon, Michael and Robert L. Welsch (New York: Berghahn Books, 2000) 276.

⁵¹³ Fiona Kerlogue, “RE: More Figures!” E-mail to Ryan Nutting 8 July 2015.

⁵¹⁴ Fiona Kerlogue, “Measurements” E-mail to Ryan Nutting 10 August 2015.

⁵¹⁵ Furneaux 343.

⁵¹⁶ Fiona Kerlogue, “RE: National Museum of Wales figures- provenance” E-mail to Ryan Nutting 16 April 2015.

Geach purchased them on the Malabar Coast in South West India.⁵¹⁷ The museum stated that these figures, which each measure 205 mm (approximately 8 inches) tall, possesses a costume that represents a caste or an occupation although the figures may not now possess their original stands since the stands and figures were separated in storage.⁵¹⁸ Some of the stands possess paper labels indicating the religion or caste the figures represent.⁵¹⁹

These, and other sets of models, could be interpreted in in manner that does not just focus on purchaser or their lives as tourist art. Similar to this work more research can be conducted on other similar works of tourist art. For example, where information is available on the objects' creation subaltern or actor-network theories may be applied to the works in order to further investigate ideas behind their creation or exchange or other ways in which the interpretation of objects change. Furthermore, museums can explore how they have exhibited miniature models and tourist art in the past in order to critically examine their own previous modes and content or display and interpretation.

⁵¹⁷ Kerlogue, "RE: National Museum of Wales figures- provenance".

⁵¹⁸ Kerlogue, "RE: National Museum of Wales figures- provenance".

⁵¹⁹ Kerlogue, "RE: National Museum of Wales figures- provenance".

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