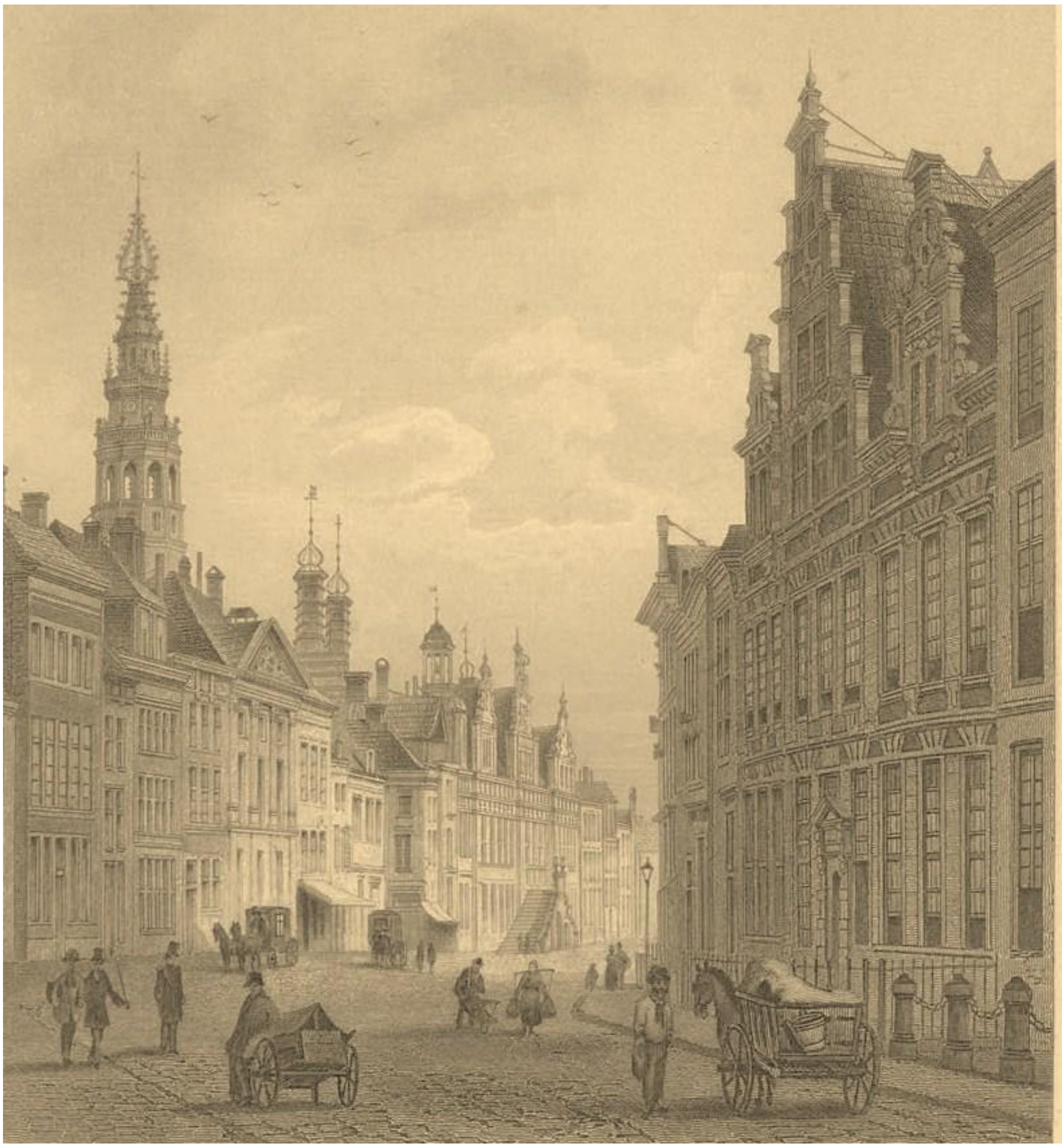
THE MUSEUM AS AN INSTRUMENT OF REFORM?

A MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY VISITOR-HISTORY OF THE MUSEUM OF ANTIQUITIES IN LEIDEN



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THE MUSEUM AS AN INSTRUMENT OF REFORM?

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Master Thesis Archaeology

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Museum Studies

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June 15th 2012

The Museum will certainly lead him to wisdom and gentleness, and to Heaven, whilst the latter [the Public house] will lead him to brutality and perdition

Sir Henry Cole, 1884

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Acknowledgements

I would like to use this opportunity to thank all the people who have aided me in the process of writing this MA-thesis and without whom it would not have been possible to complete this project.

First of all I would like to thank my supervisor Prof. Pieter ter Keurs who's enthusiasm for the subject matter and genuine interest in my work have propelled me forwards many times during the writing process. His critical review of my work has helped me to enhance it many times over. Secondly I would like to thank Dr. Mariana Françozo, who has helped me structure my work throughout this year and guided me through the maze that is writing a thesis. Her insightful advice has made me take a closer look to my writings and make these structurally sound. Thirdly I would like to thank Prof. Ruurd Halbertsma who's support on the interpretation of nineteenth century documents was invaluable. Without his collaboration the sometimes indecipherable writings might have remained a mystery to me forever. I would also like to thank the staff of the library and archive of the *Museum of Antiquities* for their helping hand and advice while I was finding my way through the large amount of archival documents and library books. Lastly I would like to thank my friends and family who have never stopped believing in me, especially through the most difficult moments. A special thanks to Pim Van Tendeloo who has helped me with the processing of some of the empirical data and who has proofread this thesis.

Without a doubt there will be the customary errors and omissions in this study for which I take full responsibility, but I still hope that the material will stimulate new insights in the history of the *Museum of Antiquities* and archaeology alike, and further future research on the subject.

1. Introduction

In this introduction I want to make clear what topic I have chosen for my thesis and why I have done so. What questions I am asking and how I wish to answer these questions and a short overview of the general structure of my thesis.

As a MA student in museum studies, one of the thesis-requirements is that there has to be an affiliation to a museological organization and I hoped to affiliate my thesis with the national *Museum of Antiquities* in Leiden. This preference only grew during my first months here in Leiden especially after hearing Professor Pieter ter Keurs talk about the museum in one of his classes. The nineteenth century holds a personal interest for me, because the foundation of our modern scientific archaeology can be traced back to these times. It was exciting to discover during class, that the nineteenth century was a interesting time for museums as well. What fascinated me most was the intimate relationship between the archaeological discipline and the museum-world. Museums were not mere institutes of display, but institutes of science. The fact that the first archaeology professor in the world, the Dutch Caspar Reuvens was also the first museum-director of the then *Cabinet of Antiquities* in Leiden, speaks volumes.

After talking to professor ter Keurs and discussing my interest in the nineteenth century and the politics that were and are involved in the discipline of archaeology, he proposed a very interesting thesis-subject to me. As the *Museum of Antiquities* is approaching its 200-year anniversary, they want to have a critical look at their own history and examine in more detail some of the histories that have not been on the research-agenda in the past. One of the periods in the museums' history that is only scarcely researched is the middle of the nineteenth century, and it was here that I could establish some novel research. One of the questions of the museum was about the visitors in that period. What kind of people visited the museum, was it visited by the upper-class in order to cultivate their knowledge of the past and look at the fine pieces of classical 'art', was it a place where scholars would come to and further the discipline of archaeology or was it a museum were the common man came and marvelled at the sight of the craftsmanship of centuries past? I was not only attracted to this theme because of the original research I could do, something I think all students aspire to, but also because it could shed some light on the history of our discipline.

Not only is it important to be acquainted with the work of your forebears in order to learn from them and their mistakes, but it is also important to understand how the discipline of archaeology developed in order to understand where we have come from and plot a course for the future. A personal issue for me is the rupture in the North-Western part of Europe between archaeology that is practiced in universities and archaeology that is practiced in museums. From talking to my fellow students in archaeology I often sensed that they do not consider the museum as an academic institute, but only as a display case for archaeological artefacts. Where the relationship between art-historians and art museums is seen as something 'natural', academic archaeological research is not practiced in the museums, or so one thinks. I argue that museums are an academic partner, and the Museum of Antiquities in Leiden most certainly is. Not only do they organise and participate in archaeological excavations, and have done so their entire history, they also further the discipline by their symposiums and other professional meetings and they are the institute with a very strong connection to the public. It is in their role as a gateway to the public, that the discipline of archaeology is mostly indebted to them. In these difficult political times where public favour is of particular importance, they are constantly engaged in promoting archaeology to the public and in that way support the discipline. If we look at recent studies like that of J. Bolt where she investigates the interest of the public in Dutch archaeology, we see that the public is interested in archaeology and perceives it as something exciting (Bolt 2008, 31). In her research into the active participation of the public with archaeology there are two distinct favourites. The public answered most positively to visiting an archaeological excavation and visiting an archaeological museum. These results show the potential of the archaeological museum in promoting the discipline, next to other activities like visiting an archaeological excavation or the visiting of an archaeological theme park (Bolt 2008, 31-34).

Next to the importance of its public function, the museum is also significant as a research-facility. I believe it is only possible to adequately present a discipline to the public, when there is a firm connection with that discipline. What I am trying to convey here is that the break between museums and universities is not only recent but artificial, as the two have been joined throughout the history of the archaeological discipline. I propose that museum-history is intimately connected to the history of our discipline and that a lot of our disciplines' development can be understood from studying the history of archaeological museums. In this sense my thesis is a statement that the archaeological discipline is more extensive then often perceived, and that it does not stop when the excavation is over, and the research-report is written. This is only the beginning. With my research into the nineteenth century visitors of the *Museum of Antiquities* I want to contribute to our knowledge of the museums' history and thusly also to the history of the archaeological discipline. Museums in the nineteenth century were the propellers of the sciences, including archaeology and anthropology, and were obviously connected. I have chosen this theme because I truly believe a discipline can only plot a mindful course for its future, when the past is known and understood.

During the classes of Museum Theory the primary publication was that of Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum. History, Theory and Politics.* In his book Bennett describes the evolution of the nineteenth and twentieth century museum, alongside the fair and the international exhibition, placing the museum at the centre of the modern relation between culture and government (Bennett 1995). It was the museum history displayed in this book, that served as an inspiration for my thesis and I realised that the research-question from the Museum of Antiquities regarding the museums' visitors could be easily integrated in this overall framework. My general research-question is therefore as follows:

"Does the nineteenth-century Dutch government, in agreement with the museum director, see the *Museum of Antiquities* as an instrument of social reform and as such place itself in a broader European trend as described by Tony Bennett in his book *The Birth of the Museum*."

This general question encompasses several aspects that need answering. First of all it needs a distinction in time. As stated before I will study the middle of the nineteenth century, from 1840 to 1870. It is during this time that director Conrad Leemans (1809-1893) is in charge of the museum after the untimely death of his predecessor and mentor Reuvens. I chose 1840 as a starting date, because it is only in the late 1830s that the museum gradually opened up its collections to the public. 1870 is the chosen end-date because of the changes in the government in that decade. After the liberal reign of politicians like Johan Thorbecke (1798-1872), who dominated the middle of the century with their very *laissez-faire* politics, the influence of politicians like Victor de Stuers (1843-1916) increased. He has a totally different view on culture than Thorbecke and a more hands-on governmental period is started. It is therefore a 'natural' end of a period.

Central to the study will be the empirical research carried out in the archives of the *Museum of Antiquities*. It is through the study of several document types that I wish to answer my core questions. First I will study the annual reports of the museum in order to get a sense of what the museum director, who wrote these reports, thought was important enough to convey to a general public and also see how the museum presented itself towards the public. Secondly I will study the register of official museum correspondence. Through the study of these documents I want to investigate if there is any correspondence between the museum officials and other institutes like the government concerning the museum as an instrument of social reform and the use of museums as an instrument to instil nationalism and national pride in the public. I also want to know when the museum opened up and for who it opened up, because in the early years of public access this was still often limited to only a small upper-class audience and artists. The message in the introductory quote of Sir Henry Cole (Cole 1884, vol. 2 in Bennet, 1995, 21) goes back to the end of the nineteenth century, but is often used to describe the museological attitude in the middle and the beginning of this century as well. With this study I would like to examine if this is accurate, or whether we should speak with a little more nuance about this century and maybe not see these hundred years as a grey mass that was uniform in character.

A third strand of my research will concentrate on the private correspondence of director Leemans, to try and gather his ideas on the museum as an instrument of social reform and his opinion of the working-class as a visiting public. A final part of the empirical research will concern the visitor books. These books have been kept since the opening of the museum and hold information about the name, occupation and origin of all museum-visitors. It is through the information gathered from the year 1851 that I will try to discern the visitor demographics for that year and get to grips with which classes actually visited the museum (the most). The empirical research together with a overview of the history of the *Museum of Antiquitie*s up until the middle of the nineteenth century will be the subject of chapter five.

I will now give a structural overview of the thesis. Chapter two will feature my methodology where I will explain in more detail the material I studied and the aims of my research. Chapter three will be a literature review where I will sketch a general outline of Bennett's research in his book *The Birth of the Museum* as it served as an inspiration for my thesis. I will also look more closely to the study of, what I call, 'historical visitor-research' in general, where you study past visitors of an institute. It is a relatively new branch within museum history and for our region knows little previous research. Besides Bennett's study, two historical visitor studies will be discussed. Firstly a publication of the Teyler Museum in Haarlem, which examines the public function of various Dutch collections in the nineteenth century, as presented in a symposium. Secondly I will discuss a study that has only been published this year by Belgian scholar Liesbeth Nys about the evolution of museum visits in Belgium for the period 1830-1914. In chapter four I will present three theorists that have influenced how we think about the nineteenth century and the relationship between institutes, culture and the individual. This will be embedded in a very short historical overview of the nineteenth century. I will present the ideas of British historian E.J. Hobsbawm (born 1917) on nationalism and the nation-states that developed in the nineteenth century, and explain that museums were used by national governments trying to convey a certain message to their people. I will also discuss Michel Foucault's (1926-1984) ideas on the relationship of power between social institutes and the individual and his use of the Panopticon. Lastly I will discuss some ideas from Pierre Bourdieu's (1930-2002) most important work *La Distinction* where he presents his ideas about culture and its connection to the struggle between the classes. Chapter five will contain the history of the *Museum of Antiquities* together with my empirical research, and a comparative paragraph on the opening of the *British Museum*. In chapter six I will present the political and social situation of the Netherlands in general and the social situation of Leiden in particular. In this explanatory chapter I will try to correlate the results of the empirical research to the Dutch political and social situation. The general conclusions will be given in chapter seven together with some remarks for future research.

Because of the limited time-scope of a MA thesis it will not be an exhaustive study like those presented by Tony Bennett and Liesbeth Nys, but I hope it will be a tantalising study that will aid the museum in the research of its own history as it is approaching an important 200-year anniversary in 2018.

2. Methodology

In this chapter I will give an overview of the research-methods I used throughout my thesis, but I would like to start with some general remarks. First of all, a lot of institutional / governmental names, titles etcetera will be in Dutch, with an English translation when first mentioned. Secondly, the quoted lines from Dutch documents are translated into English to the best of my abilities and will focus more on the core-message then on a literal translation. I shall start with the core of my research and explain how the other pieces of the thesis fit into that.

I shall discuss my empirical research, and subsequently I will explain how the other chapters of the thesis are connected to this. My main question is concerned with the idea of the museum as a tool of social reform. I wanted to know if the Museum of Antiquities was considered an instrument of social reform by the people responsible, the museum-director and his superiors, the board of *Curatoren* of the *Leidsche Hoogeschool* (trustees of Leiden University) and the Minister of the Interior. To get an answer to these questions I studied the museum archives. In order to get a general feel of the museum in the period 1840-1880 I read all the annual reports. These reports were printed in the *Nederlandsche Staatscourant* and later on, from the 1860s onwards, also privately by director Leemans. I have also read the annual reports of the Museum of Ethnography from 1867 onwards because it, at that time, had the same director as the *Museum of Antiquities*. Through reading these reports I wanted to know what themes were considered important enough to report to the public and if the museums' visitors and the museums' task were mentioned. I read the reports of the 1870s as well, because I wanted to be thorough in my research and see how the museum developed in the years that directly followed 1870. During this investigation I made an overview of the themes that were written about in the annual reports in order to see if certain trends could be discerned.

To get a more in depth look at the museums' concerns and interests I also studied the letter register of the official letters sent to and from the museum for the period 1835-1870. Director Leemans, who kept these records, added a content summary for each letter. It is these summaries I was most interested in and I have skimmed them all for key phrases that were related to my research questions. I made a list of letters that potentially could hold important information. This was my first experience with nineteenth century handwriting and reading these kinds of writings significantly prolongs the time you need to read something, contrary to printed texts. Fortunately enough I was given a typed version of the letter register from 1835 to 1850, which sped up the process. Due to the time it took to get through the rest of the registers I did not look beyond 1870. The research produced only a handful of interesting letters. After reading these letters I have transcribed them, in order to facilitate easy use in the future. The incoming letters were the official ones that the museum received, and often written in very clear handwriting. The outgoing letters on the other hand were draft versions and often much more difficult to decipher.

After this part of the research I pursued a lead I had come across in an earlier stage of my research. In a 2010 MA-thesis written by R. Candotti about Conrad Leemans and the antiquities from Java, it was stated that the personal archive of director Leemans also contained clues as to his opinion about the educational role of the museum. One letter, from a certain Samuel Birch received some attention. I therefore directed my attention to the personal archive of Leemans. Besides four boxes of private correspondence, the personal archive also included notes on archaeological topics. Going through the letters, in order to find his correspondence with Birch, I discovered that only photo-copies of the letters were available in the archive and only the letters from Leemans' correspondents were stored. His answers were not preserved. After reading his correspondence with Birch, 18 letters in total, I looked for other correspondents from the *British Museum*. I was curious if themes like visitors and education came up in these correspondences, because aside from that one letter, Samuel Birch and Conrad Leemans had not written any letters on the social influence of the museum on society. I chose to look for correspondence with *British Museum* staff, because of Great Britain's leading role in that period, also in the museum world.

A last strand of empirical research focused on the visitor books that have been kept from the opening years of the museum until 1923. Besides looking at the general visitor numbers of those years I was mainly interested in the division between the classes and the origin of the visitors. Was the museum primarily visited by the upper and middle classes or was the lower-class also present in the museum, and were most visitors from Leiden or from other parts of the Netherlands or even from abroad? In order to explore these questions I have chosen to analyse the year 1851. I have chosen this year because it is right in the middle of the nineteenth century, and therefore spot on for my research. I have copied all the approximately

1200 visitors' names, occupations and city of origin into *Microsoft Excel*. My interpretation of these data has been checked by Prof. R. Halbertsma, who has spent many hours with me and the visitor books in the museum library. His assessment of my interpretations were necessary because of the many different types of handwriting in the books and the difficulty they pose to a novice like me. Due to the amount of work that goes into not only entering the data into *Excel*, but also the inspection of this work and the processing of this information I have only been able to do these analyses for one year. The information I hope to obtain is threefold. First I would like to examine the general make-up of all the visitors, to see which classes visited the museum (the most). Secondly I wish to examine the make-up of the visitors from Leiden, to see if this differs from the general visitor demographic. Thirdly I wish to see how many visitors are from outside the Netherlands and to study their demographic. In that way I hope to gain some more insight in who visited the museum and see if these data match the ideas of Bennett, Nys and the scholars from the *Teyler Museum* symposium.

In the third chapter, the *Literature Review*, I have started with an overview of Bennett's book *The Birth of the Museum*. With this summary I want to explain where my ideas for the thesis came from and what Bennett perceives to be the general trend in the development of the public museums. After that I will study the work that has already been done on historical visitor research. I want to know how this kind of research is carried out and how it differs from modern day visitor-research. That is also why I added a small paragraph on the current visitor research to make a comparison. Eileen Hooper-Greenhill is an authority on this modern visitor research and I have used her work as a basis for this paragraph. Because I realise this kind of historical research has not been done much, not abroad nor in the Netherlands, I chose to analyse a publication from a Dutch symposium from 2010 that presented the results of several studies. This symposium, held in the *Teyler Museum* in Haarlem, discusses the use of several Dutch collections in the nineteenth century and therefore provides a good foundation and reference point for my own research. Secondly I will study the 2012 publication of Liesbeth Nys, who has studied the Belgian museums in the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. This very encompassing study serves as a comparison for my own empirical research, but also a as a second 'opinion' next to that of Bennett.

In the fourth chapter, the *Theoretical Framework*, I have explored some of the important concepts that have influenced my thesis, and previous historical visitor research alike. Two theorists whose ideas have been used in this kind of research are Michel Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu. Foucault is used because one of the main themes in his oeuvre is the power of the state over its people. This has been correlated to the idea of the museum as an educational instrument. His ideas strongly influenced Bennet and subsequently served as a theoretical starting point for me. Bourdieu is a second theorist who has written about social distinction between the classes and the role of art and museums in this relationship. This concept of the museum as an institute that can not only unite people, but also distinguish them from one another was too interesting not to incorporate. It gives more theoretical depth to the thesis and shows that the function of a museum is not straightforward but in fact is very layered. Besides these two theorists I have also included the work of Eric Hobsbawm on nationalism and the rise of nation-states. His work relates nicely to all the political changes that occur in the nineteenth century that form the foundation of our modern states. The idea is that the museum is being used by governments to foster nationalistic sentiments. I have also interwoven a short historical overview of the nineteenth century in the paragraph on Hobsbawm's ideas, because I think it will help explain into more detail why museums were of importance in that century and why they were used by the governments in certain ways.

Chapter five, *The Museum of Antiquities in Leiden*, contains my empirical research, but also a short history of the Museum of Antiquities to frame the research. It also contains a closing paragraph on the *British Museum*. This paragraph serves as a comparison with Great Britain, concerning the visitors and how the museum was opened. I added this second comparison to get a glimpse of how this 'leading nation' perceived visitors and dealt with them in their first national museum. I have chosen the *British Museum* for this comparison, not only because Great Britain was a leading nation in the nineteenth century, but also because Leemans has corresponded with quite a few staff-members of this museum, and maybe mutual influences can be discovered.

Chapter six's topic concerns the *Political and Social Situation in The Netherlands* in the nineteenth century. I have added this chapter as a explanatory section of the thesis. While reading Bennett, Nys and the publication on the *Teyler Museum* symposium I noticed that Bennett often reaches different conclusions than the other two. I believe this is caused by a difference in perspective. Where Bennet describes an international development, the others focus on specific case-studies or a specific region. In order to clarify why some of my results differ from Bennett's conclusions I have looked into the social and political situation of the Netherlands.

3. Literature Review

3.1 Introduction

The studies into museum-history have taken flight in recent years, and traditionally a lot of attention has been directed towards the history of collections, museum buildings and prominent museum directors. The focus on museum visitors is only of the recent decades. Research on modern visitors is not that scarce with early examples like that of Pierre Bourdieu and Alain Darbel, *L'amour de l'art. Les musées d'art européens et leur public* (1969). Current visitor research is well known through the work of Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, an authority on the subject and lecturer in Museum Studies at the *University of Leicester*. According to her, museums should be interested in who visits their museums for a number of reasons. Firstly the museum has to be able to justify its public service, and it is therefore necessary to know who uses your services and how they use them (how the museum is used and valued is usually much broader then just visiting a display). Secondly it is a "...demonstration of a professional approach" (Hooper-Greenhill 1994, 54), as it demonstrates the competence of the museums' management. Thirdly it is necessary for the "development of knowledge and expertise" (Hooper-Greenhill 1994, 54) within the museum in the areas of visitor satisfaction and customer care. It also can help improve the museums' performance through providing an insight in its' successes and failures (Hooper-Greenhill 1994, 54-55). It is important not only to gather information on the actual museum visit, but also the broader idea of 'use'; the social functions of the museum. This would include an array of public functions a museum fulfils that are generally not that visible. Examples are: "...the use of the museum for work-experience for... students, the use of the museum as a place to volunteer... and the provision of archive material..."(Hooper-Greenhill 1994, 55). There are several methods to gather this information, each of which will generate its own types of data, they include "academic research, government statistics, research from the leisure industry and research from within the museum, gallery and arts community" (Hooper-Greenhill 1994, 56).

Historical visitor research is scarce, except from anecdotic remarks. Two English examples are the study of Carla Yanni, *Nature's Museums: Victorian Science and the architecture of display* (1999) and Victoria Black's study *On Exhibit: Victorians and Their Museums* (2000). Dutch studies on museums and their visitors are scarcer, even more so when related to the nineteenth century. The study of Julia Noordegraaf, *Strategies of Display. Museum Presentation in the Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Visual Culture* (2004), is one of two Dutch studies that discusses the subject before the symposium organised by the *Teyler Museum*. Noordgraaf sees the relation between the museum and the visitors as a mutually interactive relationship (Weiss *et al*. 2011, 186-187; Nys 2012, 11). Another Dutch example is Donna Mehos' study, *Science & Culture for members only. The Amsterdam Zoo Artis in the Nineteenth Century* (2006). Mehos discusses the transformation of the eighteenth century Cabinets of Curiosity to more systematically organised public collections and the influence of scientists and the rich *bourgeoisie* (upper-class and high middle-class) of Amsterdam (Weiss *et al*. 2011, 188). Foucault's ideas on institutional power and the individual have often been used in these kinds of studies, with only few exceptions. One of these exception is the study by Dominique Poulot, one of the first to publish about the development of the museum-visit as a social practice (Nys 2012, 12-13). This international development where historical museum visits get more attention is a big step forward from the anecdotal way visitors are usually referred to in publications (Nys 2012, 18-21).

It is often thought that historical visitor research is futile since socio-graphic research and concepts like 'educational and public policies' were unknown in previous periods. Although this is true, they did pay attention to the different museum audiences in their own way. Texts were adapted to the different social groups and cheap catalogues and guides were published for a broad audience. These were all tasks of museum directors and curators that have left their traces in the museum-archives. It is through this archival material that reconstructions can be made of the nineteenth century museum visitor (Weiss *et al*. 2011, 188-189). This approach of archival research to reconstruct the museum-visitors of earlier centuries has been used by most researchers and I believe it represents a change in the study of museum history. It has slowly become clear that early museum-visitors can be studied, although not in the way we study our current public.

In this chapter I will give an outline of three studies. First of all the study of Bennett, because of its influence on my own research and secondly two studies that concentrate on our region (The Low Countries). The publication of the *Teyler Museum* will be examined because it combines the studies of different Dutch collections, although sadly no archaeological ones. The other study by Liesbeth Nys, on Belgium museum-visits has been chosen because it is the most recent study on the subject and because of it's broad approach and its proximity to the Netherlands, which for that reason alone will serve as an interesting comparison since we have an intertwined yet very different history. These studies will also touch upon themes that I will not be able to research, and are thus an informative addition to my own research.

3.2 The Birth of the Museum by Tony Bennett

In a nutshell, Bennett sees the museum as an instrument of social control, "a new space of representation for the modern public museum" (Bennett 2010, 1). His theoretical framework rests on Michel Foucault's concepts of discipline and control and Pierre Bourdieu's ideas of social distinction. The purpose of the book is to show the transformation of the nineteenth-century cultural field. Bennett does this by siding the museums with international exhibitions and contrasting them to fairs, with the amusement parks being placed somewhere in the middle of this spectrum (Bennett 2010, 3-4, 6). Three key questions are posed that structure his research. The first is concerned with the government's relationship to institutes like museums. High culture is treated as a governmental instrument of reform, changing general norms and social behaviour. In short, institutes like museums were meant as civilizing and educational agencies for the moral and cultural regulation of the working class, next to a permanent display of knowledge. This nineteenth century museum differs from the eighteenth century museum, although there is not a total break. Eighteenth century museums were symbols of power and exclusivity, and this exclusivity lingered on in the nineteenth century as access was restricted when collections were first made public. This exclusivity slowly faded in the course of the century. The governments were concerned with the unruly behaviour of the lower-classes and searched for ways to control this. They tried to use museums to transform this behaviour through architectural and technological solutions (Bennett 2010, 6-7, 66, 73, 89). The second subject builds on the first one as it studies how techniques of control were developed in museums, exhibitions and department stores and were later used in amusement parks. The third issue centres around the entanglement of politics and these institutes.

Central throughout the book is the Foucauldian idea of the government as a disciplinary power and culture being in need of transformation and regulation (Bennett 2010, 6, 7-8, 19). Culture was viewed as an instrument that could change the way the public behaved and how they lived their lives. This task was imposed upon museums and similar institutes like libraries, public parks and reading-rooms (Bennett 2010, 20). Contrary to this governmental program, the museum remained a place of exclusivity where access was socially restricted, and thus public accessibility largely theoretical. Museums, according to Bennett, appealed largely to the middle-classes and the skilled and respectable working-classes and it seems likely that the same was true for expositions. Because the museum was seen as an educational instrument the museum display became increasingly pedagogically inspired (Bennett 2010, 27, 31, 41, 43, 75). The museum was not only a place to see, but also to be seen and next to an educational task also had a social task. The idea was that the upper and middle classes would serve as an example to be emulated by the lower-class. In the long run, citizens were to civilize themselves, via these kinds of visits. This idea to utilise museums did meet some resistance and opponents argued that opening up museums to the general public would lead to its "destruction and desecration" (Bennett 2010, 55, 63). Anthropological museums played a role in promoting colonialism and museums and exhibitions alike were connected to nationalism, imperialism and the formation of the modern nation-state (Bennett 2010, 81, 100). The influence of the citizenry on museums is minimal, according to Bennett (Bennett 2010, 2). This might be true for the international museum-scene, but for the Netherlands, where the *burgerij* (citizenry) was an influential force in society, they might also have had a noteworthy influence on the development of the museums.

To sum it up, the modern public museum has been shaped by very contradicting forces. It has a legacy as institute of exclusivity but also functions as a "utilitarian instrument for democratic education" and as a disciplinary instrument (Bennett 2010, 89).

3.3 Publication of the Teyler Museum Symposium

The intention of the *Teyler Museum* symposium (2010) was to highlight the similarities and differences of several Dutch collections, with a special focus on their public function (Weiss *et al.* 2011, 184). Three issues were central to the discussion. The first issue is concerned with the public function of collections, which people visited these collections and what a museum visit looked like. The second issue is concerned with the question why some collections became 'museums'. The third issue is concerned with the public use of the museums and whether this use changed during the nineteenth century and in what way? A last question has to do with a possible connection between the changes in collection policy and the method of display (Weiss *et al*. 2011, 184-185). Bennett's book *The Birth of the Museum* was used to find some common ground for the different studies that are presented in this publication. Bennett's aim was to study the strategies with which the public was to be directed towards a certain behaviour and his 'exhibitionary complex' was compared to the questions posed above (Weiss *et al*. 2011, 185). Main focus of the publication is on art-museums and scientific collections of natural curiosities and scientific instruments. Ethnological and archaeological collections are not presented in this publication, nor are coin-collections (Weiss *et al*. 2011, 192).

All of the symposiums' case-studies have been based on archival research and demonstrate several trends in the nineteenth century museum visit (Weiss *et al*. 2011, 189). First of all there was a growing interest in museums, exhibitions and other kinds of public events. Contrary to this, the interest in other (older) modes of display is weakening. Example is the *Leids Anatomisch Kabinet* (Anatomical Cabinet of Leiden), a tourist attraction in the seventeenth century, that ceases to be popular in the nineteenth century. Besides natural curiosities, interest also weakens for cabinets that displayed scientific instruments. This means that Bennett's theory of a general opening up of collections is not true for all collections, and should be more nuanced. As the Dutch studies show that while the eighteenth century cabinets fall out of favour with the public, the differently organised and displayed 'nineteenth century' collections become more popular (Weiss *et al*. 2011, 189-190).

Two other case-studies focussed on the visitor rules of the state-collections. One of the conclusions is that education is not directed towards the general public, and certainly not the less-educated audience. The collections were meant for artists who could study the old works of art. Interestingly this did not prevent the 'regular' people from visiting the collections, as visitor books have confirmed, and the public obviously has a mind of its own. This study thus argues against Bennett's idea of a controlling government that wants to discipline its citizens (Nys 2012, 435; Weiss *et al*. 2011, 190).

The more industrial exhibitions are most popular with the middle-class public, although initiatives did exist to involve the working class. The interpretation of this data is difficult, but what became clear is that elements of Bennett's 'exhibitionary complex' can also be detected in The Netherlands (Weiss *et al*. 2011, 190-191).

The general conclusion of these studies is that with the establishment of the public museums, the public's appreciation shifted. Art collections became more popular and their accessibility grew. This development went hand in hand with the use of art to promote 'civilized' behaviour. Simultaneously the natural science collections became less popular and sometimes even disappeared. The collections that did become museums were very specialised and aimed at the scientific researcher (Weiss *et al*. 2011, 191). So what was the role of museums and exhibitions for the lowest classes of society? That they visited museums is certain, but was this to educate themselves or was their visit recreational in nature? Or were they, as Bennett thinks, the target of a governmental agenda to control the people's behaviour and morals. For The Netherlands this is not quite clear. Government intervention was quite limited until the end of the nineteenth century, although other groups, like the *burgerij* (citizenry) had taken an interest in museums. In addition, our country also lacked the grand museum buildings that lend themselves for these agendas. The Dutch museum buildings were not built for this specific purpose and the educational value of the display was often not realised as it was abroad. Bennett's connection between museums/exhibitions and 'organisations of pleasure' in The Netherlands is uncertain (Weiss *et al*. 2011, 191-192). Which audiences visited which collections is also highly speculative, as are the effects of the display on the visitors (Weiss *et al*. 2011,192).

3.4 *De Intrede van het Publiek by Liesbeth Nys*

The study by Liesbeth Nys, *De Intrede van het Publiek. Museumbezoek in België 1830-1914* (2012), explores the genesis and evolution of the museum-visit in Belgium (Nys 2012, 5, 427). She perceives the nineteenth century as the golden age of museums. Museums were palaces of culture and a symbol of the middle-class. Some museums were established by the state, but many were established by clubs and city-councils. They were meant to glorify Belgium's past, inspire a love for the country and strengthen the national identity. This national patriotism also knew a local counterpart. New was the fact that museums were accessible to the public, contrary to private collections (Nys 2012, 5). In her research Nys studies several aspects of the museum visit. First of all she looks at the ideas on museum visits by nineteenth-century politicians, museum professionals, scientists, artists and journalists. Secondly she describes how a visit was organised and how this evolved. Accessibility, museum-audience and rules of conduct were also taken into account. She also wanted to find out how the museum visit was experienced by the visitors

(Nys 2012, 6). The study aims to be comparative as it incorporates many museum-types. Various types of archival material were used in the study: annual reports of museums, museum rules and regulations, visitor-records, meeting reports of the museum-committees and their correspondence, archives on city and national level, nineteenth century magazines, museum catalogues and visitor-guides, travel-guides and visual sources but this was of course not exhaustive. Difficult-to-answer questions were those that were concerned with exact visitor numbers and with visitor profiles (Nys 2012, 7-9). She also studied the evolution of the museum-visitor demographics and how the public is registered and observed. She does this not from a Foucauldian perspective, but from the idea of active-participation of the museum visitor. With this study she tries to improve her understanding of the social relations in the nineteenth century (Nys 2012, 24).

Nys divides the nineteenth century Belgian museum landscape into three different periods. From 1830-1860 the museum-landscape develops and museum-visits become a cultural activity of, above all, the elite. The following period 1860-1890 is a period of democratization and museums aim for a more diverse audience. In the period of 1890-1914 education of the public was *the* issue. In each of the periods opening-hours, entrance-fees and visitor rules are topics of discussion. Those who supported the democratization of the museum had a hard time convincing others of the necessity of these measures. In the early periods museum visit was only for the privileged, children were not welcome, opening times were very restricted (sometimes only a couple of hours per week) and an entrance fee was common. Visitor regulations were established to ensure a peaceful visit. The public was of less importance than the growth of the collection. Collections were rarely studied and elements like labels and visitor-guides were virtually non-existent in the first decennia (Nys 2012, 26-28, 427, 434). This restrictive approach has always been an issue of critique, but the critique becomes more substantial after the 1860s. The museum-management and the collection-display were not advantageous for the lowest classes of society. This became an issue with the growing importance of the museums educational role. The museum visit was seen as an alternative to the public house and other undesirable recreation. It could elevate the aesthetic taste of the people and develop intellect. One of the strongest advocates for the museums educational function was politician Karel Buls (1837-1914). With the introduction of voting rights on their minds, liberal politicians saw the education of the lowest classes as a necessity and the museum could play a role in this education. It is in this period that collections are displayed in a more methodological way, labelling was improved/extended, lectures were organised and visitor-guides were produced. Opening hours were widened, and around the turn of the century museums could be visited up to seven days a week. The pace of these developments were not the same in all museums and sometimes depended on matters like money and personnel. And for some the scientific task of the museum was still more important than the educational task. Target-audiences of museum education were not always the working-classes, but also people higher up on the social ladder. England was viewed as *the* example to follow. (Nys 2012, 428-430). The state-collections knew no entrance fee, but other collections were only freely accessible on specific days. Sunday was the primary day of free access. The audience could only be partly profiled due to a lack of sources, but a shift can be seen from an elite audience that came to see and be seen to a more diverse audience in the second half of the century. Craftsmen did visit the museum, but whether the lowest levels of society were reached remains debatable. Both men and women visited the museum, and together with warehouses and theatres, museums might have played a role in the greater public appearance of middle-class women (Nys 2012, 431-434). On some occasions the museums were actively influenced by their visitors as they wrote complaints to the press or museums. Rules and regulations were sometimes violated, knowingly and unknowingly (Nys 2012, 435-436).

3.5 Conclusions

In this chapter I have discussed the quite recent and therefore limited description of historical-visitor research, but have also shed some light on Tony Bennett's theory on museological development. He sees public museums as governmental instruments of social reform. Ideas that can clearly be traced back to theorists like Foucault and Bourdieu, which will be extensively discussed in the next chapter. The influence of the visitor is rather small in Bennett's view. This is something that Liesbeth Nys does not agree with and which is illustrated in her very extensive study of Belgian museum-visits from 1830 till 1914. From her study and the studies featured in the publication of the *Teyler Museum* symposium, it becomes clear that my own archival research resembles their research as we use similar source. The only difference is the scale and size of the research. The symposium publication also put Bennett's research into perspective as his conclusions are not that applicable to the Dutch situation where the access of some collections became more restricted and the governments' influence was limited.

4. Theoretical Framework

4.1 Introduction

In chapter three where I have discussed the historical visitor research in general and a few studies in particular there were some recurring themes. First of all there is the influence of the state and its use of museums as social instrument and the use of the museum to inspire national pride in the public. This nationalism was often stimulated by the 'inventing' of traditions. This is a theme that is extensively discussed by British historian E.J. Hobsbawm, whose ideas will be presented in this chapter. This will be interwoven with a short outline of the important changes that took place in the nineteenth century. The previous chapter has also elucidated the importance of Michel Foucault whose ideas have often been used in the historical visitor research. Because of the use of his ideas in this relatively new branch of museum studies I thought it to be important that they were explained in more detail. I am well aware of the fact that Foucault's ideas concerning social structures, institutions and the individual have fallen out of favour. In my opinion this has happened because his ideas have been applied to rigorously. Even though not everybody is convinced of the use of Foucault's ideas, I still wish to do so. I will however not treat them as an absolute truth, a reality, but more as an idea or a way of looking at society. I will also discuss the idea of the Panopticon (by Jeremy Bentham, 1748-1832) and how it can be applied to the museum. Less obvious, but also influential are the ideas of Pierre Bourdieu. He perceives a relationship between the idea of Culture and a struggle between the classes, although he does see the classes in a much more nuanced way than for example Karl Marx (1818-1883)(de Jong 2003, 59). The museum was a place where differences between the classes were emphasized, even though later in the century it was also seen as a place for education of all the people.

4.2 Nineteenth-Century Nationalism and Nation-States

The Nineteenth century is a period closely associated with material and cultural progress and a period where life changed rapidly and drastically for all layers of society. It had a significant influence on our modern society as it holds the origin of ideologies like liberalism, conservatism, nationalism, socialism and racism (Blanning 2000). Not only was the nineteenth century a period in which the population doubled, it also knew a very fast growing economy and increasing recreational activities. Most apparent is the 'revolution' in transportation and communication. It was the age of railways and automobiles in which 'all' participated and which reached a culmination in "the first flight by a powered aircraft" (Blanning 2000, 1). Communication soared with the invention of the telegraph (1830s) and the telephone (1860s), a mail-system that increased in speed and newspapers that were now affordable for everybody. Great Britain and Germany were the most powerful European actors, economically as well as academically (Blanning 2000, 7). Even though industrialisation was key, agriculture was still of importance as it provided a livelihood for many people. This industrialisation, contrary to popular belief, did not occur overnight in the form of a revolution, but as a gradual change that started in the century before (Blanning 2000, 1, 6-7). With these changes a powerful new class of landowners and people in the commercial and industrial industries emerged (Blanning 2000, 3-4). With the rise of these new powers, there was also the rise of the lowest classes, in the cities as well as in the countryside. Through their hard labour and long working hours they were the catalyst of all these changes. The nineteenth century was an age of progress, but this came at a price. Even though incomes increased and horizons were expanded, inequality and poverty also grew. This inequality, that stirred civil unrest and violent uprisings in 1848, in turn fuelled a drive for social change. The civil uprisings instilled a fear in the upper classes and it became clear that a regime could only be successful with participation of the masses. A central lesson already learned during the French Revolution of 1789, that had marked the beginning of this new age (Blanning 2000, 6). Governments had to respond and did in the form of legislation. They improved working conditions, social insurance, recreational facilities, etcetera and this changing society was facilitated by a new kind of state-institution where bureaucratization became of central importance (Blanning 2000, 4-6).

This era was also characterised by a relative peace which Blanning (born 1942) describes as follows: "...the international politics of the eighteenth century, based on ... competition and conflict [caused] by an obsession with the balance of power, were replaced by a system based on [deliberation and] a political equilibrium" (Blanning 2000, 2). The autocratic regimes gradually developed into more liberal regimes, although this was only true for the home territories. The politics in the foreign territories were characterised by colonisation and occupation and were caught up in the conflicts of the European empires. Towards the end of the century politics had become imperialistic and competitive. This period ended violently with the First

World War (1914-1918) and the Russian Socialist Revolution of 1917 (Blanning 2000, 6-9).

In this period, especially in the mid-nineteenth century, the national movements gained momentum and flourished. First only a cultural development, seen in literature and folklore, nationalism gradually developed political aspirations and at long last gained mass support from the public (Hobsbawm 1990, 12). The reason why I wish to examine the concept of nation-states and nationalism into more detail is because of the use of the museum institute by national governments. Museums were institutes that could promote their nationalist message (next to other media of course) which is of course closely related to the museums' role as an instrument of social reform. What Hobsbawm illustrates in the introduction of his book *Nations and Nationalism since 1780. Programme, Myth, Reality* is that it is very difficult to exactly identify what a nation-state is (Hobsbawm 1990, 14, 28). Hobsbawm uses three criteria to determine whether a country is a nation-state alongside something he calls the 'threshold principle'. This principle implies that a nation-state needs a minimum number of people to be considered a nation-state. Firstly there needs to be a historic association with a current state or with a state that has fairly lengthy past; secondly there needs to be a long-established cultural elite, with a written national "literary and administrative vernacular" (Hobsbawm 1990, 44)(a common language); and thirdly there needs to be a capacity for conquest. Hobsbawm also sees a separation between the 'principle of nationality' which was diplomatic in nature and changed the map of Europe from 1830 to 1878 and the political phenomenon of nationalism, that became increasingly central in the European democratization and mass politics (Hobsbawm 1990, 44).

As summarized by Hobsbawm: "The state rules over a territorially defined 'people' and did so as the supreme 'national' agency of rule of its territory, its agents increasingly reaching down to the humblest inhabitants of the least of its villages" (Hobsbawm 1990, 80). In the nineteenth century the state had become so universal that it influenced the lives of all its citizens and increasingly kept records of all of them (Hobsbawm 1990, 80-81). The continuous link between government and subject was formed through its administration. The people had to be bound to their government, because loyalty and identification with a state did not come automatically. The democratization of politics is one way of insuring loyalty, but it was also important that the people believed in what French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) calls a 'civic religion' (patriotism) (Hobsbawm 1990, 81-83). The relationship between this patriotism and the museum is an interesting one. Nationalism could be harnessed as a political force and could become the emotional component of state patriotism (Hobsbawm 1990, 90) and it is in this context that regimes were reinforced with sentiments and symbols of an "imagined community" or "invented traditions"[1]. The most effective way to instil nationalism is to underline the differences between 'we' and 'the other' and nothing stimulates nationalism as much as international conflict (Hobsbawm 1990, 46, 91). The imperial politics, discussed in the beginning of this chapter, can thus be interrelated to a growing 'need' of nationalist sentiments amongst the population. Hobsbawm sees primary schools as a way to spread nationalist ideas among the people, but in my opinion museums could be and probably were used for the same purpose. In order to get all the people 'in line' a shared national language was needed, more importantly this national language had to be written as well as spoken. It was for this reason that mass education was needed. That a national language is not just a practical solution to a problem, but also a sentimental and a political issue, has been proved by many (international) conflicts over it (Hobsbawm 1990, 91-94, 96, 98-99).

In this paragraph I have outlined Hobsbawm's ideas on nationalism until the 1860s. After 1870 a new 'period of nationalism' begins that lasts until 1918 which was different from the one outlined here. Since it is outside of this thesis' timeframe I will not discuss it here (Hobsbawm 1990, 102).

4.3 Michel Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu

Two theorists who have influenced the historical visitor research are Michel Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu. They have both produced some trains of thought that are very applicable to nineteenth century museums. I will start with Foucault's ideas on power and institutions as discussed by Sara Mills. But I will also talk about Foucault's ideas concerning Panopticism from *The Foucault Reader* by Rabinow. I will conclude this chapter with Bourdieu's ideas about Culture and its relationship to the social segregation of the classes. A remark regarding Foucault is necessary, since his work is so very contested. I will go into some of his ideas, but I will shy

[1] The 'imagined community' is a concept by Benedict Anderson (*Imagined Communities*, 1983). He argues that our modern nation-states are not the communities we humans have identified ourselves with in the course of history and are therefore not 'real'. The 'invention of tradition' is a concept by Hobsbawm and Ranger (See *The Invention of Tradition*, 1983) and is concerned with nations who claim a long-standing tradition, but in reality this tradition has only been created in a recent past.

away from contestations on his work, because I feel this debate would not would lead too far away from my thesis-subject. The same applies to the sometimes inaccessible writings of Bourdieu.

Michel Foucault is a French twentieth century philosopher whose very critical theories are concerned with the concepts of power and knowledge. These themes were the cause of much debate and pushed traditional disciplinary boundaries. His work can be seen as a historical analysis of social conditions, but simultaneously explores "the very basis on which we think about analysing social conditions" (Mills 2003, 1-4). His work is not easily accessible. His critical stance can, for example, not be translated into a clear political message and his ideas have constantly evolved and can thus never be pinpointed exactly. This idea, of never reaching an absolute 'truth' about a subject is in sync with the way I see and use his ideas and analysis. I see them as ideas that are not set in stone, but do have an influence on society. Like Mills suggests, I look upon his work as a "resource for thinking ... [trying to be] aware of [his] weaknesses and theoretical blind spots" (Mills 2003, 3-4, 7). Foucault's work is characterised by a radical scepticism that was part of a more general development in the 1960s and '70s, but also by not accepting knowledge most people have accepted as self-evident (Mills 2003, 5-6). One of Foucault's ideas I want to examine in more detail is his work on the relationship between institutions and the individual and use this to look at the governments and how they could use the museum as an institutes to influence over and instruction of the working-class. Although Foucault himself did not write about the museum as an institute of power, his thoughts do prove applicable.

Foucault focuses on the effects institutions can have on people and the role people play in "the affirming or resisting [of] those effects" (Mills 2003, 33). In short he tries to discern how power operates within the everyday relations between people and institutions and he sees the individual as an active agent and not as a passive pawn in a governmental power-play (Mills 2003, 33).

To Foucault, power is a "set of relations... dispersed through society" and a "major force in all relations within society" (Mills 2003, 35). It is not so much possessed as it is something that is performed. It is not a dominating power that is imposed on people from above, but it is "diffused through social relations" and needs constant repetition to maintain itself (Mills 2003, 35, 47; Rabinow 2012, 206). Foucault is interested in local forms of power and in the way individuals and agencies deal with this. Power should not been seen as something that is merely oppressing, but also as something that can create behaviours and events (Mills 2003, 36). With regard to the state, Mills summarises Foucault as follows: "... the state should not be seen as possessing power, but as constructing a range of relations which tends to position people in ways which make the political system work..." (Mills 2003, 37). The state is a network made out of people in various agencies and on different levels, all with their own personal agendas; a multi-facetted being. It is not only one actor that exercises power, since all relations between people are power relations (Mills 2003, 49). Resistance and power are like two sides of the same coin. Where there is power there is resistance, and in that light an individual is not just a mere passive recipient of power, but an active player. Mills interprets this as the empowerment of the individual (Mills 2003, 40). She also thinks it is important not only to look at the overt power-play, but also at hidden power-play. For my thesis it will be too difficult to look into these 'hidden transcripts' of the museum-visitors, since I would have to research sources that are not readily available to me, like dairies and other personal writings. I therefore will focus on the overt display of power by governments, university trustees and the museum-staff.

One of Foucault's concepts I find interesting is the concept that discipline in modern societies is a form of self-regulation, which is encouraged by institutions (Mills 2003, 43). This is something Bennett touches upon in his book with regard to museums. As the museum was intended, by some, to function as just that self-regulating instrument Foucault describes. In the museum the working-class were to emulate the higher classes and regulate their own behaviour and appearance as they were being 'exposed' to other behaviours and appearances. Thus the museum fits right into the range of institutions Foucault has studied, like the hospital, the prison, the university and their disciplinary practices. Mills puts it as follows: "Discipline consists of a concern with control which is internalised by each individual..." (Mills 2003, 43). This self-discipline is so strong and so difficult to discern, that it is often not seen as something that originated in institutes but as something 'natural' (Mills 2003, 44). Summarising, Mills argues that "... Foucault is keenly aware of the role institutions [play] in the shaping of the individuals,... [but] he does not see these relations between institutions and individuals as being only of oppression and constraint" (Mills 2003, 50). When writing about history it is easy to see things as cause-and-effect relations, but this is oversimplifying the complexity of reality.

According to Foucault this complexity is what we should be focussing on when looking at the past and past power-relations (Mills 2003, 51-52).

The Panopticon (Fig. 1) is an architectural structure invented by eighteenth-century English philosopher Jeremy Bentham and was designed to arrange people in such a way that they could be seen without being able to see their observer. According to Foucault this "spatial arrangement" forces people to behave as if they are permanently being watched over (Mills 2003, 45). This is of course in line with the self-discipline described earlier, but here the individual plays both 'roles' as it modifies its own behaviour even if the observer is not present. This of course can be applied to nineteenth century museum buildings that had been designed for that particular purpose of self-discipline. Examples are the *Bethnal Green Museum* and the *Industrial Gallery* in Birmingham (Mills 2003, 46; Bennett 1995, 53-54). Foucault sees the modern disciplinary society as a kind of mechanism of 'Panopticism', infiltrating all power-systems and linking them together in one big whole. Power is directed towards increasing and maintaining the "docility and utility of all the elements in the system" (Rabinow 2010, 207). This 'modern power', so to speak, originated in the eighteenth century when the growth of the population made the then used 'economy of power' too complex to maintain and new forms of power-play came into being to govern the masses (Rabinow 2010, 206-208). Instead of a power play by a king and queen, power was now exercised anonymously through methods of "hierarchical surveillance, continuous registration, perpetual assessment and classification" (Rabinow 2012, 213). The power to punish transformed into the power to observe (Rabinow 2010, 209, 210, 213). Foucault sees a definite link between the modes of power he describes and the rise of capitalism and he believes both are needed to sustain each other. The

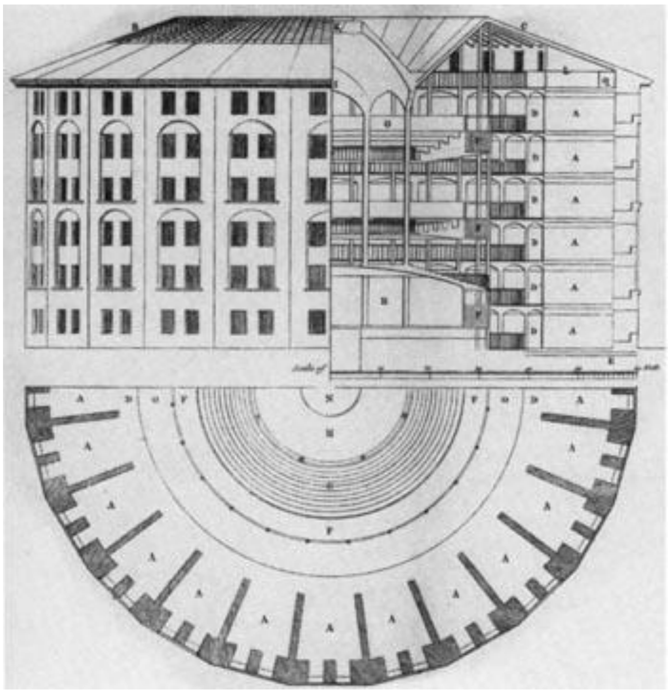


Figure 1: Elevation, section and plan of the Panopticon (Website Wikipedia)

accumulation of men, as he calls it, and the accumulation of capital go hand in hand (Rabinow 2010, 210).

A second theorist of importance is French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. Together with Foucault, his ideas form the theoretical basis of Bennett's book *The Birth of the Museum*. He is also mentioned by both Nys and Weiss concerning visitor research. In exploring his thoughts I will use two publications, one is a book by Richard Jenkins which s a very critical introduction to Bourdieu's work and the other is a Dutch introduction edited by Jacques Tacq. Emphasis will be on Bourdieu's ideas of distinction and the differences between classes and their tastes. Bourdieu's work on culture was mostly art-related, but some of his ideas are applicable to the archaeological subject as well. All of Bourdieu's studies, according to Jenkins, are characterised by an overarching interest in the way routine practices of individuals are (partly) determined by "the history and objective structure of their existing social world" and how the nature of this social world is seen as self-evident (Jenkins 1992, 141).

Bourdieu who can be seen as a sociologist or anthropologist remains, according to Jenkins "somewhat of a philosopher" (Jenkins 1992, 16) as he is interested in some of philosophies fundamental problems concerning mind, agency and being human. Bourdieu tries to uncover that which society tries to keep covered up (Jenkins 1992, 16; de Jong 2003, 74). Jenkins sees his research interest as follows "rather than attempting to pronounce the big [philosophical] questions... he is more interested in how those questions become possible and the manner in which that meaning is practically accomplished as a social phenomenon" (Jenkins 1992, 16). Bourdieu himself sees his work as an attempt to understand how "... social reality and the... worlds of individuals as cultural beings and social actors are... bound up together, each being a contributor... to the other" (Bourdieu 1983 in Jenkins 1992, 19-20). This of course corresponds to my thesis-subject where I study the relationship between the government/museum and the museum visitors.

In his study of cultural taste(s), the ideas of Culture and culture are central. According to Bourdieu the difference between the two is a manifestation of class relations. He is interested in cultural taste(s) and how these tastes are used in the struggle for social recognition and status (Jenkins 1992, 129, 59; de Jong 2003,14). You can recognise this idea in the nineteenth-century writings, where art and other forms of Culture are seen as favourable, and the culture of the pub and the carnival are the 'wrong kind' and are looked down upon. A social division is clearly visible.

Bourdieu has also devised a crude (according to Jenkins) model, that describes a hierarchy of cultural goods and tastes, with subjects like music, painting and sculpture at the top which represents the taste of the 'legitimate' authorities like museums and universities. At the bottom is the taste of the 'individual' occupied by things like jazz and cinema. In his 1960s study of the museum /art gallery-visitor one of his key observations is that aesthetics are learned and are not some kind of innate predisposition (Jenkins 1992, 132-133). Nurture over nature as psychologists would say. A love for Art (which I would like to broaden to Culture) is the result of a process of education of the middle and high class families. This is seen as something natural and it thus becomes a marker of social value, of status (Jenkins 1992, 133). In *La Distinction*, Bourdieu disagrees with "the notion of pure or innate cultural taste" (Jenkins 1992, 137), as proposed by German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724-1804). It is with this study that Bourdieu tries to account for social inequality. He examines the use of 'taste', to mark and maintain social boundaries and class systems. Culture has been deployed in a struggle between the classes and 'taste' is a historical 'result' which is reproduced in upbringing (Jenkins 1992, 137-138; de Jong 2003, 74). One of the starting points in the study is the notion that people learn to consume culture and that this differs between the social classes. Growing up within a certain class is influential in the creation of an interest for art and the development of a 'correct' aesthetic judgement. It can also determine whether a museum visit feels 'natural' or is something outside of one's comfort-zone. Bourdieu has also created a second model, one that maps tastes and preferences that correspond to specific educational levels and social classes. The working class, Bourdieu argues is less able than the other classes to "adopt a specific point of view upon objects whose constitution and definition involve an aesthetic judgement" (Jenkins 1992, 138-139; de Jong 2003, 60). To deem something beautiful or not is a 'skill' that has been taught and is difficult to understand for the lower classes, since they did not receive the proper 'training'. This is where the nineteenth century comes into the picture again, where the middle and upper-class museum-visitors were to be emulated by the lower classes. The lower-classes would never display this 'superior' behaviour on their own since it was never taught to them. So in order to make sure the lower classes behaved like the government wanted them to, it is necessary to educate them in the appropriate ways and this could be achieved by museum visits.

Bourdieu describes how the higher classes maintain the myth that their preferences and tastes in life are better than the rest of the population. They have made their taste into the official rule and are supported herein by official institutions. Result is a division between the classes and an automatic confirmation of the inferiority of lower classes. The upper-class sets the scene, the middle-class tries to imitate and the lower-class doesn't even try to fit in at all and even actively opposes Culture (this is of course a very rudimentary division, that does not take any diversity into account). The apparently natural taste for Culture of the upper-class (be that art, music, or otherwise) is a learned behaviour that has been passed on from generation to generation. Although it seems that Bourdieu paints a very black and white picture, the reality is that he is much more nuanced and is less clear-cut (de Jong 2003, 14-15, 63, 65). In the nineteenth century the lower classes didn't visit the museum as much as the other classes. Governments wished to change this in order for the lower-class people to better themselves. This only confirms that their ways are not viewed as 'the correct ways' and should be altered. The lower classes stood out not only because of their dress, but also because of their lack of knowledge and the museum visit in that sense divided the classes more than it united them.

5. The Museum of Antiquities in Leiden

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will present my empirical research done on the annual reports, the official correspondence, the private archive of director Leemans and the visitor books. I will however start with an overview of the early history of the Museum of Antiquities. Next to this historical sketch I have added a biography of Conrad Leemans, who made his mark on the museum because of his long tenure as museum director (1835-1891). I will also add a comparative paragraph on the *British Museum*.

5.2 Museum History

The *Cabinet of Antiquities* was founded in 1818 by king William I of The Netherlands (1772-1843). At the basis of the museum collection were several other collections. Firstly the collection of i.a. Greek and Roman statues that Gerard van Papenbroek (1673-1743) donated to *Leidsche Hoogeschool* (Leiden University) after his death. Secondly a number of Old-Egyptian artefacts from the *Theatrum Anatomicum* were given to the *Leidsche Hoogeschool* in 1821 with the discontinuation of the Theatrum (Duparc 1975, 61-62; Halbertsma 2003, 33; Schneider 1981, 8-9, 12, 43).

Caspar Jacob Christiaan Reuvens who was also Professor of Archaeology at the *Leidsche Hoogeschool* was appointed director and it was under his reign that the *Museum of Antiquities* knew its golden age (1824-1830). This 'Professor-Curator' managed the museum which had the task of furthering the sciences, but also educating the public. It was Reuvens' excavations that marked the beginning of the modern archaeological tradition in the Netherlands. Carrying out excavations remained one of main tasks of the museum even long after Reuvens' death. With the help of king William I the collection soon expanded its Egyptian, Classical and Dutch sections. Objects from other parts of the world were only later housed in a separate museum, the *Rijks Ethnographisch Museum* (The Museum of Ethnography)(Duparc 1975, 62; Schneider 1981, 14, 16, 26).

It was with the help of minister Anton Reinhard Falck (1777-1843) and the secretary-general of the Ministry of Education Daniël Jacob van Ewijck (1786-1858) that Reuvens was able to persuade the king to provide funding for the expansion of the museum collection, which subsequently grew rapidly. This in turn caused housing problems from a very early stage. This of course was aided by the 'archaeological agents' abroad, like colonel Jean-Émile Humbert (1771-1839), who sought out collections and objects for the museum. Two important collections, that of Maria Cimba and the collection of Jean d'Anastasy (1780-1857), were acquired with Humbert's help in 1827 en 1829. Reuvens bought an important collection of Greek antiquities of colonel Bernard Rottiers (1771-1857), but also most of the Egyptian pieces of Belgian ship-owner Jean-Baptiste de Lescluze (1780-1858)(Halbertsma 2003, 99; Schneider 1981, 18-19, 43-44, 46-48).

The museum was tied not only to the state, but also to the *Leidsche Hoogeschool* (who in turn were again dependent on the national government). Not only did the two core collections once belong to the *Leidsche Hoogeschool*, its *curatoren* (trustees) supervised the administration of the museum in the early periods. The *Hoogeschool* did however fail to give sufficient attention to the museum (Schneider 1981, 6). One of the museums tasks was to serve the higher education and fulfil a recreational function towards the public, as was deduced from the letters between the *curatoren* and the Minister of the Interior (Schneider 1981, 5; Sol 1988b, 105).

The development from private collection to public museum was accelerated by the French Revolution. Art collections were not just there for the connoisseurs and artists but also for the instruction and recreation of the public and was thus an instrument of education. According to Schneider, museums were therefore often important topics on the political agenda, especially during the first half of the nineteenth century (Schneider 1981, 12-13). King William I wanted to compete with the other national collections like that of the *Louvre* in Paris and the *British Museum* in London and the *Staatliche Museen* in Berlin (Schneider 1981, 14).

The separation of Belgium from the Netherlands in 1830, meant a financial setback for the museum and its acquisition policy. The collection still grew, but mainly because of donations from diplomats. In 1835, support was not given for the acquisition of the Collection of British Egyptologist Henry Salt (1780-1827), which ended up in the British Museum. A part of an important collection of Greek vases owned by Lucien Bonaparte (1775-1840) was however acquired with the help of the king. The first museum building (1821) was situated on the Rapenburg in a wing of the *Museum of National History* in Leiden. Reuvens had grand ideas about the ideal museum-building for his museum, but this dream was never realised (Duparc 1975, 62; Halbertsma 2003, 128-131; Schneider 1981, 18-19).

After Reuvens' untimely death on 26 July 1835 Conrad Leemans was appointed First Curator of the *Museum of Antiquities* by the *curatoren* of the *Leidsche Hoogeschool*. L.J.F. Janssen (1806-1869) became Second Curator (Halbertsma 2003, 142,143; Schneider 1981, 32). Conrad Leemans (Fig. 2) was born in Zaltbommel but moved to Leiden in 1821 where he was schooled. He started a study in theology in 1825, but changed studies in 1828, because of his interest in archaeology. In these early years he became acquainted with the family of Caspar Reuvens, and together they visited the collections of the Louvre in 1829. It was here that he received his training as an Egyptologist. He joined the military campaign against Belgium in 1831, but was sent home the same year, because of an injury of which he recovered with Reuvens and his family (Halbertsma 2003, 143).

Figure 2: Conrad Leemans (van Wijngaarden 1935, Plate)

After being appointed First Curator he found the antiquities in a general state of neglect. One of the first things he wanted to do was complete a catalogue on Egyptian antiquities which was started by Reuvens, but never finished because of his untimely death. Leemans asked permission for a four month long stay in London where he would study the collections of the *British Museum*. It is in this period that his correspondence with scholars all over Europe began (Halbertsma 2003, 144).

Within the same month of his appointment as First Curator the *Hoogeschool* bought a new museum building. It was an eighteenth century mansion on one of the city's central streets, Breestraat nr. 18 (Fig. 3). Just like the first building this one was not suited for a museum was to be shared with the *Academisch Penningkabinet* (Academic Coin Cabinet). This joint-venture was a problematic one from the start. The museum was officially opened for the public on 7 August 1838, but because of the transportation of the antiquities and the renovation of the new building not all rooms were accessible at the opening in 1838 (Halbertsma 2003, 145-147). A soldier was places outside the museum to protect the antiquities. The museum was open three days a week and "every visitor who presents himself, decently dressed" (RMO, 17.1.1/5, 21), was allowed entrance. The other three days were reserved for special visitors with signed entry forms. Foreign visitors were welcome outside of the normal opening hours. Visitors were asked to write down name and profession in the visitor books and between August and December of 1838, 2.944 people visited the museum (Halbertsma 2003, 146-147).

Because of the still growing museum collection the housing soon became inadequate again (Duparc 1975, 62; Halbertsma 2003, 146; Schneider 1981, 18-19, 29). A new museum building however was not bought for several decades, which had a negative effect on the objects which could not be stored properly (Schneider 1981, 22, 24-26). Leemans started trading objects with the *Nationalmuseet* (National Museum of Denmark) in Copenhagen, which was not entirely to the satisfaction of king William II (1792-1849)(Duparc 1975, 62; Schneider 1981, 48). It was under Leemans that the collection of artefacts from the Dutch East-Indies grew substantially. Egyptian and Classical artefacts were mainly obtained via gifts and trade, while Dutch artefacts were obtained via the museums' own excavations (Schneider 1981, 29). Leemans was very occupied with the correct and scientific display of the artefacts and was not only director of the *Museum of Antiquities*, from 1859 till 1880 he was also director of the Ethnographic Museum until the it got its own director again (Halbertsma 2003, 146; Schneider 1981, 28, 30, 32). Leemans' directorship was characterised by governmental budget cuts which hindered the acquisition of objects. Leemans battled against these small budgets, with occasional success. In 1850 and 1858, for example, Leemans got a governmental grant to extend his museum (Duparc 1975, 62-63).

Figure 3: Museum building on Breestraat 18 (Schneider 1981, 27)

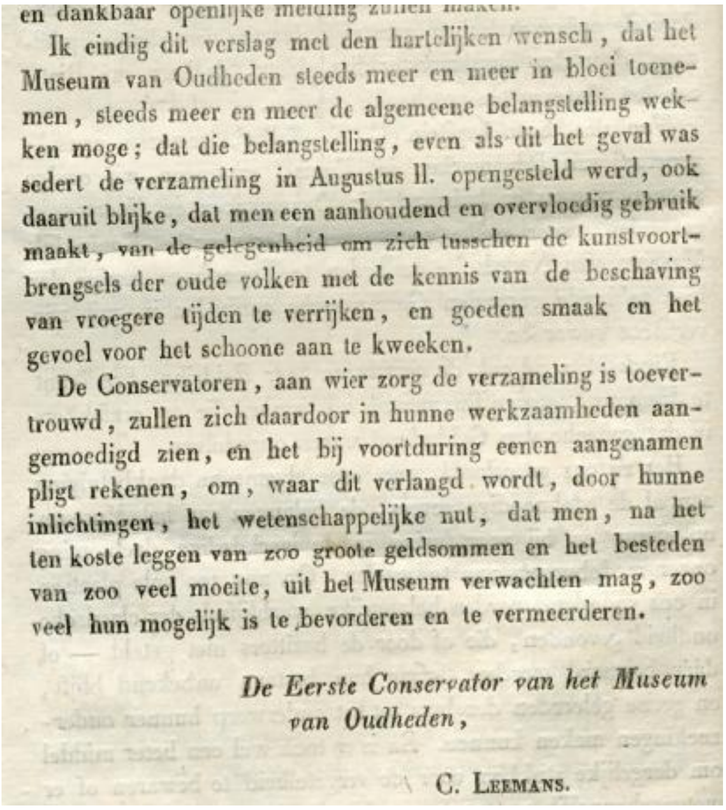
Leemans, with the help of Second Curator Janssen, was internationally known for the publication of the museums' Egyptian collection (*Aegyptische Monumenten van het Nederlandse Museum van Oudheden*). He was similarly well known for his excavations in the Netherlands and his organisation and publication of Classical and Pre-Historical antiquities (Schneider 1981, 32).

In those early years, the name of the institute varied. Known names are: *Archeologisch Kabinet* en *Kabinet van Archeologie*, but some also call the collection a museum. In 1846, director Leemans proposed to call the institute *Museum van Oudheden* or *Nederlands Museum van Oudheden*, but King William II preferred the term Cabinet. The name *Museum van Oudheden* (*Museum of Antiquities*) remained popular none the less and eventually became the official name (Duparc 1975, 62).

5.3 The Empirical Research

5.3.1 The Annual Reports from 1838 to 1880

The annual reports of the museum were published in the *Nederlandsche Staatscourant* (Appendix 1), but were also privately published by Leemans from 1869 onward as the Minister of the Interior could not impose any censorship this way, which was the case with the official reports. The themes discussed in these reports were generally quite similar. Of interest were the: growth of the collection, either bought or donated; the scientific publications, either received from other institutes or issued by the museum; the museums' budget and building which were both inadequate; and a constant appeal by Leemans to donate objects to the museum to further scientific research and expand the glory of the country (RMO, 4.1/3, 22).



en dankbaar openlijke melding zullen maken.

Ik eindig dit verslag met den hartelijken wensch, dat het Museum van Oudheden steeds meer en meer in bloei toenemen, steeds meer en meer de algemeene belangstelling wekken moge; dat die belangstelling, even als dit het geval was sedert de verzameling in Augustus ll. opengesteld werd, ook daaruit blijke, dat men een aanhoudend en overvloedig gebruik maakt, van de gelegenheid om zich tusschen de kunstvoortbrengsels der oude volken met de kennis van de beschaving van vroegere tijden te verrijken, en goeden smaak en het gevoel voor het schoone aan te kweeken.

De Conservatoren, aan wier zorg de verzameling is toevertrouwd, zullen zich daardoor in hunne werkzaamheden aangemoedigd zien, en het bij voortduring eenen aangenamen pligt rekenen, om, waar dit verlangd wordt, door hunne inlichtingen, het wetenschappelijke nut, dat men, na het ten koste leggen van zoo groote geldsommen en het besteden van zoo veel moeite, uit het Museum verwachten mag, zoo veel hun mogelijk is te bevorderen en te vermeerderen.

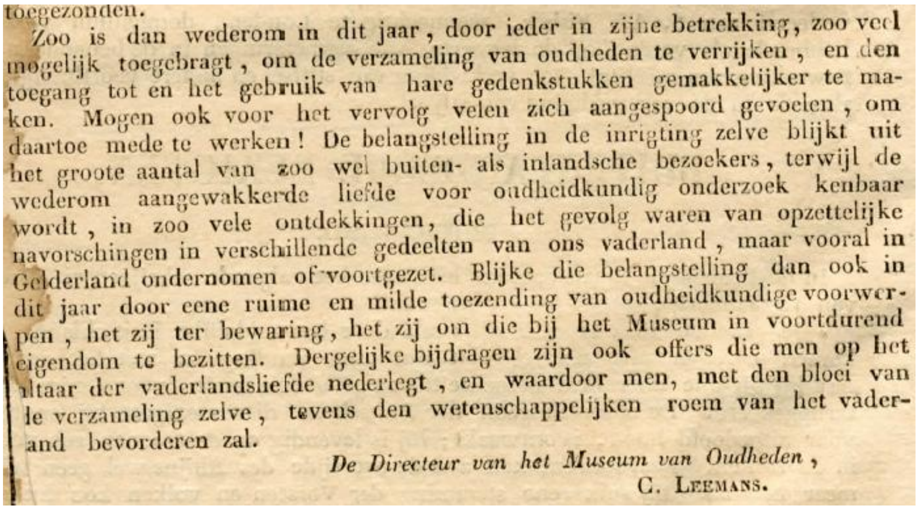
De Eerste Conservator van het Museum van Oudheden,

C. Leemans.

Figure 4: Ending paragraphs of the annual report of 1838 (RMO, 4.1/3, 1839, 96)

While reading the reports I focussed on information about the opening of the museum and the tasks it was given, to see if social reform was a topic of interest. In the report of 1838 Leemans begins his report with the origins of the collection, how it grew and which books were donated to the museum. But his ending note is the most interesting. Here he talks about the museum as a place where people can learn about history and cultivate their good tastes and aesthetics by walking through the artistic objects of past societies (Fig. 4)(RMO, 4.1/3, 96). So the idea that the museum is a place of learning, educational as well as social, is already present at the birth of the public *Museum of Antiquities*. What is uncertain is at which classes this education was aimed. Was the museum there for the benefit of all classes or were these instructional surroundings only meant for certain groups?

In many annual reports, for example the report of 1838, Leemans is very thankful for the 'many' visitors. He also pleas for donations of objects. This is especially directed to Dutch people abroad who have access to objects from foreign cultures (RMO, 4.1/3, 96). This emphasis on the donating of objects is probably the result of the very limited budget, which left little room for object acquisition. The museums' task was to serve the glory of the nation, more specifically to further its scientific glory (Fig. 5). Leemans' interest in scientific progress and the role the museum can play in this progress is noteworthy, which the many statements in the annual reports illustrate (RMO, 4.1/3, 22). The information gathered from the


toegezonden.
Zoo is dan wederom in dit jaar, door ieder in zijne betrekking, zoo veel mogelijk toegebragt, om de verzameling van oudheden te verrijken, en den toegang tot en het gebruik van hare gedenkstukken gemakkelijker te maken. Mogen ook voor het vervolg velen zich aangespoord gevoelen, om daartoe mede te werken! De belangstelling in de inrigting zelve blijkt uit het groote aantal van zoo wel buiten- als inlandsche bezoekers, terwijl de wederom aangewakkerde liefde voor oudheidkundig onderzoek kenbaar wordt, in zoo vele ontdekkingen, die het gevolg waren van opzettelijke navorschingen in verschillende gedeelten van ons vaderland, maar vooral in Gelderland ondernomen of voortgezet. Blijke die belangstelling dan ook in dit jaar door eene ruime en milde toezending van oudheidkundige voorwerpen, het zij ter bewaring, het zij om die bij het Museum in voortdurend eigendom te bezitten. Dergelijke bijdragen zijn ook offers die men op het altaar der vaderlandsliefde nederlegt, en waardoor men, met den bloei van de verzameling zelve, tevens den wetenschappelijken roem van het vaderland bevorderen zal.

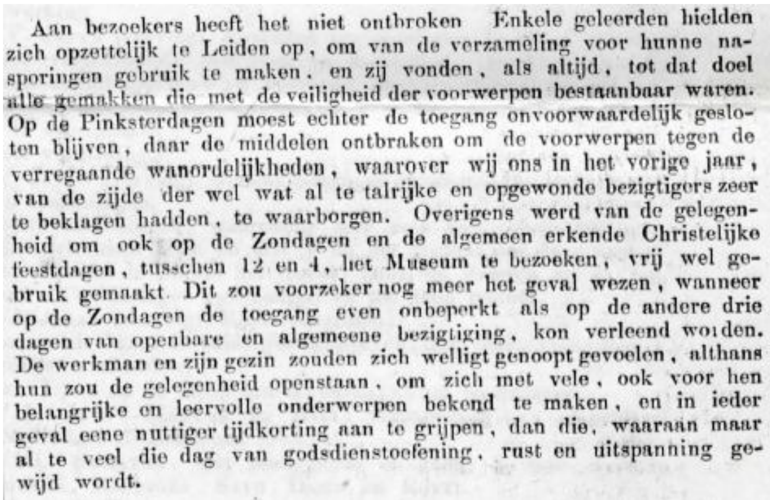
De Directeur van het Museum van Oudheden,
C. LEEMANS.

Figure 5: Ending paragraph of the annual report of 1840 (RMO, 4.1/3, 22)

annual reports expose a general interest in opening up the museum to 'the public', but again it is unclear if there is a specific audience in mind. Interesting is the phrase where it says that the collection is open to "all who want to visit it and want to use it scientifically" (RMO, 4.1/3, 17). It becomes clear that the scientific task of the museum is of prime importance to Leemans and he also sees a role for the museum as an object of national pride, which interrelates nicely with Hobsbawm's ideas on nationalism and nation-states.

Another point of interest is something Leemans mentions in the report of 1838, where he brings up certain conditions under which the collections is accessible to the public (RMO, 4.1/3, 96). Although not made explicit in the annual report, these conditions could inform us about the accessibility of the museum and therefore will be discussed in the next paragraph. The public access may not have been as straightforward as it is nowadays and certain restrictions on who could or could not enter the museum could have been in place.

It is only from 1867 onwards that the reports pay more attention to the museum visitors, apart from just a general remark where Leemans thanks the many people for their visit. In this years' report a broadening of the days of general opening is mentioned and now includes Sundays and Christian Holidays. It is also in this report that the working class is mentioned for the first time. Leemans states that opening of the museum on Sundays (RMO, 4.1/4, n. 103) would encourage the working-class man and his family to acquaint himself with important and educational subjects. It would also encourage them to spend the day in a more useful manner (Fig. 6)(RMO, 4.1/4, n. 103). This is an important piece of information as it is a direct reference to the educational value of the museum, especially for the lower classes. It is largely to the benefit of the lower classes that the museum is open on these days. Between the lines one can also distinguish contempt for the usual manner in which the lower classes enjoy their rest and relaxation, which is obviously not the way a day off 'should' be spent. The museum is perceived as the better alternative where the workman can educate himself and his family. A concept that fits nicely into Bourdieu's line of thought. What is striking is the relatively late date where the museum visitors get more attention in the annual reports. Tentatively I would assume that the interest in the museums' visitors becomes of greater interest only towards the end of the century. The scientific task of the museum is still mentioned by the director and its



Aan bezoekers heeft het niet ontbroken Enkele geleerden hielden zich opzettelijk te Leiden op, om van de verzameling voor hunne nasporingen gebruik te maken, en zij vonden, als altijd, tot dat doel alle gemakken die met de veiligheid der voorwerpen bestaanbaar waren. Op de Pinksterdagen moest echter de toegang onvoorwaardelijk gesloten blijven, daar de middelen ontbraken om de voorwerpen tegen de verregaande wanordelijkheden, waarover wij ons in het vorige jaar, van de zijde der wel wat al te talrijke en opgewonde bezigtigers zeer te beklagen hadden, te waarborgen. Overigens werd van de gelegenheid om ook op de Zondagen en de algemeen erkende Christelijke feestdagen, tusschen 12 en 4, het Museum te bezoeken, vrij wel gebruik gemaakt. Dit zou voorzeker nog meer het geval wezen, wanneer op de Zondagen de toegang even onbeperkt als op de andere drie dagen van openbare en algemeene bezigtiging, kon verleend worden. De werkman en zijn gezin zouden zich welligt genoopt gevoelen, althans hun zou de gelegenheid openstaan, om zich met vele, ook voor hen belangrijke en leervolle onderwerpen bekend te maken, en in ieder geval eene nuttiger tijdkorting aan te grijpen, dan die, waaraan maar al te veel die dag van godsdienstoefening, rust en uitspanning gewijd wordt.

Figure 6: Photo-copy of a paragraph from the annual report of 1867 (RMO, 4.1/4, n. 103).

importance has thus not diminished, just like the visits of foreign scholars who use the collection for their research (RMO, 4.1/4, n. 103) which seem to enhance the status of the museum.

It is also from 1867 onwards that Leemans publishes his own annual reports in addition to the official ones that are published in the *Nederlandsche Staatscourant*. In these reports he can write more freely about the museums' troubles. He is concerned with the state of the museum building and the limited space there is for the objects. The museum budget is another important issue. It is in these reports that we also find new changes in the days and hours of admission. Another observation concerns the Sunday opening. This was now a day of general opening where the working-class man could now quench his thirst for knowledge, spend his day in a more useful manner than most of his colleagues and improve his morals and manners (RMO, p484, 1869). When reading his statement it becomes clear that the role of the museum as a social reformer is something Leemans supports. In the privately published report of that year, he talks about an annoyance concerning the *custos* (keeper of the museum). It appears to be a custom that that the *custos* is paid some money (gratuities) which Leemans thought to be undesirable. He sees this custom as an obstacle for the less fortunate visitors. They should also be able to visit the museum, without being worried of such a custom. Leemans is genuinely concerned with the accessibility of his museum to the lower classes as he states that the absence of these gratuities might also increase the societal usefulness of the museum in enabling the less-fortunate to visit the museum as well (RMO, p484, 1869). After incidents in previous years, the museum had to close its doors to the public on Whit-Sunday and Whit-Monday of 1871 because of the large unruly crowd that could not be controlled (RMO, p484, 1871). This illustrates that a fear of the masses was not always unfounded and that they could pose a genuine threat to the collection.

By studying these annual reports it has become clear that Leemans has an indisputable interest in the education of the lower-classes and he wants them to visit the museum to educate themselves. This interest however appears to start only later in the nineteenth century and has long-time been overshadowed by the scientific role of the museum and the (scientific) glory the collection could bring to the country.

5.3.2 The Letter Register and the Official Correspondence

In this paragraph I will discuss my study of the Letter Register of the official museum correspondence (Appendix 2) and a selection of the actual correspondence. The register dates back to 1819, when Reuvens was museum director. I have started my research in 1835 after Reuvens' death up to and including 1870, although I have not always included the letters of the *Rijks Japansch Museum Von Siebold* (Japanese State Collection Von Siebold). There were several letters that had a very promising summary in the register, but most of the letters' subjects were not of direct interest for my subject. The sheer volume of letters between Leemans and his superiors (on university and state level), convey to me a message of dependence. There was little the museum director could decide on his own. Just like with the annual reports certain trends could be discerned: letters to and from the Ministry of the Interior concerning the low budget, objects/collections bought and donated, (the condition of) the building and its renovations, the annual reports; letters to and from the trustees of the *Leidsche Hoogeschool* (also mainly concerning the before mentioned subjects); letters to confirm the receiving of certain books; letters that asked for confirmation on receiving a museum publication; declarations of expenses and letters on museum positions that needed to be filled. The bulk of the letters was thus very practical in nature and related to the everyday workings of the museum. There seems to have been an almost constant battle for more funds and better accommodations, identical to the annual reports.

First I will give a short summary of the letters that proved interesting and after that I will explain the contents in more detail.

1. The first letter of interest is a letter to the *curatoren* of the *Leidsche Hoogeschool*, letter n. 21 (26-06-1838), on the opening of the museum and a concept of the visitor rules and regulations. This letter was answered in letter n. 9 (13-07-1838) and a concept was sent to be approved and sent back on 20-08-1838 (letter n. 11). This set of rules was then sent to the editorial board of the *Nederlandsche Staatscourant* on 3-08-1838 (letter n. 28)

2. In 1839 (15 July) Leemans sent a letter (n. 24) to the *curatoren* wherein he writes about changes he wants to make to the visitor regulations: articles five, seven and ten. A new version of the visitor regulations was sent to the editorial office of the *Nederlandsche Staatscourant* (letter n. 31, 30-07-1839)

3. On 17 September 1859 Leemans sent a letter (n. 137) to the Ministry of the Interior with two appendices (A + B) containing the visitor rules for both the *Museum of Antiquities* and the *Rijks Japansch Museum Von Siebold* for publication in the *Staatsalmanak* (State Directory) of 1860.

4. The changes in the rules and opening hours are also sent to the editors of the *Studenten Almanak* (Students' Almanac) in Leiden of the *Rijks Japansch Museum Von Siebold* and the *Museum of Antiquities* (sent letter n. 165, 24-11-1859).

5. Also passed down is an extract from the visitor rules of the *Academisch Penningkabinet* in received letter n. 4 (29-01-1839).

6. The *Academisch Penningkabinet* was opened under the same rules as the museum itself (received letter n. 32, 05-07-1858 from the *Curatoren* and sent letter n. 39, 7-07-1858)

As is obviously visible most letters are concerned with the visitor rules since I could find no letters directly concerning the subject of the working class and the use of the museum as an instrument of social reform. I thus focussed on the visitor rules in order create an outline in determining who was welcome in the museum, what restrictions were set in place and if this changed over the years.

For the content-evaluation I shall focus on the collection of letters I thought most promising; those concerning the visitor regulations (Appendix 3). These rules of which a first draft was sent to the *Curatoren* in 1838, were drawn up by First Curator Leemans and Second Curator Janssen. These rules hold a first interesting clue. Leemans writes that the museum will be open to the public and with this opening the objects would be available for scientific research. Right in the opening sentences, the scientific task of the museum is emphasized (RMO, 17.1.2/8, 11). To me, this sends out a strong message, namely that the scientific task is an important one, maybe even the most important. Article one states the general opening hours for all those who present themselves decently. Article two discusses the fact that the *custos* cannot receive any gratuities from visitors and article three states that walking sticks, parasols and umbrella's are not allowed in the museum. Article four states that every visitor (or the person responsible for a group) should write down their names and origin in the visitor book that was available at the museum entrance. Article five states that on Wednesdays, Fridays and Sundays, the museum is only open to people with an invitation and on those days it is allowed for employees to receive gratuities (article six). Foreign visitors receive a special treatment, as the opening hours are broader for them (article seven). People who need the collection for their scientific studies and who repeatedly visit the museum for this purpose, can get an extended invitation from the First Curator (article eight). They cannot reproduce the information they gathered from the collection without permission and the museum shall receive copies of the work wherein the collections are mentioned (article nine). Article ten states that the museum will be closed on Mondays, exceptional cases excluded (RMO, 17.1.2/8, 11). As such it was published in the *Nederlandsche Staatscourant*.

It thus appears as though not everybody had to write down their name in the visitor-books (Fig. 7) which might complicate their study, in terms of producing exact data.

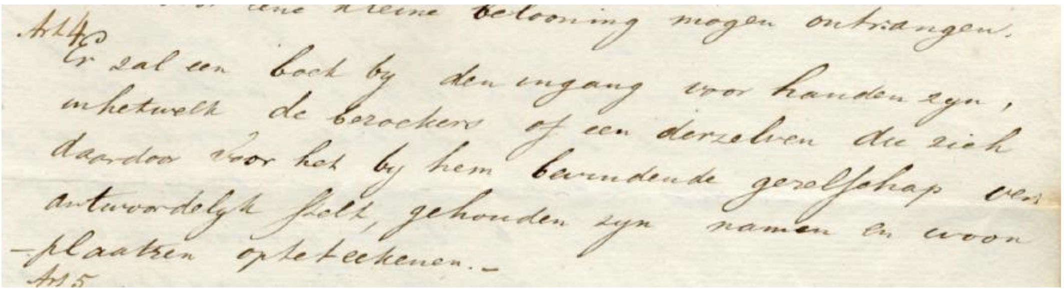

eene kleine belooning mogen ontvangen.
Art 4o
Er zal een boek by den ingang voor handen zyn,
in hetwelk de bezoekers of een derzelven die zich
daardoor voor het by hem bevindende gezelschap ver-
antwoordelyk stelt, gehouden zyn namen en woon-
plaatsen opteteekenen. –
Art 5

Figure 7: Article four from the visitor rules of 1838 (RMO, 17.1.2/8, 11)

Other interesting rules for my study were found in article one and five (RMO, 17.1.2/8, 11). Article one is of interest because it sets a very clear restricting on who can enter the museum: those who are properly (*behoorlijk*) dressed. Not exactly knowing what our nineteenth century museum director meant by *behoorlijk*, we can assume that paupers or people in their dirty work clothing were not welcome. These stipulations, in combination with the opening hours during the day (11-4am) together with a Sunday-opening on invitation only, draw a picture of rules that do not favour the entrance of the common man in this first opening year. (RMO, 17.1.2/8, 11). These visitor regulations were altered in 1839 when the general visiting hours were widened, dependant on the season (the hours of daylight) and were set in place to ensure a greater accessibility for the people who were invited to the museum (RMO, 17.1.2/8, 11; RMO, 17.1.1/6, 24). There are some questions however that cannot be answered easily. For example who guided the people through the museum, was this the *custos* or the First or Second Curator? We also do not know if there was a route that had to be taken to show the visitors around. Was it similar to the British Museum where in its early days of public opening every visitor was shown around following a certain route (see paragraph 5.4). These are questions of importance that cannot be answered easily and sometimes even not at all. It is mentioned in article one of the visitor-regulations of 1859 that the *custos* had to show around the visitors that presented themselves on the days of general opening (RMO, 17.1.1/15, 137), but I cannot imagine that the visitors who visited the museum on invitation were not given a tour by the person who had invited them.

Article three about the walking sticks, parasols and umbrellas, is also interesting (RMO, 17.1.2/8, 11). The fact that these were not allowed inside the museum, a practice that can also be observed in other museums, was according to Bennett a means of reducing social distinction. If this were the case it would be interesting as it draws attention to the social dimensions of a museum visit. It would show that the museum was not meant as a place of distinction. A more practical reason and one I believe to be more plausible, is that umbrella's, parasols and walking sticks cause a potential danger to the objects, as people have the tendency to swing them around.

In 1859 and 1863 the opening hours were changed once more and it is the changes of 1859 that influenced the working classes considerably, as every day of the week now became a day of general opening where all visitors were welcome and invitations were no longer needed (Fig. 8)(RMO, 17.1.1/15, 137).

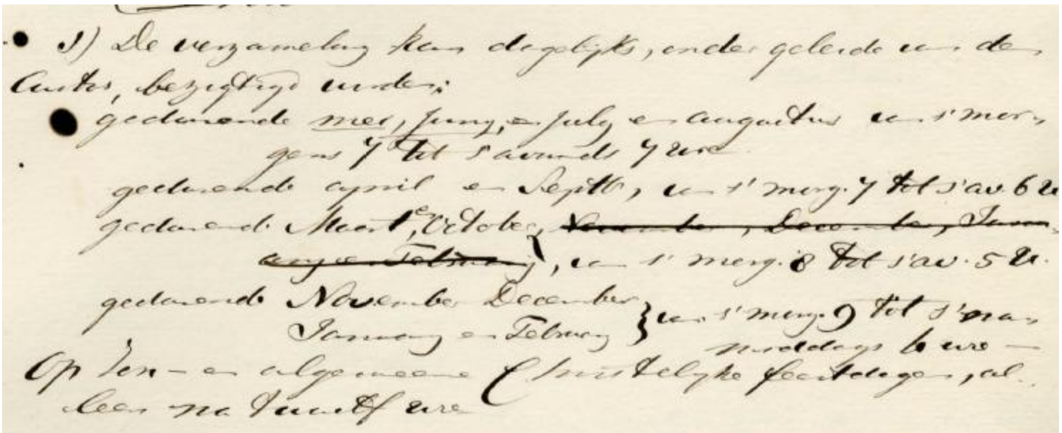

1) De verzameling kan dagelijks, onder geleide van den Custos, bezigtigd worden:
gedurende mei, juny, july en augustus van 's morgens 7 tot 's avonds 7 uur
gedurende april en Septb., van 's morg. 7 tot 's av. 6 u.
gedurende Maart, 1e October, ~~November, December, Januarij en Februarij~~, van 's morg. 8 tot 's av. 5 u.
gedurende November December Januarij en Februarij } van 's morg. 9 tot 's namiddags 4 uur —
Op Zon- en algemeene Christelijke feestdagen, alleen na [illegible] uur

Figure 8: Amended first article of the visitor rules, 1859 (RMO, 17.1.1/15, 137)

5.3.3 Director Leemans' Personal Archive

From very early on in my research I knew I wanted to investigate director Leemans' personal correspondence, because of an important 'clue' I discovered in the MA-thesis by R. Candotti. She mentions a letter by Samuel Birch and his interest in the social impact of the *Museum of Antiquities* on society. There are 18 letters preserved in the archive of the *Museum of Antiquities* that were written by Samuel Birch (1813-1885)(Website British Museum), an Egyptologist in the *British Museum*. He was employed by the *British Museum* for the period 1836-1885 in the Department of Antiquities (Wilson 2002, 10). The letters in the archive date from 1843 until 1870 and consist of photo-copies of the original letters. Leemans' answers to those letters are not preserved in the museum archives. The original archive is situated in Warmond and managed by Leemans' descendants.

The letter mentioned in the Candotti-thesis was the second letter in the series, dated 1 May 1847. The letters inquires after the "state and condition" of the *Museum of Antiquities* (RMO19.5.1/11, Birch, 2)(Appendix 4). Birch arranged his inquiries in a series of 13 questions and it is the ninth question that is of special interest, because there he asks: "Has the institution of the Museum exerted any marked social influence on the country in the creation of learned men or on the amelioration of public morals?" (RMO, 19.5.1/11, Birch, 2). This is in essence the research question of my thesis and thus this letter held a lot of promise. The other letters written by Samuel Birch did not generate any information on the subject. These limited results inspired me to widen my scope and look through more of Leemans' private correspondence in the hope of finding more letters from the *British Museum*-staff. The topic of a museums' social relevance was obviously one of interest, as Birch's letter proves and my hope was that maybe some other staff-member had brought it up in one of their letters. I also looked for Leemans' answer to the letter from Birch, but my search through the archive of the *Museum of Antiquities* has not yielded any results. A search into the online archive of the *British Museum*, the *British Library* and the *National Archive* have also yielded no useful information and right now the question lies with the Department of Ancient Egypt and Sudan of the *British Museum*.

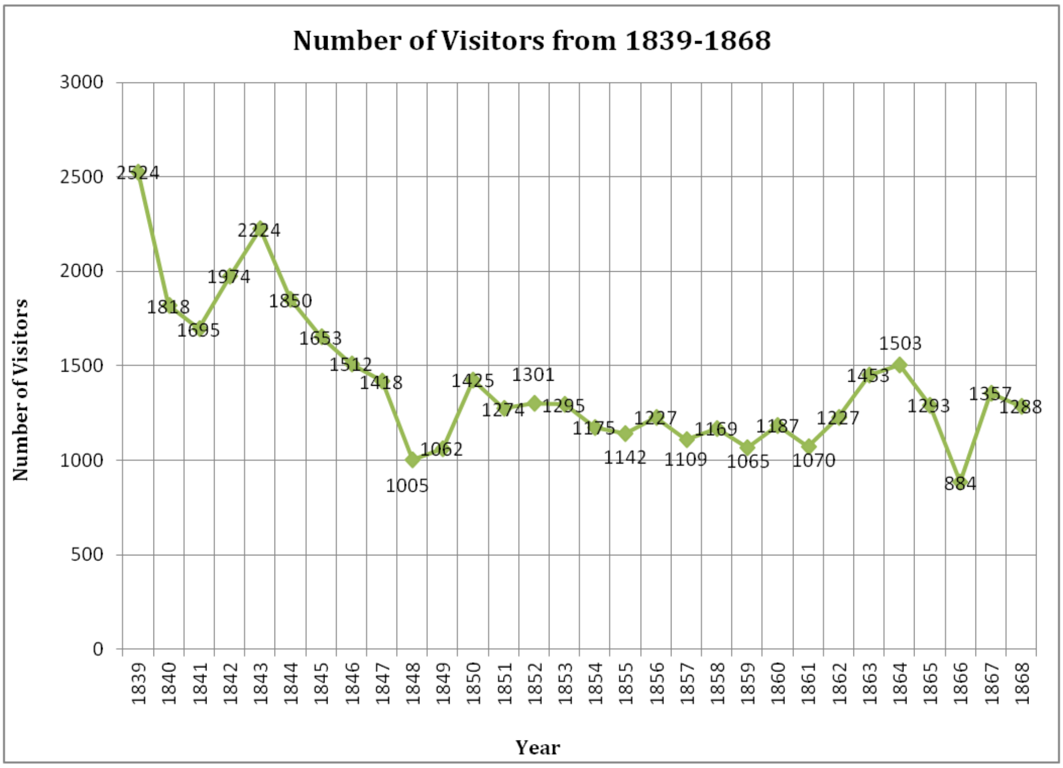
I found four other correspondents who were connected to the *British Museum*, whose letters I have studied. They either wrote British Museum at the head of the letter or the initials B.M were placed on the letters by the person who organised or photocopied the archive. I studied two letters by Sir Henry Ellis (1777-1869), a famous Principal Librarian of the *British Museum*, who was employed from 1805-1856 (Website British Museum). Five letters by Sir August Wollaston Franks (1826-1897) first Keeper of British and Medieval Antiquities and Ethnography at the British Museum, employed from 1851-1879 (Website British Museum). Four letters from Mr. Farshall and 13 letters from Dr. John Edward Gray (1800-1875), Keeper of the Zoological Department (Website British Museum). The letters had various subjects on friends and family, but also work-related topics like congresses, Egyptology and Asian Archaeology (RMO, 19.5.1/11, Birch; RMO 19.5.1/6, Farshall; RMO 19.5.1/6, Franks; RMO 19.5.1/7, Gray; RMO 19.5.1/14, Ellis). Sadly not a single letter was concerned with the museum-visitors or the museum as a means of social reform, except for a letter from Gray who mentioned in his ninth letter that even though the museum was being renovated, it was accessible to the public without problems (RMO 19.5.1/7, Gray, 9).

I think it is safe to say, that the publics' education via the museum was not a theme in the private correspondence I have looked through (knowing that I have only looked at a fraction of the correspondence). I would have expected that the social influence of a museum might have been mentioned just like other museum related topics, for example Egyptian papyri, museum acquisitions and archaeological congresses. This lack of information is however consistent with the official correspondence where the theme receives almost no direct attention other than via the visitor rules and in the annual reports of later years where the working class was mentioned from 1867 onwards.

5.3.4 The Visitor Books

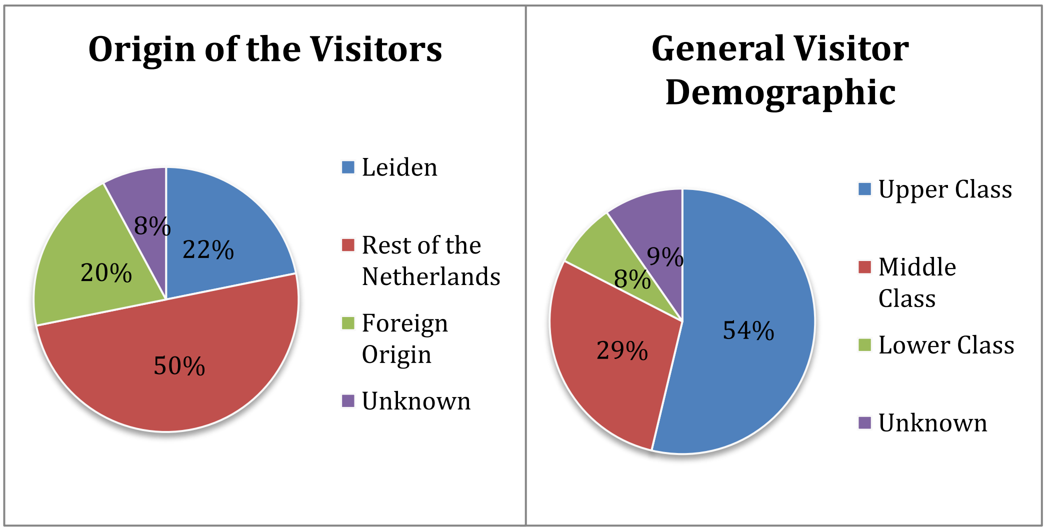
The subject of this final part of the empirical research concerns the visitor books which were kept from 1838 until 1923 (Appendix 5). Most visitors were required to write in their name, occupation and origin in these books when visiting the museum. Visiting groups however did not require every group-member to write their information down, only the person responsible had to do so (RMO, 17.1.2/8, 11). It is therefore not clear if wives and husbands both wrote their names down or if invited guests had to provide their details as well. Looking through the books I have noticed entries where a certain gentleman visits the museum with his wife, his family or with his sons who did not enter their own references. On the other hand I have also seen family members enter their individual references, so I am unsure if there were set rules or whether it was up to the visitor himself. Absolute information can therefore not be gathered from these books, but relative information can. Sex-ratio's will most probably not be established, but the social-classes who visited the museum can be. Another question is if the visitors were mostly local people from the Leiden-region or if they came from further away, maybe even from outside the Netherlands? Most important for my research will be the visitor demographic and their origin.

Since a complete overview of all the visitor books is an impossible undertaking for a MA-thesis, I will only have a look at one year, that will provide some first insights into the nineteenth century visitors in the *Museum of Antiquities*. I chose the year 1851 to get a general look at the visitor demographics, because it is right at the



Graph 1: Evolution of the number of visitors of the Museum of Antiquities from 1839 until 1868

heart of the nineteenth century and therefore also right in the middle of the period I study. I have chosen not to study a year from the 1840s because the collection was not accessible in its totality from the very beginning of public opening. I will start by plotting the number of visitors from the years 1839-1868 (Graph 1). The total numbers of visitors were already added up in the visitor books, and I used this information to create my graph.

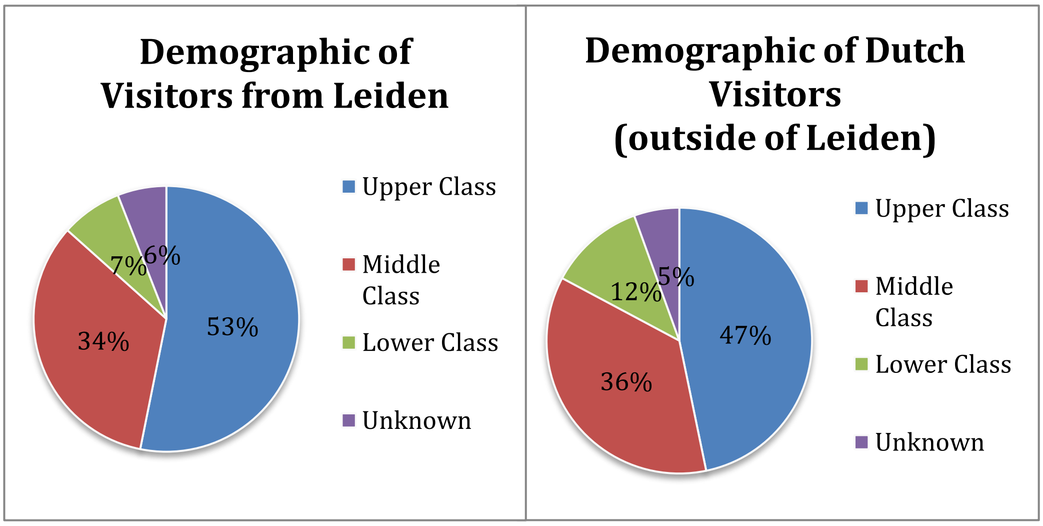


Graph 2: Origin and demographics of all the visitors of 1851

The first diagram (graph 2, left) shows the origin of all the visitors of 1851. As we can see, most of the visitors (72%) originate from the Netherlands, where the number of visitors from abroad are roughly 20%. The remaining 8% I was unable to decipher and are therefore "unknown". The 'absolute' numbers can be found in Appendix 6. When looking at the visitor demographics (graph 2, right) a staggering amount of 54% are from the upper-class, followed by 29% from the middle-class and only 8% of the visitors was from the lower-class. This raises the question whether there the government stimulated museum visits of the lower classes at all. If this was the case these attempts apparently weren't very successful.

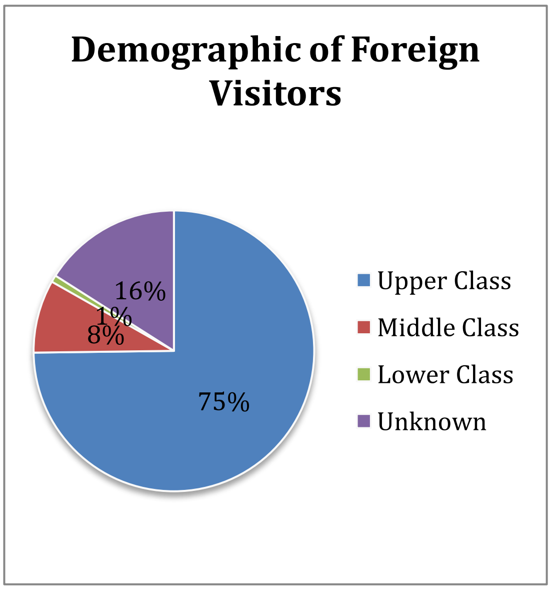
If we look at the demographic of the visitors from Leiden (Graph 3, left), these trends are largely repeated with 53% upper-class visitors, 34% middle-class visitors and only 7% from the lower-class. Interesting is the large amount of military personnel that visited the museum; of the 90 visitors from the middle-class, 50 were military personnel (about 55.6%). I placed most of the military personnel in the middle-class, in line with de Vries (2004, 91). These high numbers can be explained by the *Doelen*-barracks that were only a short walking distance from the museum and therefore within easy reach. An exciting question is whether the soldiers were stimulated by their superiors to visit the museum or if it was on their own accord.

The distribution of the Dutch visitors (Graph 3, right), excluding the visitors from Leiden, differs only a little as the upper and middle classes are somewhat more balanced out (47% and 36%) and the number of visitors from the lower class have increased by 5% and now make up 12% of the visitors.



Graph 3: Visitor demographics of the Dutch visitors

The make-up of the international visitors (Graph 4) is somewhat different, as was to be expected, since the upper-class was far more mobile than the lower classes. 75 % of the visitors were from the upper-class, with only 8 % middle-class visitors and 1 % lower class visitors. For 16% of the visitors I was unable to determine their demographic, because it appeared that not all foreign visitors really understood what to write down in the visitor books and often only wrote their name and origin.



Graph 4: Foreign visitor demographic

In conclusion we can see a dominance of the upper class, especially within the group of foreign visitors. In the Dutch demographics (including visitors from Leiden) these two are more balanced out, but the upper-class is still more dominant. The number of lower class visitors is very small between the one and twelve percent. The whole idea of lower-class education via a visit to the museum is clearly not visible in the visitor-books of the *Museum of Antiquities* for the year 1851.

5.4. Comparison to the British Museum

This short outline of the early history of the *British Museum* will serve as a comparison with the *Museum of Antiquities*. I chose the *British Museum* not only because the English were forerunners in the nineteenth century, but because it would be interesting to put this 'forerunner-hypothesis' to a small test. It is also an attractive comparison because it will complement my empirical research as I have largely researched Leemans' private correspondence from people associated with the *British Museum*. I will describe this 'history' of the *British Museum* from its origins until the middle of the nineteenth century, with a focus on public accessibility and I have used the book by David Wilson called *The British Museum. A History* as a basis.

The *British Museum* was founded in 1753 and then still encompassed the library and the natural history department. The founding-collection was that of Sir Hans Sloane (1660-1753). His collection was bought by the House of Parliament on 7 June 1753 and was joined by major library-collection and received its name by an Act of Parliament. The Museum was governed by a Board of Trustees, consisting of 41 members. It was housed in the Montague House from 1754 onwards, but because of bad maintenance could only be opened in 1759 (Wilson 2002, 8, 21, 25). This is almost 70 years earlier than the *Museum of Antiquities*. The target audience, as perceived by the Trustees, was the middle-class and not the lower classes who were constantly complained about (Wilson 2002, 52). Now technically open to the public, in reality only a specific group of people was admitted under very restrictive conditions. This is something that is also seen in the for example the study by Liesbeth Nys and my own research, where it proved to be quite common to have days of a more restricted access, when an invitation was needed. (Un)fortunately Sir Sloane put forward in his will, that the museum had to be opened up to the public. This caused much debate, for years to come, over the admittance of the lower classes. An often heard comment was that the safety of the collection was in danger if the lower classes would be granted access to the museum (Wilson 2002, 35-36). So the fear of the masses, as spoken of by Bennett, was a genuine concern in that period and has prevented museums from being completely accessible to every member of society. The scientific task of the museum seemed to be more important than its social task as scholars (especially foreign ones) were very welcome. Access for the general public stayed very restrictive and visitors were only allowed in under supervision by a member of staff. The *British Museum* regulations state that admission was only possible if you had a ticket, which could be obtained from the porter and had to be approved by the Principal Librarian. Only ten tickets were allowed per opening hour. The museum was opened for six hours per day, except on Saturdays, Sundays and festivals. The visitors, maximum five people per party, were shown around a specific route. Admission was free and hand-outs were not allowed. Around the turn of the century a more liberal access code was developed, but was constantly complained about as the system, although seemingly simple, was in reality quite complex. There was also a constant objection against the mingling of the classes and surprisingly enough most of these complaints were filed by members of staff (Wilson 2002, 35-39). The issue of paid admission was first brought up around the change of the century to supplement the museums' income. This idea was widely supported as the lower classes could threaten the collection, asked 'senseless' questions and "distracted the officers and the normal visitors" (Wilson 2002, 58-59). This is something that can be linked to Bourdieu's ideas of distinction, where the lower classes have not learned the right behaviour and therefore stand out in certain situations. The museum-visit was clearly such a situation.

In 1802 the rules for admission were changed after years of debate. Tickets were not sold, but made available on the day of admission and one person could now apply for twelve tickets at once. Visitors still had to be approved by the Principal Librarian or another senior officer and could be refused based on their clothing and conduct. This refusing of visitors based on behaviour or appearance was something that was similar to the *Museum of Antiquities* as it states in the first article of their rules of conduct. Opening hours of the *British Museum* were widened, from nine in the morning till four in the afternoon and the museum was closed on Monday and on Friday afternoons in the summertime. The staff was supplemented with three attendants, to show the people around the collections. In 1805 the museum was open on Monday, Wednesday and Friday to a maximum of five groups of people every hour from ten a.m. till two p.m. Although against the wishes of the staff the overflow of visitors was accommodated on Tuesdays and Thursdays (Wilson 2002, 59). New discussions concerning the admission started in 1808 when public access was increased and the ticketing system was abandoned. The general public was welcome from Mondays till Thursdays and Fridays were reserved for private visits and for use of the museum by students of the *Royal Academy of Arts*.

Visitors had to sign their name, leave their umbrellas and walking sticks behind and were taken on a guided tour. It was in this period that the first catalogues were written. In 1810 the guided tours were not obligatory anymore and the coin and drawing-collections could also be visited, but there was still a difference between days of general opening and days on which the collections could be visited on invitation only (Wilson 2002, 67). In the 1810s during Henri Ellis' tenure as Principal Librarian the admission was a much debated issue. He did not want to admit the working-class, against the wishes of some of his colleagues as "people of a higher grade would hardly wish to come to the museum at the same time with sailors from the dockyards and girls whom they might bring with them. I don't think such people would gain any improvement from the sight of our collection" (Wilson 2002, 86). Ellis obviously did not believe that the museum could perform an educational task for the lowest classes.

During the mid 1830s, opening hours were again broadened on the three days of general admission. As the rules for admission were loosened more and more the visitor-numbers had risen to over 500.000 in 1842, especially after new regulations had been drawn up in 1837. John Edward Gray stressed the importance of this development and also advocated opening the museum on Sundays. Ellis and many others were still afraid of the masses and this debate would continue well into the future. The 'opposing party' saw their influence diminish as time went by, especially after the Great Exhibition of 1851 (Wilson 2002, 98-99). This exhibition had a substantial influence on the museum. The number of museum-visits rose during the event, but rapidly declined afterwards due to competition from institutes like the *National Gallery* and the *London Zoo*. The museum was old-fashioned, which might have caused the visitors to stay away and the fact that the museum was still closed on Sunday did not help in that regard. This problem would only be resolved in 1895, many years after the *Museum of Antiquities* made Sunday a day of general opening. Another reason for its diminished popularity can be attributed to the absence of systematic display, bad labelling and a lack of educational tours and lectures (Wilson 2002, 100-101). The nature of the mid-nineteenth century visitor is hard to ascertain, with the only records being those of the students who visited the museum and the library. Since the beginning of the century the admission of artists, who came in order to study the sculptures, was an important issue, but their special privileges were revoked in 1855. Between the 1830s and 1860s the visitor numbers fluctuated between 2.000 and 6.500 visitors, only rising again in the 1870s.

Pinpointing the reasons for these fluctuating number are difficult and are most probably of a diverse nature (Wilson 2002, 101).

6. The Political and Social Situation in The Netherlands

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will outline the Dutch political and social circumstances in the nineteenth century. Long-time it was thought to be a dull century with the only lively debates being on religion and education, but this view has changed. This century is marked by political, economical and social change that had an impact on life in the Netherlands. The national government became very powerful and the influence of the cities diminished. The government enforced uniformity and wanted to instil a sense of unity in its population that previously was only a federation of states (de Vries 2004, 11-12). By describing the political and economic circumstances I want to outline the situation in which the museum was operating and try to account for some of the results of the empirical research. I will also examine the socio-economical situation of Leiden with the same objective in mind.

6.2 Dutch Society

The nineteenth century Dutch society is segregated and class oriented with little to unite the population (van der Woud 2010, 10). There are three classes (although a fourth class is sometimes mentioned): upper, middle and lower class. This seems straightforward, but it is not. The first difficulty is to establish where one class ends and the other begins. Furthermore there are divisions within the classes. A class is not a grey mass of people and the concepts are not as clear nowadays, as back then. Upper-class typically consisted of the nobility, people in functions of public administration, dignitaries of a city, town or village, industrialists and in some regions the gentlemen farmer. The middle-class consisted of the self-employed, the citizens and the farmers who could provide their own income. At the bottom was the working-class. This was the largest group, but also the group with the least influence. The working-class was dependent on someone else for an income, but it also included the poor. The poor could not even earn a simple living and they were dependent on poor relief. There were also people who did not fit into any class like the beggars, criminals and prostitutes (van der Woud 2010, 55-58). Of some classes it was expected to talk about issues like politics, society, the arts and other polite topics, where people of other classes were just there to work. Intellectual achievements were only asked of a select society (van der Woud 2010, 13, 62, 168).

Different worlds thus co-existed and were perceived as just, sometimes even as a natural order of things. This view only changed later in the nineteenth century. What becomes clear is that social rank and class are not set in stone, but are social constructions that have evolved over time. Groups are formed in a association with the other groups and recreation is one of the ways in which social groups distinguish themselves (Nys 2012, 25; van der Woud 2010, 58).

6.3 Politics and Cultural Policies

When looking at the politics of the nineteenth century, two issues are of importance. First of all there is the legacy of the French occupation (1795-1813), where the promotion of culture was a royal tradition organised by the state. With the establishment of the *Bataafsche Republiek* (Batavian Republic) in 1795, lies thus the origin of a national policy on culture. 'State-agents' were appointed to promote the arts and sciences and one of them was the *Agent van Nationale Opvoeding* (the Agent of National Education)(OCenW 2002, 38; Smithuijsen 2007, 24). The reign of Lodewijk Napoleon Bonaparte (1806-1810) was influential, especially his founding of the *Koninklijk Instituut van Wetenschapppen, Letterkunde en Schone Kunsten* (The Royal Dutch Academy of Arts and Sciences) in 1808 (Smithuijsen 2007, 24).

King William I of the Netherlands (1772-1843) continued this policy of governmental control and his educational and cultural program was very ambitious and consequently quite costly. These costs became a serious problem because of the separation of Belgium in 1830. This put such a strain on the finances of the country that the government could not pay much attention to the arts and sciences and its influence diminished considerably. The aloof governmental approach in the 1830s and 1840s are partly to be explained in this light. What William I did achieve was the incorporation of museum collections into the state collective. After his reign the liberal politicians became influential and the arts and sciences were stimulated even less. The government concerned itself as little as possible with economy and cultural life and was mostly interested in the law, tax-collection and military matters. Education was seen as a means to instil a sense of nationalism in pupils. The Netherlands was a country of one people, one language and one flag, as stated by this propaganda (de Vries 2004, 11-12). Local municipalities were instruments of the government that were used for social repression. The administrators tried to counter the supposed threat of that the lower classes posed. This policy of repression was only slowly replaced by a policy of 'social justice' in the last quarter of the century (OCenW 2002, 39; Pots 2000, 90; Smithuijsen 2007, 24-25; de Vries 2004, 12).

6.3.1 Johan Rudolph Thorbecke

An influential political figure who cannot go unmentioned is Johan Rudolf Thorbecke (Fig. 9), student in Philosophy and Humanities at the *Leidsche Hoogeschool* and professor at the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Ghent (1825-1830). He had significant interest in state-affairs and after returning from Belgium he received a temporary function as professor in Law in Leiden where he taught his classes in Dutch. During this period he became known as a stubborn man with a distaste for 'over the top' traditions. In 1840 Thorbecke got elected into the electoral council of Leiden and so began his political career (Sol 1998a, 9, 24, 29-31, 45).

Figure 9: Johan Rudolf Thorbecke (Website Europeana)

Politically, The Netherlands was in a bad shape, with an out-of-date constitution that dated back to 1813. The economic crisis of the 1820's put even more pressure on the administration. The liberal-minded politicians pleaded for a change in the constitution. This was something Thorbecke supported and during his first (short) time as a member of the *Tweede Kamer* (House of Commons) he and a group of nine liberal fellow members proposed a constitutional revision in 1844. This attempt was not successful and during the remaining years of the 1840s Thorbecke would be active in the city council of Leiden, where he already plead for a strict division between public duties and private initiatives (Sol 1998a, 47-49, 70). In March 1848, King William II (1792-1849) appointed him to serve in a committee to revise the constitution, which was achieved almost within a month's time. According to Thorbecke this revision had a dual aim. Firstly to establish a closer relationship between the people and the public institutions. A second aim was to establish a better relation between the administrations and legislation. The Netherlands had with this new constitution become a parliamentary democracy where the male upper-class could choose their representatives directly on a state and municipal level. At the end of that year

Thorbecke was selected to serve as a member of the *Tweede Kamer* and in November 1849 he became Minister of the Interior. From this moment onward he lead three cabinets (1849-1872) and realised several important laws concerning the local and provincial governments, education and poor relief (Pots 2000, 85; Sol 1998a, 62, 66, 68; de Vries 2004, 12). As became clear in his early years he promoted a strict division between the tasks of a government and affairs that should be left to private initiative. According to Thorbecke it was the primary task of the government to safeguard the order and uphold the law. As far as other matters were concerned the state was there to create the optimal conditions for the promotion and development of independent forces (Pots 2000, 85).

Thorbecke promoted a very *laissez-faire* politics, that were to have a devastating effect on Dutch state-collections. In 1870 Thorbecke wrote the following about this subject: "... zelfstandige kracht in de provincie, gemeente, vereeniging en individu. Bevorderen, dat heet, de algemene voorwaarden scheppen, waaronder die ontwikkeling mogelijk wordt" (Pots 2000, 85). Which essentially reduced state-influence to the creation of general conditions that promoted the development of a field. In his opinion the initiative and power laid with the individual and with organisations and not with the state, but what did this mean for the *Museum of Antiquities*? The relationship between Thorbecke and the Museum already started in the days when Reuvens was director, a time when there were discussions about moving the museum to Amsterdam (Pots 2000, 86; Sol 1998a, 101). The museum took up a big part of the university's budget and it was around 1828 that there were local and national debates about the task of the university and university's collections. King William I saw the collections as an instrument to provide the Netherlands with a cultural identity, which was in line with the French policies in the beginning of the century. In light of these debates Thorbecke published *Bedenkingen over de hoogeschoolen en het academisch onderwijs* in 1828 (Reflections on the Universities and the Academic Education) with his own vision on academic education. Like the king he thought that education could be employed in the 'nation-building' of the Netherlands and could be used to create competent citizens. He thought negatively about all other university activities that were at the expense of the academic education. The university's collections, museums, botanical gardens, etc. were part of those 'other activities' and took away precious money from the educational task of the universities (Sol 1998b, 101-102, 106-107). Thorbecke was also in favour of moving the *Museum of Antiquities* to Amsterdam, because the cramped housing diminished the museums status, but also because he saw no educational task for the museum which took up a lot of administrative time (Sol 1998b, 109).

Thorbecke and other liberal politicians had a marked influence on Dutch cultural life and as the government had taken a step back. This vacuum was to be filled by the upper classes. They were of importance to the development of the arts and sciences in this period and were the forerunners in cultural developments. (OCenW 2002, 39; Pots 2000, 90; Smithuijsen 2007, 24-25) even though the Netherlands had no marked legacy of patronage (Smithuijsen 2007, 23-24). It is the Dutch *burgerij* (citizenry) that left its mark on city-life, tried to impose their values on the lower classes and shape a cultural ideal to their liking. This had its drawbacks as much of their charity was inspired by a fear of the lower classes, a fear of their alcoholism, epidemics and rebelliousness (de Vries 2004, 13). This significant influence of the *burgerij* is contradictory to the model Bennett describes in his book, where the government is the most important player.

6.3.2 The National Government and Culture

As stated before the *laissez-faire* politics that were advocated by liberal politicians had an influence on Dutch cultural life. Coming from a state-funded situation where the arts were given a prominent place in society next to the sciences, the latter were now perceived as being more important. The funding of art museums for example was cut significantly, contrary to the funding of museums with scientific collections (Pots 2000, 86). The increased power of parliament and with it, the instalment of a yearly state budget, had an influence on the museums in particular and culture in general. Culture policy was discussed at least once a year during the drawing up of the budget of the Ministry of the Interior because the museum fell under the jurisdiction of the *Afdeeling VIII voor de Kunsten en Wetenschappen* (division VIII of Arts and Sciences). It was only after 1850 that the first national policy on culture was established. This policy was to bring unity among the Dutch people (OCenW 2002, 40, 43). There were three significant debates on the relationship between the government and culture in the years 1851, 1862 and 1872 that reflect the political climate of the period (Pots 2003, 87).

The first debate was about the *Koninklijk Instituut van Wetenschappen, Letterkunde en Schoone Kunsten*. Once established with the intention of serving as a official advisory body for the national government, they now received increasing amounts of criticism (Pots 2000, 87-88). Thorbecke's ideas concerning this issue were true to his liberal concepts as he not only supported budget cuts, but even thought that government support was not acceptable at all. Arts and sciences were to function independently and should not be subject to governmental interference. In October 1851 Thorbecke decided to close down the institute and re-establish it as the *Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen* (Royal Dutch Society of Sciences). This idea caused serious discussion during the governments budgetary debates of 1852, mainly because it would only direct its attention to the promotion of math and physics and gave no attention to the 'moral interests' of the nation. Two of Thorbecke's main opponents were J.K. baron van Goltstein (1794-1872) and Guillaume Groen van Prinsterer (1801-1876)(Pots 2000, 88). According to Thorbecke, institutes would only receive funding if they were of public importance or too expensive to be sustained by private initiatives and this was to be judged by the government (Pots 2000, 89).

The second debate in 1862 was directly aimed at the relationship between the government and the arts. This would be of importance to the governmental policy on culture in general and the arts in particular. It is in this debate that Thorbecke uttered his famous idea that the government is not to judge science and art; "*De regering is 'geen oordelaar van wetenschap en kunst"* (Pots 2000, 90). Thorbecke did not want the government to create an 'official' art, but this did not mean a total governmental indifference towards culture. Outcome of this debate was that funding could be given in four different ways, according to Thorbecke: firstly to give talented youth the opportunity to travel. Secondly the government would take care of (art-) education, where this was not organised properly by local governments and private persons. Thirdly the arts could be stimulated by centralising the state collection, in the form of a 'national museum' for painting. Fourthly the government could buy paintings of still living painters, but this could only be done with the utmost caution (Pots 2000, 91-93).

The third debate in 1872, after Thorbecke's death, was instigated by Willem Wintgens (1818-1895) who thought that the *laissez-faire* politics concerning culture should be changed. In his opinion tastelessness ruled supreme because of the governments' absence in the cultural sector. This was one of the first signs that the political sentiments were changing. These sentiments were also visible within the liberal wing that did no longer hold on to the previous *laissez-faire* policy (Pots 2000, 93-94). A definite break with the governments' passive approach was made with the approving of an amendment by Samuel van Houten (1837-1930) who proposed to reserve a budget for the acquisition of buildings to accommodate the state collections (Pots 2000, 94-95). After 1870 the interest in education, arts and sciences was motivated by the idea that it was possible to create virtuous and patriotic citizens through education in its broadest sense (‘*het opstoten der natie*’). This resulted in a more active government in the last quarter of the nineteenth century (Smithuijsen 2007, 25-26).

6.4 Closing Observations on the Government-Culture relationship

As far as museums were concerned we can conclude that the Netherlands followed a different path than other European Countries. Countries like England, France and Germany established impressive museums like the *British Museum* (1753), the *National Gallery* (1824), the *Louvre* (1793), the *Altes Museum* (1830) and the *Alte* and *Neue Pinakothek* (1836 and 1853). In the Netherlands dreams of grand museum buildings that could serve to educate the public were never realised and museums often found themselves in financial difficulties. The scientific museums in Leiden (*Rijksmuseum van Natuurlijke Historie,* the *Kabinet van Archeologie,* the *Rijks Japansch Museum Von Siebold* and the *Academisch Penningkabinet*) were spared somewhat from the budget-cuts, but they were not much better off than the art museums. Officially the museums budgets were raised between 1850 and 1873 and sometimes additional money was provided for the improvement of the buildings (Pots 2000, 105, 474-475), but as we can gather from the official museum correspondence the budgets were not even enough to keep the museum building and its collection in a good condition, let alone acquire new objects on a regular basis. Interesting is the contrast between the budget of the *Museum of Antiquities* and the budget of the *Steendrukkerij* (Lithographic Printing Office) which was often much higher. This leads me to believe that the scientific task of the museum was important for the government as the *Steendrukkerij* provided the academic publications of the *Museum of Antiquities*.

The Dutch politics during the middle of the nineteenth century resulted in very poor state collections that deteriorated fast, but these dire condition of the collections were not just a result of government policy. The successors of king William I had different ideas concerning museum collections as these kings used their private collections to increase their own status. Investments in the state collection were not as important as they were before, a development that was without a doubt influenced by the separation of crown and state (Pots 2000, 106, 108). But what about the private initiative? As stated the *burgerij* was active in the cultural field (Pots 2000, 115-116) and an interest in their own past occasionally lead to the establishment of municipal museums, like in Dordrecht (1842), The Hague (1862) and Leiden (1869)(Pots 2000, 115-116). We can also see that these private initiatives were not sufficient and the political situation had a great impact on collections, especially state collections. Subsequently in a time where other countries were boosting their publics nationalistic sentiments, the Netherlands stayed behind and museum-directors were left to fend for themselves.

6.5 The City of Leiden

Leiden is one of the six *Hollandse* (High Dutch) cities, together with Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague, Haarlem and Dordrecht and dates back to the ninth century when it was just a small village (de Vries 2004, 227; Website Provinciaal Historisch Centrum).

When looking at the Leiden population in the nineteenth century there is an apparent growth from 1815 onward which is quite contrary to the 150 years of stagnation before. Like other Dutch cities this growth becomes much stronger after 1850. Between 1849 and 1899 the populations grew from around 37.000 to almost 54.000 and Leiden was one of the most densely populated cities in the Netherlands. Leiden always knew a large number of 'temporary' citizens, like students (de Vries 2004, 41, 43, 225; van der Woud 2010, 44). In the beginning of the nineteenth century Leiden was one of the biggest cities in the Netherlands, but because the population growth was less strong then in other cities, it ceased to be one of the biggest cities and subsequently its' importance declined. In the beginning of the century the city had enough room to accommodate the growing population within the seventeenth-century walls, but there was lack of a coordinating plan. Facilities like water-supply were introduced in 1878, which is relatively late. These facilities were private undertakings and therefore relied on the entrepreneurship of individuals. This was also the case for the housing and in Leiden this resulted in small, poorly built dwellings managed by small-scale slumlords. There were a few exceptions like the housing of the *Leidsche Bouwvereeniging* (the Housing Association of Leiden) that built better quality housing. Next to these accommodations for labourers, new expensive residential neighbourhoods were also established and the elite moved from their houses alongside the main canals to these neighbourhoods on the outskirts of the city. Some of the more fortunate citizens even moved out of the city entirely to the peripheral municipalities, like

Oegstgeest. The city-centre remained important with its administrative centre and many economic functions like markets, merchants' offices, but also social and cultural functions like the university, the theatre and the bars.

With the national government gaining influence, as described by Hobsbawm, the autonomous position of Leiden was reduced and the city now had to follow national laws. The government also imposed several duties on the city like health care, poor relief, educational duties and maintaining the public order. The city council was made up of Leiden's elite until the end of the nineteenth century (de Vries 2004, 33, 226). Striking were the intense conflicts in the city's administration that even erupted in violence from time to time.

Even though two thirds of the population relied on charity to survive in the beginning of the century, the rise of industry resulted in almost half of the population being employed in the (manufacturing) industry. This made Leiden a city of industry, with the textile industry being a dominant actor (Fig. 10). Industrialisation changed the city economically, but also changed trade, transportation and education. The mechanisation of the textile industry, characterised by its' many factories and factory labour, which transformed parts of the city into industrial zones. This was especially true for the northern parts of the city (de Vries 2004, 53, 227-228).

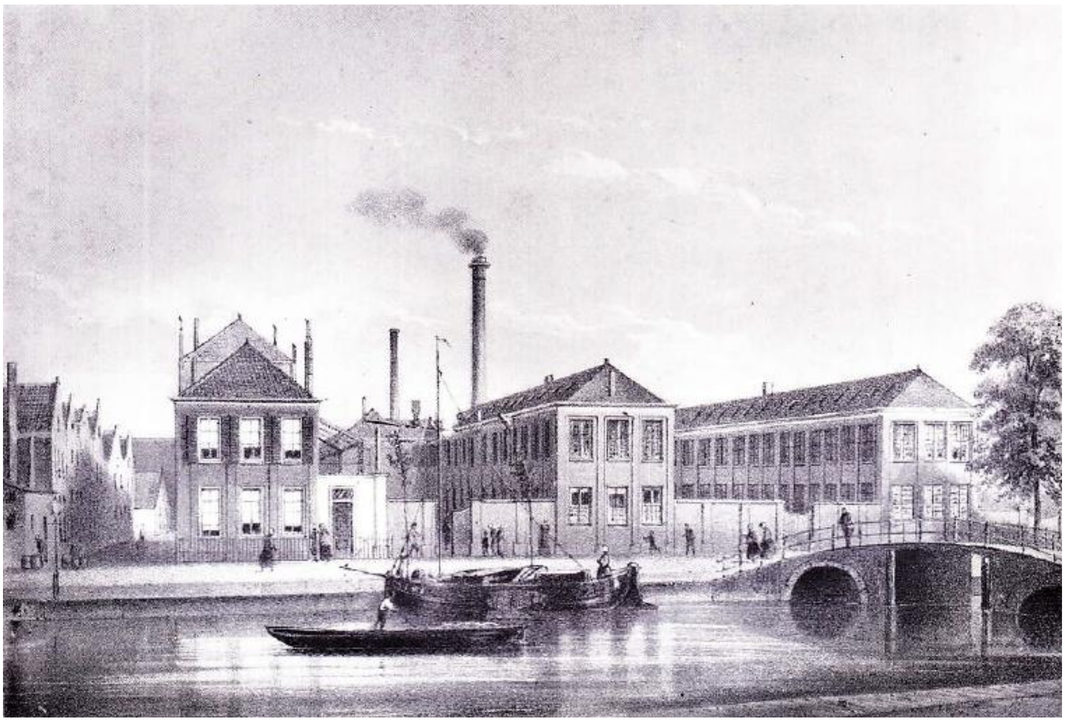


Figure 10: The Cotton Mill, around 1858 (Goddijn 1964, ill. 15)

The first steam-powered machine in Dutch textile industry, was taken in to operation in Leiden in 1816 by the company of van Heukelom, a Leiden pioneer. Weakness of the Leiden textile industry were the relatively high city-wages, compared to for example Tilburg, and this meant that the manufacturers employed high numbers of female and child labourers. Towards the end of the century the metal industry (e.g. *Nederlandse Grofsmederij*) had also become important, but these were not the only two important industries. Leiden also knew other large-scale enterprises like printing-businesses (e.g. *Sijfhoff*), bread factories (e.g. *Leidsche Broodfabriek*) and tinning factories (e.g. *Tieleman & Dros*) that flourished in the second half of the century (de Vries 2004, 26, 53, 64, 227-228; Website Historische Canon van Leiden). The powerful entrepreneurs and the presence of a lot of cheap labourers resulted in gruelling long working-days (six days a week of at least twelve hours were standard) and unsatisfactory salaries. The organised labour movement developed quite late, contrary to cities like Amsterdam, even though there were regular strikes because of the low wages since 1870. Resistance manifested itself mainly on an individual level, for example by leaving employment. Organised labour-movements that were established initially focussed on health insurance funds mainly for the skilled labourer and the craftsman. The entrepreneurs and manufacturers were better organised and had more influence than the working class, aside from some intense uprisings (de Vries 2004, 79, 228).

The populations' demographics did not change significantly, even though industrialisation had set in. There was a strict social separation between the three classes, but also a strict separation between the different religions. Inequality was normal and social climbing was difficult, more so because of the distrust between the classes. It was thought that poverty was the result of a bad lifestyle and during the nineteenth century much initiatives were undertaken to 'elevate' the lower classes through civilization. There was a very small upper-class (some 250 heads of the household) of manufacturers, merchants, professors and professions like lawyers, apothecaries, doctors and people of private means, but Leiden had considerably less extremely rich people, like for example Amsterdam, and the nobility had largely disappeared from the city. The middle classes had almost ten times the numbers of the upper-class. This middle-class was not a homogenous group, just like the lower classes they knew a large variety of lifestyles. In the middle class one could find in the upper sub-layer: the smaller manufacturers, merchants of medium range, teachers and executive employees. The lower sub-layer was made up out of *ambachtsbazen* (overseers), shop-owners and other self-employed people, lower office employees, accountants and clerks and most of the 1500 soldiers that were stationed in Leiden. They were stationed in among others: the *Doelen*-barracks near the museum (Fig. 11) and the barracks near the Morsch-gate. The lowest class can be broadly divided in two big groups: the skilled craftsmen opposed to the unskilled workers and hand-labourers. But there was also a large group of paupers, who made up nine percent of the population around the middle of the century (de Vries 2004, 85-86, 91, 95, 105, 229; Website Legerplaats).

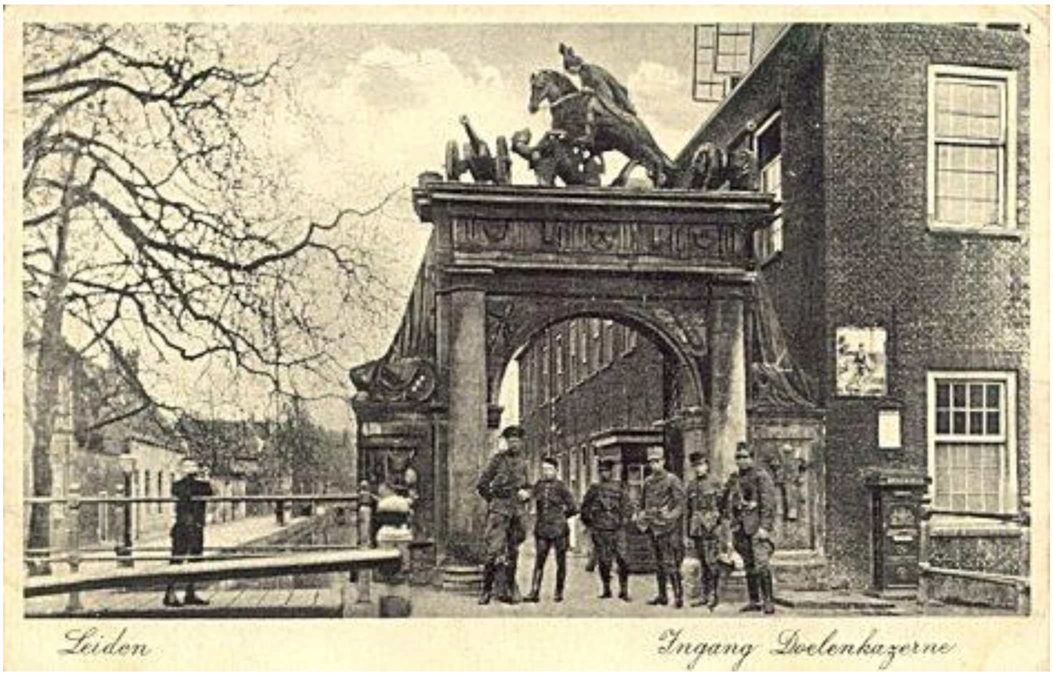


Figure 11: Entrance of the *Doelen*-barracks (Website Legerplaats)

For these people there was poor relief which helped them survive, but simultaneously helped the upper-classes influence them and aided in the neutralisation of some of the threats the lower-class posed. The poor relief was organised by a few organisations like the municipal government and church-communities (de Vries 2004, 105, 229). Of special importance were the ‘civilising offensives’ of the churches that promoted virtues like industry, moderation and prudence. This development was visible in the whole of the Netherlands and not just in Leiden. The churches stayed important not only in the field of poor relief, but also remained influential in the field of education even though the government got involved more and more. Education improved all over the Netherlands through legislation, the construction of school-buildings and the enhanced instruction of teachers. Leiden was of importance for the *Kweekschoolonderwijs* (teachers college). The university also played a role with the establishment of the *Volksbibliotheek* (people’s library) (de Vries 2004, 229).

The nineteenth century was the century of the *burgerij*, even though this development already started in the eighteenth century. The *burgerij* became influential in administration, economy and cultural life. Like in other cities, they had their own organisations for their amusement, but also established many philanthropic societies, organisations that battled alcoholism, Sunday schools and public reading rooms for the development of the lower classes (de Vries 2004, 229, 231).

Because of the fast changes that were taking place, especially in the second half of the century, citizens of Leiden developed an interest in their own past, their municipal past to be more specific. Examples of these sentiments can be found in the opening of a municipal museum in 1874 (the *Lakenhal*) and the celebration of *Leids Ontzet* (a commemoration of the end of the Spanish occupation)(de Vries 2004, 231).

6.6 Correlation of the Empirical Research and the Dutch State of Affairs

As can be gathered from the annual reports, the education of the working-class man only became a topic of interest as the 1850s were nearing their end. Before this change in attitude, the museum was largely occupied with their budget and museum-building, which were both in a poor state. Both problems can be correlated with the dire economic situation of the Netherlands, the museum losing its patron in the person of the king and the Netherlands becoming a parliamentary democracy with the liberal politicians and their *laissez-faire* politics firmly in control. This all took place in a period, where the use of university collections was questioned anyway. So we can conclude that this period was a very troublesome one, if one was a museum director and is not in sync with the developments Bennett has described in his book. These pressing issues can also be recognised in the official correspondence, which was largely concerned with the practicalities of running a museum. It also became clear that the use of the museum by the lower classes was only actively promoted towards the end of the 1850s as the museum opened its doors the all visitors everyday and an invitation was no longer required. The scientific task of the museum was prime importance and supports the claims that were made in the *Teyler Museum* symposium-publication that scientists were an important target audience. The idea of the museum as a governmental instrument, as promoted by Bennett, who in turn used Foucaults' ideas to build his argument, is not clearly visible in the Netherlands in the middle of the nineteenth century. It is however visible in the politics of King William I. The idea of the museum as a way to promote the (scientific glory of the) nation, wherein we can recognise Hobsbawm's ideas, were present throughout the century, but only lead to an active cultural politics towards the end.

As we turn to the visitor-books we can see a dominance of the upper-class, with the middle-class as a good second. Bourdieu's ideas of social distinction spring to mind instantly. Was the museum a place where the wealthy people dwelled and the lower classes did not and why does this seem to be the case? Was this because of the strict division of the classes present in Leiden in particular and society in general and a general mistrust between the classes? I would say this was partly true, but it must not be forgotten that the opportunity for the lower classes to visit the museum were very slim in the first half of the century because of their demanding six-day workweek. The *Museum of Antiquities* did not seem to be a symbol of the middle-class, as Nys sees in the Belgian museums, but rather a shared institute between the upper echelons of society. The presence of the large groups of soldiers can be attributed to the close distance between several barracks and the museum, which were located at a short walking-distance from each other. The large number of working class citizens that were present in Leiden were however not accounted for in the visitor demographic of 1851.

In short, the museum did for some time remain an institute of the upper-classes on a conscious and unconscious level and this only changed later in the century as did the Dutch society. We then see a shift in the government as well as the upper classes who began to take more responsibility for the poor and tried to lighten their lives somewhat through legislation and private initiatives.

7. Conclusions

This thesis was born out of my own interest in the nineteenth century and a research question from the *Museum of Antiquities* regarding a period that had been somewhat forgotten: the middle of the nineteenth century. My hopes are that this study will lead to new insights into the museums' history and subsequently also shed some new light on the history of the discipline of archaeology since the two were closely intertwined in that period. In these conclusions I will first restate my main question and aims of this study. Secondly I will reflect on my methodology and thirdly I will discuss my results. I will also add some concluding remarks on subsequent research.

I posed the following research question:

"Does the nineteenth-century Dutch government, in agreement with the museum director, see the *Museum of Antiquities* as an instrument of social reform and as such place itself in a broader European trend as described by Tony Bennett in his book *The Birth of the Museum*."

In order to answer this question I studied the period of 1840-1870 through the archival material of the *Museum of Antiquities*. I have consulted an array of documents including the museums' annual reports, the register of official correspondence, some personal correspondence of director Conrad Leemans and the visitor books from the museum. By studying these documents I tried to find out what issues were of importance to the museum and see if the topic of social reform was one of them. I wanted know if there was any correspondence about this topic and if so, whether an interest in the subject got translated into museum policies. I also wanted to find out who actually visited the museum. Were all three classes in society represented or was there a class that was over- or under-represented? Was the museum a governmental instrument to instil some 'decency' in the people from the lower classes and was it used as a symbol of national pride, like in other European countries? But before I could answer these core-questions I had to establish a framework wherein it would become clear what other research had already been done on this subject and which theoretical models were of importance for it and applied to it. I also wanted to give an outline of the Dutch political and social situation and see if I could correlate the empirical research to it.

As far as my methodology is concerned, I am fairly pleased. As can be deducted from the studies by Liesbeth Nys and the studies presented in the *Teyler Museum* Symposium, our methodology was similarly based on archival research apart from the fact that they have used more sources. Nys for example studied annual reports of museums, museum rules & regulations and visitor-records, but she also used meeting-reports of the museum-committees and their correspondence, archives on city and national level, nineteenth century magazines, museum catalogues, visitor-guides, travel-guides and visual sources. The same is true for the studies in the *Teyler Museum* Symposium. Part of the reasons not being able to study as much documentation was because of the limited amount of time that is set to complete a MA-thesis. The fact that I am a novice in the study of hand-written documentation also had a serious impact on my study and has limited the amount of documents I could read within the time given. It was as a result of these time-constraints that I have not studied a second year of the visitor books, in order to see if a change in demographics could be identified, nor have I been able to study the private correspondence of the (Second) Curator Janssen or other correspondence which could have shed more light on the subject. In conclusion I can say the methodology I chose was successful but not sufficient to get to grips with the whole theme which was much broader than anticipated, although I doubt such a theme could ever be studied as a whole in this limited timeframe.

How did the government and the museum director see the task of the museum? Was it intended as an institute of social reform or not? As we look at the data before us we can conclude that those ideas were present, although more explicitly towards the end of the 1850s. The museum as a promoter of the (scientific) glory of the Dutch nation was a first and foremost concern for the director. The data from the annual reports support this as the working class is only explicitly mentioned as potential visitors of the museum, who could educate themselves and spend a free day in a useful manner, from the 1860s onwards. The same can be concluded when reading the official correspondence where the main themes are the inadequate funding and housing. A lot of the museum's problems can be traced back to the political and social situation of the Netherlands. The war against Belgium and the economical problems that followed combined with a passive government were the two main negative factors for culture in the Netherlands. The conclusions from the study of the visitor books only add to this picture as the upper-class is clearly a dominant group of visitors compared to the lower-class. The lower classes not visiting the museum as much was most probably a combination of a lack of opportunity and a social separation between the classes. The museum seemed to be a part of a sphere where the upper-classes 'resided'. Was the museum an institute that would lead the lower classes, in the words of Sir Henry Cole, to 'wisdom, gentleness and heaven'? As we have seen the sentiments were certainly existing and gaining popularity as time passed. We can recognise it in Samuel Birch, king William I and later on in Leemans himself, but it only gained broad support in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. My conclusion would thus be that the idea of the museum as a means of social reform, which was widely supported at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, should not be transferred back in time that easily and should be utilized with a bit more nuance and caution.

I have learned from this study that this subject was much broader than first anticipated and has generated at least as much questions as it has answered. My main suggestions for subsequent research are threefold. First of all I would study the visitor demographics of a second year after Sunday became a day of general opening, for example 1870. Furthermore it would be interesting to explore whether the days of general opening attracted the same amount of upper-class people as the more restricted opening days. Secondly I would investigate if the museum produced products like catalogues or information leaflets for the visitors. If so, where these scientific in nature or could they be understood by laymen as well. Tied up with these questions are issues like the display of the objects, their labelling and positioning. Thirdly, in order to do justice to such a broad subject I would encompass other archives in the future research like those of the government and the university.

Abstract

This study investigates the task of the *Museum of Antiquities* in the nineteenth century. The aim of this research was to see if the Netherlands would fit into the international museological developments as presented by Tony Bennett in his book *The Birth of the Museum.* Several publications have been reviewed on this subject in order to explore how this relatively new branch within the museum studies is researched. A theoretical framework has been outlined with two main theorists on which this historical visitor-research usually rests: Michel Foucault's work on power relations and Pierre Bourdieu's work on class distinction. The work of Eric Hobsbawm on nationalism and nation-states has been added as a third main theoretical thread. The empirical research has been carried out on several different types of archival documents of the *Museum of Antiquities* to answer the main research question. This is embedded in a short history of the *Museum of Antiquities*. As a comparison a short history is added of the *British Museum* and their interaction with the public. The outcome of this study indicates that the Dutch museological development in the nineteenth century was not the same as described by Bennett in his book. In order to account for this deviant outcome a chapter on the political and social situations of the Netherlands in general and of the city of Leiden in particular has been added.

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Appendices

1. Annual report of 1840

MUSEUM VAN OUDHEDEN TE LEYDEN.

Schoon de omstandigheden voor het in orde brengen en uitbreiden van de verschillende afdeelingen der verzameling nog ongunstig bleven, werd echter in het verloopen jaar, zoo veel mogelijk, voortgegaan met het schikken der voorwerpen, en kon sedert de maand Mei wederom eene zaal, n°. VIII, ter algemeene bezigtiging opengesteld worden. Deze zaal, die even als de vorige van den rijkdom der verzameling getuigt, bevat de ETRURISCHE, GRIEKSCHE, ROMEINSCHE en GERMAANSCHE *Bronzen*, *beschilderde* en *onbeschilderde vazen*, en *beeldjes van gebakken aarde*, *glaswerk* en *verschillend huisraad*. Aan de noordzijde zijn de Germaansche en Noordsche voorwerpen geplaatst; verder regts af voortgaande, ziet men langs de overige wanden de Etrurische, Grieksche en Romeinsche vazen en potten, benevens de beeldjes en andere voorwerpen van gebakken aarde (onder deze laatsten pannen en tegels met opschriften en merken), vazen, kommen, schotels en fleschjes van glas; tegen den voorgevel van het gebouw, de beroemde verzameling van *Etrurische bronzen* in den omtrek van *Cortona* door de gebroeders *Corazzi* verzameld, en weleer een sieraad dier stad. Verder tegen den westelijken wand en in eenen daarbij staande grooten lessenaar, de overige bronzen beelden en ander huisraad van Etrurischen, Griekschen en Romeinschen oorsprong, een groot aantal Grieksche beschilderde vazen, grootendeels uit de eilanden van den Griekschen Archipel, en eenige uitgezochte stukken uit de voorwerpen, bij de opdelving onder de leiding van den hoogleeraar Reuvens, op Arentsburgh, gevonden. In het midden van de zaal bevinden zich in eene kast met twee lessenaars, van alle kanten zigtbaar en toegankelijk: in de kast, de Etrurische en Grieksche beschilderde vazen, eene afdeeling die uit de aankoopen, door de heeren Humbert en Rottiers gedaan, daargesteld was geworden, doch die uit de opbrengst der opdelvingen bij Tripoli, door jonkheer Clifford Kock van Breugel ondernomen, en vooral uit den aankoop van de verzameling des Prinsen van *Canino*, haren voornamen rijkdom heeft gekregen, en reeds buitenlandsche geleerden, die zich met de beoefening van dien tak der oudheidkunde bij voorkeur onledig houden, genoegzaam belangstelling inboezemden, om Leyden gedurende eenigen tijd te komen bezoeken. In de aan deze kast verbonden lessenaars zijn eenige beschilderde Etrurische en Grieksche schalen gerangschikt, benevens een groot aantal lampjes van gebakken aarde, zoo in Griekenland en Italie als op de N. kust van Afrika en elders gevonden; eene verzameling die door verscheidenheid van voorstelling en kunstbewerking, zoo wel als door de op menige lamp ingedrukte merken, waaronder twee zelfs in Carthaagsche karakters, bijzonder opmerkzaamheid verdient. Twee modellen van Etrurische graven, in kurk nagebootst, geven eenig denkbeeld, op welke wijze de beschilderde vazen en andere voorwerpen bij het lijk van den overledene gevonden worden.

Eindelijk zijn, ter vergelijking, alle de onechte of verdachte bronzen die het Museum bezit, bij elkander in eene kast insgelijks in deze zaal geplaatst, en ziet men in diezelfde kast eenige kunstvoorwerpen, benevens de schedels en beenderen van Romeinen, wier graven door den heer Humbert in het gebied van Carthago geopend werden, benevens het geraamte dat op Arentsburgh is opgedolven.

Wanneer de middelen dit toelaten, zal waarschijnlijk in den loop van dit jaar wederom eene zaal in orde gebragt, en ter bezigtiging opengesteld kunnen worden.

Door aankoop is de verzameling in het verloopen jaar alleen met eenige Romeinsche *tegels* met legioenmerken en een groot fragment van een looden pijp vermeerderd geworden.

Door geschenken van eenige milde begunstigers der oudheidkunde ontvingen wij wederom onderscheidene belangrijke bijdragen.

Bij de afdeeling der ROMEINSCHE voorwerpen, van den heer *de Ruuck*, te Arnhem, een groot vrouwen-hoofd van gebakken aarde, bij het huis De Plak, te Bemmel, en eenige munten te Ubbergen en te Nijmegen gevonden.

Bij de afdeeling der GERMAANSCHE en NOORDSCHE oudheden, van den Generaal-Majoor Rottiers, aan wiens ijver en zorg het Museum het bezit van zoo vele Grieksche kunststukken te danken heeft, een bronzen Goden-beeldtje, in den omtrek van Aken gevonden.

Van den heer P. O. P. Guyot, te Nijmegen, eene allerbelangrijkste verzameling van bronzen en andere voorwerpen bij Deurne, in de provincie Noord-Braband, opgedolven, en die voor het grootste gedeelte door den heer Ritmeester Baron van Voorst bijeengebragt, en aan den heer Guyot afgestaan waren. Door deze aanzienlijke aanwinst, vereenigd met de urnen en andere voorwerpen, waarvan wij in onze vorige berigten (*Staats-Courant* 1838 *en* 1839) gewaagden, is het Museum thans in het bezit gesteld van de voornaamste en zeldzaamste stukken, die bij de ontdekking te Deurne gedaan, voor den dag zijn gekomen, en die, langs verschillende wegen, eindelijk wederom bij elkander gebragt, een geheel vormen, dat tot de kennis van een der oude volksstammen, die vroeger ons land bewoonden, eene zoo onverwachte als aanzienlijke bijdrage leveren kan. In den *Konst- en Letterbode* 1838, Mei. pag. 379 – 395, zijn de meeste der voorwerpen door den heer Conservator Dr. Janssen, beschreven.

Eindelijk heeft nog de Utrechtsche Hoogleeraar Dr. *J. Ackersdijk*, de twee Primstaven met Runenkalenders, die door Zijn Hooggeleerde vroeger bij het Museum in bewaring waren gegeven, thans aan het Museum ten geschenke afgestaan.

In ons laatste berigt (*Staats-Courant* 1840, n°. 64) gaven wij onze hoop te kennen, dat de toen pas daargestelde afdeeling der AMERIKAANSCHE oudheden, ook door de medewerking van den heer van Lansbergen, uitgebreid zou kunnen worden. Spoedig reeds, mogten wij onzen wensch vervuld zien, en erlangde deze afdeeling van denzelfden heer, nog vóór zijn vertrek naar Amerika, eene nieuwe aanwinst in een aantal beeldjes (een gouden, een bronzen en twee van gebakken aarde), een zeer fraaijen steenen wigge of zoogenoemden donder-bijtel, fragmenten van halssieraden, spinsteentjes, steentjes van vischnetten, en een kommetje uit talksteen gehouwen. De nadere berigten die door den heer van Lansbergen bij zijn geschenk gevoegd zijn, brengen niet weinig bij, om daarvan de belangrijkheid te verhoogen.

Nog mogen wij ons verheugen met het vooruitzigt van eerlang voor de afdeeling der INDISCHE gedenkstukken, die door hare zeldzaamheid en haren rijkdom, reeds een der grootste sieraden van het Museum uitmaakt, vermeerderd te zien met de Javaansche beelden, die sedert eenige jaren te Amsterdam, bij de IIIde klasse van het Koninklijk Nederlandsche Instituut bewaard werden, en door wijlen den hoogleeraar Reuvens, in zijne Verhandeling *over drie groote steenen beelden, in den jare* 1819 *uit Java naar de Nederlanden overgezonden*, beschreven zijn. Door haar voorstel, om deze beelden naar het Museum van Oudheden te verplaatsen, heeft de IIIde klasse van het Instituut zich eene nieuwe aanspraak verworven op de dankbaarheid van allen, wie belangelooze pogingen ter bevordering en uitbreiding der wetenschappen op prijs weten te stellen.

De belangrijke oudheidkundige ontdekkingen bij Nijmegen gedaan, bij gelegenheid der practische oefeningen van het korps *mineurs* en *sappeurs*, zullen eerstdaags insgelijks eenen nieuwen schat aan het Museum voor de afdeeling der ROMEINSCHE oudheden toevoeren.

afdeeling der ROMEINSCHE oudheden toevoeren.

Behalve het boven opgenoemde werd de verzameling ook nog vermeerderd met drie kostbare en belangrijke plaatwerken, die door naauwkeurige afbeeldingen bij de oorspronkelijke voorwerpen van het Museum, tot aanvulling en vergelijking eene nuttige gelegenheid aanbieden; een voorregt des te hooger te waarderen, dewijl het aankoopen van zulke kostbare boekwerken voor bijzondere of openlijke boekverzamelingen, hoogstbezwarend, dikwerf onmogelijk is. Van de Fransche regering werden voor het Museum de eerste 20 afleveringen ten geschenke gegeven, van de *Monumens de l'Egypte et de la Nubie, d'après les dessins exécutés sous la direction de Champollion le jeune.*

Van het bestuur des Koninklijken Museums te Berlijn ontvingen wij: *Coupes Grecques et Etrusques du Musée Royal de Berlin*, publiées par E. Gerhard, en

Van de heeren *de Witte* en *Lenormant* te Parijs de 20 eerste afleveringen der door hen gezamenlijk uitgegeven *Céramographie ancienne.*

Dit laatste geschenk was een gevolg van de voorwaarde, waarop vrijheid verleend wordt, om voorwerpen van het Museum in druk bekend te maken.

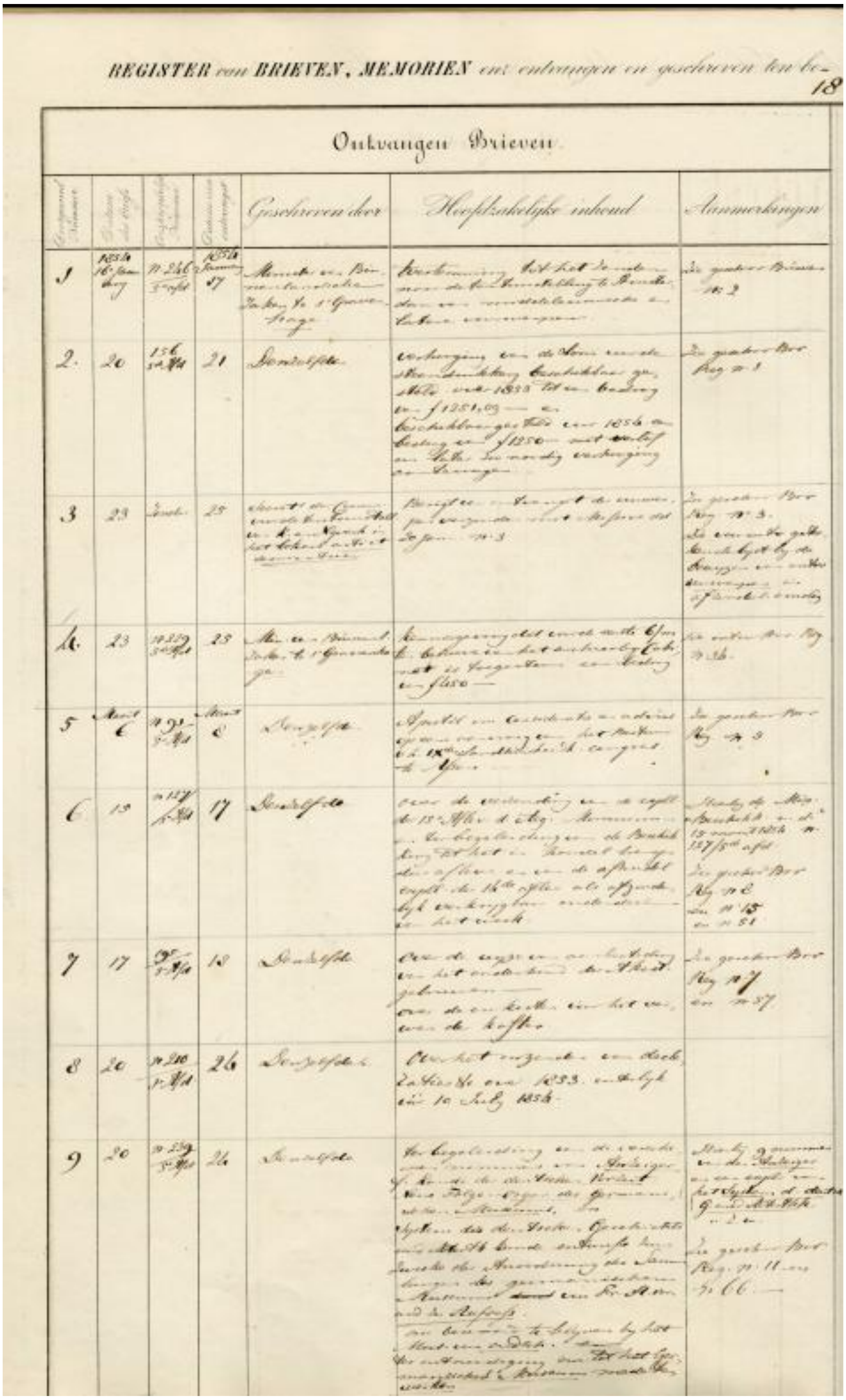
Met het vervaardigen van den catalogus is, zoo veel dit de schikking en plaatsing der voorwerpen gedoogde, voortgegaan. Die der Aegyptische monumenten is onder den titel van: *Description raisonnée des monumens Egyptiens du Musée d'Antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leide*, chez H. W. Hazenberg et Comp. (XVI et 314 pages 8°.), door Dr. C. Leemans zamengesteld en uitgegeven, te gelijk met een kort overzigt over den inhoud dier afdeeling in de Nederduitsche taal.

Van de Germaansche en Noordsche afdeeling stelde de Conservator Dr. L. J. F. Janssen eene beschrijving, die onder den titel van de *Germaansche en Noordsche monumenten van het Museum te Leyden*, bij *S. en J. Luchtmans* (70 bladz. en 2 platen, in 8°.) het licht zag; en werden door denzelfde ook nog de Etrurische opschriften des Museums, onder den titel van: *Musei Lugduno-Batavi Inscriptiones Etruscae* en *Additamentum Inscriptionum Etruscarum Musei Lugduno-Batavi*, met 5 platen in 4°., insgelijks bij S. en J. Luchtmans bekend gemaakt. Eindelijk werd van de *Ægyptische monumenten van het Nederlandsche Museum van Oudheden, uitgegeven op last der hooge regering*, door Dr. C. Leemans, bij H. W. Hazenberg en Comp., in folio, de 2de aflevering afgedrukt en aan de weinige inteekenaars, die zich tot nog toe voor dit werk opdeden, toegezonden.

Zoo is dan wederom in dit jaar, door ieder in zijne betrekking, zoo veel mogelijk toegebragt, om de verzameling van oudheden te verrijken, en den toegang tot en het gebruik van hare gedenkstukken gemakkelijker te maken. Mogen ook voor het vervolg velen zich aangespoord gevoelen, om daartoe mede te werken! De belangstelling in de inrigting zelve blijkt uit het groote aantal van zoo wel buiten- als inlandsche bezoekers, terwijl de wederom aangewakkerde liefde voor oudheidkundig onderzoek kenbaar wordt, in zoo vele ontdekkingen, die het gevolg waren van opzettelijke navorschingen in verschillende gedeelten van ons vaderland, maar vooral in Gelderland ondernomen of voortgezet. Blijke die belangstelling dan ook in dit jaar door eene ruime en milde toezending van oudheidkundige voorwerpen, het zij ter bewaring, het zij om die bij het Museum in voortdurend eigendom te bezitten. Dergelijke bijdragen zijn ook offers die men op het altaar der vaderlandsliefde nederlegt, en waardoor men, met den bloei van de verzameling zelve, tevens den wetenschappelijken roem van het vaderland bevorderen zal.

De Directeur van het Museum van Oudheden,
C. LEEMANS.

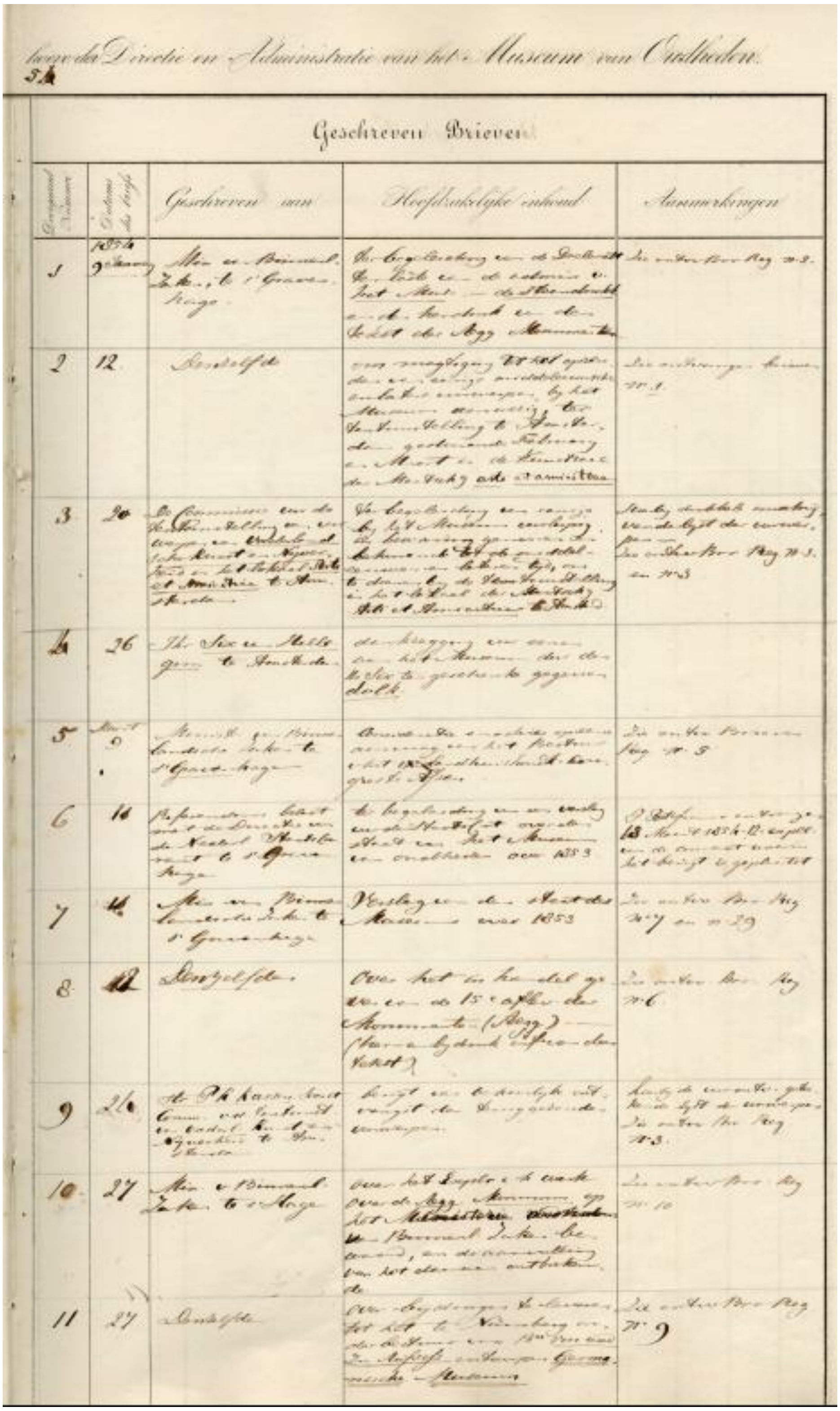
2. Letter register 1854, left page


REGISTER van BRIEVEN, MEMORIEN enz. ontvangen en geschreven ten be- 18

Ontvangen Brieven

Geschreven door | Hoofdzakelijke inhoud | Aanmerkingen

Letter register 1854, right page



3. Transcription of the approved visitor rules of 20 August 1838

Concept der voorwaarden en bepalingen waarop het Mus. v. Oudheden voor het publiek ter bezigtiging zal worden opengesteld en waarop een wetenschappelijk gebruik der voorwerpen daarin vervat zal kunnen gemaakt worden.

1. Het Museum van Oudheden zal des dingsdags, donderdags en zaturdags, van morgens 11. tot s' namiddags 4 ure, voor ieder bezoeker, welke zich behoorlijk gekleed daartoe aanmeldt, ter bezigtiging open staan

2. Het is den custos van het museum en verdere bedienden verboden, eenige fooi of belooning hoegenaamd van de bezoekers op deze uren van algemeene bezigtiging te ontvangen.

3. De bezoekers zullen wandelstokken, regen- of zonneschermen in het voorhuis op eene daartoe geschikte plaats achterlaten, en voor zoo verre het groote aantal zulks noodzakelijk mogt maken daarvoor bewijzen ontvangen tegen welke zij bij het verlaten van het museum, het hun toebehoorende terug kunnen bekomen. Zoo een bediende daarbij voor het een en ander ter bewaring is aangesteld, zal deeze daarvoor een kleine beloning mogen ontvangen.

4. Er zal en boek bij den ingang voor handen zijn in het welk de bezoekers, of een derzelven die zich daardoor voor het bij hem bevindende gezelschap verantwoordelijk stelt, gehouden zijn namen en woonplaatsen op te teekenen.

5. Op woensdag, vrijdag van 11-4 en zondag van 12-4 zullen bezigtigers worden toegelaten, na alvorens daartoe een door den eerste of tweede conservator onderteekend toegangsbillet bekomen te hebben.

6. Het zal alsdan aan den custos of andere bedienden geoorloofd zijn, van de bezoekers eene belooning te ontvangen.

7. Buitelanders zullen door den custos ook vóór en ná de hierboven gemelde uren van 1^0 April tot 1^0 October van des morgens 7 tot avonds 7, en gedurende de overige maanden van des morgens 9 tot s' namiddags 4 ure worden rondgeleid.

8. Aan zulke personen welke ter eigene oefening of van andere wetenschappelijke oogmerken herhaaldelijk of gedurende eenigen tijd achtereenvolgend van de verzameling wenschen gebruik te maken, zal op gemeenschappelijk overleg der beide conservatoren, een door de eersten, of bij deszelfs, afwezendheid door de tweeden conservator onderteekend bewijs van toegang kunnen worden afgegeven.

9. Zij aan welke zulk een verlof verleend is geworden, ontvangen, hetzelve onder voorwaarde van zonder nadere bestemming geene voorwerpen van het museum in druk of in plaat uittegeven; en verbinden zich, bij aldien zij tot zulks eene uitgave toestemming verkregen zullen hebben, van het werk waarin de afgeschrevene of afgeteekende stukken zullen voorkomen, een exemplaar aan het museum ten geschenke te doen toekomen.

10. Des maandags, het geheele jaar door, en verder zoo dikwerf zulks door tusschenkomende omstandigheden nodig zal geacht worden zal het museum volstrekt gesloten blijven, en alleen bij buitengewone gevallen aan enkele personen door de conservatoren den toegang verleend worden.

4. Letter of Samuel Birch, 1 May 1847

British Museum
1. May. 1847

2

My dear Sir
I am desirous of knowing the state and condition
of the Museum at Leyden which I have often proposed
to myself the pleasure of visiting. I am acquainted with
your Egyptian Collection through your catalogue, and am
aware of the existence of a Roman Collection through the
catalogues of M. Janssen. As it is generally supposed
that a Royal Commission has been appointed to enquire
into the state of the British Museum; and the rela-
tive organization of the Museum compared with that of
others will be taken into consideration, in respect to
suggestions for future, ameliorations, or alterations
I am desirous of obtaining all the information I can
upon the subject. I will arrange my inquiries in the form
of answers as more convenient.

Dr. Conrad Leemans.

1. When was the Museum of Antiquities at Leyden founded and with what object?

2. Of what do the Collections consist - of Egyptian Babylonian - Greek Roman and medieval antiquities? Is there any separate collection of Antiquities found in Holland?

3. What plan is adopted for the cataloguing - or registration of objects purchased or presented?

4. From what funds and by whom are purchases made?

5. Are all objects labelled so as to instruct the public what they are - is the name of the Donor always added?

6. What principle of arrangement is adopted? Are the larger objects arranged artistically i. e to suit the eye - or classed according to their use and employment - or placed chronologically so as to give a history of art?

7. What are the catalogues, and publications of the Museum?

8. What are the rules for the admission of visitors – can any one enter the Museum on public days?

9. Has the institution of the Museum exerted any marked social influence on the country – in the creation of learned men – or in the amelioration of public morals?

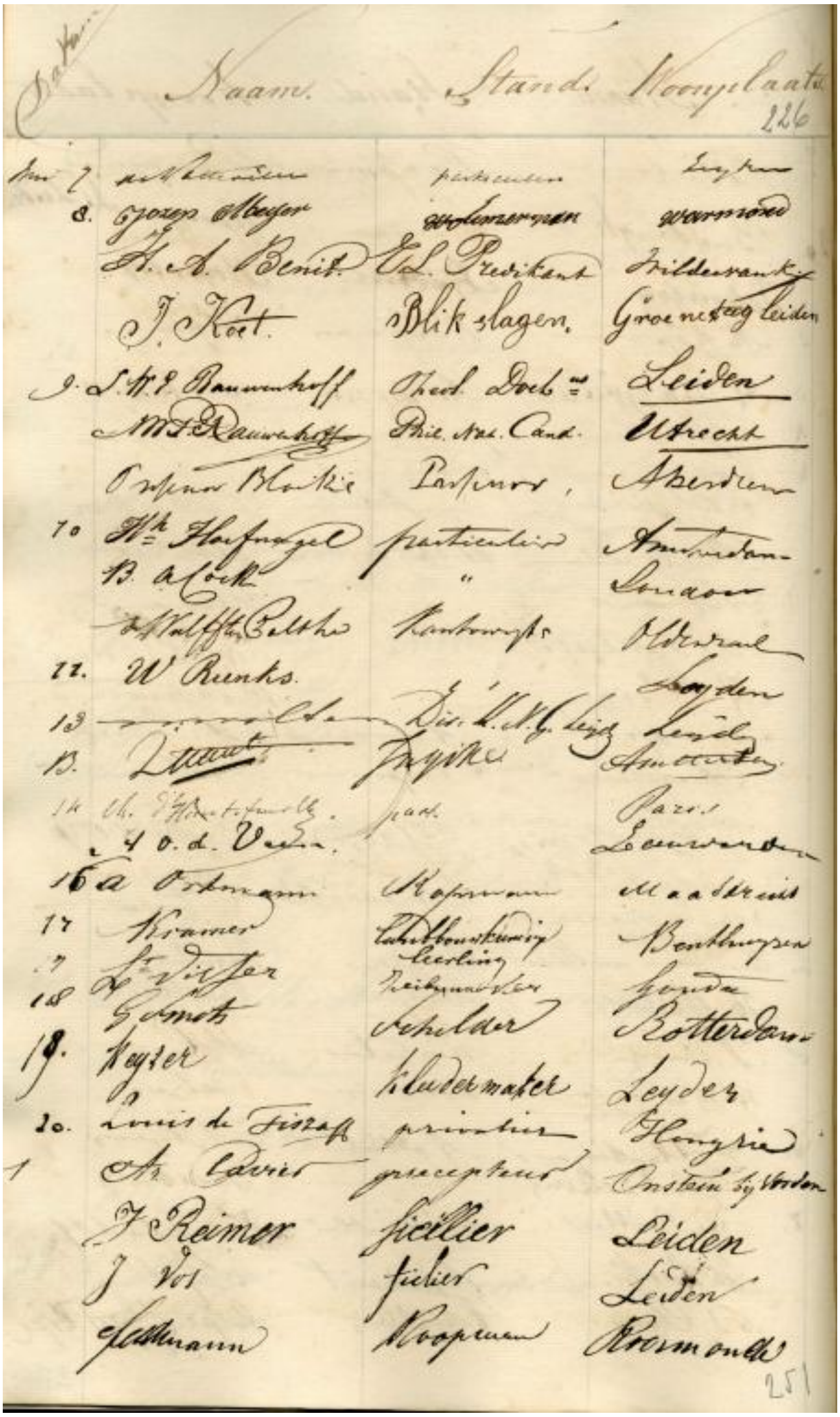
10. How many officers, attendants &c: are employed – their salaries – the general expenses of the of the Establishment?

11. Under whom is the government of the whole Museum placed?

12. What are the duties – hours of attendance vacations – privileges of the officers?

13. Your own opinion as far as you are acquainted of the department of Antiquities of the British Museum – the desireability or not of having a Museum of Antiquities unconnected with the Library – and any suggestions for our improvement. Believe me Yours Very Sincerely [illegible]

5. Example from the visitor books of 1851, left page



Datum	Naam.	Stand.	Woonplaats 226
[illegible] 7	[illegible]	particulier	[illegible]
8.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	H. A. Benit	Ev.L. Predikant	Wilderwank
	J. Koet	Blikslagen.	Groenesteeg Leiden
9.	J. W. E. Rauwenhoff	Theol. Doct.	Leiden
	N. W. P. Rauwenhoff	Phil. Nat. Cand.	Utrecht
	[illegible] Blackie	Professor,	Aberdeen
10	Wm Hofnagel	particulier	Amsterdam
	B. a Cock	"	London
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
11.	W Reenks		Leyden
13	[illegible]	Dir. [illegible]	Leiden
13.	[illegible]	[illegible]	Amsterdam
14	[illegible]	past.	Parys
	A v.d. V[illegible]		Leeuwarden
16	A Ortmann	Koopman	Maastricht
17	Kramer	[illegible] leerling	[illegible]
17	L. Visser	Teekenmeester	Gouda
18	G Smits	Schilder	Rotterdam
19.	Keyser	Kleedermaker	Leyden
20.	Louis de [illegible]	particulier	Hongrie
1	A. [illegible]	precepteur	[illegible]
	J. Reimer	[illegible]	Leiden
	J Vos	[illegible]	Leiden
	[illegible]mann	Koopman	Roermond

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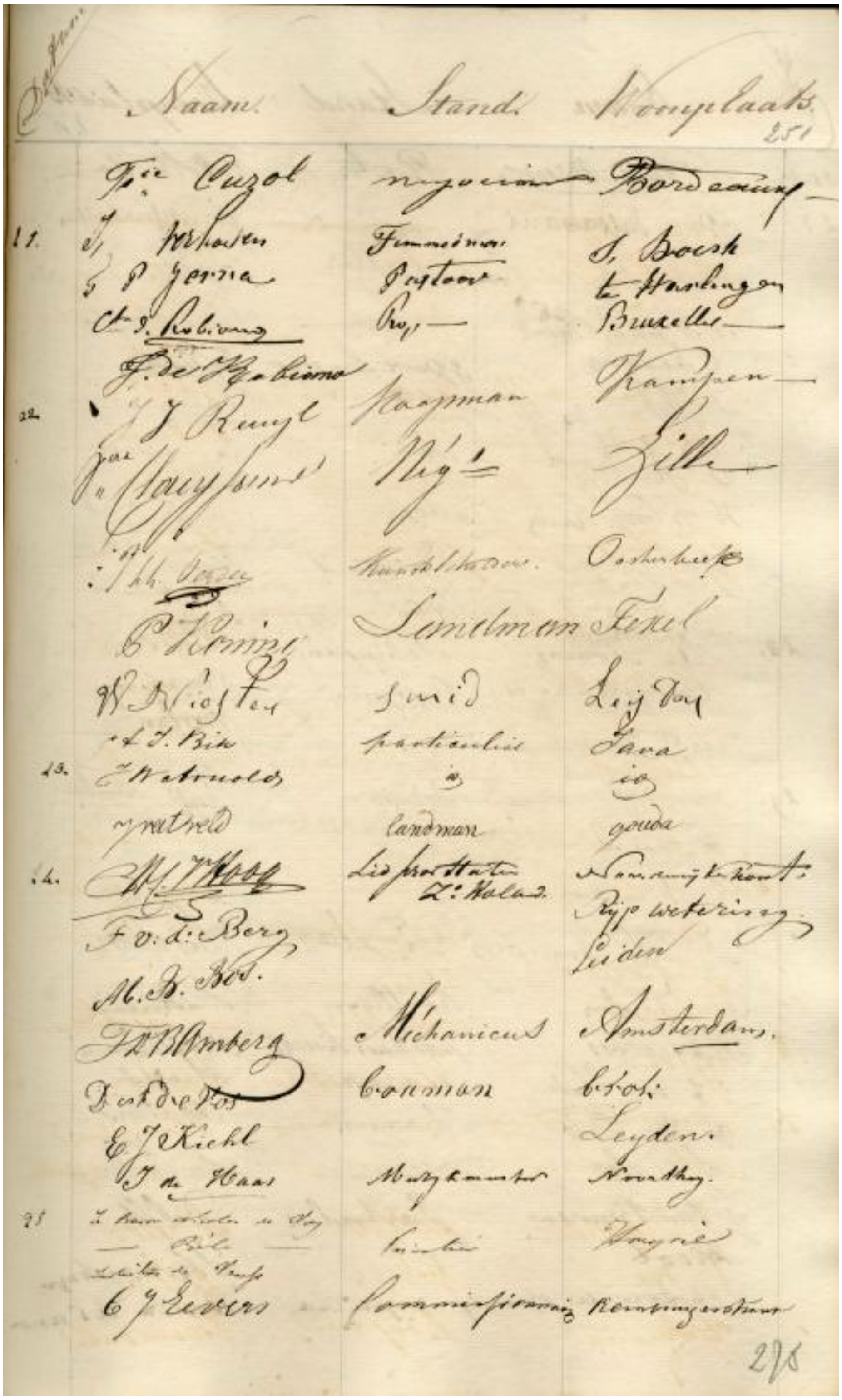
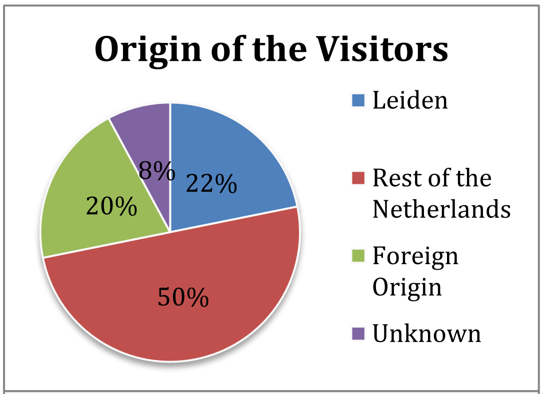
Example from the visitor books of 1851, right page

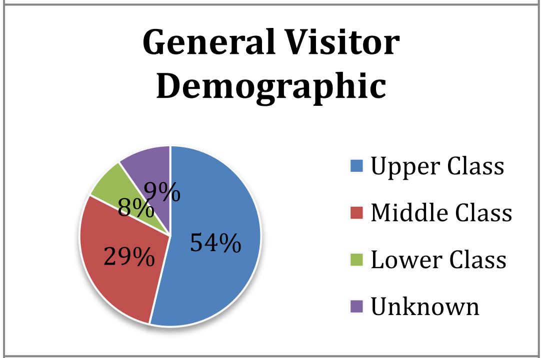


6. Number of visitors and corresponding graphs

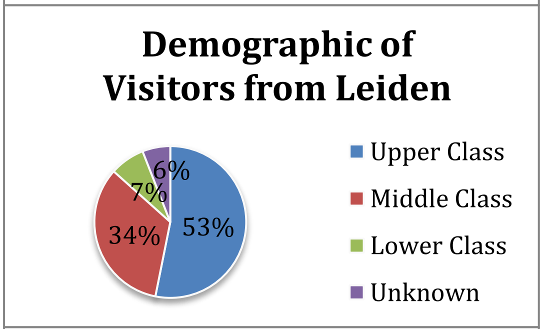
Total	
Origin of the Visitors	
Leiden	269
Rest of Netherlands	616
Foreigners	250
Unknown	97



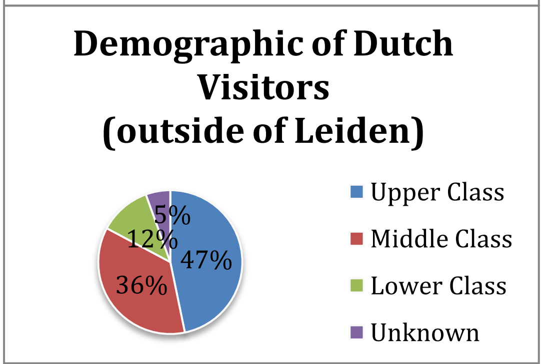
Total	
Class	
Upper Class	662
Middle Class	355
Lower Class	96
Unknown	119



Leiden		
Upper Class	143	
Middle Class	90	50 militair
Lower Class	20	
Unknown	16	
	269	



Foreign Visitors	
Upper Class	187
Middle Class	21
Lower Class	2
Unknown	40
	250



Rest of Netherlands	
Upper Class	288
Middle Class	222
Lower Class	72
Unknown	34
	616